THE

ENGLISH WOMAN'S JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. XII. February 1, 1864. No. 72.

LXVI.—A REVIEW OF THE LAST SIX YEARS.

SIX YEARS have now elapsed since the "English Woman's Journal" was started, and this number for February, 1864, being the last of the twelfth volume, I have thought that it might be useful to say a few words to our readers regarding the motives which led to its commencement, and the reasons which have induced those who started it to carry out their undertaking in one particular way. Numerous questions are constantly (and very naturally) asked by friends who come to the office, of those who conduct its practical business; observations are made as to the relative size and the special nature of the contents of the Journal, and many suggestions made in a kindly spirit for its supposed possible improvement. It is to the answering of these questions, observations, or suggestions that I would now address myself; and I do so individually, because until lately I possessed immediate control over the matter in hand; and because considerable sums of money have been, from first to last, practically confided to me for the purposes of our cause.

Ten years ago, although there was an earnest and active group of people, deeply interested in all that relates to female education and industry, and to the reform of the laws affecting the property of married women, and though efforts were being made in many directions for the bettering of the condition of the mass of single women in this country, there was no centre of meeting, nor any one work which could be said to draw together the names of the ladies so actively employed. But the separate exertions carried on were surely and solidly laying the foundations of what has now taken its place as one of the chief social "movements" of the day. In Education, a great start was made by the erection of the "Ladies' Colleges." Both at the one located in Harley Street, and at the one carried on in Bedford Square, under the auspices of a most generous and indefatigable foundress, the girl pupils were brought in

contact with the minds of several eminent professors of the day. The whole standard of female education in regard to history, the dead and living languages, mathematics, and musical science was changed. The pupils were made to understand what is knowledge and what is not, and to appreciate as well as to acquire.

In literature many women had achieved a solid reputation, among whom perhaps Miss Martineau took the first place, from the number and practical nature of her forcible writings; and one other mind, deep, thoughtful, and sincere, had been frequently attracted away from the more intellectual and artistic pursuits in which it was chiefly distinguished, towards the problems of woman's life and work: I refer to Mrs. Jameson. The oftener I recur to those former years, and to the thoughts and plans current among the younger generation of my sex, the greater is, I feel, our debt of gratitude to her, for the influence she exerted, not only in her writings, but in her own person. She was ever ready to give time, thought, and her best judgment to the plans of her younger friends; and her long experience of life, and strong sense of religious and social morality, acted as a firm restraint against all anti-social theories, such as have occasionally been started, apropos of these questions, in other countries. She was thoroughly liberal, widely cultivated, not at all cowardly as to the trying of experiments, (such as the medical career), but she always appeared to act from some inner law of womanhood, which it was impossible for her to infringe, and which imparted grace and consistency to everything she said and did.

The department of intellectual activity in which she naturally took most interest was that of the artist; and a group of young women, who pursued art in one or other of its various branches, were among her constant visitors during her sojourns in London. It was, however, to all the problems connected with the care of the sick and the relief of the poor that her thoughts chiefly turned, in those intervals of leisure left by her own works on historical art. Her pursuits had led her to a lengthened residence in various continental cities, and she had investigated with zeal and care the institutions which are there so deeply rooted, and which may be said to supply the place of our poor law. The result in her mind was a strong belief in the efficiency of sisterhoods; and she embodied her opinions in two admirable lectures, entitled "Sisters of Charity," and "The Communion of Labour," which were personally delivered in the drawing-rooms of two lady friends, and afterwards reprinted by Longman. To these were finally appended her admirable "Letter to Lord John Russell," in which she touches on many wants suffered by her countrywomen, and devotes some pages

to the consideration of the medical question. This letter is one of the most remarkable productions of Mrs. Jameson's pen. It is characterized by a simplicity and dignity which reveal the aged and experienced woman, willing to come forward and stake her well-won reputation for the sake of those younger than herself; it is written alike without heat and without timidity, and is a noble example of that style of writing in which the moral character of the author penetrates every sentence, and infuses an authority to which mere eloquence could never attain.

The general movement had attained the level I have attempted to describe, when a bill was introduced into parliament for securing the earnings of married women to their own discretionary use. It was presented in the Upper House by Lord Brougham, and in the Lower by Sir Erskine Perry. The long list of signatures was headed by the names of Anna Jameson and Mary Howitt, followed by numerous signatures of eminent women, among them that of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. In its immediate object this effort failed. The bill was not carried; but it undoubtedly exercised a strong influence in that clause of the ensuing Divorce Bill, which secures to *deserted wives* the use of their own earnings for themselves and their families; and in so doing, helped to prevent the recurrence of all the worst cases of misfortune resulting from the law; for whatever may be considered the abstract justice of the case, it was in cases of desertion or cruelty, when the husband, returning, swept off at a blow the hard-accumulated earnings of his wife for her family, that bitter injustice chiefly resulted. Such cases are now under legal protection.

But this, though fairly to be laid to its credit, was far from the only effect of the defeated bill. It induced, throughout the spring and early summer of 1856, a lively discussion in the newspapers; and though ridicule was, in some instances, poured on its supporters, much real, warm, lasting sympathy was elicited, and many men came forward to give their help. Even more important was it that, in the effort to obtain signatures, people interested in the question were brought into communication in all parts of the kingdom, and that the germs of an effective movement were scattered far and wide. It is an act of justice to recall, that the first idea, and much of the subsequent working consequent on the introduction of this bill, were due to Miss Leigh Smith, now Madame Bodichon, a lady since her marriage absent from England during the greater part of each year, but who has been, from first to last, an unfailing friend to the cause.

It was some six months later, in October, 1856, that a stray

number of a periodical, professing to be edited by ladies, caught my eye in the window of a small shop in Edinburgh. On making some enquiries at the office, I found it to be a paper of a very harmless but very inefficient sort, full of tales, poetry, and occasionally articles on charities. The proprietor, however, wished to improve it, and Miss Isa Craig and I wrote several articles for him; and when I, shortly after, left England to spend the winter and spring abroad, Miss Craig undertook to watch the "WAVERLEY JOURNAL" for me, as I had good hopes that it might eventually be pressed into our London work. When in Rome, in April, 1857, I received from Scotland what was in fact an offer of the entire control of this periodical; and then it was that I asked Mrs. Jameson's advice as to the desirability of attempting to devote such a magazine to the special objects of woman's work. She entered into the point with her usual sympathetic kindness, and gave her advice in the affirmative. Thereupon, I wrote back to Scotland, that I would return in June, and take the control of the "Waverley Journal," which I accordingly did; and Madame Bodichon placed in the hands of Mr. George Hastings a considerable sum of money, to be applied to the improvement, and if desirable, the purchase of the magazine. Negotiations with the proprietor were entered into, which, however, proved unsatisfactory; and Mr. Hastings advised us not to spend money and effort over a property which did not appear to be worth either, but to start afresh, with a new journal of our own, in London. It took some months to arrange our plans; but at the close of 1857, the editorship of the "Waverley Journal" was relinquished, and in March, 1858, the "English Woman's Journal" was commenced, Miss Hays and myself being joint editors; the necessary money having been collected from various good friends to the cause, in the form of shares in a limited liability company. Six years have elapsed since that time, during which 72 numbers have been issued, at a cost of anxiety and responsibility far beyond what any merely literary journal could entail, inasmuch as the subject matter of this particular periodical touched at all points upon the dearest interests and safeguards of civilized society, was partially connected with the religious views of various bodies of Christians, and presented in other directions a perfect pitfall of ridicule, ever ready to open beneath the feet of the conductors.

It now needs to be considered in what relation this journal could be expected to stand to the rest of the periodical press. Had it from the first any hope, any expectation, any *wish* to come forward in the same field with the able monthlies, which contained the best writing of the day? To this question an emphatic *no* must at once be given. Such an idea would have

been perfectly hopeless and absurd, and indeed self-destructive; for a subject cannot be at once popular and unpopular, rich and poor, clothed in purple and fine linen, and undergoing incessant fear of a social martyrdom. If it had been wished to start a brilliant and successful magazine, some eminent publisher should have been secured and persuaded to undertake active pecuniary interest and risk; all the best known female writers should have been engaged, "regardless of expense;" *and then* —good-bye to the advocacy of any subject which would have entailed a breath of ridicule; good-bye to any thorough expression of opinion; good-bye to the humble but ceaseless struggle of all these years, and to the results which have sprung up around the small office where so many workers collected together, because the purpose and the plan were *honestly conceived and carried out.*

A few dates and details as to the different practical branches of the movement may not be out of place, in connection with this slight sketch of the history of the Journal. The first of those who joined the early work was Miss Maria Rye. At the time of the proposed introduction of a bill on the property of married women, our attention was attracted by an excellent article on the subject in the "*English Woman's Domestic Magazine*," signed "M. S. R." An enquiry made of the editor was answered by a visit from the young writer, then living near London with her family, and devoting her leisure to literature. From that time she became the fast friend of her fellow-workers; and when it became necessary to engage a secretary to manage the large amount of correspondence which the bill entailed, Miss Rye became that secretary, and was immediately brought in contact with its supporters, many of whom were men of eminence. In the summer of 1857, Miss Craig first came from Edinburgh, and became assistant secretary to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, then in the course of formation. A year and a half later, in November, 1858, Miss Faithfull was first introduced at the office of the "English Woman's Journal," with the work of which, for some months, she was more or less connected. In June, 1859, Miss Boucherett came to London, desirous of organising the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, and found in the same office many friends and helpers; and for a few months Miss Sarah Lewin, and afterwards Miss Faithfull, were secretaries to the infant society, which was finally organised in connection with the Social Science Association.

It was now, in the winter of 1859—60, that the group of works, which have since been frequently reviewed by the press, took their rise—all of them in a certain way linked to Miss

Boucherett's society, except the Victoria Press, which Miss Faithfull undertook, on a separate basis, in connection with a gentleman, who had for many years desired to see women employed in printing. At the same time the Law-copying Office was started by the society, and Miss Rye installed as manager; and Miss Boucherett herself undertook the direct superintendence of the Middle-class School, intended to fit young women for taking situations as book-keepers, cashiers, and clerks.

A Register was likewise formally opened at the office of the society, and absorbed into itself a small register previously kept in the office of the Journal; but as the two offices were at this time brought under one roof, at 19, Langham Place, the register work has since been carried on almost without distinction in either room.

The Reading Room, which had been started over the little office which the Journal originally inhabited in Prince's Street, Cavendish Square, was at the same time moved into the same large house, secured by the munificence of one lady for the three institutions, and where they have now remained for four years.

The Emigration movement, in which Miss Rye's name has lately become prominent, grew naturally and imperceptibly out of the work of the Law-copying office. So many women applied for employment, to whom it was impossible to give it, that Miss Rye tried to assist some of them to emigrate. One by one was thus helped with a little money, lent by friends for the purpose, and furnished with letters of introduction. Little by little her time became absorbed by constant claims of the kind. The law-copying business was carried on under a forewoman, and Miss Rye gave herself up to the assisting of emigrants, and at last determined on taking a voyage to our colonies in one of the emigration ships, that she might herself investigate the condition of the labour market, and the best means for supplying needs at home and abroad. Miss Jane Lewin has been Miss Rye's associate in the work from the first, and now superintends the Middle-class Emigration Society at 12, Portugal Street, W.C.

The last point of interest in the movement is the experimental examination of girls, conducted by the examiners of the University of Cambridge, which took place the first week of December last, at which upwards of 90 students presented themselves, and which may ultimately lead to the full opening of the examinations of both universities. The consent of the Cambridge authorities was obtained chiefly through the indefatigable exertions of Miss Emily Davies.

I must not omit to add that the present editor of the journal

is also one of its oldest contributors, under the signature of "Asterisk," and "E." Her first connection with the office arose more than six years ago, when she actively interested herself in the setting aside of one of the great London swimming baths for the use of ladies on one day of the week. A recent shipwreck had roused public attention to the desirability of teaching women to swim; and Miss Martineau, in particular, had written a very forcible article in one of the periodicals. Chiefly by the exertions of "Asterisk," the Marylebone swimming bath was made available, and a teacher engaged; and I believe there is now an excellent establishment at Brighton similar to those on the French coast. Our constant secretary, Miss Sarah Lewin, occupies her old post, most of her time being devoted to the society's register.

In this general outline no mention has been made of the many many kind friends and helpers who have encircled us with help and sympathy from the first, and who have been the main stay of those whose names happened to become more prominent. One lady, who has often signed herself as "A Clergyman's Wife," in the pages of our "Open Council," has been indefatigable, particularly in the department of emigration. The society's office has received constant assistance from members of the committee; and a young friend has lately undertaken a large share of the regular duty, during the temporary absence on the continent of the lady who has for nearly four years occupied the post of secretary—Miss Crowe. There is no possibility of recording the manifold acts of help and kindness which have taken place on all sides; and when I look back over these years, and compare the measure of our success with the plans which floated before our inexperienced eyes at the beginning, I am doubly impressed with the power of individual character and individual effort. In this sort of work, as in commercial barter, an adequate price must be paid down for every result. "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small," says Longfellow, translating from a German poet; and whoso wishes to achieve any lasting good, however small in quantity or humble in kind, must pay down true coin, of motive and practice, of outline and of detail.

This is the more imperative, because, in any purely secular work, it is next to impossible to secure those peculiar benefits which spring from thorough organization, by which the weak are sustained, the idle stimulated, the unsteady held in check. Any twenty people will obey a common religious authority, and they will obey the law of the land, when it enforces measures for its own defence (as in the army and navy), or when it enforces the fulfilment of contracts, as in the different relations of master and workman. But when simple benevolent work is

in question, which is carried on, neither by the direct authority of a religious body, nor by the principle of pecuniary contracts, it is next to impossible to combine a number of people in any reasonably permanent or satisfactory manner. There is a want of organic coherence in the elements of human character, and this is why the best workers are apt to lament the difficulties of working through committees, even when these committees are formed of really sympathising people. Then it is that the personal worth of every individual tells conspicuously upon the matter in hand; or rather we may say that, *without* personal worthiness, there is really no achievement at all. Societies and committees have no inherent aptitude in getting through work; indeed, it may be doubted whether some of the *momentum* is not actually lost in the friction they entail. Their great use is in offering a guarantee for the funds subscribed by the public; the wisdom of the re-distribution is purely according to the honesty and the energy of the individual members to whom any branch is committed. A flaw in the instrument is a flaw in the result, to a much greater extent than in the working out of a system. Among the hundreds of thousands of Wesleyan Methodists, all backing each other up by that mighty power of religious communion, the inferior capacity—the slacker zeal of some members, are hardly visible, being so intimately blended with the common stock. But let none argue thus in choosing helpers for a secular work; such work lacks the fusing element, and each atom stands out, hard or soft, round or square, crooked or straight, as the case may be. Even worth will hardly save weakness, and strength carries its own ends in lower spheres. To those who watch with yearning anxiety the progress of a movement like ours, the great source of hope and cheerfulness lies in the attainment of a thorough conviction that, however much it may fail in rounded unity of action, no effort, no thought, no single, true, unselfish exertion of one for another, amidst all the many people gathered together in its progress, has been in vain. B. R. P.

LXVII.—WOMEN AND CO-OPERATION.

Biographies of noted characters abound in our introspective age, and the tribute of a memoir is readily paid to the shades of hundreds of men and women who have acquired a reputation, more or less solid, for literary, scientific, political, religious, or philanthropic eminence. But there is one class of persons, consisting of men only, that has lately fallen into the hands of bookmakers; we mean the class of "self-made" men, men

whose only claim to immortalization consists in their lives having been a practical success, and their implied possession of the qualities necessary to escape failure. Lives of similar women are not written, for the simple reason that such women do not exist. We have "Biographies of good Women" in plenty, "Beautiful Ladies" are commemorated both in prose and verse, learned ones receive their fair share of notice; but in the kind of biographical literature that has sprung up recently to honor the memory of errand boys who have developed into cotton lords we should look in vain for the name of a woman; in the pursuit that occupies nine-tenths of the male population of these islands, women take no perceptible share. The utility of such memoirs is, of course, very questionable, for there are many worthy men whose fame is rather lessened than exalted by their being dragged from the privacy in which they lived to point moral disquisitions on the virtues of industry and self-help, but what it concerns us to remark is, that no friends, discreet or otherwise, could find the materials for a volume containing accounts of women who had done nothing except "get on" in the world. Nevertheless, we cannot but suppose that the thousands of women who are struggling to realize, not a fortune, but a bare subsistence, would prefer the former if they believed it to be within their reach: that it is not so, by the ordinary methods of business, is unfortunately certain.

Men rise in trade either by the profitable investment of a small capital, or by the possession of personal qualities necessary to their wealthier employers, but both of these courses are practically closed against female enterprise. The traditions, what we once heard a chemist call the etiquette of trade, exclude women from nearly all established commercial concerns, so that they can only enter business as principals. As a rule, however, they are not possessed of sufficient means for doing so even on a small scale, and those few who could command the use of a small independent capital, seem to think its exact amount, like the law of the Medes and Persians, is on no account to be altered; if it is enough to live on, well; if not, it can't be helped, and a little daily governessing must do the rest. Yet there are numerous employments, less laborious and more lucrative than teaching, needlework, or any of the other usual ways of eking out a limited income, whose only disadvantage is that they require a little capital at the outset, and even though that little should be more than any one woman has to dispose of, the deficiency is one that can be supplied. This is proved by the example of working men, even more unfavorably placed than the orphan daughters of tradesmen or reduced gentry, who have raised themselves from distress to the position of masters, to their own infinite benefit, morally as well as intellectually.

The agency by which they have accomplished this, is Co-operation, in its technical sense; but, we fear, that those for whom Co-operation could do most, are those least acquainted with its nature and history.

The idea of reconciling the claims of capital and labor, or, at least, of protecting the latter from monopolists of the former, has been more or less familiar to theorists throughout this century; but the particular schemes entertained for so doing were long discredited by their accidental connection with communistic and revolutionary principles. Within the last thirty years, however, Co-operative associations on sound principles have been established in this country, France, Germany, Russia, America, and Australia, in all of which places they have been successful, so long as not officially interfered with. In Great Britain, the number of Co-operative societies registered in 1862 was 332, and in the same year, the sums they paid for goods amounted to £2,067,867. In August of this year their numbers had risen to 521, showing a proportionate increase of total revenue, and, since the legal impediments to partnership have been removed, the spread of the system has proceeded steadily at this rapid rate.

The first established and the most flourishing of these institutions is that of the Rochdale Pioneers, as they appropriately named themselves, begun in 1844, by forty working men, mostly poor flannel weavers, who, with difficulty, raised amongst themselves £28, with which to furnish a store to supply themselves and their families with provisions more economically than was done by the small retail dealers whose high prices and long credits ruin both themselves and their customers. At the close of 1845, the number of members had doubled, the capital amounted to £181 12*s.* 3*d.*, and the weekly sales averaged £30. Now, the Pioneers possess nearly a street of shops, as well as corn and cotton mills, and their annual profits are reckoned by thousands. The share women have taken in the movement is not considerable. By the usual payment they can become members of the Stores (the most numerous and successful of Co-operative establishments), they sometimes serve in the shops of the society they belong to, and of course derive the same pecuniary benefit as other members from the intelligence of their exertions; but in the Committees of Management, selected generally by rotation, women do not sit, neither are we aware of the existence of any Co-operative associations of women *alone*, even in the trades exercised by themselves exclusively. The liberality and intelligence of most existing Co-operative bodies are deserving of the highest praise; still, what we have said seems to show, that though their system may provide a remedy most especially adapted to meet the wants of destitute

hard-working women, yet to derive the utmost practical benefit from its working, they must take its application into their own hands. This they will not do until a general knowledge of the principles of Co-operation is far more common amongst them than at present, and for this they must look to their better-educated and more fortunate sisters.

The ultimate object of Co-operation is said to be (Speech of Mr. M. Kyllman, reported in the "Co-operator" for this month) "the complete social enfranchisement of the working classes," which social enfranchisement consists in this, that every working man should be his own employer, instead of an hired labourer at the mercy of his master. This is the extreme limit of what Co-operation can do, and its chief merit is that it aims at no more, for it neither seeks to control the laws of supply and demand, nor to substitute a tyranny of men for one of masters; but this alone would be enough to improve incalculably the position of most female labourers, whose work, could they dispose of it at first hand, would yield them a fair profit which is now swallowed up by innumerable grades of middlemen. The first and easiest end aimed at by Co-operators, is, however, the reformation of Distribution rather than Production, or, "the suppression of the vast number of middlemen, who share amongst themselves so large a proportion of the produce of the country, while the services they render, though indispensable, might be as well, or better performed by a tenth part of their number" (J. S. Mill, in the "Co-operator" for September, 1863). This is done by means of the "Stores" we have already noticed, which are managed on the simplest principles. The capital is subscribed by the members, who at first transact the necessary business gratuitously, till they are enabled by its increase to employ a paid agent. The profits are employed to cover expenses, and pay a fair interest on the sums spent in shares, any surplus that may remain being divided amongst the purchasers in proportion to their dealings with the store. This bonus is not perhaps justifiable by the strict rules of Political Economy, but in practice it is found to answer well, as it serves to attract custom, and, for the rest, only returns to the members in their character of consumers, what they would otherwise appropriate as sellers. We have already said to what extent women participate in this branch of the movement, but though their interest in its success is not less than that of men, they would have nothing to gain by the establishment of separate stores, if they were allowed an equal voice in the management of the common ones.

With regard to Co-operative associations for production, the case is different. The leading principle of these is a recognition of the claims of labor to share profits, and such a prospect may well be attractive to women who have failed hitherto to obtain

even the more modest desideratum of a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. There are many reasons to account for the helplessness of workwomen as against their employers, of which the chief, are, the ruinous competition amongst themselves, traceable to the limited number of occupations open to them, and their total want of means and organization to effect a "strike," whatever provocation may be offered them. Here we may state, once for all, that by the employers, who so often abuse the power with which the poverty of their "hands" invests them, we do not for a moment mean the general public, which, we may be tolerably certain, pays a fair price even for female work. Thus the bills of London dressmakers sometimes figure rather largely in Bankruptcy Courts, whilst of the state of the poor girls who supply the items for them, the less said the better; yet the little dressmaker of a country place contrives to live comfortably without ruining her health or her customers. This is enough to show, that even in the trade that contributes most largely to the sad statistics of distress, there is ample provision for a certain number of qualified hands; it is only when the number of candidates for employment exceeds those who require them, that those hundreds must suffer unavoidably for having disturbed the equilibrium of demand and supply. For Co-operation is not a Morrison's Pill, to charm away evils occasioned by the faults and follies of more than one generation, though it can and will lend to those who possess resolution and skill the strength necessary to render those qualities available. The establishment of a Co-operative society of needlewomen and dressmakers would enable women, otherwise powerless from their isolation, to compete successfully with the great London houses, which they would at the same time compel to treat their hands with more consideration, at the risk of provoking a "turn-out." Co-operators engaging in the ordinary branches of trade have, however, many difficulties to surmount, even as compared with those engaged in forming "stores." Their dealings are not amongst themselves, nor even chiefly with their own class, so that they have to make a business connection without any special advantages to counterbalance the distrust and suspicion which they are likely to encounter, in common with all other innovators. These and other similar impediments would prove very formidable, though far from insuperable, to any enterprising women who might try, by the help of Co-operation, to engage in branches of employment entirely new to their sex; but a society of the class we have suggested would, we believe, meet with every encouragement from the benevolent who patronize schemes far less likely to help those whom they wish to enable to help themselves.

A glance at the history of the workmen's associations now

existing will show how such enterprises should be begun, and what dangers threaten them as they approach success. Such societies *(associations ouvrières)*, were first established in France, and one, of jewellers, founded in 1834, is still flourishing; the members have accumulated a capital, and make fair profits which are annually divided amongst the workmen in proportion to the weekly wages they have received for piece work. The Piano Makers' Association, also in France, was founded by the untiring perseverance of fourteen working men, who, by the utmost exertion and self-denial, raised at length the sum of £40 with which to commence operations; the members are now twenty-three in number, possessing a large freehold manufactory, and capital to the amount of £6520, besides employing several workmen on ordinary terms. An Association of Builders is one of the most flourishing of the trade, in Paris; it numbers 81 members, transacting business yearly to the amount of £52,000, and owning £10,000 capital, raised entirely by their own exertions since their establishment in 1848. In 1856, an Association for Manufacturing Cotton was founded at Rochdale under the auspices of the energetic Pioneers, and has passed through the trials of the cotton famine more triumphantly than most private mills; there is also a Spinning and Manufacturing Co-operative Society in Manchester, together with one of Tailors and Hatters. In London, several attempts have been made since 1850 to establish similar concerns, but as yet without very widespread success; one, of Shoemakers, started with borrowed capital, is going on well, and another, based on the sounder principle of beginning business on a scale commensurate to its real means, is progressing rapidly. This last, that of the Gilders of Red Lion Square, is a fair typical specimen of such undertakings, as its success, though decided, was not procured at once, and would still perhaps disappoint extravagant expectations. It was begun by five journeymen gilders, possessing only the essential qualities of perseverance and mutual confidence; by weekly subscriptions they raised £8 with which to furnish a room, and then began to take in work; at first they had some difficulty in maintaining the ready-money character of their transactions, and sustained some losses, but on the whole, they kept in more regular work than is general in their trade, and, at present, they have raised their capital from £8 to £200. Hitherto, the members have only received ordinary wages, besides 5 per cent. interest on their invested savings, but as their business increases, it is intended to divide the surplus profits equally amongst the members.

Such are a few details concerning the rise and progress of the most successful and most meritorious of Co-operative associations for general trade. They suggest three points in particular,

worthy of consideration; namely, the qualities essential to Co-operators, the nature of the agreement they must enter into with each other, and the relation in which they should stand to external persons and circumstances. On the first of these heads little need be said; if the virtues of courage, self-denial, public spirit, and intelligence, are rare amongst scantily-educated women, they are, we will hope, not more so than amongst men similarly circumstanced; and, at any rate, no better school for their development could be found than a society whose very existence, not to say success, depends upon their exercise. With regard to the second point, there is one particular in which many if not most of the existing societies seem to have wandered from their first principles. Co-operation in its best sense is something more than the formation of joint stock partnerships; its best hopes of success, as well as its highest claims to respect as a power for regenerating the lower classes, lie in its giving every labourer an immediate and personal interest in his work; it is not enough to pay him interest on his savings, and to make his workroom a model of cleanliness and comfort; any benevolent master will do as much for his hands as that; nay, some masters even give their workmen a graduated percentage on their own profits, in addition to their wages, and Co-operation scarcely deserves its name if it does not recognize in every workman, as such, a part owner and part manager of the concern he works for. This great principle has by a natural, though lamentable course of circumstances been forsaken by the owners of the Rochdale Cotton Mill, and by most of the French societies we have mentioned. As their success became decided, persons not immediately interested in the Co-operative movement resorted to them as affording room for a profitable investment, until these less liberal shareholders became so numerous as to command a majority of voices in the Committee of Management, of which they took advantage to limit the sharing of profits to the contributors of capital. Other associations err by reluctance to admit new members, so that as their business increases they are forced to employ more hired labourers, subjecting themselves thus to the unpopularity attached to *parvenus* masters, without possessing individually the wealth that consoles the single owner of a large business. There are other questions on which a difference of opinion exists amongst leading Co-operators, such as the expediency of giving a bonus to purchasers, the desirability of forming a reserve fund with which to make buildings and stock common property, but not withdrawable, the extent to which Co-operative associations may beneficially partake of the character of Benefit Clubs, the rigidity with which the "No Credit" rule should be adhered to, &c., with other points of more minute detail, which will hardly call for discussion until female Co-operation has reached a more advanced stage than at present.

There remains now to be considered, the position which Co-operators should occupy in respect to the public generally, and such members of it particularly as sympathize with them. This question is practically the first to arise, for the manner of its settlement determines whether the concerns to be started partake of a philanthropic or exclusively commercial character. Abstractedly, it is, we believe, most desirable that the latter should be the case, and the future Co-operators be entirely unfettered by debts, whether of gratitude or pounds sterling; but in the case of women, principle, we fear, must be sacrificed to necessity, their wages being as a rule so much lower than those of men, that no conceivable economy on their part could enable them to save even the £8 with which the Gilders' Association set up a stock in trade. Under these circumstances, to establish a Co-operative Society of Women, let us say in the dressmaking trade, a small capital must first be subscribed, by persons willing to risk their money in the interests of philanthropy; on this, for the sake of the Co-operators themselves, they should from the first receive interest, which, were the donors so disposed, might, together with the principal as soon as it could be repaid, be devoted to the foundation of other similar concerns. At this point, however, all connection between benefactors and benefited must cease; in Co-operation nothing is done *for*, but everything *by* the workmen or workwomen, and it is in this feature that the chief strength of the system lies; in it nothing can be forced or artificial, for patronage, "that poisonous thing," as the Editor of the "Co-operator" calls it, is by the nature of the case excluded from the possibility of either fostering a spurious vitality or annihilating the wholesome growth of self-help and independence. The movement is one that will spread outwards from a sound kernel, though no efforts could graft it successfully on an unhealthy stock. If this be so, and all experience bears out the conclusion, we shall see flourishing societies of Co-operating women, when, and not before a few women understanding their own material interests, and steadily bent on pursuing the same, choose to organize them. Surely such women are to be found; wherever they are, their future is in their own hands.

The principle of the non-participation of women in the commercial pursuits is receiving a constantly increasing amount of respect and consideration; in past times, this was not perhaps to be regretted; it was an unavoidable result of the heroine worship of chivalry, a necessary because natural stage in the development of perfect relations between the sexes, but chivalry has long since gone to the limbo of the Transitional, and we are left to face the fact that women have become subject to the judgment, "She who will not work, shall not eat." Of

the number of women yearly thrown on their own resources, naturally only a small proportion can be qualified to maintain themselves by purely intellectual pursuits; some professions may in time open to receive a few more, but the mass of women must after all, like the mass of men, earn their living by ministering to the material wants of their contemporaries. In accepting this prosaic necessity, they must, it is true, relinquish the graceful pleasures of a *dolce far niente* existence, but at the same time, work is better than starvation, especially when work alone can place them at length on a really equal social footing with their brethren.

LXVIII.—FRIENDS AGAIN.

So, we meet again, fair cousin! fourteen years have changed us though!
I can meet your eyes now, cousin, with a calm unfaltering brow;
I can take your hand in mine—ah! its thrilling touch is gone!
And your voice that speaks kind greeting, what has quenched its magic tone?

You will be a bride next month—may all happiness attend you!
And the peace that I have found, I will pray our God to send you;
It was kind to come and see me in my hour of grief and gloom,
Though you never knew the presence that once glorified this room.

To your eye that couch is empty; but *I* see a gentle face
Smiling on us, bright and trustful, from its long-accustomed place!
Yes, I had no secrets with her, all that I had felt and done,
Long ago she knew—my darling! for her soul and mine were one.

Ah, since you and I, fair cousin, parted fourteen years ago,
I have passed through gulfs of anguish, you, I trust, may never know;
Doubtless, it was right and easy to refuse my boyish heart;
In the bitterness that followed, you, my cousin, had no part.

And you never knew, nor will know, what I suffered—let it pass!
Your heart is clear from those sad memories, and your eyes too—clear as glass!
Yet I think you must remember, something of those olden times,
And the words that passed between us, underneath the Hampstead limes.

Well, they are not worth recalling; we were then but girl and boy,
Now we're friends again, for you, the world has still some flowers of joy;
Pluck them, cousin, ere they wither; taste their sweetness while you may:
They are flowers that fade too soon—already mine have passed away.

But I care not to recover those bright bubbles—let them go!
Life has grown too grave and solemn to be moved by joy or woe;
She who brought the sunshine round her—the pure light of holy days—
Has left me, and the world is shrouded in a sad funereal haze.

But I walk there, not desponding; very thankful am I still—
Thankful that God gives me patience, and I bow before His will—
Thankful too, that He has taught me, with conviction strong and clear,
That His loving hand destroys not what He made so lovely here.

So I know 'tis only waiting, till the signal sounds for me;
Ah! the glory of that moment, dear one! when I come to thee!
Forty years will be the utmost, not long, when the measure's set
Against *for ever*—but alas! I have not lived so many yet.

Let me fill the time up bravely; I have sacred work to do,
For her last smile said—"The children! I can trust them, love, to you;"
Yea, dear angel! I will keep them, love them, toil for them alone,
Praying for them, night and morning, as you used to do—my own!

* * * * * * * *

You'll forgive me, gentle cousin, that these pensive thoughts will rise;
Ah! I see some tears of kindness gathering in your woman's eyes!
We are friends then, and I must not make you sad, for life to you
Opens now its golden gateway—may God's angels lead you through!

HERZ.

LXIX.—WOMAN'S WORK IN THE WORLD'S CLOTHING.

VI.—THE LANCASHIRE MILL.

IT is a common saying that "people cannot be made virtuous by Acts of Parliament," and the bare literal truth of the assertion is certainly undeniable; but any doubt as to how far virtue can be influenced by legislation might well be dispelled by tracing the effects of the present Factory Act, in comparing a mill of our own time with the mill of the last century. The amount of wrong doing which that Act has prevented, the amount of right doing which it has called forth, in the few years which have elapsed since it was passed, is so marvellous, that we may fairly question whether any single enactment has ever done so much, in so short a time, to promote the welfare of man and the glory of God. Employers and overseers, compelled to control tyrannical passions, and freed from the temptations to which frail humanity is always

exposed when invested with irresponsible power, can no longer be cruel despots; but have been habituated to act justly, until the habit can hardly have failed to become natural: while the operatives, no longer brutalized by ill-treatment and deprived of all opportunity for self-culture and improvement, instead of being mere living machines, have become the most intelligent and by no means the least moral of all our working population. In the dignified patience with which they have recently borne a sad reverse and severe sufferings the whole nation is reaping the fruit of wise legislation in their behalf; for without this, how could they have become capable of developing the virtues which have won such universal admiration?

According to the regulations of the Act which has had so beneficial an effect upon all concerned, no female or young person under the age of 18 can be employed in a factory before 6 a.m. or after 6 p.m., between which periods one hour and a half is to be allowed for meal-times, during which they may not remain in a room where any manufacturing process is being carried on; and though, for the convenience of those who reside at a distance from the place where they work, it is permissible to labour on during a part of this time, in order to leave off so much the earlier at night, it is provided that none shall continue at their occupation beyond 1 o'clock p.m., without an interval of at least 30 minutes' cessation. Not only is a regular Saturday half-holiday secured, by forbidding work on that day after 2 p.m., but it is further ordered, that besides Christmas-day and Good Friday, 8 and a half other holidays shall be granted in the course of the year, previous notices of which are hung up in the factory some time before. No deductions from wages are made on account of these periods of recreation.

In order that the education of children shall not be sacrificed to their industrial occupation, parents are required to cause their children to attend school for 3 hours daily during 5 days in the week, and no child is suffered to be employed in a factory who does not produce a certificate at the beginning of each week in testification of having received its due quantum of schooling during the preceding week.

As a sanitary measure, the whole factory has to be lime-washed once in every 14 months, and every possible precaution against accidents is made obligatory; while the provisions of the Act are constantly enforced by the personal supervision of four government inspectors and a numerous body of sub-inspectors, and the frequent visits of these officials, who immediately lay informations against the proprietors whenever any infringement of the law is detected, thoroughly guard against any of its enactments becoming a mere dead letter.

Under these regulations the factory assumed a far different

aspect from that which it presented in the early days of its existence. No longer the gloomy abode of oppressed victims, wearing out their lives in ceaseless toil, it became peopled instead by healthy and intelligent beings, rendering willing work for just wages; a scene of cheerful industry, under a rule of righteousness and mercy; and the city where factories most multiplied became noted, not only as a gold-generating centre, whence riches flowed over all the kingdom, but as a leader in all social improvement, foremost in philanthropy as in wealth.

Alas, that it must be said it *was* so! Manchester, princely Manchester, is under a cloud, and she that reigned among cities sits mourning now dethroned and desolate amid the chill hush of cold quenched furnaces and silenced mills, while her children eat the bitter bread of dependence, as their hands hang heavy in involuntary idleness. In a brief space we trust this cloud, which dims her glory so entirely for a time, may pass away, and the fair fibre, on which her people's welfare depends, shall again whiten our shores, fairer than ever, because unstained by the sweat of slaves, a free-grown product, to be wrought by free and happy workers into clothing for all nations. Meanwhile, however, it is rather in Manchester as it was two or three short years ago, than in Manchester as it is at the present passing moment, that we must seek an illustration of how the modern world is clothed, and of the condition of those who supply the chief material for its garments.

Not with stately cathedrals and palaces, not with streets of marble and monuments of bronze, not with flowery gardens within her walls or sweet environments of rural beauty, did the proud city of spindles, in her most prosperous days, woo wandering feet in pilgrimage to the place where she sat enthroned; and the tall chimneys belching forth sooty smoke, and the mean thoroughfares thronged with artizans, in work-soiled attire, and odours of oils, and bleaches, and dyes, and the din of engines and machines, were not well-fitted to attract the idler or the pleasure-seeker to explore the marvels of that magic, by which cotton, at the touch of Lancashire machinery, was turned at will to gold. Still, during one bright summer, she was the cynosure of all artistic eyes; and having shewn the world that, in the midst of cotton she had not forgotten art, it was meet that the world should show in return that, in the midst of art it could still remember cotton. Liberally did the heads of the great manufacturing establishments respond to the general desire of their friends and their friends' friends, who, avowedly drawn there by the temporary pictorial attraction, yet wished while there to see something of that fibrous foundation on which the whole city may be said to rest; and well repaid were the many who spared some portion of their

time to turn from the fine to the useful arts, and view those vast factories, in the development of the processes in which as much power and intellect had been expended as in the production of the esthetical treasures of the great Picture Exhibition, besides the super-addition of so mighty an amount of material force bent to the will and compelled to the service of man. But if of late years unusual numbers have been admitted to a sight of these mysteries, there are still many who never have had, or are likely to have, the opportunity of inspecting them; and as it is not only necessary to the elucidation of this part of our history, that the present ordinary state of the clothing arts should be shewn, but, on general grounds, is a thing desirable that every woman should know something of the origin of the dress she wears, we invite such of our readers at least as have never seen the birth-place of the calico that clothes them, to take a glance with us now at the scene of its early life, and briefly trace its adventures "from the pod to the piece."

A railway journey of a few minutes' duration takes us from the capital of looms and spindles to one of the suburban villages, for in some of these the factories are on a yet larger scale than those within the boundaries of Manchester itself. Arrived at the mill of Messrs. ———, at Ashton-under-Lyne, about six and a half miles from Manchester, we put ourselves under the guidance of one of the gentlemen of the firm, thus ensuring that we shall see all that is to be seen in orderly progression, for much of the pleasure and the profit to be derived from a visit to such an establishment depends upon the due succession of the processes displayed, and visitors committed only to the care of any subordinate, without sufficient intelligence or sufficient authority to lead them through in right order, may often depart with only a very confused impression of the whole. Passing through the store-room, where a collection of everything requisite for repairing the machinery is kept in stock, that, when any damage occurs, no time may be lost in putting everything into working order again as speedily as possible, we are led at once to the warehouse for raw material. There are few perhaps, who, from the sight of specimens or prints, are not familiar with the cotton-pod, an object not unlike a dried pickled walnut, split open, and displaying a flake of wadding within its hollow interior; but the husk and much of the seed that grows commingled with the cotton is removed when it is first picked, and the fibre is pressed by hydraulics into the smallest possible compass for transmission to England. It was most probably by feminine fingers that these soft flakes of vegetable down were first drawn from the husks wherein they nestled; but not intending now to dwell on that chapter of our fibre's history, which was fulfilled ere it

reached our shores, we offer it our first greetings in this room, where, some lying loose in heaps, some still sewn up in the matting-covered packages in which it is sent over, we see the "cotton wool" just as it reaches us from the lands where it grows.

Taking up a small portion successively from different heaps, our guide draws out a fragment from each with the finger and thumb of the right hand, lays it together again, draws a pinch from this with the left, then with the right again, and the single set of parallel fibres then remaining determines the quality of the cotton, the length of the staple, as it is called, being, in conjunction with the colour and purity, the test of its excellence. This very long-stapled heap, from "Pernambuco," is the very best grown, and cost elevenpence-halfpenny per pound in these prosperous times. The cost of the labour expended upon it by the time it is wrought up into calico will be about threepence-halfpenny for each pound weight, and this varies very little with the quality of the material, the cost of the finished goods depending therefore mainly on the goodness of the "wool" employed.

The next room introduces us to the cleansing processes. A heap of the cotton being thrown into the receptacle of a machine for removing dust and extraneous matters, in the form of a box filled with iron spikes, called a "devil," which sucks it in at one end, and vomits it forth at the other in a somewhat purer condition; after which, subjection to the action of the "blower," a sort of fan, revolving at the rate of eleven thousand times per minute, further cleanses it, and loosens the clogged fibres, till the swelling mass rises to a vastly increased bulk, light and pure as a heap of snow-flakes, and looking so softly inviting, that a medical man of the party remarks that it almost makes him long for a burned child to be at hand to enjoy the soothing bed.

It is then submitted to the carding machine, a revolving cylinder thick-set with metallic stubble, like a brush with wire in the place of bristles, and overarched by a semicircle of similar wire brushes, removable, but in such close contact with the cylinder that there would not be room to insert a piece of sheet-tin between them; so that the cotton, when forced through, is thoroughly combed out by these bristling surfaces; and its filaments, thus disentangled and laid lengthwise, at first arranged into flat narrow bands called "slivers," which, transferred to the "drawing box," are there rounded into what looks like a pretty thick rope of wadding, which is deposited, as it is drawn out, in long upright lidless canisters of tin, into which a heavy weight keeps slowly descending in order to press down a material, so bulky in its lightness that the receptacle

would be filled to the brim almost immediately if its contents were not constantly crushed down. This "drawing" process is repeated several times in order to get the fibres more and more parallel to each other; six of these soft ropes, which are technically called "rovings," being put together and drawn out again (on the same principle that the small pinch was put together and pulled out again and again by the fingers when testing the staple), until each inch of the first roving has been drawn out to a length of five inches, when each of these cords, as they might be called, are taken up again, and, by repeated drawings, further extended to the thickness of a mere string, nine times its previous length. An admirable contrivance provides, that if any one of the thirty-six threads which one drawing-box was simultaneously operating upon should break, that part of the machinery stops at once until the breakage is repaired, while the action of the other thirty-five continues quite uninterrupted. The first transfer to the actual spinning machine gives a slight twist to the soft material, which enables it, instead of being dropped into a canister, to be wound upon spindles, an operation which its constitution was previously too delicate to undergo; and these filled spindles are carried from one machine to another in a sort of basket made of buffalo skin, and so strong that though those we saw had been in constant use for upwards of twelve years, they showed no signs of wear.

In the spinning machine the multiplication of nine times five is yet further multiplied by twelve, for after they have been subjected to its action the threads are a dozen times longer than before; so that we have seen each inch of the original "roving" drawn out into a thread five hundred and forty inches long, now wound off upon reels or "bobbins," which receive their deposit at the rate of seven thousand revolutions per minute. As the piece-work system of payment prevails here universally, these spinning "mules" have been taught to keep their own accounts with unbribable fidelity, and announce them unerringly by means of an arrangement something like a gas-meter—three small dials under a glass plate at one end of the machine marking respectively thousands, hundreds, and tens, indicating the amount of labour performed by each worker, which is noted down at the end of each week by the inspector.

Yarn is always reckoned by "hanks," which are measured off in the spinning to the one invariable length of 840 yards, the number of hanks to the pound weight determining therefore the fineness of the thread, denoted by a corresponding figure higher or lower, according as many hanks of fine, or few of coarse yarn, are produced. Before the invention of Crompton's

"mule," No 40 was the highest number spun, or in other words, a pound of raw material was never wrought into more than 40 hanks of yarn, measuring 840 yards each; and when, in 1792, no less than 278 hanks were for the first time spun from a pound of cotton, the feat was looked upon as quite a marvel, and the yarn was sold to the muslin manufacturers of Glasgow at the rate of twenty guineas per pound. Since that time, however, the capabilities of the machine have been so extended, that its results may almost be said to rival "the spider's most attenuated thread," it being now possible to spin 460 hanks, a length equivalent to 240 miles of yarn from a single pound of fibre.

Nor is the production of a finer thread the only improvement which has been effected, for when the machine was first invented, the spinner had to walk after the "carriage" as it drew out the thread, in order to send it back again to the starting point as soon as it had reached its goal, it being then customary for one man to have two mules under his charge, so that one was always advancing while he was engaged in returning the other to its place. In 1832, however, an apparatus was invented which could be affixed, without alteration, to the mules then in use, and which forced the carriage back without human aid as soon as it had drawn out the thread, thus dispensing with the continual walk to and fro, the necessity for which had, while it lasted, rendered the mule-spinner's toil too laborious a task for the female frame. All that is now required of those who attend the machines being merely to regulate the motion of the carriage, guide it at the end, and watch and repair breakage of the threads—this light work is mostly performed by women.

The finished yarn, wound up by the return of the machines as each length is spun, when the mule is preparing the soft pliant weft, is deposited on revolving reels simultaneously as produced, when the smooth wiry warp is being spun by the "throstle," and thence "warped," or wound off in a web of threads, arranged parallel to each other upon a large roller of calico width, and taken away to be stiffened in the "dressing" department. Here the width of threads is again wound off through a trough of paste composed of sour damaged flour (for the common idea of the "dress" employed being lime is quite a popular delusion), is then passed over a brush which removes the superfluous paste, to which succeed a series of hot pipes, during the passage over which it is also exposed to the draught of a revolving fan to assist the drying. One machine accomplishes all these processes, to which only the woof, or lengthwise threads of the calico, are subjected.

The threads thus stiffened are now removed to another room,

to be prepared for weaving, a preparation performed by hand, the threads having to be taken up, two at a time, in a peculiar sort of eyed mesh, by a girl, who passes them thus to a woman sitting face to face opposite to her, and who arranges and sets them ready for loom labours with a dexterous swiftness which defies the eye to trace her movements. The workwoman who performed this delicate operation informed us that she earned £1 per week by her skilful labour.

The next removal is to the weaving room, where upwards of twelve hundred looms are at work, the attendants on which are chiefly females, who go from one to the other to supply fresh thread as fast as the shuttles are exhausted, each girl having several looms under her charge. Ranging over the vast room, the eye soon notes that an additional apparatus is appended to some of the looms, denoting where pattern weaving is going on; for where the calico has to be damasked or figured, as for linings, &c., the pattern is produced by means of slips of card about two inches deep and the width of the cloth, joined together breadthwise like the laths of a Venetian blind, sometimes as many as nine hundred such slips being required to form a single pattern. These cards are partially perforated according to the pattern, and are brought in contact in the loom with a slip of metal entirely perforated. Where the blank part of the card touches the metal no effect is produced, but wherever a hole in the card comes against a hole in the metal a thread in the woof below is caught and lifted up, and thus the figure desired is produced.

It is not, however, intended here to enter into the complicated intricacies of the "jacquard loom" (as it is still called, that name, notwithstanding all subsequent improvements, being yet retained in honour of its original inventor), for of its action little more can be traced, in general, by the mere spectator, than the result it produces, the weft-laden shuttles flying with almost inconceivable rapidity through skeleton webs of thready woof extending before them, while the perfected finished calico is seen growing inch by inch in their wake.

In inspecting a factory a few days before within the confines of Manchester itself, we had felt saddened at the prevalence of sickly-looking faces among the females, and the general untidiness and uncleanliness of their attire, heightened in most cases by the mixture of ill-assorted scraps of finery. Here, on the contrary, the pleasure of watching the work was rather enhanced than marred by observing the appearance of the workers, for not only did they appear to be, almost without exception, in a condition of perfect and even robust health, but we were quite struck with the numerous examples of peculiarly fine female development. There was indeed a greater display

of feminine loveliness than we had seen during the whole of our stay in Manchester—well-shaped forms abounding, conjoined in some instances with countenances whose portraiture might have graced a Book of Beauty. The effect would certainly have been still more pleasing had they trusted to their natural charms alone; but though necklaces and earrings were here, too, almost universal, even these lost much of the tawdry aspect they had presented when seen glittering among the torn slatternly attire of the town workers, by being contrasted, not with soiled jackets and ragged skirts, but with a kind of large pinafore of clean calico, worn by nearly all, and which, covering as it did the entire dress, gave an air of uniform neatness to the busy nymphs who thronged each room: while there was scarcely a head among whose mass of well-smoothed hair did not peep out the toilette-adjunct of a small dressing-comb, to be used occasionally in freeing it, from time to time, from the accumulation of floating fibre. The different aspect this factory wore, as compared with that presented by the city one, could hardly have been due to the mere fact of its being suburban, for the town in which it stood is by no means a small one, and it is in a coal district too, which makes it less rural than it might otherwise be. The difference was chiefly due, in all probability, to the heads of the respective establishments, whose characters, and the amount of interest they take in the masses of people in their employ, must have a vast influence for good or ill. In the former case, these had perhaps been merely reckoned as "hands;" here it was evidently kept in mind that they were "*souls*. Strange that this should ever be forgotten, when all around seems one vast symbolization of how the things that are visible are influenced by the things that are invisible—one vast illustration of the dominion of spirit over matter. We have seen fifty-seven thousand spindles revolving more rapidly than eye could follow, as they turned mounds of fibre into miles of yarn; we have seen the shuttles of nearly thirteen hundred looms flying to and fro through as many fragile webs of weft, adding but a thread at a time, yet so swiftly that they grow before us into substantial cloth; and all these motions have been impelled by an unseen power, whose subtle influence, extending from a remote part of the building, keeps every pin and wheel at work; for in the last spot to which we are conducted, we are introduced to the soul of all this mighty frame, the source of all its pulses, in the form of five steam engines (amounting to two hundred and fifty horse power), which are the prime movers here of everything that requires moving. Yet all in vain were piston and cylinder below, or wheel and racket above, were there not human intelligences at work also to watch over them all. A

thousand living beings, three-fifths of whom are women, find employment among this machinery; and is it not a grand thought, that the smallest and weakest of them all, by reason of the spark divine within, has a measure of mastery over all this mighty force, and can at will direct and regulate its action? And write but the truth-breathing motto, "*Laborare est orare*" over their portals, and though no spire, or pinnacle, or dome be there, and the light streams not through pictured panes of gorgeous hue, but the factory walls rise monotonously bare and plain, pierced only by their regular rows of small, square, equal-sized apertures for windows; and within, for organ peal or quiring anthem, sounds only the roaring of steam and the rush of countless revolving wheels—yet are these "Lancashire mills" no mean spectacle, in this our universe, to the eye that views them thus, as vast temples of labour-worship, and the crowds that throng them as offering a daily sacrifice of *work* to the Supreme Source of all activity and Director of all energy.

But the means of rendering more spiritual service also are not wanting, for just without the walls rose a neat and pretty Gothic church, towards the erection of which the work-people themselves had subscribed no less than three hundred pounds, no mean proof of the interest they felt in its establishment. On the opposite side rose a mass of still unfinished school-buildings, intended for the children of the operatives, the enlightened and benevolent proprietor of the mill informing us too that he meant his educational establishments to comprise a school for teaching cookery to the girls connected with the factory. Beyond were rows of neat little cottages, *freehold tenements* of the operatives, purchased by their own savings, the flowers or vegetables in many of the small gardens attached denoting that the owners spent their leisure in the healthful recreation of bringing their little territory into useful or ornamental cultivation.

Sick funds, too, are in operation among the mill-workers, and are well supported, a provision being thus secured in ordinary illness; but in all cases of accident, notice can be sent to a medical gentleman connected with the establishment, who thereupon renders all necessary attendance at the expense of the firm.

In ordinary times, such is factory work and such is factory life in this latter half of the nineteenth century; and a return made to parliament in 1856 showed that there were 2210 of these "mills" then in existence in Great Britain, in which nearly 300,000 power looms and more than 28,000,000 of spindles were kept in motion; while, by 1860, it was reckoned that five or six hundred more factories had been opened, and that the total number of people employed in such establishments were

not less than half a million. About one-sixth of these are children or young persons, while the average excess of female over male operatives amounts to fifty-seven per cent. No less than 1,390,938,752 lbs. of raw cotton was imported into Great Britain in 1860, and the value of the manufactured cotton exported during that year was computed at £42,138,409, being very nearly double the amount of the exports of only ten years before.

The secret of this enormous increase in productiveness lay still in machinery, improved and re-improved continually, ever altering to form new textures suitable to each changing fashion, and still perfecting its work more and more cheaply. The cost of spinning a pound of No. 8 yarn, which, in the days when the "mule" was first introduced, was forty-two shillings, in 1860 amounted to no more than tenpence; and again, in the stocking works at Nottingham, what formerly cost 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*, can now be done for sixpence. And still, as the powers of the machines expand, the services of those who attend them grow more instead of less valuable; for the Nottingham stocking weaver, who before earned from 10 to 14 shillings per week, since the alterations made in the machinery within the last few years, is able to earn from 25 to 30 shillings. One master there stated recently that the wages of the women he employed averaged 17 shillings per week, and that the lowest sum earned by young girls was 8*s.* 2*d.*

Nor is it only in increased productiveness and pecuniary profit that progress has been made, for whereas, no longer ago than in 1843 only 19 per 100 of the children of factory operatives attended public schools, in 1861 nearly 70 out of every 100 were availing themselves of the instruction offered, and, as a rule, the children were reported as coming to school clean and tidy. Infringements of the Act are become infrequent, not more than 2 in the 100 of the masters of factories throughout the United Kingdom having had informations laid against them during the three years preceding 1860, while the joint report of all the government inspectors, just before the beginning of the present crisis, was, that "there is an increasing desire among all classes to fulfil the requirements of the law with exactitude and cheerfulness."

ASTERISK.

LXX.—A WELL-AUTHENTICATED GHOST STORY.

THE wet harvest-season of 1852 must have left an indelible impression on the minds of every thinking creature living at the time. An uneasy feeling, the grave foreboding of a great

national calamity, possessed all classes. Insufficient food, if not actual starvation, inordinately high poor rates, if not ruin, were the gloomy anticipations even of the dwellers in cities; how deep therefore must have been the despondency of those who actually *saw* the mighty havoc going on around them. A plentiful harvest rotting on the ground! the food of a nation being destroyed slowly but inevitably before their eyes! Added to this, there was the physical effect of the weather; incessant rain for six weeks will depress the lightest spirits; if constant dripping wears away stone, surely it will a heart of flesh.

I know it did my father's; naturally he was a kindly, cheerful, even jovial man, too hospitable perhaps for his means, but, then, hospitality appears to cost so little in a farm-house, and he had always managed to rub on hitherto. To lay by anything for a rainy day had, however, been beyond his means, and now that both literally and metaphorically the rainy day had come, his whole nature seemed to undergo a sudden change. We girls, who since our childhood, had been accustomed to his hearty jokes, his cheery voice, and had welcomed him each time he entered the house as people do a stray sunbeam, dreaded to see him enter the breakfast room, and exchanged sorrowful looks as we heard him kick the door mat or swear at the men or maidservants. How anxiously we watched him as he rose from table and peered into the sky. No hope there! no break in the clouds, no clouds indeed to break, nothing but one universal atmosphere of ever-falling wet. Next, the barometer was consulted, the obstinate barometer that *would* stand at "much rain" in spite of the shakings and raps which as an unpleasant truth-teller it was compelled to undergo.

The gloom darkened daily on my poor father's face, and it was almost a relief to see him depart for his harvest fields. Harvest fields! what a mockery; a harvest field, where instead of golden corn ripening under a golden sun, stood steaming sheaves slowly rotting away. No pleasant sound of labour, no rustic merriment; the labourers crept about as sad and down-hearted as their master, there was nothing for them to do, and this it was that made the calamity so terrible. An Englishman half forgets an evil in the pleasure of battling with it, but here was a great and irremediable misfortune, that fell as heavily on the energetic as the idle, a misfortune under which men could *do* nothing but only *wait*.

I especially remember one fine piece of wheat, "The Six Acres" we called it. It was reaped on the 1st of August, and on the 1st of September there stood the damp mildewed sheaves, many of them surrounded by little pools of water.

"It won't be worth carrying," said my father, "the whole crop is spoilt."

"Surely," mamma ventured to say, "some will be saved; the wind even now may spring up, and a few hours of sunshine would do wonders. At the worst, you can kiln-dry your wheat."

"Don't talk nonsense, Mary," was the impatient reply; "if you had been brought up in a farm-house you would know better. Look there!" and he flung on the table a bunch of wheat ears with spears as long as my fingers. My mother was well aware that these were the worst specimens he could pick, but she would not irritate him by saying so, as she knew that it sometimes eases a man to exaggerate his misfortunes; besides, not having, as my father said, been brought up in a farm, she could not speak authoritatively.

Until her marriage, my mother had been a governess, yet I believe no more active or efficient farmer's wife existed in the whole country. Besides performing her other duties, she had educated my sisters and myself, she had taught us music and French, and she began now to impress upon us the necessity of exerting ourselves, as we might soon be called upon to follow her former vocation. Not the least sorrowful part of this sorrowful time to us, was the constantly increasing fear that this necessity would soon occur, and that Harriet and I should have to leave our home, which we loved as fervently as country people do love the homes of their youth and childhood.

This attachment was entirely the result of early and pleasant association; for in itself no place could be well less attractive. It was a comfortable-looking farm-house, with rather tumble-down barns and sheds on one side, an untidy garden in front, flanked by a large orchard, and yard and drying ground on the other, whilst immediately behind was the rick-yard, through which was a drive leading through separate gates either to the back or front door of the house.

Neither was the surrounding country at all picturesque. There were indeed pretty shady lanes, and neat hedgerows, gentle streams, and pleasant woods, but nothing which a traveller would have paused an instant to contemplate; and my father could further add in its dispraise, that it was very poor, in an agricultural sense. This applied more especially to his farm; "Grange Farm" it was called, which was situated at the north-east end of our large parish, whilst "Grange House Farm" lay at the other, nearly four miles away, and from its similarity of name was often confounded with ours. Yet, except in name, there was no likeness. "Grange House Farm" was a fine estate, possessed a fine mansion, and was in the occupation of a gentleman of wealth and consideration named Clarke.

The Clarkes—there was a large family—visited but little in the neighbourhood, they did not even frequently attend the parish church, but attended instead, a more fashionable place

of worship in the next town. When they did appear in their large family pew, the clergyman got but a divided attention from the younger part of his congregation, who scanned with admiring eyes the Master Clarkes' ties and collars, or the Miss Clarkes' bonnets and dresses. I know the latter often set Harriet and me thinking how we could improve our own, without costing anything, that was the difficulty!

Besides my two brothers, who were at school, our family consisted of Harriet, the eldest, myself, and Marian, or little Minnie as she was always called. Yet Minnie was nearly as tall and only two years younger than I, but she had been a delicate child, consequently much indulged, and allowed to follow her own fancy. The idea of asking Minnie to do anything, beyond holding a skein of silk or picking a little fruit, never entered anyone's head, so she used to lounge about, and read fairy tales, or poetry, and sing ballads, or in fine weather, roam over the fields, the pet and ornament of the place.

One day in the beginning of September, there was an appearance of change in the weather; it really left off raining, a slight breeze sprung up, and the pale and watery sun looked down at us again from among fleecy clouds like a convalescent in his night-cap. We shook our heads and said, "It is too late;" in spite of which verdict of our understanding, we moved about with lighter hearts, and felt more cheerful. Little Minnie, who was longing for a walk, pressed her face against the window to see all the sky possible, and said,

"Between twelve and two,
See what the day will do."

Alas, we did see! Again, the sun, as if not liking the look of things, shrouded his face, the sky again assumed its leaden hue, and the ready rain came down, drip! drip! drip! Oh, if Milton had lived through such a season, he would never have mentioned

"Minute drops from off the eaves"

among pleasant sounds.

That evening, we had taken tea and were sitting silent about the room. A dull fire was smouldering in the grate, two unlighted candles stood on the table (it was worth while to save even in tallow), at my mother's elbow, *she*, knitting busily in the gloom, Harriet sat by her side with a book on her lap, and little Minnie at her feet, on a low ottoman, her elbows on her knees, and her eyes fixed intently on the fire. On the other side of the room, my father was making up some accounts by the aid of a shaded lamp, which threw down a strong light upon his papers and my face, but did not otherwise illuminate the room. I had drawn up to my father's desk in order to put the

finishing stitches to a handkerchief I had embroidered for a cousin who was to be shortly married. I had been asked to her wedding, but the new gloves and ribbons, to say nothing of a new dress, which were indispensable for such an occasion, were not to be had, and, so, reluctantly enough I had declined.

The figures upon which my father was engaged were apparently not satisfactory, for he was more irritable than ever, and at the slightest movement or noise called out angrily to us not to disturb him. We had therefore, as I said, been sitting quite silent, but at length, Harriet, who wished to go on with her book, ventured to ask, whether, as the candles were not to be lighted yet, she might make a blaze? Mamma nodded assent, and Harriet stabbing vigorously into the coals produced a bright blaze, but in putting down the poker (she was always rather awkward) she upset the tongs, which fell with a deafening clash against the shovel. The sudden noise startled us all; my father asked in a loud voice what she was after, and I half rose from my seat to see. In doing so, I became aware of a tall dark figure, wrapped in a military cloak, standing about a yard from the door-way, just within the reach of the light made by the blaze. Surprise more than fear caused me to sink down on my stool and utter a low exclamation. Minnie heard me, and following the direction of my eyes, also saw the appearance, and shrieking out, "A Ghost! A Ghost!" flung herself on her knees, and buried her face in my mother's lap. My father, more than ever angry at this fresh disturbance, threw down his pen, and perceiving the figure, exclaimed, with an oath, "—— Who the —— are you? and what the —— do you want here?" The figure, whose eyes I had felt rather than seen were fixed upon me, advanced a step, whilst a curious smile gathered round its mouth; I thought it was going to speak, but just then our whole attention was fixed upon poor mamma, who with a low groan uttered, "George, my dear brother George!" and sank back fainting in her chair. We all hastened to her assistance, and when we looked again, the figure was gone!

"Who could it be?" said my father in an undertone to me as he gave the bottle of smelling salts he had been holding for mamma into Harriet's hand. "Light a candle, Emily, and ring the bell."

"Don't go, papa!" said Harriet, laying her hand on his arm; "if it should be my poor uncle's spirit!"

"Pshaw, child, mind your mother and don't talk stuff. Make haste, Emily."

I readily obeyed, for my curiosity was stronger than my fear; shading the candle with my hand, I followed my father into the passage. No one there! We examined the front door; it was bolted, and an iron bar put across as usual. "The glass door

into the garden," I suggested. We went there; as I held up the candle to the sides of the little lobby, from which it led, I half expected to see the dark figure and feel its eyes fixed upon me from among the cloaks, coats, and garden bonnets, which hung against the walls. I could not help shuddering, and perhaps turned pale, for my father said rather roughly,

"If you are afraid, Emily, you had better go back."

I maintained I was not afraid, and followed him stoutly, after having ascertained that the glass door had not been unfastened, down the passage leading to the stairs. There was a door at the foot of these which always made so much noise in opening and shutting, that when we now found it closed, we concluded at once no one could have escaped that way without our hearing, and consequently it would be no use going up.

"He might have gone through the kitchen," said I; and we turned to the passage leading thither, for ours was a rambling old house, built with a disregard to economy of space, which would have shocked a London builder. Just then, the kitchen door opened, and Betsy with the night candlesticks in her hand came hastily along.

"Have you seen a man go out of the back door?" asked my father.

"Law, sir! no, sir!" said Betsy, turning scarlet.

"You have been out of the kitchen, and might not have seen him!" said I, enquiringly.

"Indeed, miss, I have been there ever since tea."

"You were a long while answering the bell!"

"Jane forgot to get the sticks ready before she went to the street, so I stopped to put in the candles."

There was something in Betsy's manner which did not satisfy me, but my father did not observe it, and we returned into the parlour.

We found mamma sitting up, but deadly pale; Harriet was trying to soothe little Minnie, who was sobbing hysterically.

"The fellow has escaped us," said my father.

Mamma shook her head, she knew my father's fixed incredulity respecting apparitions, so said nothing.

"I wonder," I observed, pursuing my own train of thought, "that Lion never barked!"

"Dogs never do at ghosts!" said Harriet in an undertone.

This speech seemed to excite Minnie, who gasped out amidst her sobs, "It was my uncle's ghost! It was uncle George's ghost! He is dead in India I am sure!"

I saw Betsy, who was drawing the window curtains, at the word "ghost," turn and stare at us, and I felt sure that through Minnie she would soon be in possession of the story of the mysterious appearance.

From that night forward, ours was a divided family; divided between believers and unbelievers, my mother and sisters belonging to the former, my father and myself to the latter. Numerically, mine was the weaker party, and although, comprising the head of the house, might seem to restore the balance, it did not really do so, as the subject was scarcely ever mentioned before either my father or mother, out of respect to *him*, and from consideration of *her* feelings. The firm belief in her brother's death afflicted my mother greatly; she became daily paler and more self-absorbed, and the nervous agitation which seized upon her whenever a letter was brought in was painful to witness. Had she been able to proclaim her loss to the world, to talk it over with her family, to receive the condolence of friends and relations, even to put on mourning, it would have been some alleviation to her grief; whereas, the mystery, the uncertainty, the brooding over it in secret, greatly added to her sorrow; surely, thought I, if spirits come from the "vasty deep" for no better purpose, they had better keep at home.

The battle thus lay between my sisters and me, and truly they had the best of it. Our conversations ran thus:—

"I don't believe in ghosts! a ghost is an absurdity."

"Not more so than that a living being can come and go through a brick wall," retorted Harriet.

"Why, of course, he did not do that!"

"How then do you account for his appearance and disappearance?" asked she, triumphantly.

"There are many things we can't account for."

"But," said little Minnie, "mamma knew it was her brother!"

"The room was too dark for her to distinguish clearly."

"Oh, Emily, it is cruel and unfeeling to doubt it."

"Yes," added Harriet, "and wicked too; it was a messenger sent to warn poor mamma."

"It had better have kept away," said I warmly.

"Fie! fie, Emily!" exclaimed both at once. Then Minnie began to cry, and Harriet said in a solemn voice:

"That is a questioning of Providence, and we both tremble to hear you talk so of supernatural things."

Alas! I shared the fate of all those who believe less than their contemporaries; I was pronounced wicked and irreligious! a profane hard-hearted infidel!

Instead of changing my opinion, this harsh sentence only made me more eager to explain the mystery. Very curious is the intense desire we experience to make others think like ourselves. I am not much of a philosopher, but it seems to me to arise less from a love of truth than the desire for sympathy.

All my endeavours were fruitless; I cross-questioned Betsy, I made enquiries of Tom, the house boy, as to the whereabouts

of Lion on *that* evening, I experimented on the stairs' door to find out if it could be opened and shut without much noise, as in that case, anyone could have made his exit from one of the chamber windows quite easily, but I got no nearer my object. Betsy persisted she had never left the kitchen, Tom that Lion had been in his kennel, and the stairs' door shrieked and groaned an answer it was impossible not to believe.

Henceforth, then, the apparition of "Grange Farm" was added to the number of well-authenticated ghost stories. Well authenticated, indeed! for could not every one in our neighbourhood repeat it on the authority of one or other of the very household in which it took place! Among the workpeople, of course, it was grossly exaggerated, and groans and sulphureous flames were called in to heighten its horrors; but the version among the better-educated was the following, which I copy from the county newspaper, where, however, only the initials of the names were given:

"As Mrs. S——, of G—— farm, was sitting, one evening in September, with her husband and family around the fire, a figure, which she immediately recognized as that of her brother in India, appeared suddenly among them. Mr. S—— spoke to it, but after an admonitory wave of the arm, it vanished. As Mrs. S—— has not heard from her brother for a considerable time, the family conclude that he is deceased, and that the period of his death corresponds with the mysterious appearance in question."

S. E. Braun.

(To be continued.)

LXXI.—ACCOMPLICES.

That terrible history of the young girl "worked to death" has made fine ladies, and ladies not fine at all, pause and think, "Am I to blame? Am I in any way an accomplice in causing this wretched girl's misery?" A young lady with tears in her eyes told me she had often had her bonnets from Madame E., and, that in consequence, she felt she was implicated in this horrid system; I could not deny she had some cause for the feeling, though not much for remorse.

Physicians and others who have witnessed the deadly effects of the manufacture of common lucifer matches,* and of artificial

* "Shortly after the introduction of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches it began to be observed, especially on the Continent, that a peculiar affection of the jaw was apt to come on, in those who were engaged in the match-factories, especially in those most exposed to the fumes arising from the composition employed; and it was soon established that the proclivity to this disease, though varying in intensity in different manufactories, was a special evil common to all. The disease, it was noticed, began usually with aching in one of the teeth, causing marked, and when fully established, great

flowers in which emerald green is used, have written very detailed reports, and all those who have taken the trouble to read the evidence, must be convinced that these employments are always unhealthy and sometimes fatal. Now when fully convinced that the production of certain articles causes terrible disease and suffering, are we justified in using or wearing such articles, and causing, through our demand for them, this misery?

Probably no man or woman will answer, "Yes;" therefore, we will take for granted that we have no right, when we *know* we are causing misery—to cause it. We all admit in this matter that knowledge gives some responsibility; that knowledge makes this difference—that if we *know* these girls and women are dying with terrible ulcers and inflammations, and if we continue to aid in their dying, we are sinful; but if we do *not* know, we are not sinful, though we cause as much misery. "*But if we do not know, we are not sinful;*" let us consider if our ignorance is sinful or not.

You will admit that the acquisition of some kinds of knowledge is a duty; but what kinds? Religious knowledge, a knowledge of our duties to God—moral knowledge, the knowledge of our duties to men, would rank first; then the knowledge of how to preserve health, and how to acquire wealth; and following at some distance, in importance, the knowledge of the characteristics of other countries, of the animal world; and still farther off, knowledge of the past history of the earth. Most rational beings consider it a duty to acquire some, if not all these, and a great many other kinds of knowledge, and perhaps sinful *not* to have acquired them if we have had the opportunity.

and almost intolerable pain, rendering sleep almost impossible. The gums and face swell, the teeth ultimately perish, or fall out. As the disease progresses, the swelling of the face grows larger, and extends to the neighbouring glands: the gums spongy and red, give forth at frequent openings a most offensively smelling matter; abscesses form over the jaw and break, whence issues the same sort of corrupt discharge, sinuses are established, and the livid gums shrink and retire from the bone, which thus becomes exposed, and is found on probing, to be rough and diseased; portions of bone scale off, and then, either the disease becomes checked, and the mutilated patient recovers, or more frequently, the whole jaw becomes involved, the patient's strength gives way, he pines, becomes subject to diarrhœa, and to low fever, and after lingering for a longer time than would be thought possible under such an affliction, is at length worn out and dies. * * * Were 'amorphous phosphorus' substituted for the usual kind, there would be no danger at all, but manufacturers find no sale for matches so made, as they are a trifle dearer. The matches of Messrs. Bryant and May deserve their name of 'safety matches' for they will not ignite except upon the box, and the phosphorus disease is not amongst the possible incidents of their manufacture."—*Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, with Appendix.*—1862. "*Meliora*," *for October*, 1863.

The most important of all our duties except one, the knowledge of our duties towards men, includes many things; whenever we have power, we have duties and responsibilities; whenever we can influence the fate of our fellow men, we have moral duties which it is incumbent upon us to study. We ought to have a knowledge of the effects of our actions, and do nothing which affects our fellow-creatures, without considering if it be for good or for evil.

Now because the facts do not pass before their very eyes; few people remember they are employing the flesh and blood of human beings when they spend money, and that they influence the destinies of all those people they employ; really the exercise of this influence for good, is one of our first duties, and the ignorance of this duty certainly culpable.

No lady would set the task to her own maid to powder artificial grapes with a poisonous substance, and yet few ladies think it their duty to know anything about the people whom they thus employ, when they go to shops and buy their artificial flowers. In a very simple state of society, where most things used in a household are made at home, it is easy to see with your own eyes, whether you are causing human beings to do anything prejudicial to them; if every bit of influence or power exercised by the master and mistress is good and not harmful. An old lady in New England once described to me how, about 50 years ago, everything which the family ate or wore, was made on the farm, the only things bought were tools, nails, hatchets, &c. They grew their own flax and hemp, and spun and wove it; they tanned their own leather, and made their own shoes; they dyed their linen, and in fact had a very profound knowledge of the manufacture of almost everything with which they came in contact: they were not surrounded by unknown conditions. A state of things with immense disadvantages and drawbacks, but with this advantage, the master would not have let his servants make poisonous ornaments, and his family could not be accessory to that kind of suffering and wrong, and so on.

With us, in our crowded and complicated life, arise new duties and new sins. Not the less are we responsible for all the labour we employ than the man on the New England farm. It is one of the kinds of knowledge which it is a sin not to acquire. We ought to know the history of what we buy for use, for clothing, or food; its manufacture, and whether the people we employ when we buy their work, are healthy and happy. Surely this knowledge is more important to us and our country than a knowledge of Roman History, or most other learning. I remember standing years ago in the Water-Colour Exhibition, long before Ruskin wrote his ideas of Political

Economy, with a Member of Parliament, who was buyiug drawings, and was known for his great benevolence and equal sagacity, and ranked with the political economists and reformers of his country. "I like to spend my money in this way," said he, "better than in fine furniture, and the usual luxuries of life, because I think that water-colour painting is a noble and healthy pursuit, and I have as much satisfaction in helping the lives of these artists as enjoyment in what they produce." Here is the whole pith of the question: it is a question which should be taught in schools, and how interesting the study of the effects of their actions might be made to the young. For instance, if a boy wanted to buy cardboard to make models, the occasion might be taken by the real educator to show him the manufactory, and point out to him, how the cardboard was made, and the people who made it; and he would indicate the unhealthiness of the occupation of making certain kinds of cardboard, and leave it to the boy to choose to use that which did not cause disease in its manufacture. A hundred useful and interesting moral lessons of this kind could be given.

It is quite clear our ideas of morality have not become complex, acute, and subtle enough in proportion to the advance of civilization. Education it is true has been pushing on, but not always to the point, and has been striving after *elegant learning*, or *profitable knowledge*, rather than after that other kind of knowledge much more important; how to do good and avoid doing harm to our fellow-creatures in this complex civilized life.

I think our church should have taught us how to cultivate our moral responsibilities, to meet and be equal to the complexities of modern life; but as far as I know, the church has been utterly dumb on this point.

Now how far is this responsibility of searching into the effects of our actions to carry us?—Is it to make us prefer going without seemingly necessary things, to employing, and so producing suffering anywhere, even far far away? Yes, I think so, we ought to make *any* sacrifice if we are sure of our principle.

There are certain things which we all know are not only produced by suffering, but which are absolutely produced by stolen labour, by being forced by fear to work under the most frightful system that the world has ever seen. Are we not morally committing a great sin to encourage such a system?

When Mrs. Stowe came to England, after the great success of "Uncle Tom," she proposed that we should abandon the use of slave-grown cotton, sugar, &c., as a means of getting rid of the horrible evil—slavery.

This proposition was not listened to for a moment seriously,

and why not? Would it have answered the purpose if all England had refused to wear slave-grown cotton? Certainly it would have discouraged slavery to the same extent that our demand has encouraged it. Slavery is only profitable in the production of a few commodities, and cannot, like free labour, be rapidly applied to different kinds of production, and in as far as these goods were not saleable, slavery would have diminished. I do not see any reason why we should complain at being obliged to use flaxen, hempen, and woollen goods produced by free labour to serve so good a cause as the abolition of slavery.

Why was Mrs. Stowe's proposal met with a smile, as if it were an amiable, womanly, impracticable plan? simply because it was out of the pathway of usual thought; we had never been taught to think of applying our consciences to this sort of every-day work of buying and selling. We had always been taught that our only duty when we went to market was to get our goods as cheap as possible: that may be a duty, but as we have seen, it is certainly not our only duty; and reasoning by analogy, we are really as much accomplices in perpetuating slavery as long as we buy slave-grown goods, as we are accomplices in creating disease when we buy emerald-green ornaments.

When all the individuals of a country act in habitual forgetfulness of their duties of moral responsibility, suffering must ensue. The country goes into partnership with something which has evil and death in it. It becomes dependent on something wicked. Wicked institutions do not go on in peace, but are subject to violent revolutions, disturbances, and miseries, in which the partners are involved;—so Manchester is punished with New Orleans. We ought not to have allied ourselves with slavery, on the high moral ground that it is a great injustice to our fellow-men, but it is also plain, such is the *solidarité* of human kind, that we cannot encourage it without in the end suffering the punishment which surely overtakes evil, even in this world.

This war is not the only evil that was imminent in such a state of society as that of the slave States. A slave insurrection is always possible. When, four years ago, I stood in the auction room, at New Orleans, and after hearing the bids for a steam-boat, I saw men and women sold, sometimes with their little children, and as often, separately—women examined like horses, their mouths opened by the would-be buyers to look at their teeth, their flesh felt to see if it were firm and healthy—the whole sense of what slavery was came over my heart and head, and the horror of it almost made me faint on the spot. No descriptions that I have read of a slave sale equals the revolting, brutal, reality. Just at this present time,

we in England are apt to forget what slavery is, therefore I say this for my testimony as an eye-witness, having lived nine weeks in New Orleans, and many months in the slave States, that the institution is degrading alike to masters and slaves, and that progress and Christian virtues are incompatible with its existence.

Now have we in England done all that we can do to exterminate this terrible outrage on human beings? Are we not accomplices in many ways?

"Why are you such a decided partizan of the South?" I asked a pleasant, well-bred English lady, whom I met travelling abroad a few months ago.

Miss D. "Oh, because I know so many pleasant people who are Southerners; didn't you know Mrs. Y. at Rome?"

"Yes, and she was a merry elegant little creature; but why do you think slavery right?"

Miss D. "Oh, you see I have never met any Northerners I liked at all, and I do so like the real Southerners of family, they are charming!"

"And so because you liked pretty Mrs. Y. and five or six other people from the South, you uphold that slavery is right?"

Miss D. "Why yes! you see it can't be so bad; and I have not thought much about it, and I know I hate the abolitionists, and I do admire Stonewall Jackson!"

Amusing and melancholy to hear an intelligent being, 35 years of age, born with every advantage of influence, money, and position, upholding that four millions of people, because they have darker skins and tenderer natures than some of us, should be property like sheep and cattle! You will say, perhaps, that her opinions do not matter, and I am sure she did not think they did in the least; but I say her opinions, and your opinions, and all our opinions *do* signify. For whatever we do, and do not do, depends on what opinions we hold, and there is nothing more humiliating than the stupid indifference of women, and the small value they set on their own influence. The importance of the formation of right opinion is not felt as it ought to be; it is forgotten how close upon the heels of opinion, action treads. Miss D. did not believe her opinions wrong, and yet what actions they lead to!

The women of Spain laughed to see heretics burn, and the state of mind which could so stifle all womanly pity was produced by false opinion. It seems not even vice can so degrade a character or produce greater misery!

In some ways, too, from their usual position of living a little apart, and withdrawn from the active business of the world, women should find it easier to form wise judgments. Of a man intensely occupied in active life, one may predict his

opinions almost certainly by knowing what are his interests and surroundings.

It is to be ardently desired that women should make use of the opportunities they have—to be ardently desired also, that they had wider opportunities, but we would gladly see in the heads of households some dim discerning of what a grand place a woman holds even *now*, if she would but seize it!

To return to Miss D. and those like her, whose opinions are only formed by the influence of some few agreeable people, and are like caterpillars who take their colour from the food on which they feed. What a good thing it would be, if such lightly taken opinions were but lightly held; but alas! the greater part of mankind and womankind do not hold them indifferently, but often quite strenuously and positively, and are ready to ally themselves for better and worse to men and parties fighting for those opinions. Why cannot people when they have not the time or the head to investigate a subject, say, "on that I have no decided opinion?" words very rarely, alas! used. There is very little relation between the grounds of any opinions, and the rigour with which it is upheld. For example, Miss D. had made up her mind slavery was right (on what grounds you have seen), and would, all things permitting, have had no objection to marry a Southerner, and invest her fortune in human chattels; and once her interest on that side, what a partizan she would have become!

Now to return to the question of cotton. Can we expect the slave-owner to give up his slaves, when we rush with our money to buy the produce of this stolen labour? Slavery is surely a greater crime than the modern robbery of pockets;—it includes the greatest of all robberies, the robbery of man, of his labour, his wife, his children. If you bought knowingly stolen pocket handkerchiefs, you would be branded as an accomplice of the thief! Does no one think of blaming every one in England for buying the produce of stolen labour?

B. L. S. Bodichon.

LXXII.—ON THE CAUSE OF THE DISTRESS PREVALENT AMONG SINGLE WOMEN.

A Paper Read at the Social Science Congress.

By Jessie Boucherett.

There is a general impression that the difficulty of providing for our large numbers of single women is occasioned solely by an inequality in the numbers of the sexes; and that this

inequality is something new, and the result of civilization. I propose to show that it proceeds from some other cause, besides the inequality of numbers in the sexes, and also that both the difficulty and the inequality, far from being modern evils, are extremely ancient, and are felt in uncivilized as well as civilized communities.

In all ages, men, from their more exposed and adventurous lives, must have been killed off sooner than women; and in barbarous countries, where every man is a hunter and a warrior, and where fighting and the chase are every day occupations, the mortality among the men of the community must greatly exceed that among the women. We see that it is so to this day among savages. Polygamy is the usual and ancient method of providing for the surplus of women thus produced. We have all laughed at the story of the New Zealander, who on being asked how he had provided for his second wife, from whom he had parted at the recommendation of the missionary, replied, "Me eat her." It was but his way of getting over the usual difficulty, and solving the common problem of how to provide for superfluous women; unfortunately, his way, like that of many better instructed men than himself, had the objection of being unpleasant to the party chiefly concerned.

In the ancient empire of China, they evade the question altogether, by calculating how many women they shall want for wives, and drowning the rest as infants.

In the middle ages, and in some Roman Catholic countries at the present time, the plan adopted was that of shutting up superfluous women in convents, and supporting them there on lands left by the benevolent for the purpose. This plan, doubtless, mitigates the evil, yet is open to two great objections. First, that the persons shut up are not always contented with their position; and, secondly, that many are left out, who being very badly off, would be glad to get in, but cannot be received for want of means to support them. Besides this, the immuring of large numbers of able-bodied women, who under different circumstances, might have added to the wealth of the country, by their labour, appears to political economists a sad waste of material. This was one of the pleas on which Convents were abolished in France at the revolution; and in Italy, but a few months ago, several were suppressed on the same ground.

In our own country, the difficulty of providing for superfluous women seems to be an old one, for Lady Juliana Berners, an abbess, who lived in Edward the Third's reign, and wrote a book, speaks of "a superfluity of nuns," and not long afterwards, I have read that a law was passed forbidding men the use of the distaff and spindle, in order that some profitable employment

might be left to single women. A trace of this old law, which, perhaps, preserved spinning as an employment for women, remains in our language, in which an unmarried woman and a "spinster" are synonymous terms.

We see, therefore, that the inequality of numbers between the sexes, and the difficulty of providing for superfluous women, are not facts of modern origin, and are not confined to highly-civilized communities. But though women have always been more numerous than men, and though the difficulty of providing for the former is nothing new, it is true that civilization has increased the evil, by increasing the proportion of single men, and consequently that of single women. Civilization means increased comfort, and few civilized men will marry until they have attained to a position which will enable them to command the comforts they have been used to as bachelors; this to many does not occur till late in life, and to some it never occurs at all. Civilization, too, requires a number of soldiers and sailors to defend it, and many merchant-seamen to bring it luxuries, and of these the greater part must necessarily be unmarried. Thus a large proportion of women cannot marry till they have been for some years dependent on their own exertions for support, and many can never marry at all. The employments open to them, teaching, domestic service, and needlework, cannot contain the numbers seeking means of subsistence, hence arise competition, low wages, and the distress of which we hear so much. In civilized countries, even where the men exceed the women in number, as in the United States and our own colony of Melbourne, the women still find it difficult to live. It is stated by Dr. Channing (an American), that in New York alone, in 1860, there were found to be 534 women who could earn only a dollar (4*s.*) a week, and a very large number besides who could earn nothing at all. This shews clearly, that the excess of women above that of men is not the sole or even chief cause of the existing distress, and that if we could equalize the number of men and women in Great Britain we should still not be out of our difficulty. This is an important point, because many people believe, that to produce this equality would at once put an end to the distress. Such an equalization would diminish the distress, but would certainly not put an end to it, as the example of the United States clearly shews. Since, however, it would diminish it, female emigration, under judicious regulations, ought to be encouraged by every means in our power.

The national plan at present adopted in England for providing for superfluous women is that of shutting them up in workhouses. It is not very unlike the mediæval one of convents, and presents many of the same defects; many women requiring relief being

excluded, while the condition of those admitted is one of unhappiness and uselessness, and the waste of good working material equally great in both cases. To me the first defect seems the worst. Often, in London, when the over-crowded wards are closed, women, sometimes a crowd of women, are shut out and left to spend the night on the stones of the street, and this happens even when snow is on the ground! I write with several instances before me, cut out from newspapers during the last few months. In one case, a respectable tradesman, who lives opposite a workhouse, complains to the magistrate in Lambeth Police Court, that he is frequently distressed by seeing numbers of poor creatures refused admittance. On one bleak night, he saw four girls huddled up together on the ground in front of the workhouse, from which they were excluded. Truly, there is nothing to be proud of in our present plan. If a humane Chinaman were to pass by a workhouse at night, and to see one of these heaps of shivering humanity lying out in the wind, rain, or snow, he might well be excused for thinking the system pursued in his own country the least cruel of the two!

The number of adult women inhabiting workhouses in England and Wales in March, 1861, was 39,073, yet this does not represent the number of those requiring relief, for as we see, many are excluded who would be glad to get in. We must, therefore, confess that our present system, like those which preceded it, is not satisfactory, for while it imposes an enormous expense on the community, it is still inefficient, and leaves large numbers of poor women unrelieved to suffer cruel hardships.

Thus all the plans for providing for superfluous women hitherto tried, whether by civilized or uncivilized nations, have proved more or less objectionable or inefficient.

There remains, however, one other plan, a plan which has never been fully tried, but which, if successful, would have the effect of putting an end to superfluous women altogether, by converting them into useful members of society. This plan is to admit women freely into all employments suitable to their strength. Perhaps this is the plan intended by Providence all along, and it is from failing to fulfil it that we have fallen into such great difficulties. The supposition is probable, because we can scarcely believe that large numbers of women were created expressly to be starved to death or supported by charity. But though this plan may seem obviously the right one, though it may recommend itself alike to philanthropists and political economists, let it not be imagined that it is an easy one to carry out. The accomplishment of this plan requires no small amount of good feeling and generosity on the part of working men, for if women are to be admitted into all trades suitable for them,

what is to become of the men who had intended to enter them? If a ladies' hairdresser brings up his daughter to succeed him instead of his son, what is the son to do? There is no room for more men in other trades, so he may be compelled to emigrate, and if he is not adventurous, if he loves ease, if he shrinks from leaving his friends and parents, he will prefer remaining at home. If, then, he is not generous, he will beg his father to let him succeed to the business, and leave his sister to take her chance, like other girls, and marry or starve, sink or swim, as fate may decree. The same principle applies to all easy trades and handicrafts; but I have selected the example of a ladies' hairdresser, because the arrangement of ladies' hair, the manufacture of wigs, and the making of hair bracelets and chains, are employments which can hardly fail to be considered appropriate to women, yet this is one of those trades which are zealously defended against them, and into which it is hardly possible to introduce them, as even if the master tradesman be willing to allow it, no workman will teach a woman the art of hair-cutting or working in hair, nor allow her, if she has learned elsewhere, to work with him in the same establishment.

It is from this system of exclusion which arise most of those evils that press so heavily on women all over the world, and the system does certainly not proceed from *over civilization*, but is rather a part of barbarism! If Chinesemen would admit women into their easy trades, there would be no necessity for drowning female infants, but then their introduction might lower wages, and would certainly compel men to emigrate, and as they are not inclined to submit to these hardships, perhaps the kindest thing they can do by women is to terminate their existence while still children. If the New Zealand chief would have allowed his discarded wife a house and land, she might have supported herself, and there would have been no necessity for eating her; but then he wanted all the land for himself, and, besides, he probably thought, that to give women land, and let them build houses, might raise up in them a dangerous spirit of independence, and would quite destroy their feminine charms and characteristics, so it seemed to him much better to eat her, according to the ancient and venerable custom of the country.

I have dwelt on the universality and antiquity of the difficulty experienced in disposing of superfluous women, because it is sometimes thought, that the difficulty we now labour under, is only temporary, and occasioned by a particular crisis in civilization, which will presently pass away of its own accord, and, of course, if people think this, they are little likely to exert themselves to remove the evil. But, in truth, the "woman question" as it is called, is pretty nearly as old as the world itself; the only new thing about it is the attempt now made

to give it a rational and humane answer, and it is probable that the successful solving of the problem will be one of the highest triumphs of Christianity and civilization.

In barbarous times and countries, the women were got rid of without regard to humanity, but when the light of Christianity spread over the world, a better spirit arose, and the convent system was instituted with the view of disposing of them without suffering. The convent system was, in fact, a kind of compromise between right and wrong. As bad people would not allow women to become industrious self-supporting members of society, good people took charge of them, and maintained them at their own expense. Our workhouses, refuges, penitentiaries, and other charities for women, are all in the same spirit of compromise, they are wretched substitutes for the means of earning an honest living, but are far better than nothing at all. Workhouses are in one respect superior to convents, as those who avail themselves of their shelter are free to leave it whenever the opportunity of employment offers itself; on another point, however, they are inferior, being made purposely uncomfortable to deter people from entering on the supposition that none lack work but the idle. Now, as far as regards women, this supposition is untrue, every employment open to them being overstocked, while many which they would be glad to enter are kept closed against them, and it is manifestly unjust to prevent women from getting employment yet to punish them for not working. If, as many persons think, it is to the advantage of the community that women should be excluded from easy handicrafts, for the sake of keeping up wages and retaining more men in the country, then the community who profit by their enforced idleness ought to maintain them in comfort.

It may, however, be easily shown, that in some trades it is suicidal policy in the workmen to exclude women. When an article is capable of exportation, and is manufactured by women abroad, it is evident, that unless Englishmen consent either to admit women or agree to work themselves as cheaply as women, they must be undersold and lose the trade. This has actually happened in the watch trade, as Mr. Bennet in 1857 foretold it would. The writer of a tract, entitled "Female Labour," issued by the Working Man's Social Science Committee, quotes the watch trade at Coventry as an example of the high rate of wages occasioned by the non-employment of women, to encourage workmen in other trades to keep them out. A different moral may now be drawn from the instance selected, as these watchmakers are now ruined and living on alms, their trade having gone to Neufchatel. The loss of this trade is a serious one to the whole country, for hundreds, perhaps thousands of

women might have been comfortably supported by it, who will now have to be maintained by the rates, or be forced to live by dishonest means.

One of the strongest objections to the introduction of women into trades, is the danger lest the consequent reduction of men's wages might render it necessary for married women to go out to work to increase the resources of the family, to the destruction of all home comfort, and the injury of the health of both mothers and children. But the fact is, that the wives of well-paid workmen in trades from which women are carefully excluded, are even now frequently compelled to go out to work or else to take in washing at home, to aid in the support of their families, as so large a proportion of their husband's wages are spent at the alehouse, that the remainder is not enough to provide ordinary comforts without the assistance of the earnings of the wife. We need not, therefore, be afraid of incurring this evil, because it is already incurred. Moreover, the wages to which the men would be reduced would still be sufficient to maintain a family without the assistance of the wife if they would renounce the alehouse. French workmen, in trades open to women, earn from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a day, the average being about 3*s.* 6*d.*; there is no reason to suppose that Englishmen would get less, and this is certainly enough to rear a family upon, as agricultural labourers in Lincolnshire will bring up large healthy families on 2*s.* 3*d.* a day with no assistance from their wives except in harvest-time. Where the payment is by piece-work, the women employed in these trades earn as much as the men; where they are paid by the day, they get from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, which is quite enough for a single woman to live on in comfort.*

With regard to the men, we see that it is not a question of reducing them or their families to want, but of curtailing their means of enjoyment; the effect, however, of this curtailment of the means of enjoyment would be to deter numbers of young men and boys from entering these trades. Many would prefer the high wages offered in the Colonies to 15*s.* or 20*s.* a week in England. Thus, they would emigrate and leave their trade to their sisters, to the great benefit of both parties, for when the

* The rates of wages in France is taken from the census of 1848, and also from a statement of the correspondent of the "Morning Post" of a few weeks ago. The French workmen are discontented with their rate of payment, and are petitioning for leave to strike to turn the women out, a petition which is not likely to be granted. In some trades, the wages do not seem to be lowered by the introduction of women; for instance, in the decoration of porcelain, it is women who earn the highest wages. One woman gets 20 francs (16 shillings) a day, and no man in the trade gets as much. These cases are, however, exceptional; as a general rule, there can be little doubt, that the introduction of women has a tendency to lower wages.

effort of leaving home is once made, it seems certain that men are happier when engaged in active out-of-doors work than when employed in sedentary labour, which being unnatural to men, almost invariably injures their health. The Colonies would be greatly benefited also by the change, their prosperity being checked by the want of male labour. One Colony (Queensland) is actually petitioning to be allowed to import negroes, so great is the want of labourers. If this petition is granted, the English nation will present a strange spectacle to the world; negroes doing Englishmen's work abroad; men doing women's work at home, and women starving, begging, and sinning, because they can get no honest employment!

But perhaps it may be asked, Why not export the superfluous women and leave the men at home to follow their trades in peace? The answer is easy. Because women can neither plough, cut down trees, dig for gold, nor perform any of the rough work wanted in a wild country.

If the civilized world has grown too small for the numbers inhabiting it, so that there is not work for all, it is in the power of men, and men only, to enlarge these limits. It is the bounden duty of England to send out as many women to the Colonies as are wanted to be wives, teachers, or servants; to send more would be a crime, because they would not find employment. When we read that in some Colonies there are hundreds or perhaps thousands of men more than women, we must not suppose that such a number of women is wanted as would make up the difference. Many of these men are gold diggers and squatters in the bush and backwoods, who are leading a wild rough life and do not wish to be encumbered with wives. In a few years they will settle down and marry, and be succeeded by a new set of diggers and squatters, who, like their predecessors, must be unmarried; thus, the number of men in a colony must always exceed that of the women, If the numbers were equalized, crowds of women would find themselves on a foreign shore without the means of living.

It has been shown that young men engaged in feminine avocations, would be positive gainers by any change which should induce them to emigrate, yet it cannot be denied that middle-aged and married men, as they could not leave the country, would be exposed to inconvenience by the reduction of wages which the introduction of women into their trades would occasion. This inconvenience would be somewhat mitigated by their being relieved from the maintenance of their daughters; still men who were used to earning five or six shillings a day would, on being reduced to three or four, find themselves deprived of many luxuries and comforts, and that this should be the case is a cause of just regret. But the fact is, that

whenever a false step has been taken, some suffering must always be endured in retracing it, and in employing men in trades suited to women a false step has been taken. Mr. Howson, the Professor of Political Economy at Dublin University, has remarked that to employ men to do work which can be as effectively performed by women is as bad policy as it would be to employ an engine of fifty-horse power, where one of forty would suffice.

The question now is, whether we shall continue in the false course, or endeavour to retrace our way. It is but a choice of evils, and we must decide whether it is a greater evil for women to continue unable to earn an honest livelihood, or for the men in certain trades to be deprived of some accustomed enjoyments, though still retaining enough for the support of themselves and families in health and tolerable comfort.

It appears to me that our continuance on the present system can only be justified on the principle of the lady who said, "It seems *natural* that *women* should suffer, but it is *sad* when *men* have to endure privation." If we think it natural, and therefore not wrong or shocking that women should be unable to earn an honest livelihood, then let us make no change; but if we believe that God is no respecter of persons, and that the happiness of women is of as much importance in His eyes as that of men, we ought to endeavour to lay the burden of poverty as equally as possible on both, and not to place the chief weight on those who are the least able to bear it, so as to crush them to the earth.

We must remember, too, that the evils which would attend a fair readjustment of the labour market would be but temporary, while the benefits arising from it would be permanent. In the course of a generation the inconvenience occasioned by the introduction of women into easy trades would be over, while the advantage to society would last for centuries. If the change had been made a hundred years ago, comparatively few workmen would have suffered from it, while the distress into which our working women are now plunged would never have existed in its present extent. If the change was to take place at once, the number of workmen inconvenienced by it would be smaller than if it is delayed a century, while our women would be saved a century of suffering. In this, as in every other case, the longer the wrong course is pursued the more difficult it is to retrace our steps. It should be observed, too, that if the change is not made quickly, the trade in all articles which are capable of importation and can be made by women, will leave us, and be established instead in those countries where women are freely allowed to engage in them.

The employment of women in France is rapidly extending in

all trades which require neatness, taste, or delicacy of touch. The law there forbids workmen to strike unless they can obtain leave from the government on shewing good grounds of complaint; and the government does not consider the introduction of women sufficient cause for a strike, nor will it permit of threats, violence, or combinations to exclude them. On the contrary, every thing is done to encourage the employment of women. For instance, the Empress causes the decoration of china to be taught in the girls' schools under her control, and personally bestows prizes on the best pupils in the art. A school, too, with workshops attached, has been established for the purpose of teaching girls various other trades well suited to them. It is evident, then, that unless we follow the example of our neighbours, and encourage the employment of women, every trade which can be affected by foreign competition must speedily be taken from us. Duty and and interest are therefore co-incident. It is our duty to obtain for women the means of earning an honest livelihood, and in the long run it will prove our interest also.

LXXIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Speeches, Lectures, and Letters. By Wendell Phillips, Boston. James Redpath, 221, Washington Street, 1863.

"THE fate of the slave," says Miss Bremer, "is the romance of our history." Looking back over the centuries to the crusaders, led by the fire-heart of Peter the Hermit, to rescue the holy places of Palestine from the infidel's tread, we are thrilled by the devotion and heroism of men who went to their graves as to beds, that the sepulchre of the Holiest might be the shrine of the believer. But we must think that, when time has given the needed perspective, the romance which clings to these heroes of a creed will fade before the halo that shall be seen around the heads of the crusaders in that moral struggle, which for more than thirty years has been going on in America, whose higher object has been to rescue the holy places of humanity—not the sepulchre of Christ, but the temple of His living presence. For everything shows that the anti-slavery movement in America has been a purely religious one. In the poor scarred slave who sat by the way-side, asking for the merest natural rights—the simple cup of water, the right to his wife, his child, himself—these men recognized Him who said, "What you do to this least of my brothers you do to me;" and they started up, with trimmed lamp and girt loin, and have from that day slept only on their arms. This story

is by no means to be identified with those, noble as they are, of the brave men whose struggles against oppressors have made the history of modern Europe. The conflicts of Hungarians, Poles, and Italians, have been those of proud nationalities or races for political rights or existence, the struggles of brave men for their own power or territory; and as such, they have kindled, as they deserved, admiration and sympathy in all hearts which could appreciate the spirit of independence or the spirit and pluck which will not submit to the usurper, whatever odds he can bring against them. The anti-slavery war had this quality too; for the slave power of the South, having a large over-balance of representative power under the original compact between the States, and clutching one of the most important purse-strings of the world, to wit, the cotton string, had built up a power behind the American government which held a stern rod over every mind or tongue in the North or South which dared question it. But, in two regards, the anti-slavery crusaders were marching under a nobler banner than those of the vast majority of revolutionists in Europe. In the first place, these men were fighting really for a great idea, namely, the right of each man to himself; an idea essential to human society, unconfined to their own country in its bearing, and which they justly recognized as of so much greater importance than any question of nationality, that they willingly attacked their country's unity for its sake. No question of "the unity of Italy," or "the ancient boundaries of Poland," however important, can be regarded as raised to the same sphere with this question of the sacredness of man, which vaults over all the interests of special races or national limits. In the second place, these men were a small band, who had joined together, pledging themselves to make any sacrifices—and quite as many as they foreknew were demanded—for the emancipation of a race *not their own.* Their cause demanded that they should lay aside all political privileges—including voting and the filling of any post of honour in the government—as completely as the slaves for whom they strove; that they should literally remember those who were bound as bound with them; and we can see only the highest religious influences represented in the fact, that young men of fine talents and good position were found to abjure all the prospects which America so freely offers to talent and ambition, and pass from the threshold of life to their grey hairs; known only, and too often despised, as abolitionists.

All great movements have their representative men; and such men are not merely the best analysts or orators which movements have, else were the Reformation to-day associated with Melancthon or Erasmus more than with Luther. No—

the representatives are more generally those who have borne, in their own lives and experiences, the history of the ideas they advocate, and the scars of the wrongs against which they plead. Doubtless, all work is composite; and Tell, or Luther, or Washington, merely add up each a column of figures, which has been long accumulating, the sum being associated with their respective names; yet in each such historic man, the work of each predecessor is quite traceable. Scratch the Luthers and you will find the Savonarolas.

The American abolitionists, now a body of quite respectable numbers, and speaking through many pulpits and ten or twelve presses, are wont to name William Lloyd Garrison as the representative of their movement. Mr. Garrison is indeed the pioneer of the movement, and the heroic steadfastness with which he has followed the cause he was the first to proclaim in that country—going where it went, lodging where it lodged (which was, at two different periods, within prison walls)—deserves well the cordial admiration of his followers. But slavery in America has had a wider bearing than upon the Africans, whose wrongs excited Mr. Garrison's benevolent emotions; it involves also the struggle between the human soul and the world, the inward triumphs or failures of innumerable hearts, which from age to age must choose between the cause of the strong and that of the weak, between the world and its golden prize and the right with its crown of thorns. And we are warranted, by many thrilling undertones in the work before us, no less than by the well-known facts of the case, in recognizing Wendell Phillips as—by his experience and by his genius—the representative man of the American anti-slavery movement.

Here was a young man, with gifts recognized from the first as of the highest order, of the most prepossessing and even distinguished presence and person, the pride of the highest circle of society in Boston, a circle which had no point of contact with the obscure men and women who met in groves in the summer and in fourth-rate halls in winter to discuss the wrongs of the slave, born to wealth and the highest university education, a brilliant lawyer, welcomed in all the courts, whose path, to use the words of his early friends, "lay mapped out before him straight to the presidential chair." On a certain day there came tidings to Boston that a certain editor in Illinois, named Lovejoy, had been attacked by a mob for writing an article against slavery, and slain in his own house. A meeting is called at the Old Court-room (Faneuil Hall, known in Boston as "the cradle of liberty," from its association with the first revolution, having been refused) to consider the matter. The meeting has no distinct purpose, and it is hard to say whether

it is to sympathise with Lovejoy, or the slaveholders he has attacked, a majority of both speakers and audience being, however, clearly on the side of the latter. Here a Mr. Austin, attorney-general for the commonwealth, arose, and in reply to an address by Dr. Channing, protesting against the mob-violence, delivered a violent pro-slavery harangue, declaring that Lovejoy was "presumptuous and impudent," and "died as the fool dieth," and compared the rioters who slew him to the "*orderly mob*," who threw the tea overboard in 1773. Upon this rose the young lawyer, Wendell Phillips, who had never taken part in any public meeting, and who had not expected to take part in this. Mr. Phillips, confronting the attorney-general, and addressing the chairman, cried, "Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead. [Great applause and counter-applause.] The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up."

Here there was a violent uproar, with mingled applause and hisses, and cries of "Take that back." The Hon. William Sturgis came forward to Mr. Phillips' side, and was met with violent cries of "Phillips or nobody," "Make him take back 'recreant'—he shan't go on till he takes it back." Mr. Sturgis conjured them, "by every association connected with that hall, consecrated by their fathers to freedom of discussion, to listen to every man that addressed them in a decorous manner." Mr. Phillips at length gaining an opportunity of making his voice heard, said, "Fellow citizens, I cannot take back my words." Again and again during this speech the uproar drowned the speaker's voice. But he did not quail. Quiet came only to hear such utterances as the following: "*Presumptuous* to assert the freedom of the press on American ground! Is the assertion of such freedom before the age?—so much before the age as to leave one no right to make it because it displeases the community? Who invents this libel on his country? It is this very thing which entitles Lovejoy to greater praise. The disputed right which provoked the revolution—taxation without representation—is far beneath that for which he died. [Here there was a strong and general expression of disapprobation.] One word, gentlemen: as much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this hall

when the king did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence had England offered to put a gag upon his lips."

This was followed by thunders of applause, and from this moment the star of the attorney-general declined, and the young orator stood trimphant, with the entire crowd held by the spell of his eloquence, the meeting being finally carried for Lovejoy and liberty.

This scene occurred in the fall of 1837, and produced a tremendous sensation in the social and political circles of New England. Mr. Phillips did not show any penitence for what he had said, but on the contrary began to show himself in the small and obscure gatherings of Mr. Garrison and his followers. He was then reluctantly, but utterly, ostracised by "the best society" of Boston, and in the bitterest way. He now gave himself up, heart and soul, to the anti-slavery cause. He appeared as a speaker on the platform of the abolitionists. The people followed him whom the "upper ten" rejected; and the "Garrisonians," as they were called, had to go into a larger hall.

Thus began the career of America's first orator. It was hoped by the Northern sympathisers with slavery that he was not in earnest; but when they saw him abandon the courts for the meetings of the people, when they saw him remove into a small residence in an unaristocratic street, that he might give two-thirds of his income to the cause he had espoused, they lost, whilst the slaves took heart. The entrance of Mr. Phillips upon this work does indeed mark the time when what was before whispered in closets, was proclaimed from housetops. Until then the chain, which bound the Southern slave at its one end, fettered, at the other, nearly every leading tongue in the North. Garrison was not yet a public energy, but engaged in building the bulwarks which the future was to mount with guns. Dr. Channing was indeed beginning to utter his protest, but the pulpits of the leading Unitarian churches were barred against the anti-slavery utterances of their great founder.

From that day to this Mr. Phillips has been steadfastly pursuing his high task, in season and out of season, rebuking the great sin of his country. Of this work the present volume is a partial record, being about one-half of the orator's reported speeches during the past ten years. Mr. Phillips having spoken without notes of any kind, these speeches are preserved to us by phonography. They are deeply interesting, not only in themselves, but as they indicate the land-marks of a great movement.

One of the most striking things in this volume, to a European reader, will be the earnest faith of this orator in the people, and

his confident expectation of a full redress for all wrongs at their hands. They begin by howling at him, demanding that he shall retract his words; and again and again the faithful reporter tells of hisses and uproar. In the ten years covered by these speeches, the American newspapers have brought us accounts of Mr. Phillips, escorted by officers through crowds in the streets of Boston raging for his life, and of stones hurled at him whilst he speaks in Cincinnati. Yet every word in this volume is such as Pym would have spoken to the Presbyterians whilst the trial of Strafford was going on. He stands before them as if they were on his side, and shatters before their eyes the Websters, Everetts, and Choates, whom they have made their official representatives. Whilst Mr. Webster is the idol of Boston and secretary of state at Washington, here is what this critic says of him before a miscellaneous assembly in Boston:

"Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. When you have launched your spear into the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Benton, every whig and democrat feels it. It is on this principle that every reform must take for its text the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons. See to it, when Nature has provided you a monster like Webster, that you exhibit him—himself a whole menagerie—throughout the country. It is not often, in the wide world's history, that you see a man so lavishly gifted by Nature, and called, in the concurrence of events, to a position like that which he occupied on the seventh of March, surrender his great power, and quench the high hopes of his race. No man, since the days of Luther, has ever held in his hand, so palpably, the destinies and character of a mighty people. He stood, like the Hebrew prophet, betwixt the living and the dead. He had but to have upheld the cross of common truth and honesty, and the black dishonour of two hundred years would have been effaced for ever. He bowed his vassal head to the temptations of the flesh and of lucre. He gave himself up into the lap of the Delilah of slavery, for the mere promise of a nomination; and the greatest hour of the age was bartered away, not for a mess of pottage, but for the *promise* of a mess of pottage—a promise, thank God! which is to be broken. I say, it is not often that Providence permits the eyes of twenty millions of thinking people to behold the fall of another Lucifer, from the very battlements of heaven down into that 'lower deep of the lowest deep' of hell. [Great sensation.] On such a text how effective should be the sermon!"

A distinguished Boston merchant, J. H. Pearson, Esq., had, it seems, allowed the United States to use his brig "Acorn" to carry the fugitive slave Sims back to the South; whereupon, Mr. Phillips makes the following mention of him:—

"The fault that I rather choose to note is, that the owner of the brig Acorn can walk up State Street, and be as honoured a man as he was before; that John H. Pearson walks our streets as erect as ever, and no merchant shrinks from his side. But we will put the fact, that he owned that brig, and the infamous uses he made of it, so blackly on record, that his children—

yes, HIS CHILDREN, will gladly, twenty years hence, forego all the wealth he will leave them to blot out that single record." [Some one here calls for three cheers for Mr. Pearson, for which only one or two voices were raised, upon which Mr. Phillips said,] "Yes, it is fitting that the cheer should be a poor one, when, in the presence of that merchant [pointing to the portrait of HANCOCK], who led the noblest movement for civil liberty ever made on this side of the ocean, you attempt to cheer this miserable carrier of slaves, who calls himself, and alas! according to the present average of State Street, has a right to call himself, a Boston merchant."

But Mr. Phillips launched his bolts at that which was more sacred than the men who were the idols of the street. He spared not to touch heavily the Union itself.

"I know," he says, "I know Mr. Webster has, on various occasions, intimated that this is not statesmanship in the United States; that the cotton-mills of Lowell, the schooners of Cape Cod, the coasters of Marblehead, the coal and iron mines of Pennsylvania, and the business of Wall Street, are the great interests which this government is framed to protect. He intimated, all through the recent discussion, that property is the great element this government is to stand by and protect—the test by which its success is to be appreciated. Perhaps it is so—perhaps it is so; and if the making of money, if ten per cent. a year, if the placing of one dollar on the top of another, be the highest effort of human skill; if the answer to the old puritan catechism—'What is the chief end of man?' is to be changed, as, according to modern state craft, it ought to be, why be it so. . . . . 'To glorify God, and enjoy him for ever'—that is Kane-treason now. The 'chief end of man?'—why, it is to save the Union!" [*A voice*—"Three cheers for the Union!"]

And yet this impaler of popular men, this image-breaker, scorns any other jury than the masses, and will accept their hisses or violence rather than appeal to another tribunal. He exclaims—

"All hail, public opinion! To be sure, it is a dangerous thing under which to live. It rules to-day, in the desire to obey all kinds of laws, and takes your life. It rules again in the love of liberty, and rescues Shadrach from Boston Court-house. . . . . It is our interest to educate this people in humanity, and in deep reverence for the rights of the lowest and humblest individual that makes up our numbers."

And nowhere, from the thick of the thirty years' moral war, where Mr. Phillips is ever seen and watched—"the white plume of Navarre"—comes up a word or sentiment which implies a distrust of the ultimate justice of the masses, or of the safety of his cause in their hands. He is an ardent and thorough republican. And yet, more than any other movement of modern times, that against slavery in America shows how unessential to real progress are many things usually deemed of the first importance in a republic. For instance, it is true that this high trust in the masses was not misplaced; the appeals of the abolitionists were at last successful; but yet at no time did these abolitionists vote, nor were they ever represented in the congress, it being against their fundamental principle so far to sanction the constitution which compromised with slavery.

This conspicuous triumph of anti-slavery principles in America, then, was brought about by men who had neither ballot nor representation. Indeed, the whole conflict was against the ballots which always fell most numerously on the side of slavery. But Mr. Phillips trusts the masses really just where they may best be trusted; there before him, manifesting their good impulses and their prejudices, their honesty and their ignorance, he must have recognized the possibilities of good in them: but what he thinks of them as official voters, and of the crudities by which they are swayed, he shows in the remorseless vivisection of their representatives and idols; for he does not spare republicans at Washington more than democrats, some of his keenest rebukes being of Messrs. Sumner, Hale, and Mann. Indeed, he has had reason in his own case to know the weakness and the strength of the masses, having, within a few weeks after he was beset by a mob, chiefly instigated by a pro-slavery paper in Boston, been instrumental, by his eloquence, in preventing the mob from tearing down the printing-house of that same paper!

We have said that this volume shows a steadfast devotion, through good and evil report, to the one object—freedom to the slave, to which the American orator has been consecrated. And yet, in the first portion of the volume, we find severe anathemas against the Union; and in the last, vehement demands for the defence of the Union menaced by the Southern leaders. This apparent inconsistency in the position of the abolitionists in America has attracted much criticism in this country, and has been variously ascribed to the overpowering of a free testimony on their part by the excited public opinion and the treasonableness of disunion sentiments in a time of war, and to a secret insincerity in them from the first. It is very plain to one who has read this volume, that the abolitionists are perfectly sincere in thinking that, in striving to preserve the Union under the changed conditions, they are prosecuting the same object which was before them when they attacked it.

(To be continued.)

Notes on Hospitals. By Florence Nightingale. Third Edition. London: Longman & Co., 1863.

Cut off by the weakness of an invalid condition from any longer rendering active service herself, the heroine of the Crimea yet exerts herself to send forth words of wisdom to direct the activity of others, and how much such direction is needed we may gather from the very first words of her Preface, in which she tells us that "though it may seem a strange principle to enumerate as the very first requirement of a hospital

that it should *do the sick no harm*, it is quite necessary nevertheless to lay down such a principle." It was indeed the high death-rate in hospitals as compared with that among the sick elsewhere, which first led Miss Nightingale to examine into the defects of such institutions, and lay before the Social Science Association, a paper, which was the germ of the present volume, nominally a reprint, but actually re-written and so greatly enlarged, as to be in fact, a new work.

The first part of the book treats of the defects in existing hospitals and the evils resulting therefrom, it appearing from an examination of the statistics concerning the 106 principal hospitals of London, that the number of inmates in the 24 hospitals of London, on April 8th, 1861, was 4214, while the number of deaths which took place in them all collectively during that same year of 1861, amounted to 3828, being a mortality of 90 per cent, nearly every bed in each establishment becoming, ere the year ends, a death-bed to some poor sufferer; nay, in some of them, taken individually, the death-rate is so enormous that every bed yields a death once in about nine months. The patients who escape this capital misfortune are not exempt from certain secondary ones, the effects of which are sufficiently manifest to the careful observer, who "insensibly allies together restlessness, languor, feverishness, and general *malaise*, with closeness of wards, defective ventilation, defective structure, bad architecture, and administrative arrangements, until it is impossible to resist the conviction that the sick are suffering from something quite other than the disease inscribed on their bed-ticket."

After unreservedly stating at once that it is to defects in the hospitals and their arrangements that such evils are chiefly to be attributed, the Authoress proceeds to clear her ground by meeting the objection that it is rather due to "contagion" and "infection" that diseases are so often *produced* in these establishments; affirming that of contagion—implying the communication of disease from one person to another by means of contact—there is no proof such as would be admitted in any scientific enquiry, and adducing the testimony of Dr. Adams that even with regard to the plague, popularly held to be pre-eminently "contagious," nearly all the medical authorities who had to deal with it, and certainly all the most intelligent of them, "held that the plague was communicated not by any specific virus, but in consequence of the atmosphere around the sick being contaminated by putrid effluvia;" in fact, by *infection*, acting through the air, not by *contagion*. As an infectious state of the air, so virulent as to destroy life, may easily be produced by confining a number of perfectly healthy persons together in a very limited space, it is nothing extraordinary

that when sick persons, who are more susceptible than the healthy, are insufficiently supplied with fresh air, fever and other disorders should be generated and propagated amongst them. Miss N. sums up the matter thus:—

"The obvious practical results of this view of infection is that abundance of pure air will prevent it. All my own hospital experience confirms this conclusion. If infection exists, it is preventible. If it exists, it is the result of carelessness or of ignorance."

The "agglomeration of a large number of sick under one roof," which has been the most fruitful source of disease and mortality in institutions professedly for the cure of human ills and infirmities, was, in former days, carried to so frightful an extent that in the old Hotel Dieu, of Paris, containing 1200 beds, there were sometimes as many as 7000 patients, of whom only 3 out of 4 on an average left the place alive; nay, in 1515, when there were only 303 beds, from 8 to 12 patients were packed together as close as they could lie in one bed, and sometimes even then the overflow was so great that in 1530 it was only in turn that the sick could get the use of a bed at all, one part of the hospital furniture being a bench stowed under each bedstead, to be drawn out when required, as a rest for the poor sufferers who were waiting their turn for the reversion of even perhaps a quarter or a sixth-part of a bed. Less than a century ago it was not uncommon for 4 sick people to be placed together in one bed in the Hotel Dieu. Separate beds are of course now looked on everywhere as indispensable, but the space allotted to each is often far less than sanitation requires, surface area especially being so important that the undue restriction of it cannot be compensated for by any extra heightening of the building so as to afford more space above. Under any circumstances, Miss Nightingale insists that every bed requires "a territory to itself of at least 8 feet wide by 12 or 13 long."

After pointing out various other defects in existing hospitals, such as inefficient ventilation, imperfect drainage, bad cookery, ill-arranged laundry department, &c., Miss N. proceeds to shadow forth the ideal of what a hospital should be. No large blocks of buildings closing round a central court; no centre with wings at right angles forming corners where the air may stagnate; no series of back-to-back wards, with dead walls, can be allowed as the proper form for a hospital, but the one sole arrangement pronounced to combine every attainable advantage is that of the "Pavilion."

"The first principle of hospital construction is to divide the sick among separate pavilions. By a hospital pavilion is meant a detached block of buildings, capable of containing the largest number of beds that can be placed safely in it, together with suitable nurses' rooms, ward sculleries, lavatories, baths, water-closets, all complete, proportioned to the number of sick, and quite unconnected with any other pavilions of which the hospital may consist,

or with the general administrative offices, except by light airy passages or corridors. A pavilion is indeed a separate detached hospital, which has, or ought to have, as little connexion in its ventilation with any other part of the hospital as if it were really a separate establishment miles away. The essential feature of the pavilion construction is that of breaking up hospitals of any size into a number of separate detached parts, having a common administration, but nothing else in common. And the object sought is that the atmosphere of no one pavilion or ward should diffuse itself to any other pavilion or ward, but should escape into the open air as speedily as possible, while its place is supplied by the purest attainable air from the outside."

If the staircase be in the centre, the pavilion may be divided into two wards, but it is desirable that it should be only one floor in height; two floors can with care be kept healthy, but if a third story be added it becomes extremely difficult to maintain a moderate amount of health among either patients or nurses. Wards should be at least 15 feet high, and may then contain 32 beds, which is as many as a head nurse can properly overlook, but the length and breadth must be so proportioned as to allow 1500 cubic feet of space per bed. The windows, in number not less than one for every two beds, must be opposite each other, to allow of thorough ventilation, and also to admit as much sunshine as possible, to obtain which the aspect of the pavilion should be east and west. A material suitable in every respect for the walls, ceilings, and floors of hospitals, is yet a desideratum, something being required which shall be washable yet non-absorbent; for the former it must also be of uniform texture and bright cheerful tint; and for the latter should be fireproof, and not of such a nature as to chill the feet of those who stand or walk on it. Parian cement, polished, forms the best substance for walls that has yet been tried, and oak wood, the absorbing capability of which has been further diminished by the application of bees' wax and turpentine, and which can be kept clean by wet and dry rubbing, affords the nearest approach to a good floor, but neither of these materials fulfils all the conditions desired.

After laying down these primary principles of construction, the minor details of the best position and fittest furniture for nurses' rooms, baths, sculleries, &c., are discussed, as well as the very important point of the best method of ventilation, the decision on this point being given unhesitatingly in favour of the simple easy plan of ordinary fire-places with good fires and open windows. It may cause some surprise to those who have been accustomed to lay great stress on "uniform temperature" for invalids, to learn that in one hospital in Paris, which was peculiarly well constructed in every other respect, but where an elaborate system of artificial warming and ventilation was introduced, which drew off the foul air by openings near the floors, and admitted fresh warm air by means of pedestals, so as to

maintain the same medium temperature night and day, the air was found to be far from pure, and the death-rate became alarmingly high. Miss Nightingale's comment upon this interesting fact, is, that we should follow, not oppose Nature, and that as it is natural for temperature to vary continually, and especially to be always lower by night than by day, this variation must be most congenial to health, and an attempt to counteract it artificially can therefore only be injurious. This is indeed no more than gardeners had already discovered with regard to vegetable life, plants being found to thrive far better in greenhouses when the temperature is suffered to decline at night than when always kept uniformly warm.

Iron spring bedsteads with hair mattresses are recommended, straw paillasses being quite inadmissible, as being so cold, that "in some cases the abstraction of heat from the spine lowers the patient's vital energy to a degree which does not leave him a chance of recovery." Other furniture should be of oak, and all eating, drinking, and washing vessels of glass or earthenware.

The "pavilion" thus described is to contain only the patients, their nurses, and the officers immediately required for the ward, and the Hospital is a large or a small one according to the number of such pavilions of which it is composed, it being essential however that these should be built at a proper distance from each other in proportion to their height, and it then only remains to arrange them in the best practicable manner so as to form a whole, and to connect them with each other and with the administrative offices by means of open arcades. It is satisfactory to find that a model hospital, as perfect in all its details as the present state of sanitary knowledge and constructive skill will admit, is not destined long to remain a mere figment of the imagination, but will be realized in the new Herbert Hospital now in course of erection at Woolwich, which, "when completed will be by far the finest hospital establishment in the United Kingdom, or indeed in Europe." Several equally well-planned institutions for the sick or infirm are also soon to be built in Malta.

A separate chapter is devoted to Convalescent Hospitals or Homes, which Miss Nightingale considers should be viewed as essential adjuncts to ordinary Hospitals, laying it down as an incontrovertible rule that recovery is retarded if a patient do not leave the latter as soon as he is able to do so, and being then still unfit to return to every-day occupations, a transitional establishment becomes a necessity. In buildings of this kind, hospital conditions are almost reversed, the great point being to make the institution as much as possible like a home. A row of partially detached cottages is therefore recommended as the best form of construction.

With regard to Children's Hospitals, the preliminary question is first debated, whether it is desirable that such should exist, and the advantages and disadvantages of separating children from adults in sickness, are fairly set forth. The decision rests chiefly on the ground, of whether or no a sufficient number of suitable nurses can be obtained, the authoress observing on this subject that—

"To have the best religious order as nurses does not at all guarantee the child-patient from at least indifference, since there is a tacit idea among some 'religious' that it is better for the children to die than to live. Indeed, more tenderness has been shown to them sometimes among the commonest hospital nurses. It is not enough to be merely conscientious and patient with sick children. There must be a real genuine vocation and love for the work; a feeling as if your own happiness were bound up in each particular child's recovery. * * * It is to be found just as often and just as seldom among mothers as among nurses. The true *maternal* feeling may be in the girl and the old maid; but wherever it is, there only must the good nurse for children be looked for."

If separate children's hospitals are to be maintained, the various conditions which should be observed in establishing them are laid down at length; and we learn that one is about to be erected in Lisbon which will fulfil all these conditions; while it has a double interest for us, apart from its being devoted to the benefit of suffering little ones, from its having been planned by the late king of Portugal as a memorial of his departed queen, and from the anxiety to perfect it shown by our own Prince Albert, the plans at every stage having all been submitted to him and continually modified by his suggestions

By no means the least valuable part of this book is the concluding appendix, in which Miss Nightingale treats of the vexed question of "Sisterhoods," and shows no small acumen in distinguishing the proportion of good or ill which may result from committing the management of Hospitals, more or less, to such communities. Where there is a distinct and secular administration; when the "sisters" are really qualified nurses and not merely attempting to exert a "moral influence;" and when they, with their head, reside in the hospital and devote their whole attention to it, Miss Nightingale is decidedly in favour of the system of nursing by sisterhoods, whether Roman Catholic as in the Paris hospitals, or Protestant as in King's College Hospital, London. But where the nurses are of a religious order, the head of which administers both order and hospital, as in many Roman Catholic institutions all over Europe and in Protestant Kaiserswerth, the Bethanien at Berlin, and many Anglican establishments, she quite as decidedly condemns the system as only less bad than that worst of all systems prevalent in many military hospitals, in which the nurses are all men and under a secular male

authority. As instances of the evils attendant on the management being entirely in the hands of "religious," she mentions, "letting a patient die of a bed-sore because the nurse may spread the dressing for it but must not look at it; the leaving the wards at night, or when the 'community' assembles, in sole charge of subordinates;" and in Protestant orders, more often than in Catholic ones, "a constant change of occupation of each member of the order, for the sake of detaching said member from earthly things," a change sadly perplexing to doctors and disturbing to patients. It is quite intelligible that, as the authoress observes, "orders, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, unless held in check by the rude curb of public opinion or by the perpetual rub and collision with the secular authority of the hospital, are inclined to make into a special object the spiritual (often fancied) good of their members, and not the general and real good of the inmates of the hospital (for whom, nevertheless, the hospital was intended, and not for working out the salvation of the order.")

As a summary conclusion, Miss Nightingale pronounces that, "Take it which way you will, the idea of the 'religious order' is always more or less to prepare the sick for death; of the secular, to restore them for life. And their nursing will be accordingly. There will be instances of physical neglect (though generally unintentional) on the part of the former, of moral neglect on that of the latter. Unite the two and there will be fewer of either."

The Victoria Magazine. No. IX. Emily Faithfull.

An article on "The Difficulties of Domestic Service," in this No. of the Victoria, meets the objection so often raised when aid is asked for any class of distressed women—"Why don't they go to service?"—by pointing out that however common may be the complaints about servants, it is not an increase in their number that is needed, since all who require a domestic are sure now to find one of some sort to fill the place they offer. That so many are ill-qualified to fulfil the duties of the situations they take the writer traces, in great measure, to their employers; the faults most commonly found in domestics—luxuriousness, love of display, untruthfulness, &c., being often an exact reflection of those of their masters and mistresses; and reform, therefore, must "begin at the top." As regards improvement in what may be called their business, as distinguished from their moral qualifications, the very excellent practical suggestion is offered, that, instead of attempting to train girls *en masse* in Institutions, where the arrangements must differ greatly from those of private houses, philanthropists should take individual girls into their own

homes, where they could be far more effectually prepared for service in other families. Much more self-denying benevolence would be required in carrying out this plan, but there can be little question but that much more good would be effected by it; and if but a few would attempt it, success might tempt many to follow the example.

Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society. No. XXVIII.

LADIES who have even a little leisure, and are willing to devote a very little of it to the benefit of those who greatly need care and kindness, are informed by this admirable Society that "more visitors are needed everywhere," and that "even those who can spare but one hour in the week can do something." Surely such an appeal as this ought to be widely responded to.

LXXIV.—OPEN COUNCIL.

To the Editors of the English Woman's Journal.

LADIES,

I have by this mail received an account of some of the difficulties which Miss Rye has met with in her mission, and I have also received some independent, and therefore more particularly valuable, testimony as regards the truth of her statements, made in a letter to the "Times," on the 29th May, 1863, which the Otago Government have thought fit to deny. Some of your readers I know will be interested in the details, and I hope you will pardon me if they are somewhat lengthy. Miss Rye, after making complaints about the Immigration Barracks at Dunedin; at the request of the Provincial Secretary, wrote down her charges; carefully stating the dates, and the names of witnesses of the several occurrences. This paper received from him no examination and was ignored. When, however, after Miss Rye had left Dunedin, the "Times" of 29th May reached Otago, then the Council determined to have a select committee to examine into the truth of her statements. In the mean time many reforms had taken place, Major Richardson, the then Government superintendent, having ordered meat to be supplied to the women, a zinc paling all round the building to be put up, wash-tubs to be provided—he had the officers' door battened up, and he turned the horses out of the rear of the building.

When this select committee met, who did they examine? Neither Miss Rye nor any of her witnesses were summoned or cross examined; but the Master, the Matron, the Inspector of Police, all of them involved in Miss Rye's allegations, Mrs. Alpenny, who is dependent upon them for her bread, and three or four witnesses whose names they do not give. Having done this, they print not the evidence, but their own deductions from it. Mr. Harris, before his election as Government Superintendent, "strongly condemned the barracks and the treatment of the inmates." Mr. Vogel in the discussion which took place in council, "condemned the report as the most ungenerous that had ever emanated from a public body; it was one-sided in the extreme. It dealt with the present state of the Barracks, and assumed that things were, as they were on the arrival of the John Duncan." * * * Mr. Vogel concluded by saying, "he held that Miss Rye had done much good to the Province, by securing a remedy for the evils which she found existing at the Barracks." The Report of the Select Committee has been

forwarded to me, and in most of the important points Miss Rye has appended remarks with her signature: for example, the Report says, "The gate is locked at eight o'clock in summer and seven in winter." Miss Rye writes, "There was *no lock*." The Committee remark, "It is quite evident Miss Rye's credulity has been imposed upon. Miss Rye says, "she saw everything with her own eyes." The Committee further state, "that the evidence proves that the interior of the building was washed daily from top to bottom, that good order and cleanliness were insisted on." And Miss Rye says, "I got vermin upon me continually!" In spite of the very evident reluctance on the part of the Select Committee to find fault with any of their own Colonial Institutions, it is satisfactory to find in the Report that they "think that a more commodious building, with the necessary offices and matron's rooms, water, &c., connected therewith, in a more retired situation, is desirable, and would recommend the matter to the consideration of the Council." One of the principal men in Dunedin writes, "He thinks that from Mr. Harris himself zealous support must not be expected, although he does not believe in the evidence brought before the Committee!!" Then he says, "He is quite convinced that if there were any mistakes in the letter, Miss Rye would have been willing to correct them, but it seems to him, that the Committee take unfair advantage in their statement of the improvements which have been made in the Emigration Buildings and in the general arrangements of the department *since* Miss Rye arrived."

Another resident in Dunedin writes to this effect: "I have talked to different people about the letter, and as far as I can hear the general impression is that all that Miss Rye said about the Barracks was quite correct; but they do not like the people at home to know of it, especially those who are in any official capacity, or who have been here any length of time, and have sent home different accounts." One gentleman said, "Sensible people would have nothing to say in the matter; it was only those who had interested motives who were making a fuss in the affair, and that when he arrived, the Barracks and the goings on therein, were much worse than when Miss Rye arrived."

I had myself written to Miss Rye warning her against exaggeration, and telling her how shocked I was at the statements in her letter. She writes back to me; "I don't wonder at your being staggered, but I give you my word for it, as I shall one day give it to Him, that not one item of my statements are exaggerated; I am immensely grieved, but not a bit surprised at —— and —— saying what they do; I am quite sure that many letters have gone home speaking bitterly against me; it is no more than might have been expected, if you only reflect on my position. There are no end of "terrible" holes here, and I am pouring light into them; at the same time, there is an under current of feeling which is running strongly in my favour, which current will in the long run carry improvements in with it; but it is too much to expect one person, and that one person a stranger, to turn the opinions and rouse the sympathies of a whole province, on a difficult and very vexed question. On the whole I am fairly satisfied with my work in Dunedin and in Ch. Church; I have done nothing but what is straightforward and right, and people at home will understand it all in time; good is never recognized at once, and if I cannot do the things which I hoped I could have done, I must do that which I find can be done; I must work in the way that things will work, and do the best with the materials I find available. I must not look for popularity; I am on the opposition benches, and must pay for it accordingly."

For the information of Miss Rye's personal friends, who may see this letter, I will only add that my letter from her was dated Nov. 1863, that she had reached Nelson, and that she was in better health.

11, Charter-House Square, E.C.
January 12th, 1864.

I am, Ladies, yours truly,
CATHERINE M. WEBBER.

LADIES,

The paper on Female Middle-Class Emigration which has appeared in your January number, was written in October last; since that time £30 more of the sums advanced by Miss Rye from June, 1861, to May, 1862, has been returned; so that out of £150 advanced, £100 has been returned within two years. This is such a gratifying fact, that I hope you will allow me to mention it in your pages, as it may meet the eyes of some persons interested in the progress of the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society; who will be glad to find that the leading principle of that Society seems likely to work well.

But I should be glad to draw attention to the fact, that not any of the money advanced before May, 1862, belongs to the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, and therefore that the £100 of which I have spoken, though its return is gratifying, as tending to establish a principle, does not otherwise benefit the Society. The funds are at present so low, that all active operations must cease unless a sufficient sum can be raised to carry on the work for a year. By that time the advances made in, and since May, 1862, will be due, and then we may confidently anticipate that the Society (its working expenses bring next to nothing), will be able to continue its work for some years without any need of further support from the public. I trust that all who feel for the struggling and suffering class of governesses will give assistance to an effort, which has in two years enabled nearly 100 members of that class to obtain positions superior to any which they would ever have attained in England. I see in your January number that a correspondent describes the success of two ladies who went out to British Columbia; I can add similar accounts from every Colony to which we have sent ladies; and beg now to enclose an extract from the letter of one who went to Auckland not long ago. If you will allow me, I will from time to time send you similar extracts from the letters which every mail brings me; for these often contain interesting information, and convey news of success and happiness, which it is always pleasant to receive.

I remain, Ladies, yours obediently,

J. E. LEWIN.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MISS ——.

Aukland, New Zealand, July 31st, 1863.

"IMMEDIATELY on presenting your note to the Rev. ——, I found that I had a friend indeed, he has been most kind; he at once recommended me to a Mrs. ——, with whom I came to terms, though they are rather low, but the duties are comparatively light, and I am now perfectly at home with Mrs. ——. I have one pupil fifteen years of age and of very agreeable manners. The Rev. —— has also offered me the office of Schoolmistress of his school. I have promised to undertake it, thereby making my engagement with Mrs. —— a temporary affair, because the school would probably realize £100 a year at least. However, since this has been arranged, the war has struck such a panic everywhere that if it assumes a much more serious aspect than it already does, I shall not feel disposed to run the risk of remaining here, in which case I think Sydney will probably be my destination, but that of course is at present in the future. I am so charmed with the beauties of this exquisite country, that I should quite grieve to leave; and as to returning to England, I would not on any account.

Most of the residents here are educated people, and of far more refined manners than one would expect in such a comparatively young colony. Yesterday I had a lady call on me, who to my great surprise told me she searched for me by your desire. I shall do myself the pleasure of making the acquaintance of this lady at her residence to which she offered me a welcome whenever I chose to go.

Hoping I may still have a good account of myself to give you at some future time, with kind regards, believe me,

Yours truly,

——— ———.

LADIES,

The interesting article on "The Needlewomen at New York," of your January number, contains an error which is of some importance, for it makes the condition of those unfortunate persons appear to be not nearly so bad as it really is.

The writer remarks, "We say according to American ideas, for it is very noticeable that the wretched abject destitution common enough amongst us is not yet characteristic of New York, since the average price paid those who attended the meeting [a meeting of needlewomen] was about two dollars, or *nine shillings a week;* in many cases the wages were below this; still such an average does not imply what we are accustomed to consider a pitiable depreciation of female labour."

Nine shillings a week would indeed be affluence compared with the earnings of many of our miserably paid seamstresses; but unhappily this sum is not the English equivalent for two dollars in New York. Two American dollars in gold or silver, are worth about eight shillings and eightpence of our money; but gold and silver are not now current in the United States. The dollars spoken of there are in paper, which are at present depreciated by about one-third; that is, three paper dollars are equal to two golden ones. The two dollars therefore stated to be the average rate of the seamstresses' wages are equal to, not nine shillings of our money, but about five shillings and tenpence. Food is, I believe, cheaper in New York than here, but clothing and most other commodities are dearer, so that the above sum is a miserable pittance to live on.

The writer of the article has not entered into the question of the *cause* of the depreciation of woman's wages in New York, which indeed is so obvious, that, but for the extraordinary economical fallacies put forth by persons in high office in the United States, to advert to it might be unnecessary. This cause is, undoubtedly, the civil war. Mr. J. S. Mill has shown how the destruction of wealth and the consequent diminution of reproductive capital occasioned, by war acts in depressing the condition of the labouring classes, particularly when, as is now the case in the United States, the funds are raised by loans rather than by taxation. On the other hand the great demand for the services of men in the army diminishes the supply of their labour, and thus prevents so great a fall in the wages of men as would otherwise take place in America; indeed, it would appear that there has been generally a rise in the nominal rates, nearly equal to the depreciation of the currency. But, save so far as the labour of women can be substituted for that of men, this counteracting cause will not apply to their earnings, on which the diminution of reproductive capital must tell with its full effect. The loss of their male relatives in the war must, moreover, throw many women upon the labour market for subsistence, and thus increase the competition for employment.

It is stated that the selling prices of the articles made by the seamstresses are greatly increased. This enhancement would be partly nominal, occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and partly real, from the much increased price of cotton. Still there may be a margin which is giving large profits to the employers. If that is the case, wages might be raised by the establishment of institutions, similar to the Needlewoman's Association here, to undertake work in the capacity of employer, and after paying for material, expenses, interest of capital, depreciation, &c., divide the nett proceeds of the goods made among the workers. With judicious management and careful selection of members, these institutions might be converted into self-supporting co-operative concerns.

Without denying that under certain circumstances, combinations may, by means of strikes or threats of strikes, succeed in preventing employers from lowering wages below the rate justified by the relation of supply and demand, I fear that, from causes which I have not now space to elucidate,

this remedy would not be found efficient in the hands of needlewomen; still, as the writer of your article observes, much good may arise from the combination of the girls in a respectable and intelligent way, either by aiding in the establishment of associations such as those above suggested, or by other means which may be devised.

I remain, Ladies, yours respectfully,

A. H.

22, Sion Hill, Clifton, 13th January.

DEAR MADAM,

I wish to suggest through your pages a plan in aid of distressed needlewomen, which from what I have seen and heard of the various efforts for their aid will I believe be found to meet the difficulty. It is a Workwoman's Club; a light and airy room for women to meet in to work, where for 1*d.* or 2*d.* a day they will find fire, convenient seats and tables, and a matron to cut out, advise, and protect them; if with the addition of a kitchen where they can wash themselves and their work, and where they can get for another 1*d.* each, breakfast, dinner, and tea, all the better. The profits of their work to be their own, and the charges they make such as they find their fellow poor will pay, in other words about what the slop shops charge their customers. The matron will be able to get materials for garments to be made for sale as cheaply as those shops; and a fund for her doing so, and also for provision against illness or accident, at first derived from some small amount of subscriptions, will soon be furnished by the workwomen's gains; and the club deserve its second title of Cheap Clothes Co-operative Store. The total amount of subscription to set such a club on foot and provide necessaries would not exceed £10. On the other hand, the making up and repairing the materials and garments of customers will furnish a safe and very much needed branch of business. It is marvellous how the needle (and the machine) wanting work and getting it only as a serf of the shop or a pensioner of charity, manages not to meet with the enormous amount of work wanting a doer in the very courts and alleys where it lives

I remain, dear Madam, yours sincerely,

L. SOLLY.

LXXV.—FACTS AND SCRAPS.

EDINBURGH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.—The Report issued at the end of 1863 recalls to the recollection of its readers that this Society was founded about three years ago through the exertions of Miss Bessie Parkes and Miss Emily Faithfull, on their visit to Edinburgh after attending the meetings of the Social Science Association at Glasgow. A Committee having been formed, it was determined to establish a Register both for employers and those seeking employment, the expenses of Registration being shared between these two parties. The lists include teachers in every department, for schools, families, or private instruction; companions, matrons for public institutions, female missionaries, and Bible-women, sick nurses of all kinds, book-keepers, hair-dresses, shop-girls, waitresses, seamstresses, and daily workers in every branch of domestic employment; to which it is hoped soon to add other employments, such as French-polishing and working the telegraph, the means of training for which have not yet been completed.

During the 2½ years of which the result is given, at least 20 applicants in a month, on an average, have been provided with daily or weekly engagements, while of 661 who were seeking permanent situations, above 300 have found employment. The Society also co-operates with Emigration Associations, recommending applicants to them; and, like the original London Society, it is in convenient though not necessary connection with a ladies' waiting room established on the same premises, and affording to subscribers a place of resort for rest or business, in the centre of the town.

An attempt has also been made on a small scale by this Society to supply the requirements of those who need work, not as a means of gaining a livelihood, but in order that they may render the talents with which they have been endowed, as beneficial as possible to themselves and their fellow-creatures. Believing that many would be glad to enter on philanthropic work, were but a suitable field for their exertions pointed out to them, the Society adopted the plan of what it calls a "Register of Christian Benevolence," which has been attended with great success, useful powers and elegant accomplishments having been placed at its disposal to such an extent that the supply has hitherto exceeded the demand.

We can but commend this admirable plan to the consideration of the Parent Society in London, for it is but reasonable to suppose that here too proficient musicians might be found, not unwilling to devote a leisure hour periodically to improve some poor governess who could not afford to pay for finishing lessons; good linguists who might teach French to shop-girls needing that acquirement; "low sweet voices" that might read aloud to the blind, the sick, or the busy; bereaved mothers who might find consolation in caring for the convalescent children dismissed from hospitals; and many, many others, who needing not pecuniary gain, would, if only a way were pointed out to them, freely use in their Lord's service the one talent or the ten talents with which He has entrusted them.

In conclusion the Report states that "The Acting Committee earnestly request donations from those friendly to their operations, in order that the various schemes already organized may have time to establish themselves, and the Society to become self-supporting."

Subscriptions are to be paid to the Secretary, Miss Phœbe Blyth, at the office of the Society, 37, George Street, Edinburgh.

DIRECTIONS AND PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE.—The continually increasing frequency of accidents by Fire has induced a lady to draw up a few rules, the strict observance of which in every household would do much to prevent such casualties. Some plain directions for the treatment of burns, &c., are added, and the whole being well printed on a single sheet, surrounded by a handsome chromo-lithographic border, forms a fitting decoration for the wall of a nursery or servants' room.

PRIZE FOR FEMALE ARTISTS.—The Prize of a Gold Medal has been offered by the Society of Arts, specially to female artists, for the best cameo designed and executed on any of the shells ordinarily used for that purpose.

DR. LANKESTER AND EARLY CLOSING.—At a Soirée lately held at the Hanover Square Rooms, Dr. Lankester in the course of an able speech on the system of long hours, declared that it had been most undoubtedly proved that if young men and women were employed for 8 or 10 hours per day instead of 12, 14, or 16, they would do as much work, and that more efficiently in the long run.
