CRIME & CRIMINALS
IN ENGLISH & FRENCH
MEMOIRS

JC. 2

CRIME AND CRIMINALS IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH MEMOIRS

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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By

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

"Statistics as well as anthropological investigations show us crime then, as a natural phenomenon, - a phenomenon (some philosophers say) as necessary as birth or death" - thus wrote Lombroso in 1906 (1). He it was who began the study of crime from the point of view of anthropology. His method of approach to the question was the man, and the influences which surrounded him. "The fundamental proposition undoubtedly is that we ought to study not so much the abstract crime as the criminal", he states in another place (2). This, then, is to be the subject of study in this thesis.

To most law-abiding citizens crime is an abstract thing - a state of affairs that is far-off, distant, unreal. It does not touch them directly; they are not intimately concerned with it. To them the criminal is an unnatural being living in a world whereof they have no knowledge, or at most a very superficial knowledge. Their attitude towards him is likely one of benevolent compassion, or benign pity. On the subject of the corrective measures employed their attitude is apathetic, or else violently partisan. If however, it should come about that they are victims of these criminals, the whole question assumes an entirely different aspect. Then, it is to them a matter of vital concern that the guilty ones be apprehended and brought to justice. When one is vitally concerned with some problem that problem becomes supremely important. To understand the criminal we must see him as he lives, and performs his dastardly deeds. He must be considered in the concrete, not in the abstract.

Is there a born criminal class? According to Lombroso there is. He classifies criminals as born criminals, criminaloids, the criminal insane, criminals by passion, and occasional criminals. Concerning the born criminal he states:-

> "The born criminal shows in a proportion reaching 33% numerous specific characteristics that are most always atavistic. Those who have followed us thus far have seen that many of the characteristics presented by savage races are very often found

(1) Cesare Lombroso-Crime, Its Causes and Remedies P. 377
(2) Ib. P. 365

> among born criminals. Such, for example, are: the slight development of the pilar system; low cranial capacity; retreating forehead; highly developed frontal sinuses; great frequency of wormian bones; early closing of the cranial sutures; the simplicity of the sutures; the thickness of the bones of the skull; enormous development of the maxillaries and zygomata; prognathism; obliquity of the orbits; greater pigmentation of the skin; tufted and crispy hair and large ears. To these we may add the lemurine appendix; anomalies of the ear, dental diastemata; great agility; relative insensibility to pain; dullness of the sense of touch; great visual acuteness; ability to recover quickly from wounds; blunted affections; greater incorrigibility of the woman (Spencer); laziness, absence of remorse; impulsiveness; physiopsychic excitability; and especially improvidence, which sometimes appears as courage and again as recklessness changing to cowardice." (1)

Objection has been made to these physical characteristics of criminals on the ground that many of them are found in honest folk. To this Ferri replies:

> "Anthropologists unanimously admit that the important thing in the significance of the anomalies observed in criminals, as in the insane, is the accumulation in a great or less degree of these anomalies in the same individual." (2)

Hence, the possession of one or other of the characteristics enumerated above does not in any way signify the born criminal.

If then, there is a well-marked criminal class, are they to blame for their actions? Can society hold them responsible for what they do? If they are impelled to crime by forces over which they have no control, and which they are powerless to stop, should they be punished for what they do? Such are some of the problems that arise in a study of this question. Though this thesis is limited to crime and criminals as depicted in English and French memoirs, some solution of the problems may be attempted. Let us consider, then,at close range, some of the men and actions encountered in the study.

(1)-Lombroso-Crime,Its causes and Remedies P.365
(2) Enrico Ferri-Criminal Sociology P.69

From their lives and doings we may determine the attitude of the criminal towards society. From the memoirs of those who have had to do with their capture and imprisonment we learn the value and effectiveness of the penalties imposed.

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C H A P T E R I.

CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON AND PROPERTY.

G. Macé, former Chef du Service de la Sûreté in Paris, in his book "Mon Premier Crime" relates as follows:

Owing to the large number of robberies committed in the 6ème arrondissement in Paris, special precautions had been taken to prevent any further outrages. Late one night two agents of the sûreté - Ringué and Champy - were on duty when they saw a man carrying a bulky parcel. Being suspicious, they questioned him; but on his telling them that he was carrying home a ham they allowed him to go on. He proceeded on his way to the rue Princesse. Arrived there he entered the courtyard of a house, looked around cautiously, and then lowered his parcel into the well by means of a thread. After that he disappeared.

Shortly afterwards, scattered in various parts of the city were found pieces of human debris, revealing an atrocious crime. To Macé, commissioner of police, was entrusted the task of unravelling the mystery. In the well of the house in the rue Princesse were found two human legs encased in stockings bearing the letter "B", and that was all. It was thought that the members were part of a female body. Enquiry revealed the fact that three women had recently disappeared. Two were subsequently found to be alive; the third was still unaccounted for. The medico-legal expert of the morgue added complications to the case by pronouncing the legs those of a man.

Macé had arrived at an impasse. However, acting on his own dictum "En matière de police, tout l'art de la profession consiste à en faire le moins possible, et à laisser agir, en les observant de très près, les individus intéressés dans une affaire par leurs désirs et leurs passions", (1) he did not relent his vigilance. He realized that the passions are the real instruments of the police - "Ils font les grands criminels". The motives he ascribes as the cause of crime are love, hatred, jealousy. vengeance, ambition, pride, greed: alone, or in a combination of several. With the tenacity and tirelessness which he denotes as part of the qualifications of a good police officer; maintaining the unbiased mind which

(1) Mon Premier Crime P. 87

prevents the mistake of a preconceived idea; and practising the rule: "Ne rien négliger", he secured his first clue. In the house on rue Princesse had lived a girl named Mathilde Gaupe. She had had many friends, but chiefly a tailor named Pierre who brought her work to be done.

Macé secured Mathilde Gaupe, and from her learned that the tailor who brought work to her was named Voirbo - a man who lived more by his wits than his industry. He learned that Voirbo had a friend named Désiré Bodasse, a widower who had considerable money. On going to the morgue with Mme. Bodasse, aunt of Désiré, the socks were identified as belonging to her nephew, since she herself had put on them the initial "B". Identification was further established by a scar on the leg which Désiré had received from a fall on a broken bottle. Inquiry at Bodasse's lodgings brought the information that the gate-keeper believed she had seen him go into his room the evening before.

The next step was an examination of Voirbo's room. From Mme. Pertant, who worked for Voirbo, they learned that he lived an evil, lazy, shiftless life. However, he had decided to marry the daughter of a rich family. To do this required a steady income, and Voirbo had made an agreement with Bodasse for a loan from the latter in order to set up in business. For some unknown reason Bodasse changed his mind,and refused to advance the promised money.

Macé next examined Bodasse's room in his search for clues. All his personal belongings were intact; nowhere was there any sign of a struggle. In the room were found the butts of seventeen candles, showing that someone had lit a candle every night in order to give the impression that Bodasse was still in his room. Two pairs of socks with the initial "B" were found in the room. Further inquiry brought to light the facts that Bodasse had last been seen on Dec. 14; that Voirbo had paid his last board bill with an Italian coin the number of which corresponded with that of a coin known to have belonged to Bodasse; and that on Dec. 17 Voirbo had a huge fire burning early in his stove, his room reeked of gasoline, and the floor was still wet from its having been washed. All these facts pointed to

Voirbo as the murderer of Bodasse.

Macé had no direct evidence against Voirbo. His efforts were hampered by the fact that Voirbo was a political spy in the pay of one of the police departments, and from this source he knew of the efforts being made to capture him. Macé was further handicapped in that he could not use his own men. "Ah! si j'avais eu deux agents de la sûreté! deux de ces petits et vaillants esclaves du devoir. Ils ne se rebutent pas aux fatigues et à l'ennui d'une longue surveillance; ils savent rester hors de leur domicile pendant huit jours, quinze jours, plus s'il le faut; couchant au besoin des semaines entières à la belle étoile, vivant dans les champs, sans abri, sans vivres, muets comme la tombe, exécuteurs inflexibles de la consigne, ne connaissent rien ni personne au-dessus de leur devoir!" (1) Since he was not permitted to use his own men, he decided to endeavour to incriminate Voirbo by having him under close observation. To this end he sent for Voirbo to enlist his help in unravelling the mystery of the crime. This was Macé's first sight of Voirbo. The impression he gave was that he was a man of power, yet capable of falseness, "un parfait scélérat".

Shortly after Voirbo made his first report. It was that one Rifer had informed him that two men Entouca and Coeur-Dur had murdered Bodasse because of a woman named Gloria. Macé did not believe the report, and forthwith hired Entouca and Gloria to spy on Voirbo while in the Café du Faucon. They learned that Voirbo plied Rifer with drink from day to day. Finally, in a fit of delirium tremens brought on by Voirbo's supply of drink and sly insinuations, Rifer declared that he had murdered Bodasse. Voirbo made his report to Macé early the next morning - so early in fact that he was at the office long before Macé. He furthermore assiduously avoided meeting the two officers Ringué and Champy who were on duty at Macé's office. The report submitted by Voirbo incriminated all save himself. During the interview Macé placed Voirbo under arrest. It had taken him fourteen days to decide the question, but in the end he was sure of his man. He had inculpated himself through too many precautions.

(1) Mon Premier Crime. P. 177

Naturally, Voirbo put a bold face on the matter and indignantly asked for an explanation.

As proofs of his guilt, Macé submitted the following:

1. Voirbo had been seen by Ringué and Champy in the Carrefour de Bucé carrying the legs of the murdered Bodasse.

2. The thorough scrubbing which he had personally given his room in rue Mazarine on December 17th.

3. He was seen with a basket on December 17th on the bank of the Seine, and his actions on that occasion had been very suspicious.

4. He had lit seventeen candles in Bodasse's room.

5. His motive was robbery.

6. He had bought a ticket to New York.

7. A razor had been found in his hat.

He was detained in the office while Macé conducted a search of his house, which was now in an altogether different quarter from his former abode.

The search of the house revealed a splash of blood on his sewing-machine. The bride of a few weeks was greatly surprised at these proceedings. Another find was a number of books describing recent murders in which the victims had been dismembered- one a young man named Saba; another a girl. Macé observes: "Les procédés employés par un criminel sont tousjours, et peu après, imités par d'autres". Suspicion was confirmed by the finding of newspapers concerning "l'affaire de la Rue Princesse". The Italian coins of Bodasse were found; and in addition a hammer of peculiar metallic composition, which combined strength with silence, and so served as an admirable instrument to open doors.

On his return to the office Macé accused Voirbo of the crimes at Aubervillers and at 37 rue Saint-Placide. He gulped and paled at the accusation. Macé proved that Voirbo had taken the

passes of Saba and changed 1865 to 1868. The scene now changes to 47 rue Mazarine, the room formerly occupied by Voirbo. Here Macé confronts Voirbo with his crime. He reasons thus: This floor is not level. If a murder were committed in this room, the blood would settle at the lowest point. Taking a pitcher of water, he empties it on the floor. Slowly the streams converge at a point on the far side of the room. Removing the flags which compose the floor he finds the edges coated with blood. Opening the door of the closet he shows the place from which had been torn the piece of cloth used as the wrapping for the legs found in the well in the rue Princesse. Hitherto Voirbo had maintained his attitude of defiant innocence. Macé, in order to examine the place more closely, asked him to hold the candle. He endeavoured to do so but could not. He broke down and confessed.

After entering the cab which was to take him to gaol, Voirbo jumped out on the other side, and led Ringué and Champy a merry chase before he was recaptured. Here Macé observes that the first and prime desire of every prisoner is to ascape.

Voirbo's confession is as follows:-

He had invited Bodasse into his room.

"Ma décision était prise.

"A peine entré dans la chambre, il s'assit à côté de la table, et me demanda pourquoi je l'avais mystifié, puisqu'il n'y avait personne.

"Je lui répondis que ma fiancée allait venir.

"Puis, passant derrière lui sans qu'il y prît garde, je m'emparai de l'un de mes fers à repasser qui se trouvaient sur l'établi---tenez, celui-là---et, sans discussion, sans mot dire, je lui en portai à l'improviste un coup violent sur le crâne.

"Il ne fit même pas "ouf". Sa tête s'inclina sur la table, ses bras pendirent inertes. J'étais étonné, et satisfait de mon adresse et de ma vigueur.

"Aussitôt, soufflant les lumières, j'ouvris la fenêtre et je baissai les jalousies. Dans le silence et l'obscurité, j'écoutais s'il bougeait. Je n'entendais rien que le sang tombant goutte à goutte sur le sol. Ce son monotone me donnait le frisson. Tout à coup j'entendis un gros soupir et comme un craquement de la chaise, Désiré remuait-il n'était pas mort! S'il allait crier!

"Cette pensée me rendit toute ma présence d'esprit. Rallumant une petite lampe, je vis le corps avait fait un mouvement de côté; il vivait! Je ne voulais pas le voir souffrir longtemps. Je pris un rasoir, je m'approchai par derrière et je passai ma main sou le menton de mon ex-ami. La lampe éclairait en plein son visage couvert de sang; ses yeux ronds brillaient encore, ils se fixèrent une seconde sur la lame du rasoir que je tenais ouvert au dessus de lui, et prirent subitement une expression de terreur---mon coeur battait. Il fallait en finir! Comme fait un barbier pour raser un client, j'appuyai le tranchant du rasoir au-dessous de "la pomme d'Adam" à la naissance de la barbe; tout en pressant vigoureusement je tirai la lame de gauche à droite. Elle disparut entièrement dans les chairs; la tête retomba inerte sur le dossier de la chaise. Du premier coup j'avais tranché l'artère carotide et le larynx. Un rale et le dernier souffle de Désiré passèrent par l'ouverture que je venais de faire.

Plaçant ensuite le cadavre sur une planche je découvris entièrement tout le haut du corps. Je fis retomber sur les jambes la partie inférieure du pantalon que j'avais coupé un peu au-dessus du genou. Elles me gênaient, ces deux jambes, qui sont devenus le point de départ de votre instruction---alors je les détachai des cuisses, en les tranchant avec ce couperet de boucher que vous avez saisi chez moi. Je ne frappais pas comme un boucher; j'appuyais le taillant sur les chairs, et je frappais sur le dos du couperet avec cette bobine en métal que voilà, ça ne fait le moindre bruit.

"Je détachai ensuite les bras, puis j'écorchai entièrement le buste. Je pensais que, dépouillées de l'épiderme, les chairs, surtout après un séjour plus ou moins prolongé sous l'eau, pourraient passer pour des débris d'un animal. Et, de fait, elles ressemblaient à de la viande de boucherie" (1)

Thus he goes on recounting in a calm, matter-of-fact way, the completion of his gruesome task. When he had finished the dissection he scattered the pieces over the highway and in the water. The head he disposed of by filling the mouth and ears with lead and dropping it in the middle of the Seine. On the conclusion of the recital, Macé asked:

"La mort de votre victime était-elle réelement nécessaire?"

"Oui, puisqu'il me fallait dix mille francs, et que Désiré possédait juste la somme."

"Vous pouviez la lui voler. C'était mal; mais enfin, ce n'était pas un assassinat.

"N'importe qui aurait volé son trésor, c'est moi qu'il aurait soupçonné.

"Vous avez à peine trente ans, et votre existence est déjà terriblement chargéede crimes."

"C'est vrai. Coûte que coûte, je voulais arriver à me faire une situation. Pour cela, j'ai engagé contre la société une partie audacieuse dont ma tête était l'enjeu. J'ai fait tous mes efforts pour la défendre et malgré mon énergie, la partie est perdue, et bien perdue,eette fois." (2)

While awaiting trial, Voirbo was sent to prison. No sooner had he entered the building for the first time than he committed suicide with a razor blade which he had concealed in a loaf of bread he was carrying. The secret of how he secured the razor blade was never known, but Macé

(1) Macé: Mon Premier Crime P. 264

(2) Macé Mon Premier Crime P. 300

supposed it had been given him by the political department for which he spied, since they had access to the prisons and the prisoners. Subsequent investigation by Macé revealed the fact that Voirbo was an assumed name, and that he was the illegitimate son of one of the executioners in Paris.

Such is the record of the life and crimes of one man. In "Un Cent-Garde" Macé gives that of another.

Napoleon III. had as his body-guard a group of picked men called the Cent-garde. After his fall they became less important, and finally were relegated to the status of ordinary soldiers. Among their number was a man named Prévost - a giant in stature, and exceedingly handsome. At the age of 14 he was apprenticed to an iron-worker who forced him at that age to do a man's work, but underfed him. One day to satisfy his hunger Prévost stole some food, and in consequence was severely beaten. His hard life developed for him wonderful physique, whose strength he always used to champion the weak. Tiring of his work under the iron-worker, he took service under a butcher. There he revelled in the smell of blood and meat. He then joined the army; after that the police. His character was marked by sensuality, and a certain bestiality. Nevertheless he performed his duty faithfully.

In the early part of 1879 there was a great outburst of crime in Paris. "Il y a des périodes de crimes, de délits, comme il y a des époques de l'année où le suicide est "dans l'air", says Macé. (1). What was the cause? In this instance a poor police force. In February of the same year Macé was made Chef de la Sûreté, and under his regime 54 out of 55 criminals were arrested in 1880.

To return to Prévost. At midnight on September 11, a call was sent in for two police officers to aid in the unravelling of a mystery surrounding the discovery of parts of a human body that had been strewn over the highway. Inquiry brought out the information that a man had been seen the evening before, dressed in the garb of a cattle dealer, carrying a basket on his arm

(1) Un Cent-Garde P. 116

and throwing objects therefrom into the sewer. Among those who saw the man was Mme. Thiéry, who was struck with the resemblance between this nocturnal prowler and Prévost, her neighbour some years before. Desirous of satisfying her curiosity as to what he had been throwing away, she went out to investigate. In the mouth of a sewer she found a piece of freshly cut meat. Immediately she reported her discovery to the police, who soon had assembled at the morgue 77 pieces of a human body. The head alone was lacking.

The question now arose - who was the victim, and who the murderer? The strongest evidence was that of Mme. Thiéry, who implicated Prévost. Lefébure, in charge of the investigation, found it almost impossible to believe guilty this exemplary policeman against whom not a single serious misdemeanour had been set in his fourteen years of army service and ten years of service in the police force. However, he sent for him, and faced him with his accuser. He immediately denied guilt. Lefébure caught him in two lies and grew suspicious.

"Où est la tête de votre victime?" asked the police commissioner.

"Dans un chaudron" répondit en chancelant l'assassin.

"Pour la faire méconnaissable, vous vouliez donc la faire bouillir?"

Prévost nodded his head.

"A qui appartient cette tête?"

"Au bijoutier Lenoble", he replied unhesitatingly.

"Et votre but en le tuant était de le voler?"

"Ses bijoux sont sous mon lit".

On being questioned further, Prévost related as the most natural thing in the world the circumstances preceding the crime. His account is given in full. (2)

(1) Un Cent-Garde P.156

(2) Ib. P.157

"Depuis quelque temps je connaisais M. Lenoble, auquel j'avais manifesté l'intention d'achêter une chaîne en or payable par acomptes. Nous avons pris rendez-vous et hier, à midi, il était dans ma chambre, rue Riquet, No. 75. Sur mon lit, il étala ses marchandises et moyennant le prix débattu, et fixé à 240 francs, il me confia sa plus belle chaine et son plus beau médaillon. J'ai profité du moment où il libellait les billets payables par termes mensuels et que je devais lui signer, pour l'assommer à l'aide d'une "boule de tender". Un premier coup vigoureux, lancé à deux mains, l'abattit; le second coup défonça la crâne; le troisème était inutile. Il ne fit aucun mouvement, ne poussa pas un cri, seul un léger filet rouge se montra entre les lèvres. J'ouvris la gorge et sous la plaie béante j'ai placé le vase nécessaire à reçevoir le sang. Il sortit en glou-glous à des intervalles espacés. Je dés-habillai ensuite ma victime, je l'étendis sur une malle et je l'écorchai entièrement afin d'empêcher la reconnaissance des chairs. A trois heures j'ai commencé le dépeçage du cadavre, à cinq heurs ma "besogne" était terminée. C'est dans les égouts, les terrains vagues, les fossés des fortifica-tions que j'ai semé les parties solides. Ma tournée faite, j'ai soupé, et à dix heures je me suis couché. Ce matin j'ai repris ma service en laissant chez-moi la tête de Lenoble, sa boîte à bijoux et ses vêtements."

When they examined Prévost's room they found it newly washed, not a drop of blood to be seen anywhere. He had used his skill as a butcher to avoid leaving a single clue. He had taken the minutest arrangements for the execution of his crime - knife and cleaver had been bought the month before; on the morning of the crime he had provided a large supply of water; the trunk was made to serve as a block. "La préméditation était donc evident, com-plète, absolue." His utter insensibility and lack of feeling was further evidenced at the morgue. Be-fore him were placed the pieces of the victim's body, and he was asked

"Reconnaissez-vous votre oeuvre?"

Et avec calme, le criminel répéta:

"C'est mon oeuvre. Je suis coupable. Je le reconnais." (1)

Prévost was charged with another crime. His mistress, Adèle Blondin, had disappeared on February 27, 1876. Investigation of the facts pointed to him as the murderer. At first he denied any knowledge whatever of the cause of her disappearance. Once again Macé tried the expedient of confronting the criminal with the crime in the place where it was committed: once again it resulted in a full confession. With the utmost candour and sangfroid Prévost told of strangling Adèle Blondin in order to be rid of her. In this case also he cut the corpse in pieces and threw them in the sewers. After the crime he took his victim's money and sold her jewels.

What was the motive of Prévost's crimes? Superficially, mere greed - the desire to possess money. The facts, however, show that he killed to secure money for his personal wants only. In his nature was much of good, as exemplified by his kindness to beggar children. Nevertheless his nature was callous. He talked of murder as having no effect whatever on him. He had a certain sense of honour, for he desired suicide rather than cast the disgrace of execution on his uniform. To Macé he talked calmly about his acts, and showed no contrition for his crimes. For his victims he evinced neither pity nor remorse: his thoughts and fears were entirely for himself. Macé saw no sign in him of the type which kills for the mere sake of killing. His motive seemed the possession of gold and silver, which had a peculiar power over him.

At the trial Prévost pleaded guilty, in a calm, indifferent way. M. Lefébure, for the prosecution, gives him the following character:-

> "Prévost jouissait d'une grande confiance. Il était doux, régulier, mais un peu mou. On l'avait attaché au poste de l'Evangile depuis 1875. Sobre, ne buvant jamais, et cependant bizarre, excentrique, renfermé, peu communicatif, ou disant des niaiseries. On ne l'aimait pas, quoiqu'il fût bon camarade. Etant seul, il se livrait à des excentricités, pirouettait sur lui-même, enfin peu équilibré et au fond un peu rageur." (2)

(1) Un Cent-Garde P. 163

(2) Un Cent-Garde P. 241

L'avocat général said "Il y a deux sortes de crimes, ceux qui touchent à l'intérêt social et ceux qui ne touchent qu'à l'intérêt individuel;" and since Prévost had been a guardian of the interest of society, the penalty should be proportionately severe.(1) In his opinion the motive of the crime was cupidity. The defence advanced the plea of insanity or mental instability. Could such cruelty as had been exhibited be consonant with a life which had hitherto been blameless? Extenuating circumstances were found in his long career of service. The unanimous verdict of the jury was guilty, and Prévost was condemned to death. The verdict affected him not at all.

In prison,awaiting execution, Prévost aged a great deal, and his features became more repugnant. The more Macé studied him, the more he realised that there was no extenuation for his vices. His sentence was appealed, but the losing of the appeal caused him to lose heart, and retrogress rapidly. He was afraid of death, but he preferred it to the lonely prison life. Even in his last days he showed no regret whatever, or remorse for his victims. "C'est la fatalité qui m'a conduit au crime, et je n'ai rien fait à la justice pour qu'elle me condamne", was his plea. To the end he hoped for a commutation of sentence. However, his hopes were in vain; and with the firmness of a soldier going on parade he walked to his execution.

Doubtless many people wonder what must be the attitude of the executioner in the performance of his task. Macé gives the answer. Roch had no qualms at his work; he thought only of the task in hand. Diebler, executioner, when asked his emotions in the performance of his duties replied "Livrer un travail bien fait."

- "Et de la peine de mort, que pensez-vous?"

"Je pense au service, et non au patient."

These executioners in Paris always intermarried, and thus arose an "execution class", as it were. The children grew up and played around the guillotine and thus became accustomed to the trade. It may be of interest to note that although the guillotine was named after Dr. Guillotin, it was not invented by him. His sole connection with it was the improving of a model made by a man named Schmidt. In the sixteenth century it was used in Scotland and Italy,and adopted in France only in 1792.

(1) Un Cent-Garde P. 245.

This was the first execution at which Macé was present, and he records the thoughts that came into his mind during the proceeding.

> "N'étais-je pas le complice de cette tuerie légale où la police, la justice et les exécuteurs se donnent la main?"

As Prévost walked to the guillotine Macé observes:

> "A quoi songeait-il? J'étais plus ému, plus agité que lui. Un sentiment de pitié m'envahit. J'allais faiblir, je fermais les yeux. Ma pensée, heureusement, se reporta sur ses victimes, sur la lâcheté des moyens qu'il avait employés pour assassiner, mutiler Adèle Blondin et Lenoble. En revivant les crimes, je rejugeais le criminel. Mes regards se reportèrent sur Prévost; il était debout et laissa échapper cette phrase; "Malheureuse administration que j'ai compromise. Ce sont les deux mauvais faits que j'ai commis." (1)

Returning from the cemetery, where a form of interment had been performed, but after which Prevost's body was handed over to the medical college for dissection, Macé was accompanied by the abbé Crozes, chaplain at the prison la Roquette. Their conversation was naturally about capital punishment. Macé observes that while the protagonists and antagonists of capital punishment differ in their views, all murderers are agreed on one question, namely the conceding of the right to live to themselves alone. They are nearly all afraid to die. This fear of death does a great deal to deter the murderer in his career of crime. Most of modern murderers are young (Macé wrote in 1893). Their precocity is remarkable, as is also the extent to which they have developed in perversity. Their youth is used as extenuating circumstances for clemency, and this has the effect of encouraging more crime. Their viewpoint is:

> "Ils préfèrent suivre la doctrine du matérialisme: 'se satisfaire aux dépens d'autrui' (2)"

Too great a clemency on the part of officials results in an increase in crime. This held true in the regime of McMahon, when murderers profited by it to prosecute

(1) Un Cent-Garde P. 333
(2) Ib. P. 341

their work more boldly at the expense of many victims that are too easily forgotten.

The abbé Crozes states that a Christian society should abolish capital punishment, because the right of death belongs only to nature. This is the end sought by great thinkers and magnanimous souls who study social problems. Macé cites several men of the day who were forward in desiring this end. To this the abbé replies:

> "La théorie de beaucoup de ces humanitaires disparaît dès que cela touche leurs intérêts." (1)

Macé gives a concrete example of this fact in the case of an ardent abolitionist who had shot a poacher on his preserves, in self-defense. Crozes rejoins:

> "Cela prouve que les choses changent d'aspect suivant les circonstances et l'endroit où l'on se place pour les regarder. La société, elle aussi, a le devoir de se défendre et quand la justice frappe les criminels, ellene se venge pas, elle accomplit son oeuvre de préservation, en cherchant à éviter un danger permanent. C'est le salut commun contre la résistance de certaines volontés individuelles et le seul frein jusqu'ici efficace. Si l'effroi de la mort n'existe pas chez tous les criminels, elle empêche bien des voleurs de devenir assassins." (2)

Intuitively, says Macé, the mass of people favour capital punishment. Without it they would establish lynch law.

Abbé Crozes contends that annihilating the criminal does not destroy crime, and that the best thing to do is to improve the malefactors. Victor Hugo supported this theory. But Macé enumerates many murderers who were educated and enlightened, yet had not been restrained from crime. Ignorance, misery, revolt against the social order, laziness, greed, horror of a regular life - all play their part in the genesis of crime. Science should replace the death sentence with the healing powers of the physician. Macé.

(1) Un Cent-Garde P. 342

(2) Ib. P. 343

affirms that jurists, criminologists, philanthropists, doctors, are powerless to replace capital punishment, because they have not yet found a means of putting an end to crime by the aid of any measure designed to protect public security. Deportation had been tried; but convicted murderers rejoiced at the prospect and committed other murders in prison in order to ensure deportation. These recidivists lend force to the saying of Alphonse Karr:

> "Abolissons la peine de mort,mais que messieurs les assassins commencent."

All executions should be carried on inside the prison, away from the eyes of the curious, because only then can it have its most salutary effect. Such, then, are the views of Macé and Crozes on capital punishment.

Prévost's brain was carefully examined by competent men after his dissection. In it they found many abnormalities which closely resembled the anomalies in the brain of Menesclou, an idiot who had been executed for murder.

Was Prévost responsible for his crimes? Society has the right to rid itself of such as he. Science should determine whether monsters of his type are criminals by nature. In this instance no definite pronouncement was made by the physiologist who performed the examination:

> "Le cerveau de Prévost est très anormal; il présente des particularités tellement rares qu'elles n'ont pas encore été signalées." (1)

M. Lefébure, commissioner of police, declared that he was eccentric; M. Bonchot that he was mentally unbalanced; Macé that it is not known whether a sane mind and a free will planned the dissection of Adèle Blondin and Lenoble.

In what category can he be placed? Was he a born criminal, a criminal of occasion, of profession? Was he a murderer by instinct, a maniac, or a criminal of passion? Idiots have been known to plan carefully their crimes. Macé concludes:

> "L'exécution de Prévost a satisfait l'opinion publique, mais à mon sens, ce boulimique - érotomane relevait plutôt de la médecine que du code pénal." (2)

1. Un Cent Garde. P. 381
2. Ib. P. 382

The men we have just studied were ignorant and unlearned. A different type altogether is seen in Lacenaire whose life and actions we may study as given by himself in his "Mémoires de Lacenaire."

Lacenaire (Sr.) was a sour, splenetic individual who prospered in business at Lyons and at the age of 47 married a vivacious girl of 18. To this union were born thirteen children, of whom Pierre François Lacenaire was the fourth. In appearance he was thin and delicate, but in reality he was robust and healthy. He was very precocious. His mother evincing a strong dislike for him, he was put into the charge of Marie, a maid, and to her he gave all the affection he had. Owing to continued unkindnesses at the hands of his parents, he closed his heart to his father, but still retained a slight affection for his mother. As a result he grew introspective and selfish. Such was his early childhood.

In due course he and his elder brother - the favoured one of the family - were sent to a college at Lyons. There the problem that exercised him was - does justice exist? The conduct of the masters in the college conveyed to him a negative answer. His parents continued to show decided favour to his elder brother, so much so that he became calloused and did not care. He did not hate his brother, because he knew it was not his fault that his parents disliked him. He grew to think that his own conviction of right was the sole rule and law which he should follow; and that if he had to commit acts against society, that was not his fault.

In order to remove him still farther from home, his parents sent him to a boarding-school at St. Chamond. Here he found the associations much more pleasent than at home. He applied himself assiduously to his work and at the end of the year carried off most of the prizes. His studies in history revealed what seemed to him grave injustices, thereby strengthening his misanthropy. His studies also led him to lean towards Protestantism , and as a result he was taken from St. Chamond and sent to a seminary at Alix. Here, the hypocrisy of the priests nauseated him. Thence he was sent to a boarding school at Lyon, but due to the ill will of a prefect he was not allowed to live in the building. All this time he was trying to evolve a philosophy of his own, rather than accept one ready-made. He says:

"Je n'ai jamais aimé à voir
souffrir personne."

At this boarding school in Lyons, he made the acquaintance of some boys who were fond of amusements. His father refused to advance him any money, so he sold a dictionary to defray part of the expenses of these amusements., His wants increased but he had no money to pay his share. Therefore he and his elder brother stole systematically from the money to be found at home. They evolved an argot of their own to give each other information as to when to steal, and how much to take. Pierre did most of the actual stealing; his brother directed the operations. As to the influence on him of these early pilferings he says:

"Maintenant que j'examine le passé avec sangfroid, je ne puis m'empêcher de reconnaître que ces vols commis dans l'intérieur de ma famille ont eu une grande influence sur ma conduite subséquente. Je suis obligé d'avouer que j'aurais hésité bien plus longtemps à commettre mon premier vol si je n'en eusse fait, pour ainsi dire, un long apprentissage à la maison" (1)

He warns against the first step, saying it is always the easiest. The treatment he had received from his parents in his early life had made him so calloused and designing that he had no compunction whatever for these early thefts. Up to this point he designed no mischief in particular against the world: "J'ignorais encore ce besoin de la vengeance, qui à été depuis si violent pour moi, que, quelque flegmatique que je sois devenu quelque maître de mes sensations et de mes émotions que j'aie été, je n'ai jamais pu dompter cette passion ". (2) This passion for revenge was a later development in his nature, having the effect of making him cruel. His home life continued as unhappy as heretofore, and his father even prophesied that he would end on the scaffold. His home life according to himself was the chief factor in making him a scoundrel. He became a misanthrope:

"Partout fourberie, égoïsme, partout amour de l'or, partout intérêt personnel se cachant sous le masque de désintéressement." (3)

(1) Lacenaire. Mémoires. Vol. 1 P.113
(2) Ib. P.116
(3) Ib. P.146

Lacenaire Sr. had re-entered business, after having been out of it some time, but his second venture proved a failure, due to the embezzlement of his clerks. Consequently he had no further money to pay the college expenses of our author, whom he had intended for the study of medicine. Therefore Lacenaire left college, and took employment under an advocate. At that work he had abundant opportunity to study men. Once again all he can see in them is hypocrisy. He says this had such a harmful effect on him that he steadily lost weight. His living expenses were always above his means. His early depredations had been due to his extravagant tastes, and the same factor was the cause of his first big crime - passing false bills. He had been wrongfully suspected of theft at the notary's, and so had left his position. He subsequently tried to work in a bank, but that also he had to leave under a cloud. He enlisted, and deserted; finally he became somewhat of a vagabond. He gambled away what money he had, borrowed as much as he could, and then forged notes. He advances a rather peculiar justification of his acts - namely - he had no money; he asked his brother for a loan; the latter refused; therefore he feels justified in forgery. After this coup he went to Geneva,thence to Italy.

In Italy he committed his first murder. By accident another man opened and read a letter to Lacenaire, informing him as to conditions in France concerning investigations into his acts. Immediately he informed the police, and they put Lacenaire under observation. He then invited the man to walk into the country with him. When they arrived at a forest Lacenaire drew from his pockets two pistols saying: "One of these is loaded; one is not; take your choice and we shall fire together." The other protested that such an act would be plain murder, and refused to take a pistol. Lacenaire then put the question to him three times, to all of which a negative answer was given. He raised the pistol and fired full in the other's fact. After this "beau coup" as he calls it, he went to Geneva and then to Lyons. Being without resources he enlists. As his motive he gives: "Il n'y a que les injustices et les vexations gratuites qui m'irritent." (1)

After some time he deserts from the army. Without money, at the end of his resources, he determines on a career of crime.

(1) Lacenaire. Memoires Vol 1 P.177

"Gare à toi, quand tu n'auras plus rien la société te repoussera de tous les côtés. Cela m'arrivait à la lettre. Enfin, j'en fus réduit, au bout de quelques jours, à être sur le point de mourir de faim. Dès ce moment je devins voleur et assassin d'intention."(1)

Here begins his conflict with society - his intention to become the scourge of society. In pursuit of his newly formed purpose he sets about seeking an accomplice. To do so he resolves to go to prison, and so steals a cab, earning thereby a sentence of one year. The type of assistant he wanted was a man who would stop at no crime, but who at the same time would be entirely subservient to Lacenaire's will.

In excuse of his downfall he reasons as follows: He had desired to earn an honest living by any legitimate means, but had been repulsed on all sides. So, "Lorsque je vis arriver la misère et avec elle la faim; la haine succéda au mépris, haine profonde et rongeuse, dans laquelle je finis par envelopper tout le genre humain. Dès lors je ne combattis plus pour mon intérêt personnel, mais pour la vengeance." He further adds "C'est l'édifice social que je voulais attaquer dans ses bases, dans ses riches." (2). Having finally wreaked his vengeance he was satisfied, and deprived of hatred. He justified his crime on the ground that all men are imitators. This fact he supports by the contention that crimes come in waves - evidently the criminals being made bold by the successes of others. When no crime has been committed for some time it requires a hardy soul to take the initiative. Yet even for this Lacenaire, hardened by his early life, calloused by his studies of human nature, helped by none, was ready. His prison life helped him along the same road. When one sees the prisoner as a human being, not as a monster, he becomes less repugnant, and seems to have a real case against society. "Tout cela est dans l'homme: osez me dire que non, je vous dirai que vous ne le connaissez pas." Man at bottom is cruel. He kills animals for the sake of the mere killing, not to supply the necessities of life. Even though he was a murderer, he could not endure the sight of suffering. "Je n'ai jamais pu voir souffrir de sang-froid un être animé

(1) Lacenaire Mémoires Vol I P. 186

(2) Ib. P. 199

quel qu'il fût. La mort ne me semble rien; mais j'ai horreur de la souffrance. Si j'avais été maître absolu d'un état, j'aurais condamné non pas à la mort, mais aux tortures les plus horribles, celui qui aurait fait souffrir inutilement un homme ou un animal" (1) Murder is justifiable only for self-preservation. Lacenaire had not killed merely for money, but for revenge on the society that had used him so cruelly.

At length he had served his sentence, but the primary object of his incarceration was unfulfilled - he had not found an accomplice. On his release, however, he tried to make a new start. For three days he starved. Then he secured employment as a reporter, but was dismissed. Hunger forced him to join two others in a robbery. All this while, nevertheless, his aim was to commit murder "un meurtre, c'était mon idée fixé". What was his grievance against society? Chiefly, that he could not secure work. He gives a very bombastic and egotistical account of his own ability and capability, if only society had given him a chance to use his talents. The list of his crimes he excuses naively. He had forged notes because he believed that some day he would inherit part of his father's fortune, and so he was only spending his own in advance; he had killed the man in Italy because he had been betrayed by him; he had stolen in Paris and plotted against society because he was not given work. We may well ask if these reasons are sufficient justification for the deeds.

At length he fell in with a criminal he formerly knew. Together they planned the murder of a man and the theft of 100,000 francs, but their attempt failed. To live he carried on in his career of theft, was caught, and sentenced to thirteen months in prison. A benevolent gentleman became interested in him while serving this sentence and offered to start him in a literary career on the expiration of his sentence. Lacenaire wanted nothing else, and was buoyed up with the hope of this new future. His plans of vengeance disappeared at the prospect of steady remuneration. This gentleman took with him some of Lacenaire's poems in order to have them printed, but it transpired that he claimed them as his own. When Lacenaire came out of prison he approached the man who had promised to help him, but instead of succour he received rebuffs, and the inevitable consequence was a return to his old ways of stealing.

(1) Lacenaire Mémoires Vol. 1 P. 223

Then occurred the murder for which he suffered death. A man named Chardon lived with his widowed mother, sixty years of age, who received a pension from the government. Lacenaire and Avril planned the robbery and murder. "Je n'eus pas un instant le plus léger scrupule," he says. (1) What was his motive? In his own words we find it.

> "Croyez-vous donc que c'était l'appât d'or que je devais trouver chez Chardon que m'avait poussé? Oh non! c'était une sanglante justification de ma vie, une sanglante protestation contre cette société qui m'avait repoussé; voilà quel était mon but, mon espoir. Dès lors plus de crainte, on pouvait me saisir quand on voudrait. Je savais comment je terminerais. Je ne risquais plus de m'abandonner au vol; il ne s'agissait plus que de jouir encore quelques instants ou de triompher tout-à-fait" (2)

This "act of justice" as he calls it, was carried out as follows. The quotation is from the confession made later to the police.

> "Nous entrâmes dans son logement. Une fois dans la première pièce où était le lit, et qui servait de cuisine, Avril le prit par le cou, et au même instant je le frappai d'un poinçon par derrière. Je lui portai ensuite plusieurs coups par devant. Chardon tomba, et en se débattant, ses pieds portèrent et firent ouvrir une petite porte d'armoire. Avril l'acheva à coups de hache, et le sang rejaillit sur lui. J'entrai seul dans la chambre de la mère dont la porte était ouverte: elle était couchée; je la frappai au visage, sur les yeux, sur le nez, avec un poinçon. Nous prîmes 500 francs en argent, quatre ou six couverts en argent et un cuiller à potage."(3)

Could anything be more cowardly?

After this crime they attempted to kill a bank messenger for the money he carried, but their attempt failed. He was more successful in forging notes in the provinces but this latter crime brought him once more into the hands of the police. After his arrest he makes the observation that there are people on whom it is impossible to wreak vengeance,

(1) Lacenaire Mémoires. Vol II P.45
(2) Ib. P.47
(3) Ib. P.171

because they do not suffer - their will power is too great. To this class he belongs: "Je défie qui que se soit de se venger de moi."

In prison he was forced to confess his crimes. To this end, he says the best means to secure evidence is to play accomplices against one another, and induce them to give information. Repeatedly he declares that suicide would be an easy way out of his difficulty, but that would not be a death sufficiently spectacular to suit his ends. He had followed the trial without interest, save on the last day. He knew his fate from the attitude of the jury, but there was always a chance that things might be less severe. The death sentence ended his uneasiness. He lets us into the mind of a man awaiting death. In France it is not the custom to set a definite date for the execution. The condemned man knows only on the morning on which they come after him. Thrice Lacenaire awoke, wondering if they were approaching to take him away. On subsequent nights he dreamed of dying by a million forms of horrible deaths. Religion had no interest whatever for him. Hallucinations, hopes, fears are mixed in an involuntary jumble. Awaiting death is to him the cruellest torture to which he could be subjected. The last human act this monster seems to have dome was to forgive his father. Here ends his memoirs.

In 1836 he was guillotined.

A short resumé of the trial may be of interest. After recounting the murder of the aged Mme. Chardon and her son, and the attempted murder of Genevay, M. Partarrien - Lafosse, the prosecuting attorney,made the following plea:

> "Life in Paris seemed continually in danger. Why? "Il existe des hommes pour lesquels l'assassinat n'est pas une dernière extrémité où le plus pervers n'arrive qu'en tremblant, mais une affaire, une affaire comme une autre, que l'on propose, que l'on examine, dont on discute les moyens, et que, le jour venu, on raconte en plein audience avec un complet sang-froid; des hommes pour lesquels l'assassinat n'est pas un accident, le paroxisme de la colère, la mauvaise pensée d'un moment, mais une habitude, une profession." (1)

(1) Lacenaire. Mémoires. Vol II P. 255

Then follows the recital of his crimes. Lacenaire had no extenuation whatever. He was educated, and should have known better than to have acted in such a manner. He had been given every material opportunity to succeed in the world. Public safety required a verdict of guilty. He ends his case with the following words:-

> "Ils n'hésitent pas, eux, quand il s'agit de frapper leurs victimes; vous n'hésiterez pas davantage pour les frapper à leur tour. Et autant les méchants déploient de fermeté, d'énergie pour commettre le mal, autant vous en aurez, vous, pour le réprimer." (1)

The defence made the claim that Lacenaire was legitimately on the defensive against society. Deception, suffering, shame, despair forced him into crime. The death sentence would be of no avail in this case. The supreme penalty makes a salutary example of some criminals; it inspires horror in society; it avenges society; it punishes the guilty one. It would not affect Lacenaire because he desired a notorious death. Therefore, let them not gratify his wish, but give him a life sentence instead.

The verdict, however, was guilty. Avril also was executed for his share in the crime.

(1) Lacenaire. Mémoires. Vol. II P. 270

The memoirs hitherto considered have dealt with crimes of murder and violence, committed deliberately after careful forethought. They cannot but inspire horror in the impartial reader. But murder is not the only crime in the category of the criminal. To another class of malefactor belongs James Hardy Vaux. The title of his memoirs reveals his character: "Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux, A Swindler and Thief, Now Transported to New South Wales for the Second Time, and for Life!" The recital of his life story is instructive.

His mother belonged to the middle class; his father was a butler. From about the age of three he lived with his maternal grandfather, who was fairly prosperous. They sent him to school and gave him all the advantages they could. He early developed a taste for reading, but also a lack of steady application. This unstable disposition he seems to have inherited from his father. Fired by the reading of sea stories, he longed to go to sea. His grandfather, however, desired him to go to Oxford. This Vaux declined, and so he was apprenticed to a draper in Liverpool.

His first theft was the purloining of money from the till of his employer in order to pay a bet which he had made at a cockfight. Drink followed, and he lost his position. He was next employed as clerk to a lawyer, and in addition to the ordinary matters relative to his occupation, he learned the various means used to thwart justice. He was dismissed from this office because of association with bad companions, causing late hours and a lack of application in his work. Gradually his expenses increased. To meet these debts he left his rooms unpaid, and ordered clothes for which he gave nothing.

From this kind of thieving, he goes to worse. He frequented an inn harbouring sharpers, thieves, and all types of other criminals. At this inn, the Blue Lion in Gray's Inn Lane, he met a deserter from a warship who was reduced to his last penny, and lacked the means of earning more ashore. Therefore he had decided to go to Portsmouth to try to embark on another vessel. Vaux determined to accompany him. Since they had little money, it was necessary for them to walk. All went well for a time. Arrived at Kingston, they liked their quarters so well that they found it difficult to proceed on their journey. Their money gave out and it therefore became necessary to procure some,

no matter how. The ruse Vaux devised was to draft a spurious letter of recommendation, and with this as a passport he next day called on many influential people to beg money. The first person he called on was the mayor, and though he promptly refused to subscribe any money whatever to his cause, Vaux put down his name as having given five guineas. Others, on seeing this, gave in proportion. Thus he played on the vanity of human ostentation to gain his ends. He continued his begging for some days, but was subsequently arrested when it became known his petition was false. He secured his release, however, and they moved on to Portsmouth. Arrived at Portsmouth, and both being in favour of abandoning their project to go on board ship, Vaux hired out to an advocate as clerk. He worked for this man some time, was soon discharged, and returned to London.

In London he received an appointment as midshipman on H.M.S. CAROLINA and stayed on this ship during the winter. He was a poor sailor; the winter rigors were too severe for him; and he was not very happy in his mess. Therefore he deserted. This act left him in great distress, as he had little money. To replenish his funds he became a billiard sharper. The method used by these sharpers was to play a few games together. One lost consistently and intentionally. Finally the loser would challenge his opponent to a match. Bets were laid by the remainder of the gang in favour of their accomplice. The latter would then play his best, usually win, and so the bets were won by the gang. To one of these gangs Vaux attached himself, and was soon adept at the game.

He abandoned this life to work as clerk for a solicitor by whom he was well treated and well paid. However, he rewarded his employer's trust by stealing a trunk of clothing which was being sent to London, and resorting thither himself. Mr. Dalton, his former employer, took proceedings against him and had him arrested, but on recovery of his goods, declined to prosecute further. This release he owed to the intervention of his friends, who still thought him virtuous. His next place of employment was a tailor shop where he turned things to his own account by stealing pieces of cloth and selling them to a "fence". His depredations were discovered; arrest followed; Vaux found himself in prison.

He could hear other prisoners talking to one another over the partitions of their cells. Were they deterred from crime by imprisonment? Vaux says:

> "Instead of expressing contrition for their offences, their only consideration was how to proceed with more safety, but increased vigour, in their future depredations." (1)

Youths committed to prison learned more villany there than they would have acquired in many years at large. At his trial he was acquitted for lack of evidence.

Vaux was now fully launched on his career of crime. After his escape from the law, he met a young man named Bromley whose acquaintance he had made in New Prison, Clerkenwell. Bromley was a pick-pocket. To this species of crime Vaux now applied himself, he and Bromley working together. Their crimes included picking pockets in general, robbing carts or carriages, shop-lifting, house-breaking, counterfeiting, defrauding errand boys of their load, obtaining money and goods under false pretences. Bromley had been the son of a respectable tailor, but the influence of bad companions had pulled him down to his present level. At last Bromley was caught in the act of picking a pocket, and Vaux was arrested with him as his accomplice. They were sentenced to seven years' transportation, and to imprisonment in Newgate while awaiting shipment. Vaux was 18 and Bromley 20 at the time of their conviction. The article they had stolen was a handkerchief, valued at eleven pence. The custom in transportation cases was to send the convicts to prison for a period not exceeding three months; thence they were removed to the hulks at Woolwich, Portsmouth, etc. thence on board the ships which were to carry them overseas.

The convoy of three ships sailed from Spithead on June 21st and arrived at Port Jackson, Australia on December 14th, 1801. Vaux was put to work in Hawkesbury as a clerk, giving such good satisfaction that he was transferred to the government service. Here he did well for a time, but his friends were again his undoing. The clerks in the government service lived very lavishly. Vaux had not the strength to resist consorting with them

(1) Vaux, Memoirs P. 98.

nor had he the money to maintain the pace they set. He therefore forged the governor's signature, and with that appended to a document he could secure whatever he wished from the government stores. His fraud was at length discovered. When asked to confess he refused: but when the governor ordered him the lash he yielded and confessed to his depredations. As a punishment he was sent to gaol, and forced to work on the road gang.

After a month Vaux was transferred to the public agricultural settlement of Castle-hill, twenty-four miles from Sydney, where he found the work and the general life very fatiguing. It has been said by prison authorities that a desire for freedom and change is one of the most pressing urges felt by a prisoner. This is exemplified in Vaux. Regulations were that the convicts could not leave the settlement at Castle-hill at all. But Vaux repeatedly walked the twenty-four miles to Sydney on Friday, and returned on Sunday before his pass expired. He was caught in Sydney and given fifty lashes. "This did not deter me, however, from running the same risk at several subsequent periods, only redoubling my precautions and travelling at night." Vaux was later promoted to the position of clerk of the settlement, under Mr. Marsden. The latter was so well pleased with his services that he influenced the governor to pardon him his unexpired time. Governor King was recalled shortly after, and Vaux was taken back to England with him as his private secretary.

They set sail in a leaky ship, badly provisioned, and eventually arrived at Portsmouth. Vaux deserted the ship there and went to London. One of his first acts was to steal a parcel from a mail-coach, which chanced to contain sufficient money to support him for a time. He secured employment in the crown office after some weeks, and resolved to live an honest life thenceforth. Chancing one day to meet a former acquaintance, he fell once more; and in the criminal ranks he met many of the convicts who had been in New South Wales, and all were again engaged in their former methods of crime. Vaux recommenced to steal, making the scenes of his thefts this time shops and theatres. His method was to pretend to be looking over several articles, and by sleight of hand concealing some in his coat sleeve. And thus he went on, stealing and shop-lifting, enjoying success because he was yet unknown to the police. Some of his ill-gotten gains he used to support his mother.

Requiring an accomplice in crime, he married. Bromley had worked with him hitherto but he was too well known to be of great service. His constant work now was picking pockets and shoplifting: a work in which his female accomplice served him in good stead, since she also was unsuspected by the police. The stealing of a silver snuffbox caused his arrest, but again he luckily escaped conviction. Nothing daunted, he continued in his thieving ways. From a Mr. Bilger in Piccadilly he stole several rings and other ornaments; as a result a price was put on his head; and at last he was arrested.

In the toils he had time for reflection. He blames his misfortune on fate:

> "But mature reflection convinced me that, my time being come, it was impossible to escape the fate to which I was born, and destined from the moment of birth." (1)

If fate were to blame, then she was indeed cruel, for the penalty this time was the sentence of death. As is generally the case, he protested his innocence.

The effect of the death sentence on the convicted is clearly shown in this part of the memoir. Vaux shared the death cell with a man named Nicholls, who had been condemned to death for forgery, and selling forged bank notes. His arrest had been occasioned by the perfidy of an accomplice who had betrayed Nicholls by a signal to the police when he was in the very act of negotiating some of these bills. He had appealed his sentence, and was awaiting the issue of the appeal when he was joined by Vaux. Every time he heard his cell door open he believed it brought the news of his death sentence. At length it did arrive. His agitation was indescribable. Nicholls was of the type which is truly repentant for its misdeeds, and spent the last days preparing for eternity. In these exercises Vaux tried to help him, and he went calmly to his death. The next man to share the cell with Vaux was a young man who had been sentenced to death for attempting to shoot a man who apprehended him in the act of robbery. His conscience and mind seemed quite free from worry of any sort, and he even appeared to welcome release from this world. He had a previous record of crime, and had been transported. Vaux appealed his own sentence, and was successful to the extent of being respited; but

(1) Vaux. Memoirs P. 241.

ordered transported for life. His cell companion was sentenced to die, but accepted the verdict calmly. On the night before his execution he slept soundly, and the next morning dressed with meticulous care. He declared that "He should go out with as much pleasure as if he was going to a fair or a race, and that he had rather die than live". He preserved this same cheerful deportment to the end.

The precursor to transportation was a period on the hulks. Vaux was sent to the hulk "Retribution" at Woolwich. He describes it as follows:

> "There were confined in this floating dungeon nearly six hundred men, most of them double-ironed; and the reader may conceive the horrible effects arising from the continual rattling of chains, the filth and vermin naturally produced by such a crowd of miserable inhabitants, the oaths and execrations constantly heard among them; and above all on the shocking necessity of associating and communicating more or less with so depraved a set of beings. On arriving on board we were all immediately stripped, and washed in large tubs of water; then, after putting on each a suit of coarse slop clothing, we were ironed and sent below. On descending the hatch-way, no conception can be formed of the scene which presented itself. I shall not attempt to describe it; but nothing short of a descent to the infernal regions can be at all worthy of a comparison with it. All former friendships are here dissolved, and a man here will rob his best benefactor, or even a messmate, of an article worth one halfpenny." (1)

Every morning the convicts were sent ashore to work in the arsenal. Each gang of sixteen or twenty is watched over by a guard. Vaux says of the guards:

> "These guards are most commonly of the lowest class of human beings; wretches devoid of all feeling; ignorant in the extreme, brutal by nature, and rendered tyrannical and cruel by the consciousness of the power they possess. They invariably

(1) Vaux. Memoirs. P. 261

> carry a large and ponderous stick,with which, without the smallest provocation, they will fell an unfortunate convict to the ground, and frequently repeat their blows long after the poor suferer is insensible." (1)

At noon the prisoners were brought on board for dinner, and back to work again at one. After supper they were all sent below, and the hatches closed down on them. The food they received was supplied by a contractor, not by the government, so that both in quality and in quantity it was poor. No one was allowed on board the hulks to visit prisoners, but they could come alongside in boats and talk for a period not exceeding ten minutes. In summing up the effect of this treatment on the prisoners Vaux says:

> "Besides robbery from each other, which is as common as cursing and swearing, I witnessed among the prisoners themselves during the twelvemonth I remained with them, one deliberate murder, for which the perpetrator was executed at Maidstone, and one suicide." (2)

On December 24, 1810, he arrived again at New South Wales. The method of disposing of the convicts was to give each a number, put the numbers in a hat and allow the prospective employers to draw. Vaux was drawn by a farmer who, according to his account, treated him very badly. By shamming sickness he succeeded in being sent to hospital, and on recovery was set to work in the town gang.

Vaux had determined to live as orderly a life as possible when once more he should be free from prison, for hard experience had taught him the value of a comfortable position if such should come his way. He was given the position of overseer of a gang, and was doing well when a convict named Edwards implicated him in thefts whereof he was entirely innocent. Chiefly on the false evidence of Edwards, and because of the fact that this was his second time deported, they were both sentenced to indefinite penal servitude at Newcastle, called Coal River. Edwards was an incorrigible criminal.

(1) Vaux, Memoirs. P. 262
(2) Ib. P. 263

Robbery was his chief form of crime, and this he committed unceasingly. Finally he was sent to Van Diemen's land, where he joined a band of desperadoes who harrassed, robbed and pillaged the settlers on every possible occasion.

After two years Vaux was sent back to Sydney. He tried to escape in a ship bound for Bombay, but was discovered and sentenced to one year at Coal River. There he was fortunate enough to secure work as a clerk. Here the memoir ends, the first eidition of which appeared in 1819. The editor's preface to the first edition reads in part as follows:

> "It has been thought that the public would benefit in more ways than one by the publication of a work in which the philospoher may read the workings of an unprincipled conscience, the legislator be let into the workings of the laws on the criminal's mind, and the citizen derive a key to the frauds by which he is so easily and constantly beset."

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Almost of another world, belonging to a different century, serving a sentence under conditions entirely different from any thus far considered, was Latude. The title of his work reads: "Mémoires Authentiques de Latude Ecrits par lui au Donjon de Vincennes et a Charenton". The publisher begins with this observation:

> "Peu de figures historiques ont pris dans l'imagination populaire une plus grande place que Masers de Latude. Le célèbre prisonnier semble avoir resumé dans sa vie de souffrances les iniquités d'un gouvernement arbitraire. Les contemporains de Latude le regardaient deja comme un martyr, et la postérité n'a pas découronné sa tête blanchie dans les prisons de cette lumineuse auréole. Sa légende Latude l'a formée lui-même. A la Bibliotèque impériale de Saint Petersbourg sont conservés les mémoires qu'il écrivit dans sa prison avec une sincerété qui fait défaut à ceux qu'il dictera plus tard à l'usage du public. D'autre part, les documents qui composaient son dossier dans les Archives de la Bastille sont conservés à l'Arsenal à Carnavalet. Il est, grace à eux, facile de rétablir la verité."

Thus we may conclude that the memoir is authentic Interspersed through the volume are examples of Latude's writing and letters, and photographs of other scenes and articles establishing the authenticity of the document. A consideration of his life is invaluable as a record of prison life and administration in the time of Louis XV.

In Languedoc in 1725 was born to Jeanneton Aubrespy a son of unknown father. He was given the name of Jean Henri, but he later changed it to Jean Danry. She brought up her son to the best of her ability, and at the age of seventeen he is seen as a surgeon's boy, or assistant, in the army of Languedoc. He saw service in the Netherlands, and after that was discharged. The consequence was that he had nothing to do. Paris, with its gay life and entertainment, appealed to him. To secure money he invented a story to the effect that his fellow-soldiers

had stolen 678 francs from him at the siege of Berg-op-Zoom. He therefore wrote to the officer commanding in Flanders, and demanded restitution of this amount. His request was refused. He soon saw a chance to secure both money and favour by other means. At this time the Marquise de Pompadour was carrying on a duel with Maurepas for the control of power in France, and the former had succeeded in driving the latter into exile. Mme. de Pompadour had as a result a constant fear of reprisal, chiefly in the form of poison. This was Danry's opportunity. He went to a drug store and bought some harmless powders. These he enclosed in a box and addressed it to Mme. de Pompadour. After dropping it in the post box he immediately hastened to Versailles, where he told a story of having overheard two men plotting the death of the favourite, and of having seen them mail a box to her. At once he, Danry, had come to warn her of her peril.

Examination proved the powders harmless, but the authorities decided to arrest the perpetrator because of the suspicion thrown on Maurepas. Danry was proved guilty and put in the Bastille on May 1, 1749, by means of a lettre de cachet. The police detained him because they thought he was merely the tool of someone higher up. After a short time in the Bastille he was transferred to the prison at Vincennes. His spirit was quite broken, since the prospect of the future was so doleful. After nine months at Vincennes he escaped. He wrote a letter to the king asking his pardon for the one mistake he had made. The reply of Mme. de Pompadour was to re-arrest him and shut him up in the Bastille, in a dungeon.

Mr. Berryer, lieutenant general of police, often went to see him and tried his best to have the sentence cancelled. He was unsuccessful, but even this interest in his welfare helped Danry a great deal. Of the effect on the prisoner of the attitude of those above him, he says:

> "Un mot peut-être ranimerait leurs espérances, et tarirait leurs larmes. Il vous en couterait si peu de leur paraître des dieux! Pourquoi-donc n'êtes-vous

si souvent à leurs yeux que des
bourreaux?" (1)

Towards Mme. de Pompadour he conceived the most violent hatred. She symbolised in her own person all the cruelty and tyranny which was keeping him in that noisome dungeon. His imprisonment seems to be having the effect of making him partly mad. He had the imprudence to write the following verse on a book which he had:

"Sans esprit et sans agréments
Sans être ni belle ni neuve,
En France on peut avoir le premier des amants:
La Pompadour en est la preuve."

This fell into the hands of the marquise and put an end forever to any hopes of clemency he might have had. For eighteen months he was in the dungeon, and then he was changed to a cell, where his condition was somewhat better.

"Alors au moins, je n'étais pas enchainé dans un cachot, étendu sur une paille infecte et pourrie; alors je n'étais pas réduit à disputer aux animaux une nourriture dégoutante; alors mon corps n'était pas la pâture des insects qui l'ont rongé depuis."

He had nevertheless the unhappy experience of seeing his cell companion slowly dying under the rigours of prison discipline.

The next person to share his cell was a young man named d'Allègre, who had written to Mme. de Pompadour offering her advice as to how to regain the esteem she had lost in the minds of the public. For his temerity he was thrown into the Bastille. They both petitioned ceaselessly for a reprieve, but without success. At length, infuriated by their persistence, Mme. de Pompadour vowed that her revenge would be eternal: never would they be released. Thus their only hope of liberation, was the death or disgrace of the marquise. In desperation they thought of one other means -

(1) Latude, Mémoires P. 54.

escape. The idea of escape from the Bastille seemed so ridiculous to d'Allègre that he wondered if Latude, as he now calls himself, were insane. But, as he says, hope and the love of liberty never die in the human heart; at least an attempt at escape was preferable to death in prison. Escape in this case meant to climb through the chimney and remove the bars; a ladder of rope 80 ft. long to get outside the tower; another wooden ladder to get over the wall and down the other side. For all this they had no tools whatever, and were moreover continually under guard of the strictest kind.

The preparations made by Latude and d'Allègre, and the actual escape, are worth relating as showing to what extent prisoners desire liberty, and the means they will employ to secure it. The first step was to discover a hiding place for their materials. Fortune favoured them in this instance from the fact that they were in a cell between the floor of which, and the ceiling of the cell below there was a space of four feet. They made a knife out of the iron leg of their table, with which to dig out the iron bars. It took six months to accomplish this task. As they dug out a bar, they replaced it carefully to avoid arousing suspicion. The rope for their ladder was made from the threads of their shirts and other clothing. Each thread was drawn out by itself; then they were wound into a cord. As each piece of material was made it was hidden under the floor. It was necessary to have a saw in order to make the wooden ladder, so this tool they made from an iron candlestick. All the wood which was given them for fires they consecrated to the preparation of the ladder, making tenons and mortices to fit into one another. All their work had to be done at night, when the surveillance was less strict: to further cover their doings they invented an argot of their own. The rope ladder, 180 ft. long, was their next concern. Shirts, napkins, socks, handkerchiefs - all the clothing that they had with them was unravelled and made into rope. In all they had 1400 feet of rope. The wooden ladder was also ready. Then they foresaw the difficulty of encountering sentries on the walls outside. To

overcome this danger they decided to make a hole through the wall which surrounded the prison rather than go over the top. To dig away the mortar between the stones they made a ferrule from the leg of a bed. Thus all was in readiness to make the attempt. For eighteen months they had toiled with this object in view, and on February 25, 1755, they decided to try their fortune.

Latude went up the chimney first. d'Allègre tied the ladders to a cord and they were hauled up. Then he himself climbed up. After walking along the roof they tied the rope ladder to the "Tour du Trésor", and while d'Allègre paid out the rope Latude lowered himself to the ground. The other articles were lowered by d'Allègre, and then he followed himself. Outside they could hear a sentinel on his beat, so the only thing to do was to make a hole in the wall. They selected a spot where the wall separates the Bastille from the Porte St. Antoine, and set to work. It took them nine hours working in water up to their armpits to make a hole in the $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wall. Several times they had to submerge themselves completely to avoid detection. At length they made the hole big enough to crawl through, and out they went. Their feeling of thankfulness may well be imagined when at length they found themselves on the highway.

For a time Latude hid with friends, and then made his escape to Belgium. From there he went to Holland - Amsterdam - where he was well treated. Still persisting in his appeals, he wrote asking for pardon. Legal advice in Paris and Amsterdam was to the effect that he was entitled to damages for defamation of character. The only effect of his appeal, however, was to cause his rearrest and once again he was put in a dungeon in the Bastille.

He tried a new expedient to gain freedom - namely devising schemes which would be beneficial to the state. Those he suggested to Louis XV were - the arming of his troops with rifles; a new postage rate which gave increased revenue; and a system of finance. No heed whatever was paid to these projects, so he tried the expedient of writing a scathing indictment of Mme. de Pompadour, and throwing it out of the window. This was actually picked up, but had no effect whatever. In

fact, the idea of revenge had taken such a firm hold on him that he desired more than anything else the disgrace of the marquise, rather than her death. The spirit of impatience also caused him much trouble, for he was on the point of being liberated, when a letter he wrote to M. de Sartine, lieutenant-general of police caused his transfer to Vincennes. Thence he escaped again. He was at large for twenty-five days, during which time he again petitioned for liberty. Once more he was arrested; and again thrust into the dungeon at Vincennes.

He was not allowed to communicate with anyone, because of his previous escapes, and for the same reason he was kept under very close guard. Outside the wall of his dungeon was the yard where the prisoners exercised. Goaded by thoughts of liberty Latude made a hole in the five-foot stone wall by means of a piece of iron sharpened at the end. The task required twenty-six months to accomplish, but when it was finished he was able to talk with the other prisoners. Some of their names and the reasons for their imprisonment are of interest since all those mentioned were victims of the Marquise de Pompadour. Baron de Vissec was condemned merely because he was suspected of having spoken ill of the marquise; and had been in prison seventeen years when Latude first came into touch with him. The abbé Prieur had been imprisoned for having sent to the king of Prussia a type of writing which he had invented, and which the censors could not understand. The chevalier de la Rochegerault was then serving his twenty-third year in prison for having been suspected of writing against Mme. de Pompadour. These facts Latude ascertained by means of the hole in the wall. Ultimately it was discovered and closed.

Latude seemed to be constantly causing trouble to the prison authorities, and for a slight offence he was put in a dungeon which he describes to the chaplain as follows:-

> "Vous voyez bien, monsieur, que je n'ai pas une seule goutte d'air, et qu'à midi je ne vois pas plus clair qu'à minuit."(1)

(1) Latude, Mémoires. P. 118

At length when for the first time in six years he had an opportunity to speak to M. de Sartine, he requested to know the crime for which he was being kept in prison so long. The reply was:

> "Vous avez dit des sottises affreuses contre le roi,contre le ministre et contre moi." (1)

Latude became,finally,obessed with the idea that his jailers were bewitched. It was his continual theme, and he so exasperated M. de Sartine with it that the latter threatened never to come near him again. He had drawn up several briefs in the defence of his person and his ideas, in the hope of securing liberty, but he was not allowed to use them for many years. He even went of his own accord into the worst of the dungeons in order to excite the pity of those in authority. The result of this voluntary incarceration in a dark dungeon was that he nearly lost his sight. To give him relief they would do nothing. He exclaims:

> "Or voyez si dans les cachots de l'enfer les diables traitent les damnés avec autant de cruauté, et de scélérat-esse qu'on traite ici les innocents." (2)

His constant plea was for liberty. All the paper that was given him he used in writing to the authorities urging his release. Finally no more paper was permitted him, and no ink; in desperation he wrote a letter with his blood on a piece of cloth. Some time after he wrote a second one in the same way, the original of which is still in the library of "l'Arsenal, Archives de Bastille, No.11693". In this letter he states that he may be unbalanced mentally, but at any rate let them send someone to examine him and test his ideas. His twenty-six years in prison seemed to have affected his mind, as he claims to have found the secret of the salt in the sea.

For six months he had been in the dungeon, so that parts of his body began to swell. He threatened to commit suicide if a doctor were not sent to examine him. When the doctor eventually arrived he ordered him to be taken out of the dungeon.

(1) Latude, Mémoires P.119
(2) Ib. P.125

He describes it thus:

> "Il n'a ni meurtrière,ni fenêtre, ni soupirail. Il y a quatre portes, les unes sur les autres. La première est composée de madriers qui ont plus d'un demi-pied d'épaisseur, et doublée de plaques de fer avec plusieurs verrous aussi gros que mes jambes. Imaginez-vous que quand cette porte est fermée, il serait impossible à dix hommes avec des haches de pouvoir l'abattre, et quand ces quatre portes sont fermées, à midi il est impossible de pouvoir distinguer une pièce de drap blanc d'avec celle d'un drap noir; et comme il n'y a point de soupirail, le patient ne reçoit d'air que celui qui peut passer entre les interstices des engrenures de ces quatre portes et la muraille." (1)

Latude's incessant request was to be allowed to talk over his defence with someone, mainly in an endeavour to persuade people that his jailers were bewitched. A doctor was sent to consult him finally, but made an unfavourable report of his brief.

After twenty-seven years in prison he was transferred to the insane asylum at Charenton,where his condition was far worse than it had been at Vincennes. There he learned many things; among others that Louis XV had been dead over a year. Why then, had not the prisons been emptied, according to custom, on the accession of Louis XVI? Many men had served more than twenty-five years in prison, merely because they had displeased Mme. de Pompadour, now dead since twelve years. D'Allègre, his companion in escaping from the Bastille, had gone stark mad, and was also confined at Charenton.

At first his obsession led the friars to believe him insane, but at length they saw that he was not. He still petitioned ceaselessly for his freedom. Before they would undertake to release him, he had to show that he would not be a charge on the public if he were freed. This was satisfactorily settled. At length, after an imprison-

(1) Latude. Mémoires P.141.

ment of twenty-eight years, he was released on June 10, 1777. He claims to be the son the Marquis de Latude, but the assertion is entirely false. After his release he became a popular idol, and was visited by many rich people who helped him out of pity for his past miseries. Some of the descendants of Mme. de Pompadour shared in this assistance.

This concludes the study of those criminals whose life and actions are given in full details in the memoirs consulted. Other memoirists give us shorter glimpses of the lives of criminals who came under their observation. Major Arthur Griffiths in "Secrets of the Prison House" gives several sketches of this type.

Drusilla Drane "a strapping, well-made wench, still quite young; tall and of large proportions; not bad-looking when her features were not distorted by passion" worked as a farm servant at Acton Cotes, whither came a hawker named Shurley, selling cheap finery on a credit system to the farm wives. Drusilla appeared to him all he desired in a mate; so they were married and settled in Hawkspool. After some time Shurley's absences became prolonged into months at a time, during which periods Drusilla was left to earn her own living. Suspicions gradually forced themselves upon her, suspicions which were confirmed on discovering that Shurley had taken to himself a second wife in Hawkesham. Such a state of affairs was unbearable to Drusilla; and, maddened by jealousy, she determined on revenge.

On her arrival in Hawksham, she found the second Mrs. Shurley alone, the hawker being away on business. Emily Ann was a small, frail creature, no match for the muscular Drusilla, who soon had her in a crumpled, bruised heap on the floor. Her revenge cost Drusilla a sentence in Hawksham gaol, where everything was strange and irksome. Accustomed as she had been all her life to freedom, the restrictions were unbearable. In defiance she refused to eat for a week. When they tried to feed her by force she changed into a veritable demon.

> "Now she was changed into furious activity,struggled, fought, bit, tore, scratched, and otherwise demeaned herself most violently". (1)

From then on she took especial delight in defying discipline, and causing all the trouble she could.

As soon as Drusilla was released she went to wreak vengeance again on Emily Ann; once more she was committed to prison, where she ably maintained her reputation for incorrigibility. At Hawksfield she had made a murderous assult on a male warder by means of a hairpin which she had sharpened at one end, and as a consequence she was sentenced to serve a term in "Woking Female". The strong discipline in that institution tamed her somewhat, so that she earned her ticket-of-leave. While out on this occasion she tried to burn the Shurley house, and so was sent to Hawksfield Gaol.

Meanwhile the two Shurleys had been arrested on a charge of receiving stolen goods; and the man believing Emily Ann had informed the police, made a murderous attack on her which ultimately caused her death. They were both lodged in Hawksfield Gaol.

One day a warder, bringing in a little girl passed close to where Drusilla was washing the floor, and the latter asked permission to speak to the child. This was refused. Then Drusilla asked:

"Whose is it?"

"Shurley's" replied the warder.

"Not Emily Ann's? Take it miss; I'd be sorry to do it an injury, but 'tisn't safe with me."

Thereupon the warder told Drusilla the story of the misfortune that had befallen the Shurleys, adding that the child had now to be brought up by someone. The recital of these events changed the whole aspect for Drusilla.

"Mayn't I have it,miss? Let me - do", said Drusilla, pleading hard.

The request was granted by the prison authorities, and the effect was remarkable. She lavished on the child every affection possible, even before the death of Emily Ann. The death of the latter seemed to soften her feelings towards her husband, who had been condemned to death. She had never regarded this perfidious villain as the cause of her trouble: for her the cause was Emily Ann. It is all the more strange, then, that she had such an affection for the child. Nor was it a passing whim, for when she had served her time she kept her and brought her up as her own.

Another female prisoner characterized by an ungovernable temper was Flossie Fitzherbert, as she called herself. Her crimes always took the same form - first a robbery committed more or less boldly; then a wild orgy of drink; then an attack on the first policeman she saw, ending in gaol. At one time she was in Millbank penetentiary. A warder had ordered her to hasten in obeying a command, one day, and in reply she struck the unfortunate woman twice on the head with the bottle she was carrying. After the assult she locked herself in her cell, and refused admission to anyone. Though she had been bad, this was her worst offence. Mrs. Le Grice, matron of the prison, was at her wits' end to know what to do to her, as her worst feature was her violent temper. Griffiths says that this "shortness" of temper is seen in may female prisoners, and is due to unavailing regret for the past, and the hopelessness of the future before them. Flossie Fitzherbert had been in prison many times, but reform seemed impossible to her unbridled nature. During one of the periods of her freedom she had been taken into a Home which was designed to help women of her type by inculcating a desire to labour honestly, and to live an orderly life. But her nature was against her, and she caused a mutiny, destroyed the linen, and made things unpleasant in general. The chaplain next tried to reform her by sending her to a new country inorder to make a new start. To this end he raised a subscription, and put her on board a boat bound for Australia. At Suez, however, she eloped with a steward. From there she returned to London, and recommenced her crimes, for the last of which after her return she was serving the term during which she attacked the warder.

She barricaded her door after the assult, and defied the authorities. Besides, she broke all her furniture and tore the bed clothing to shreds. The warders were powerless. To make matters worse the disorder had spread to the other pentagons of the prison and to the exercise yard below. Mrs. Le Grice was nevertheless equal to the occasion. On ordering her assistants away so as to be alone with the prisoner, her command was sufficient to cause Fitzherbert to unlock her door; and, furthermore, to send her to the punishment cell without escort. Such was the power of Mrs. Le Grice over her charges. Perhaps the reason for her influence may be found in Fitzherbert's declaration:-

> "I'd go a long way to serve you, mum, for you're one of the right sort, and treat us fair and square, and not as if we were the dirt under your feet." (1)

Shortly after that Mrs. Le Grice fell ill. Fitzherbert was given an extra six months' imprisonment for her assult on the warder, and in consequence became more unruly than ever. No one could control her. Her favourite method of causing a disturbance, which was to lie on the cell floor and drum on the door with her feet, repidly spread to the other prisoners, leaving the warders in despair. Fitzherbert said only one thing would stop her - a visit from the matron. But as Mrs. Le Grice was sick, she could not come, so Fitzherbert was marched to the sick room. There the sight of the matron reduced to such weakness had such a powerful effect on this hardened criminal that from that day forth Fitzherbert was the best behaved prisoner in the gaol.

A different type was Minxie Bligh. Her chief formsof crime were hotel robbery, shop-lifting, and fraud. She affected the air of a grand lady, and showed great disdain for the "common" prisoners. These airs and her general manner never failed to cause a disturbance in the prison. On her last visit to Millbank she caused trouble as soon as she was brought in by complaining that her cell was not

(1) Secrets of the Prison House. Vol. II P.54.

clean, and that this was fault of Dossor, the cleaner. Now, Dossor and Minxie were sworn enemies. No soôner had the officer gone than they came to blows,- blows that were mostly struck by Dossor, since she was a big, powerful woman, and Minxie was not half her size. The latter was nevertheless the aggressor in the affair, and was consequently severely punished.

Minxie's chief concern was her toilette. She was exceedingly vain, but withal she had considerable talent in making her prison dress look becoming; attempting various millinery experiments with her bonnet; and arranging her hair. As a result of the time spent in these efforts at adornment, she had little time to give to the regular routine work of the prison, and so was continually in trouble.

All the while her enmity towards Dossor rankled, and her longing for revenge was accentuated when Dossor informed on Minxie's behaviour at chapel one morning. The chief difficulty was to secure a weapon, since no metal utensils were permitted the prisoners. The first object that suggested itself was a nail, but none were available. Then she requested the use of a tooth-brush, the handle of which could be sharpened into a dangerous wepon. The request was granted, but the brush was removed each time, thus thwarting that project. Then she decided to sharpen the end of her wooden spoon, which was made of hard wood and thus was capable of being made into a formidable weapon. She had her weapon ready, and only awaited the opportunity to wreak vengeance.

Dossor, however, had been promoted to the position of nurse in the prison hospital, a position in which she had nothing whatever to do with Minxie. It was thus essential for the latter to get into hospital on some pretext or other. First she feigned sickness, but the doctors soon discovered the deception. As a sure means of securing admission to hospital she made a sore on her leg, which she aggravated by the continued application of lime. The wound grew serious, but the doctors thought that they could best treat her in her cell. But at length, due to continued aggravation, blood-poisoning set it, and it was imperative to transfer her to the hospital. For weeks she hovered between life

and death. At length she took a turn for the better, thanks to the unremitting care of Dossor; so that when Minxie recovered, all her desire for revenge was lost in gratitude to her nurse. That was the end of the feud.

It is not only the uneducated classes of society that contribute to the gaol population: the more fortunate supply their quota. Some of these deserve pity for their imprisonment, as for example the bank manager who embezzeled the bank money, hoping to pay all back when his fortune turned; or the army officer who occupied a high position in county administration, but who failed in his trust and was condemned to penal servitude.

The question arises whether men of this type should be given different treatment from other prisoners, since they feel the change from freedom so much more keenly than do those who come from the less fortunate classes. Griffiths says all should be treated the same. Sir Edmund Du Cane concurs in this opinion. The latter says:

> "A sentence of penal servitude is, in its main features, and so far as concerns the punishment, applied on exactly the same system to every person subjected to it. The previous career and character of the prisoner makes no difference in the punishment to which he is subjected, because it is rightly considered that it is for the Courts of Law, who have, or should have, a full knowledge on these points, to consider them on awarding sentence; and if any prisoner were subjected to harsher or milder treatment in consequence of any knowledge the prison authorities might have of his previous character, it might be that he would practically be punished twice over on the same account. The Government would also be always liable to charges of showing favour to or prejudice against certain particular prisoners." (1)

(1) Secrets of the Prison House. Vol. II. P.79

The English convict prison is a place of real expiation, due to the surrender of individual independence, lack of contact with worldly affairs, rough diet, coarse clothes, bare cell, and obligation to labour unceasingly which fall to the lot of the convict.

To the more intelligent class of society belonged Mr. X, who called himself a Russian count; speaking several languages fluently, and having all the appearance and bearing of a gentleman. His favourite fraud was to pretend to help persons to money coming to them from a deceased relative's will, and securing money from them to prosecute inquiries. He frequented all the fashionable resorts in Europe and America, and plied his trade vigourously when not in gaol. Another of the same class was Captain Y., an easy-going, dandified soldier who had been imprisoned for forging his father's or brother's name. In prison he was one of the worst offenders, chiefly because of insubordination. His vanity, which had received a blow during his imprisonment, revived on the approach of his release: for Griffiths, on observing him through the glass in the cell door, saw him laboriously trying to grease his hair with the fatty scum of his soup.

London is a haven for criminals of all types because there British law regards them as innocent until proved guilty. On the continent the opposite is the case, and the criminal finds himself obliged to prove his innocence. In coping with these felons the English police have no superiors. This is acknowledged, particularly by the police of Paris, who often appeal to Scotland Yard for help. Griffiths says regarding the metropolitan police:

> "Its machinery works with great and far-reaching precision; the initiative and impulse of a strong, self-reliant, long-expreienced central authority are felt through all its ramifications." (1)

Two instances of the efficiency of the English police will serve to illustrate. A Frenchman had left his

(1) Secrets of the Prison House. Vol. II. P.87.

wife and fled to London. The prefect of the Paris police sent her to Scotland Yard with her case. No clue whatever existed of the man's whereabouts; but the wife carried with her several of his pictures. These were forthwith shown to all the inspectors at Scotland Yard. That very afternoon he was recognized in Pall Mall by one of the detectives. The other case is that of François, the French anarchist. The house in which he lived was closely watched, but without success. At length it was found that he had moved, leaving no trace and no clue on which to work. Inquiry revealed that his goods had been removed in a greengrocer's cart, on the shaft of which and at the end of the address had been seen the letter "E". The police promptly visited every greengrocer and every van owner in the East end, and at last one was found who remembered having moved the goods. He gave the new address to the police and François was captured.

The support given a "crook" by his female partner is illustrated in the case of Lavine, known as the "Prince of Long Firm Swindlers". He was arrested in Paris by an inspector from Scotland Yard, and extradited by the aid of M. Macé, who had also run him down for the English police. His wife was the accomplice in this case. Lavine nearly escaped just before the train started, but he was recaptured. She boarded the same train, and eventually arrived in London. Lavine was imprisoned in Hawksfield, charged with swindling. His wife did her best to communicate with him secretly, even going so far as to attempt to bribe a warder: but all her efforts were in vain. At length Lavine secured permission to see his wife, under inspection as is customary at all interviews with prisoners. On sight of Lavine she threw herself in his arms and promptly fainted. The governor of the prison appeared at this juncture, and after ordering her to be taken away took from her hand a crumpled piece of paper. It proved to be a cheque for a thousand pounds, part of the proceeds of Lavine's swindling schemes, which he had succeeded in putting in her hand when she simulated fainting.

Another swindler was Schaperson, a native of the United States. The particular crime for which he had been arrested was cashing stolen bonds for one of his countrymen. The thieves sailed for New York, and Schaperson for Havre. The next day he was arrested in Paris, but escaped conviction by proving that he had been at his office in Hawkspool when the robbery was committed. Later on one of the thieves was arrested in New York, brought to England, and in his confession implicated Schaperson. The latter had devised schemes of fraud ranging from tricks on hall porters of clubs to juggling the stock market. In a letter to a fellow-criminal he voices the fear of the criminal.

> "For try your best to protect yourself, to leave some loophole to crawl out by, they're bound to run you in some day." (1)

In addition to the criminals whose crimes loom large, there are those who commit the lesser kinds of crime, such as petty thieving. Griffiths divides thieves into three classes: those who steal once, serve their sentence, repent, and transgress no more; those who steal again and again, from lack of the will power to abstain; and finally the professional thief. The last category see no wrong or disgrace in their actions: theirs is a legitimate warfare against society, in which they are amply justified. Their attitude is seen in the thief who said, "I may be a thief, but I am a respectable man." Another says:"After all the trade was never distasteful to me. I was good at it - knew my business by heart; whenever I was caught my enforced detention was a good occasion for inventing new coups. When I went out again I could put them in practice, having comrades always waiting and willing to co-operate. The very best work is conceived and wrought out in prison." (2) These criminals take great pride in their work, and naturally their chief joy is in eluding the police. They are continually in danger of capture, but that does not cause them to desist. One of

(1) Secrets of the Prison House. Vol. II. P. 120

(2) Ib. P. 137

their number says: .

> "I believe little in the reformation of professional thieves. He who has stolen will steal again. If I was to advise the government, it would be to put a bullet into our heads, and throw us into the sea. Repentance, or rather a change of ways, is seldom seen in us." (1)

Of them Victor Hugo says:

> "Nothing will recall these wretches to proper feeling; neither religion nor their own interests, nor the misfortunes they cause. Nothing checks them nor stays their hands." (2)

Another feature of their crimes is that they always keep up the same line of crime.

One of the worst and most repugnant of thieves was blind Taddy. A concrete case will illustrate his methods. Little Jack Botterill had been at the market with his employers' geese, and had disposed of them all to good advantage. On the way home he heard a whining voice behind him asking for help, and turning around, he saw a blind man, sturdy and well-built. Jack offered to guide him to the nearest inn, and off they went. At length they came to a lonely part of the road, and Jack assured Taddy that there was nothing to fear, because there were none in sight but themselves. Taddy eagerly asked if he were certain, and Jack again assured him that no one was near. Then Taddy with one movement knocked his companion flat on his back, and while holding his throat with one hand rifled the lad's pockets with the other. To prevent pursuit he struck the boy's head on the road several times. Satisfied with his work he took to his heels. The attack had however been seen from the inn, and Taddy was captured and put in gaol. On looking up his record it was found that he had been convicted three times before for similar offences. P Since he was blind, he caused great trouble to the prison authorities. He could not be given ordinary prison work, because he could not see to pull the oakum, and thus he had his

(1) Secrets of the Prison House Vol. II P.139

(2) Ib. P.139

time mostly to himself. His overbearing manner was distasteful to prisoners and warders alike. One day, his fierce temper caused him to attack a warder with the stick he was allowed to darry. The result of this assult was a good flogging. After the punishment Taddy was as meek as he had before been ungovernable. He asked to be put to work, so he was given the task of breaking stones, a task at which the warders left him to himself, since there could be little possibility of his escape. Nevertheless one day Taddy was missing. All efforts to find him proved unavailing. Four days after his escape the magistrate who had sentenced him to be flogged was riding along the road when he saw two men walking arm in arm. Suddnely one of them knocked down his companion and proceeded to rob him. Spurring his horse to a gallop Sir Jaspar Norreys arrived on the scene and recognised in the aggressor none other than Taddy. The latter tried to pull the magistrate from his horse, but Sir Jaspar rode full at him, at the same time raising his hunting crop to strike. Taddy immediately raised his stick to protect himself, and did it so dexterously that all pretence of his blindness vanished. Thenceforward Taddy was treated like any ordinary prisoner.

Murderers seem to be in a class of criminals entirely apart from the lesser offenders. Their crimes are more repulsive, and they themselves more horrible. Especially so are those who kill again and again, systematically, to suit their purpose. Such was de Surville. Griffiths shows him to us first serving a sentence in Hawksham gaol for fraud. The next time he was seen by Griffiths was at the opera, fashionably dressed, and accompanied by his wife, bedecked with jewels. He next appears in Harchester prison serving a sentence for housebreaking. He did not recognize Griffiths, and unsuspectingly asked for an interview with his wife, who was in the female side of the same prison serving a sentence as his accomplice. It seemed impossible that the woman Griffiths had seen with him in London could be a criminal, so Griffiths became suspicious. Before granting his request he interviewed Mrs. Buncombe, as de Surville was now called, and his doubts were justified - this was a new wife. Inspector Isaacson of Scotland Yard, informed Griffiths that de Surville had gone north the previous year with Mrs. de Surville and

her lady's maid. The wife had never been heard of again. Beginning with this clue the detectives unravelled a whole series of crimes committed by this monster. His method was to select a woman who was alone in the world, with no protectors, and who had some means. He would marry this individual, and live with her while her money lasted. Then he would remorselessly kill her and marry another. To evade questions he moved about continually. When the pursuit became too close he would commit a robbery, thereby disappearing from sight for a time. He was finally executed.

Greed has been assigned by some writers as a cause of crime. An example of this is seen in the murder of a convict by his fellow-prisoner. Jeapes, an epileptic, was in a cell with two others, Gripstone and Burcham, in order that the two latter might take care of him. One night Gripstone was killed by a blow from a stool. On entering the cell the warders saw Burcham grappling with Jeapes, who held the stool in his hand. Circumstances thus pointed to Jeapes as the murderer. At the coroner's inquest Jeapes accused Burcham of the deed. Thus it was the word of one man against the other. Further investigation was impossible because Jeapes went hopelessly insane after this event.

In due time Burcham was released. In prison he had no wealth of any kind, so far as was known; but after his release, he lived in a comfortable villa in the Isle of Man. His chief diversion was walking. On one of his walks one day he came across one of the warders of his old prison, who was on a picnic excursion with his family. When Burcham saw the warder, without a moment's hesitation he threw himself over the cliff. He was terribly bruised, but on recovering consciousness he confessed to having murdered Gripstone in order to enjoy alone the money which poor Jeapes had swindled from his employers, and hidden on the moors. After committing the deed he forced the stool into the hand of Jeapes, called for help, and so threw the blame on the unfortunate epileptic. Such is the code of honour of a murderer.

Among the strange contrasts seen in life are the feelings of affection for the lower animals often manifested by the worst and cruellest of

murderers. A case cited by Griffiths will illustrate. A hideous murder was committed on Hampstead Heath by an unknown person who decapitated and mutilated the defenceless body of his woman victim. The only clue to the solution of the mystery was that a constable had seen a foreign man and woman quarreling near the scene of the crime; but since they seemed to have settled their differences amicably he did not interfere. It chanced that Major Griffiths was looking over some portraits of heads drawn by one of his artist friends, when one of them in particular struck him as unusual. The artist told him it was the head of a criminal. Later on Griffiths saw in a gaol a man whom he recognised as the original of the drawing shown him by Inglis. He was serving a sentence of three months for attempted robbery on a defenceless woman.

The Scotland Yard officers next got in touch with Griffiths in their search for the foreigner seen on the night of the murder, quarreling with the woman. Instantly he remembered the painting, and on its being shown to the inspectors they recognized in it the man they wanted. When Griffiths visited him in gaol he had with him in his cell a rat which he had tamed. The creature sheltered inside his coat, being kept from going too far by a thread attached to the prisoner's button. He seemed to cherish a real affection for the rat; so much so that he pleaded to be allowed to take it with him when he was taken to London to stand trial on the charge of murder. When a warder wanted to take the beast away, Guevarra flared up in immediate anger. The rat was finally killed by one of the prison cats. Guevarra wreaked vengeance by killing the cat with his own hands. When put on trial, his only defence for killing the woman was that she vexed him. He was condemned to death. While awaiting execution he tamed birds, as no rats existed in that particular prison. His cowardly nature manifested itself at last, when he could not muster sufficient strength to walk to the scaffold, to which he had to be practically carried by two warders.

The authors considered hitherto have either been heads of the departments of police or detectives; or else criminals who cut a daring figure in their time. Now there comes to enlighten us concerning crimes and criminals a man who served first of all as a policeman "un agent", and who by virtue of his own merit rose to the position of chief inspector of the Sûreté. He was Rossignol, who in 1900 wrote his memoirs. The volume of memoirs consists almost entirely of discussing the criminals with whom he had to do, and recounting their dealings with the police.

Rossignol was taken on the strength of the Paris police after having served in the war of 1870. His method of detecting criminals was to become friendly with them as a class, and induce some of them to give information about their accomplices. Someone is always ready to play the traitor if criminals work in gangs. The novelist type of criminal band, wherein the word of the chief is law, does not exist in reality. There is a certain amount of unity among them, but it holds only as long as it is in the interests of the several members of the band to maintain it. Rossignol's first assignments were to run down several of these organised bands.

The first to come to his notice was a band which committed numerous robberies accompanied by violence to the victims. The members of the gang were generally arrested in the dance halls they frequented - low dives harbouring the worst of the criminal class. It required fifteen months to round up the one hundred and fifty members. The next group, composed of thieves who robbed villas during their owners' absence, were run to earth by discovery of the pwan shop where they sold the stolen articles. Of a different type was the band composed of a shoemaker, a painter, a carpenter and a carter, who robbed under cover of their respective trades. Sneak thieves also occupied his attention. The particular gang he arrested practised the method of presenting a bill in payment for a purchase, and while the drawer was open, snatching both the bill they presented and the money in the till.

The first murder case on which he was employed was that of an old woman who kept a wine-shop in an isolated part of the city, and lived alone. One day her lifeless body was found pierced by several

knife wounds. The motive of the crime was robbery; the sum taken 20 francs. Rossignol solved the mystery surrounding her death, and arrested the suspects - Abadie age 19, Gille, Age 16 - from whom he secured a confession by pretending to each one in turn that the other had given information. Gille, a mere slip of a lad, calmly told him that while the old woman lay on the floor he struck such a blow with his knife that the blade traversed the entire body and the point was broken on the flags. These two, with Abadie as chief, had organized a gang of robbers numbering fourteen, and had drawn up minute rules to govern their conduct. Another thief of exceptional ability, but who worked alone, was Contesenne. No matter how often he was captured or where he was imprisoned, he managed to escape; and as soon as he was at large he returned to his depredations. Finally he was transported to Cayenne.

Another important murder mystery was solved by Rossignol and a fellow-officer. The victim in this case also was an old woman. The murderer was a man of 21, who, under the guise of a book-agent gained admission to the home of Mme. Strodeur, and while talking to her struck her a violent blow on the head: then he tied a cord around her neck and thus strangled her. After her death he stole everything that was worth taking. He was arrested by these two officers out in the provinces. While they were awaiting the train in Paris, a crowd soon gathered around them, and began conjecturing as to which was the criminal. Rossignol had been doing most of the work and so appeared more fatigued and less prepossessing than Bistor, the murderer. Therefore the crowd thought him the guilty one and vented their anger on him. From this incident Rossignol concludes that the face does not reveal criminal characteristics.

Rossignol often acted as guide to the curious, among others Alexandre Dumas, who desired to see the underworld of Paris. They always marvelled at the seeming spirit of friendliness between him and the habitués of the dives they visited. He explains this by the feeling, common to those criminals with whom he came in contact, that since he was always fair to them they in turn could trust him. The scenes revealed in these tours were sordid in the extreme. One

of the chief points of interest was the Château Rouge, rue Galande. Here every night there congregated the very scum of the underworld - outcasts who had no abode of any kind. Packed closely side by side on hard tables they slept as best they could, until at two o'clock in the morning, they were all turned out into the street, irrespective of season or weather, there to keep warm as best they might. It was a moving sight to see this mass of destitute, improvident humanity thus living, and fortunate it was if they committed no crime. Rossignol says that crime would be lessened if more asylums for these wretches were established.

Rossignol served under Macé, when the latter was chief of the Sûreté. Concerning his chief he says nothing but the highest praise and commendation. He shares with Macé a hearty detestation of political secret agents and informers, who were generally thoroughly incompetent. Shortly before Macé's retirement from office, Rossignol was promoted to sous-brigadier, for his zeal and skill in performance of his duties. Some of the mysteries he helped to solve were very difficult. On one occasion he was sent to the provinces to investigate the death of a little girl six years old. By adopting the disguise of a peddler and going thus from house to house, he eventually found an old woman who had seen the murderer throw the body of his victim into a canal. Arrest and conviction soon followed. In solving another murder he had himself arrested on a minor charge, and placed in the same prison as the man suspected of the deed. There they soon became very intimate, and the culprit incriminated himself sufficiently to cause his conviction. In addition to murder cases he had to deal with every kind of sneak thievery; confidence games; forgery of bank notes; and robbery on a larger scale. He was soon promoted to the rank of police-sergeant. His work on more than one occasion necessitated risking danger. An instance will suffice. The home of a wealthy lady was one day seen to be on fire. Prompt action saved the building. Examination proved incendiarism and robbery. Rossignol was put on the case, and narrowed the chase down to two men, one of whom he captured. Accompanied by the chief of the Sûreté, he took this individual to the house where the crime had been committed. While there, a boy came to ask for the mistress of the accused, saying she was wanted outside. Rossignol and another police officer went out with her

in the hope that it might be the other man they suspected; and so it proved. When they saw him they advanced to arrest him; but the suspect produced a dagger and immediately attacked Rossignol, wounding him badly in two places. Nevertheless he grappled with the thug and succeeded finally in overcoming him, with the help of the other officer. For this act Rossignol was given a medal.

In dealing with criminals Rossignol always believed in the efficacy of suasion rather than brute force. It has already been noted that he had no fear in going about his duties in the underworld. Day after day he mingled with all sorts of desperate characters, and yet, though unarmed he was never attacked. He was once sent to arrest a man whom few others would approach. His chief advised him to take a large number of officers so as to be sure of effecting the arrest, but Rossignol set out with one man. They found their quarry in company with several other criminals, all of whom, on learning Rossignol's purpose, placed themselves in such a way as to allow the suspect to escape. Thereupon Rossignol calmly told them he had three hundred officers at his back, and that they could not possibly all escape. The wanted man then gave himself up without further resistance. He thus preferred to make arrests quietly; because few people, except the most degraded, like physical violence.

The guillotine always gave Rossignol a feeling of lively repugnance - even more so than summary execution after a court-martial in the army. The chief executioner has five assistants, whom he pays from a fund supplied by the state. The more executions there are the higher are his expenses, for he is paid a fixed sum, and from that sum he must defray the expenses of all executions during the year. The duties of the assistants are to shackle the ankles of the condemned with cord which allows him to take but very short steps; the hands are then tied behind him; one assistant places himself on either side and they assist him in mounting the scaffold; he is then made to lie down, and the elder assistant places his neck in the neck-groove, seizes him by the ears, and pulls the head towards the front of the guillotine. The chief executioner then lets the knife fall by pressing a lever. Formerly the assistant maintained his hold on the ear and threw the head into the basket into which the body was put, but now that

is forbidden and the head falls into a separate receptacle. After the execution the body is taken to the cemetery at Ivry where a form of interment is gone through, but the body is generally given to a medical college for dissection. Even the souvenir-hunter sometimes has his share of the body. Rossignol relates one instance of a man in the police service who had a purse made from the skin of an executed man.

Rossignol had served in the war of 1870, and after his discharge had taken an honourable part in life. Less fortunate than he was Cayro, who in the same war had risen to the rank of lieutenant; but who failed to succeed in any legitimate activity after the war; thus, at the end of his resources he began to steal. After his first conviction he recommenced his old habits, was arrested by Rossignol and finally transported to New Caledonia for life. He specialised in burglarising houses, to which he secured entrance by means of a forged police card. The thefts committed on a large scale were often of an international character. Goods stolen in Paris were immediately sent to London and there disposed of. Often the thieves would write to the owners of the property, offering to return it on payment of a stipulated amount. Many of the criminals involved in these robberies had long prison records. Some of them did not stop at murder to attain their ends. One band of robbers entered the home of a rich man, thinking it was empty. In the porch, however, there slept a young man who had been left in charge of the house while the owner was away. One of the intruders, a young Italian, strangled him while another buried his knife in his body several times. They then ransacked the house, making bundles of their booty. These bundles aroused the suspicions of two police officers, who gave chase and captured Allorto. He confessed to the crime. The reason why he had taken to crime was a lack of work, he having been discharged because of his nationality. At the morgue, he said to the mother of the victim that he regretted the sorrow he had caused her, because he too had a mother. The judge replied:-

> "Since you love your mother, consider that here is one who demands revenge for her son whom you have killed and who was her support." (1)

Rossignol was the man who succeeded in getting Allorto to confess. He did so by being friendly and humane

(1) Rossignol, Mémoires. P. 297

towards him. As he says :"Flies are more easily caught with honey than with vinegar." Two of those involved in the murder were guillotined; while one was given a life sentence.

Criminals are sometimes extremely bold. One gang went so far as to impersonate M. Rossignol and his assistants, and under this guise entered a house, tied the old nurse in charge to a chair, and rifled the safe of its contents. Another gang working on a much larger scale but using the same method of impersonating the police, tied the gate-keeper and his wife to chairs, and then stole the tapestries, paintings and other valuables of the Marquis de Panisse. Rossignol ran them to earth. A false insurance company netted another of his captures a small fortune. His method was to go to London, there print letter-heads of an insurance company of a huge capitalisation; then securing a Paris newspaper, he would send to the relatives of the recently deceased a letter to the effect that he had had a policy in this Company, but that in order to secure the amount of the policy the last premium would have to be paid. The youngest murderer he had to arrest was a youth of fifteen who killed a rival for a girl's favour.

Rossignol was in due course elevated to the rank of chief inspector of the Sûreté. In the last few years of his life he was in charge of the highway department, having under him a group of picked men who arrested only those guilty of the more serious crimes. Their reward was in proportion to the seriousness of the offence committed, varying from 50 francs to 4 francs per head. There came under his jurisdiction all race-tracks, and he gives an interesting insight into the corruption and graft that went on at various meets. The last important case on which he was engaged was the capturing of the thieves who robbed a jeweller. One of them he captured only after a chase along the roofs of several houses. Goron, chief of the Sûreté was dismissed because of irregularities shortly before Rossignol retired, which was in 1894.

For nineteen years he had been in the police service, and during that time arrested or helped to arrest two thousand robbers. He was decorated several times for bravery. His greatest satisfaction was, however, he says, a free conscience and the knowledge that he had never been brutal towards the unfortunates with whom he had to deal.

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C H A P T E R II.

POLITICAL CRIME.

Apart from crimes committed against the person or property, there are crimes against the established political order of a country, committed for personal gain or for the benefit of a group or party. To such may be given the general name of political crimes. The inside history and intimate details of most of the diplomatic relations of countries are known to few. Great events or important movements take place by means of agencies which work altogether hidden from the eye of the world at large. Occasionally the veil is lifted, and we are permitted to see how these events actually occurred. One of the movements which have occupied a large place in the history of Great Britain from the time of Gladstone to the present day, calling out at times the bitterest hatred, threatening the lives of many innocent people, causing death and destruction more than once, was the effort of Ireland to shake off British control. Few people know to what extremes the fanatical advocates of Irish freedom were prepared to go in their efforts to achieve the end they had set for themselves. Life mattered little to them; property was of no value; the existence of the Empire even, mattered not so long as Ireland, enthralled under the hateful British yoke, cried for freedom and redress which they believed they could give. The centre of the organisations formed with the view of liberating Ireland was often, not the down-trodden homeland, but the United States of America. The story of the plottings and conspiracies devised to this end of freeing Ireland is given by Major Henri Le Caron in his book "Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service".

Le Caron was born in England in 1841, of a stolid, respectable family of long lineage. His home life was strict, severe, and very temperate, a fact for which Le Caron expresses gratitude, for the part it played in helping him in later life. His nature was exuberant, restless, hard to satisfy. He early manifested a dislike for school, and was therefore apprenticed to a draper, with whom he could not agree. His desire for change led him at last to London where he found work with a leading business firm; but, after having nearly set the place on fire he was politely asked to leave. Subsequent wanderings brought him eventually to Paris, without knowledge of the French language or people. Fortune favoured him when he made the acquaintance of a Dr. Forbes, who secured him a situation with an American firm, and in general looked after his well-being.

He was progressing very favourably in his new position when news arrived of the outbreak of civil war in the United States. In his exuberance he cast discretion to the winds and set sail to the United States with other sympathisers of the factions at strife; in due time reached New York; and joined the Northern army. After the war he studied medicine for a time. In correspondence with his father he told of conditions as they were in the country, with special reference to the Fenian activities then at their height. His father communicated at once with the member of parliament representing his constituency, who in turn laid the matter before the Home Secretary. The latter, becoming alarmed, asked Mr. Beach to request his son to inform the British government of whatever transpired in the United States that was of concern to Great Britain. It may here be noted that Le Caron was the name assumed by Thomas Beach, the writer of the memoirs under consideration, when he enlisted in the Northern army, and this name he retained during his activities in the secret service. Thus, then, came about his first connection with the British government, but he was not yet in their employ as an agent.

The first event of importance that Le Caron reported to the home government was the invasion of Ontario by the Fenians in 1866. The raid was a pure fiasco, but the peculiar feature of the affair was that the United States government, although possessed of full knowledge of what was taking place in violation of the neutrality laws, paid not the slightest heed to the uprising and made no move whatever to stop it. In fact, President Johnson seemed to openly encourage the movement for his own political ends, according to the editor of a Chicago paper. Fenian soldiers drilled week by week in the larger United States cities; arms and ammunition were bought from the United States government and located at different points along the Canadian border, but still no action was taken by the government. After the raid the arms were returned to the Fenians, and the prisoners allowed to go free. Shortly after this, Le Caron went home to England, and while there definitely enlisted as a spy in the service of Great Britain. As reasons he assigns:

> "My adventurous nature prompted me to sympathy with the idea; my British instincts made me a willing worker from a sense of right, and my past success promised good things for the future." (1)

(I) Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service. P. 38

Immediately on returning to the United States he offered himself for service to John O'Neill, President of the Fenian Brotherhood, a man whom Le Caron had known in the army. O'Neill was a handsome man, holding the rank of general in the Fenian army, but so proud and egotistical that his self-love was the cause of many a future disaster to the Irish cause. Le Caron's offer of service was at once accepted. The method he adopted to secure information was to organize a Fenian camp at his home in Lockport, and by putting himself in command thereof he received all the reports from O'Neill and transmitted the same to the home government. Soon after his beginning work he was commissioned Major and Military Organizer of the Irish Republican Army. He was thus in a most advantageous position to secure information concerning Fenian activities. It is interesting to note the attitude of President Johnson towards the Fenians. To John O'Neill, President of the Fenian Brotherhood, he said in the presence of Le Caron:

> "General, your people unfairly blame me a good deal for the part I took in stopping your first movement. Now I want you to understand that my sympathies are entirely with you, and anything which lies in my power I am willing to do to assist you." (1)

Le Caron constantly kept in touch with Judge McMiken, Chief Commissioner of Police in Canada.

Promotion was rapid in the Irish Republican Army - so rapid that in a few years Le Caron found himself gazetted Brigadier-general while still retaining his office of organizer. In this capacity he was actively engaged in the preparations made by the Fenians to attack Canada in 1870. The reason for the invasion was not the establishing in Canada of a permanent Irish republic, but to hold the country for a while to use as a base of operations against England, chiefly to cripple her shipping by means of privateers. Thus they hoped to bring England to her knees. The points chosen for attack were between Ogdensburg and St. Albans. Simultaneous attacks were to take place from Buffalo, Malone and Franklin. Once across the border, the plan was to intrench themselves and await the reinforcements that they felt sure would rally to their support. Le Caron had been very active in all the preparations,

(1) Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service P. 59

and had on hand war material to equip twelve thousand men. As he learned the details of the plan of attack, he forwarded them to the government at Ottawa, who were thus prepared to cope with the situation.

A brief account of the actual attack on Canada may be of interest. O'Neill, the General of the Irish Republican Army, had called the attack for April 26, 1870. The mustering place was Franklin, where he fully expected to see a thousand men assembled, but on April 25th only half that number had actually gathered. He could not afford to delay since the longer he waited the greater was the possibility of discovery. Therefore, on Wednesday the 26th he ordered the advance - 500 men trying to take Canada. At this point the boundary between the two countries is marked by a small stream. Advancing in some degree of military formation, the Fenians crossed the bridge; once on the Canadian side, they deployed into skirmishing order, and since no one was to be seen, they advanced with fixed bayonets, cheering wildly. For them, Ireland was well on the way to become "a nation once more". A few paces more and they were met by a deadly volley from the ambushed Canadians. Utterly taken by surprise the Fenians broke and sought shelter in ignominious flight, stopping only to pour one volley into their hidden enemy. The fight was over. The cause of Ireland had received another check. As the men stood consulting at the top of the hill on the American side, a carriage flashed by bearing General O'Neill, who had promptly been arrested by General Foster for a breach of the neutrality laws. The next day saw some 500 reinforcements arrive, which addition made some of the officers eager to renew the attack. Le Caron dissuaded them, however, as he had no desire to see more bloodshed. The arrival of United States troops put an end to all hope of further success.

Although checked, the Irish patriots were not subdued. The next opportunity they had to harm England was in assisting the rebellion of Riel in 1870. O'Neill approached Le Caron as soon as he was released, with several letters he had received from a young Irish priest, O'Donohoe, who was then secretary to Riel, in which he gave all the details of the contemplated uprising. Furthermore, this rebellion had the support of Archbishop Taché to the extent of allowing this young priest to throw

off his priestly robes and enlist. This version of the affair is somewhat different from the attitude credited to Taché by some historians. However, Le Caron assisted O'Neill in fitting out an expedition of some 400; and incidentally forwarded all the particulars to the Canadian government. As soon as O'Neill and his force crossed the border they were arrested. In consequence of this loss of assistance Riel had to surrender at Fort Garry without firing a shot. Le Caron had thus on two occasions saved many lives and much expense for the Canadian Government.

The organization which had most to do with the outrages perpetrated with the idea of securing freedom for Ireland was the Clan-na-Gael, the centre from which were directed revolutionary plots, murder, dynamite, and arson schemes. It was founded in the United States as a federation of the various Irish societies, under the name of the United Brotherhood. It was an intensely secret society, with ritual closely resembling that of the Masons. Its purpose was stated in its constitution thus:

> "The object is to aid the Irish people in the attainment of the complete and absolute independence of Ireland, by the overthrow of English domination; a total separation from that country, and the complete severance of all political connection with it; the establishment of an independent republic on Irish soil, chosen by the free votes of the whole Irish people, without distinction of creed or class, and the restoration to all Irishmen of every creed and class of their natural privileges of citizenship and equal rights. It shall prepare unceasingly for an armed insurrection in Ireland."

The church was rigourously excluded from it. Its mouth-piece was the "Irish World", although the editor of the paper was not a member of the Clan. The revolutionary aims of the Clan were to be furthered by means of a skirmishing fund, which was to be used to destroy whatever they could in England. The Clan even went so far as to form an alliance with Russia in 1880 when it looked as though there might be war between her and England. Other schemes put forward were the assassination of Queen Victoria; the kidnapping of the Prince of Wales; an attack on Portland Prison to rescue Michael Davitt;

and a hundred other such plots. Such were the means whereby they hoped to free their country - all characterized by violence.

There were those, however, who were strongly opposed to this programme of force laid out by the revolutionary faction. They were known as the constitutional faction - men who scoffed at the idea of ever doing harm to England by armed force, and who devoted their efforts to freeing Ireland by perfectly legitimate means. The two factions were joined in 1880 under the name of "The New Departure", a union which joined them for ~~strag~~tactic and financial purposes but left them to attain their ends each in its own way. In the United States the tendency was to appear more and more before the public with their views and plans; in Ireland the majority still favoured secret conspiracy. Mr. Parnell, who visited the United States at this time, was chiefly in favour of secrecy; Michael Davitt, on the other hand, preferred constitutional means and to that end founded the Land League, an organisation which used entirely legitimate means. In sharp contrast to the policy of Davitt was that of Devoy, the founder of the New Departure, who enunciated the principle that the warfare must be "characterized by all the rigours of Nihilism". Cold-blooded murder and destruction formed the main policy of these apostles of liberty. All this information Le Caron received from his being an officer in the Clan-na-Gael, and in the confidence of those higher up.

When in 1881, Le Caron was able to go to England on a vacation, he was entrusted with some secret documents which were meant for the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and which he was to give to John O'Leary and Patrick Egan in Paris. The former was a genuine, honest Irish patriot, who denounced secret warfare of all kinds; the latter an arch conspirator and plotter of murder. In conversation with Egan, Le Caron learned that he had used some of the funds entrusted to him in helping Dutch officers to go to the assistance of the Boers in South Africa. Egan also affirmed that Parnell was an ardent revolutionist, and far from believing in constitutional means to free Ireland. This was corroborated by the statement made by Parnell himself to Le Caron some time later, though he was still president of the Land League.

The Clan-na-Gael was in 1881 in a very

flourishing condition both financially and numerically, and eager for active work of destruction. At the convention held in Chicago in that year, the sole subject of discussion was dynamite and its uses in the cause of Irish liberty. The rank and file wanted an account of the policy of the executive committee, and an outline of what had been done. In reply the report filed was a s follows: the treaty with Russia, the supply of officers to the Boers, the building of a torpedo-boat, the perfecting of a hand-grenade, the purchase and shipment of arms, and the purchase of some cannon. This was far from satisfying the demands of the conspirators, and so a resolution was passed urging the revolutionary factions in both Ireland and the United States to devote their time to active revolution; in the words of a delegate, "The torch for their cities, and the knife for their tyrants till they agree to let Ireland severely alone." The resolution in favour of active revolutionary work was the most important act of the convention. A description of the Clan-na-Gael in secret session is very interesting. Admission is by pass-word only, which must be given to two separate sets of guards. The scene inside Le Caron describes thus:

> "What a babel of voices and a world of smoke! You can scarce see for the clouds that curl and roll around you, while as for hearing, your ears are deafened by din and clatter of many tongues and stamping feet. Yes, we are at last in the Irish Parliament, as it is generally termed, in full session. These are the hundred and sixty odd delegates of the great Clan-na-Gael, sworn "to make Ireland a nation once again", who are now assembled in the year of grace 1881 to clamour for dynamite as the only means of achieving their patriotic ends. They are a funny crowd, as lolling with arms akimbo, and thumbs resting in their waistcoat armholes, they hang their feet on the chairs in front, which for comfort's sake are tilted to an angle of 40 or 45 degrees, and puff their cigars high up into the air, changing their position now and again in order to have a pull at those black bottles, or to disrobe themselves of a coat or waistcoat,the better to cool their heated frames."

Decorum there is none. Hourly, almost, two delegates will agree to settle their differences with their fists,

throwing the whole meeting into confusion. On one point all are agreed - the necessity of using dynamite. "And so we terminate our visit to the Eighty-one Convention of the Clan-na-Gael, wherein were assembled forty lawyers, eight doctors, two judges, clergymen of both leading religions, merchants, manufacturers, and working men, all mixed up in glorious confusion, almost all reduced to the level of the whiskey bottle, and none removed from the struggles of personal avarice and ambition."

The next step in the campagain against England was the joining of the Land League and the Clan-na-Gael, under the active revolutionary policy of the latter. In the dynamite activites none but picked men were entrusted to carry out the operations. They were given special training under Dr. Cronin in the handling and use of explosives. Cronin was an ambitious doctor who soon came into conflict with Alexander Sullivan, president of the Clan-na-Gael. In 1882,however,the Clan campaign in England actually began under the direction of Dr. Gallagher. A nitro-glycerine factory was established at Birmingham,whence large quantities of the explosive were carried to London by the Fenians; but before they could do any harm Le Caron's information caused their arrest,and they were sentenced to penal servitude for life. The amount of nitro-glycerine they had made was sufficient,according to experts,to blow up the entire city of London. The next group of dynamitards who went to England from America had more success. They caused explosions at the Underground Railway; at Victoria Station; at Scotland Yard; at London Bridge; at the House of Commons, and the Tower. Two only of the second group were convicted. In addition to them, there was condemned in 1884 a man named Daly who had planned to blow up the House of Commons in session by throwing bombs on the table in front of the speaker, and who went so far in his scheme as to twice gain admission to the Strangers' Gallery. When arrested he had on his person bombs strong enough to blow up the entire structure. Although not a dynamite exploit, it may be mentioned that one of the projects attempted to restore Irish liberty was the stealing of the Stone of Scone from Westminster Abbey, on the assumption that its presence in Ireland, where it was supposed to have been originally, would keep up the morale of the revolutionists. The attempt failed. When Mr. Gladstone in 1885 tried to give Ireland Home Rule the dynamite campaign ceased for a time, leaving as its record little damage to the enemy but twenty-five prisoners in the

English gaols. However, the Fenians believed that it was the dynamite which had forced Gladstone to grant Home Rule.

Matters went on apace, and the secret and open societies joined in aim, if not in method. The Clan-na-Gael schemed as it had done before, culminating in the plot to cause murder and destruction during the Jubilee celebrations. Discord arose in its ranks through the quarrel of Alexander Sullivan the president, and Dr. Cronin. The outcome of this quarrel was the brutal murder of the latter, due, it was said, to Sullivan.

Meanwhile, Le Caron went home to England, and while there was induced to appear as a witness in the investigation which was being carried on by the "Times" into the allegations of conspiracy against England on the part of the Irish. His revelations were scarcely credible to those who heard them. He justifies his life on the ground of motives - in his case they were entirely honourable. His actions had saved many lives, and had worked good in the main. His life among the Fenians showed him that the professional agitator for Irish freedom is generally corrupt and deceptive, bleeding the poor dupes who subscribe money for his ventures, sending to their death many poor fanatics who know no better than to believe him; and always looking after his own selfish interests. For the genuinely patriotic Irish he has the greatest respect.

We are given intimate accounts of the Irish question of the time by another writer, Sir Robert Anderson, who was in charge of Scotland Yard for many years and was the chief under whom Le Caron carried out his investigations. Anderson became involved in Irish affairs in 1867 when he helped considerably in putting down the Fenian rising of that year in Ireland. By birth he was Irish; by profession a lawyer. From this time on he was connected with secret service work either as subordinate or as head of the Criminal Investigation Department. Illustrative of the crimes committed by some Irishmen of that time was the Clerkenwell explosion in 1867, designed to free from Clerkenwell prison Ricard Burke and another Fenian, both of whom were in detention for acting on behalf of the conspirators. The police knew all the details, and even saw an attempt made which proved a failure, but no action whatever was taken to prevent the crime. The plan, originating with Burke and carried

out by some of the lower class Irish and not the leaders of Fenianism, was to blow down a section of the prison wall while Burke was at exercise in the yard; on the signal being given he was to go to a place of safety and escape after the explosion. The first attempt failed; and next day the prisoners were exercised in another yard. However, as a result of the explosion four persons were killed and forty injured in the houses opposite the prison. The outrage caused a great scare, and everyone was on the lookout for signs of Fenians.

The man who succeeded Burke as "arms agent" to the conspirators was Michael Davitt. As a lad he had been injured so badly that he lost the use of one arm, so that he had to sell newspapers for a living. While engaged in this work he drifted into Fenianism, was caught and put to prison; where, with the assistance given him by the Visiting Director, he improved himself sufficiently to take the part of Parnell's ally in later years.

The year 1880 saw disturbances again taking place in Ireland. In that year began the crime of boycotting, whereby the tenants sought to fix their own rents, and if their rates were not accepted, the landowner was forthwith shunned and isolated. Stern measures applied at once would have remedied matters, but the police were limited to the use of ordinary measures only, and these were quite inadequate. To counteract the boycotters there was passed the Suspects Act, under the terms of which many were imprisoned. But the guilt of these crimes does not rest on the Irish peasantry: they acted only on the incitement of their political leaders, and they were condoned by the Gladstone government. Ireland can only be ruled by means of a "Coercion Act" - that is, a law which applies to one section of the country, and not to the country in general. Such a law holds in the city of London, for there conditions differ from other places in the kingdom. Anderson had, previous to the renewal of crime in Ireland in 1880, decided to leave the Secret Service, but the urgings of his superiors influenced him to remain.

Le Caron was keeping him in touch with Fenian matters in America. The problem was to secure the services of the leaders of the movement in England. This Anderson was able to do by paying them a regular stipend. Gladstone's attitude towards Ireland at this time is rather puzzling. At first he denounces Parnell and the Land League as being the sole obstacle between Ireland and prosperity,

and charges the Fenians with desiring to cause the disintegration of the Empire. Within six months he declared just the reverse, and supported Parnell in his policy. According to Anderson the reason for the sudden change was Mrs. O'Shea who afterwards became Parnell's wife. The actual instrument that settled their differences was the secret treaty of Kilmainham.

On May 6th occurred the crime which caused further outbursts of ill feeling in England against Ireland - the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke in Phoenix Park, Dublin - both men being in the government service, the former as Chief Secretary and the latter as Permanent Under-Secretary. The crime filled everyone - English and Irish alike- with horror. The immediate result was the cancellation of the Kilmainham treaty principles. It also kept Anderson in the Secret Service. Drastic action was necessary to counteract the efforts of the dynamiters who were then launching their campaign, so the Explosive Substance Act of 1883 was passed, thereby putting an end to dynamiting in England. Anderson's work during the campaign was exceedingly arduous, as he had to keep in touch with Dublin daily, receive messages from Le Caron; and receive informants who came to him in London. The plot that exercised him most was that which had for its object the blowing up of Westminister Abbey during the ceremony of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. One of the agents in the scheme was in the government pay. Another, who was sent over from America by the Clan-na-Gael, stationed in Boulogne and there sold his comrades to the British Government. He was hoodwinked into believing he was unwelcome in England, and was induced to go back to America. The possibility still remained that the minor agents would go on with the plot without their superiors; however the project was abandoned.

Major Henri Le Caron served as a military spy during the regime of Anderson, as we have seen; and it is interesting to note what the latter has to say of the former. In the first instance, Le Caron received a large grant from the British Government on only one occasion, namely, when he thwarted the Fenian raid of 1870. Never at any other time would he accept money from the government. Some men denounced Le Caron as a common informer, a man who wormed his way into the confidence of the Fenians only to sell them to the British. That he never

did. Anderson states that he acted solely from the highest motives - "a military spy in the service of his country": and that he carried on his work along exactly the same lines as a police officer dealing with crime and criminals. These criminals and their work must also be taken into consideration in judging Le Caron. Speaking of the dynamiters and assassins whose plots were exposed by him, Sir Henry James describes them as "enemies of the human race, the lowest and most degraded of the human community". Against such men Le Caron pitted himself, and by his devotion and zeal saved many an innocent life. In concluding a chapter on Le Caron, Anderson says:

> "During the four-and-thirty years of my official life I came to entertain a sincere regard for not a few of the police officers who assisted me in my campaigns against criminals, but none of them did I esteem more highly than Le Caron. And it is with them I have always classed him, and not with secret agents and informants. To his personal charm he added sterling integrity. He was one of the most truthfully accurate men I have ever known. I never detected Le Caron in a serious inaccuracy. Nor had I ever to complain of either concealment or exaggeration in his communications to me."

Patrick' Ford's "Skirmishing Fund" was constantly drawn on for these dynamite plots. The last plot having to do with England took place in 1896, when Ivory came over with a gang of dynamiters from America. Their plans were frustrated by the police before they could do any harm. Most of the dynamiters engaged in these plots were aliens, but nevertheless they received the same justice as British subjects. The last important Fenian plot cited by Anderson was that which had for its object the murder of Mr. Chamberlain when he visited the United States in 1896. It,too,was thwarted.

"Sometimes I think it cannot possibly be I, who was once a Corsican shepherd, living five years with my uncle amongst the peasants. And now by some fabulous change, by some extraordinary chance, I can say that I have walked in the Tuileries with Napoleon, at Windsor with Queen Victoria, at Turin with Victor-Emanuel, at Rome with Pius IX, at Madrid with Queen Isabella, at Portici with Francis II, at Frankfort with Francis-Joseph, Maximilian of Bavaria, and a host of others". The man who wrote thus was the Baron de Rimini (Griscelli de Vezzani), who was secret agent in turn of Napoleon III, Cavour,

Antonelli, Francis II, and the Emperor of Austria. Le Caron, as a military spy had to do with men in the ordinary walks of life; Griscelli was wholly concerned with royalty and other important personages, sometimes as special protector, sometimes as spy. He was born at Vazanni, Corsica, of a humble family which was nevertheless important in its own locality. In due time he married, but his marital difficulties drove him to enlist in the army, where he became an expert fencer. An encounter he had with some soldiers from a rival regiment ended in his being court-martialed and imprisoned. After his release he had various changes in fortune and finally became a secret agent under Pietri, Prefect of Police in Paris.

Griscelli says of secret agents that as a rule they are thoroughly unprincipled, and a superfluous organisation engaged chiefly in watching each other. There are exceptions, however, and at times they serve a useful purpose. Such an occasion was that on which a warning was received by the Prefect of Police that the President of the Republic was to be assassinated on his way to the Elysée. Griscelli was told to conduct the case, which he did by assuming the title of marquis, and on locating one of the chief anti-Bonapartists succeeded in securing the information which led to the arrest of the conspirators. Shortly after this the French ambassador to London sent word to the Paris police that a man named Kelshe had left London for the purpose of assassinating Napoleon III. Griscelli was told to protect the emperor at all hasards. For fifteen days he shadowed the would-be assassin who was merely looking for the opportunity to put his plan into execution. Finally orders were given to have Kelshe arrested. When Griscelli tried to do so, the criminal bolted, but was killed by the secret agent when a door barred his way. After this incident Griscelli was given the task of being Napoleon III's special body-guard, a task which required him to be with the Emperor day and night. He was thus in the confidence of many of the chief officers of state.

He tells of one named Fialin who sided now with Napoleon III, now with the Republic; imprisoned by one and released by the other; finally being elected to the Assembly. Then he changed his name to Persigny. Shortly after, Louis Napoleon married him to Mlle. Moskova, in spite of her mother's objections. His object

was to secure the fourteen million francs to which his wife was heiress: seven million of this belonged to her young brother, and soon after de Persigny's marriage the lad was found dead in his bed. The money was still in his mother-in-law's name, so to transfer the same to himself he had her interdicted as a madwoman and exiled to Switzerland. And this was in the latter part of the 19th century!

Napoleon III had married a Spaniard named Mlle. de Montijo. Her mother had an intimate friend - M. de Glimes, who found himself in need of money. He therefore proceeded to found a fake joint-stock company, calling it Chemical Products. He had no employees, no plant whatever, yet because of the influence of the Empress he was able to sell shares to the value of over a million and a half francs. As soon as he secured the money he absconded to Spain and was never brought to trial.

The inside history of the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, whereby France was changed from a Republic to an Empire, is given by Griscelli. The Orleanists were planning to seize the President of the Republic and shut him up in Vincennes, but the party of Napoleon III knew all about their plans. The minister for war, and Pietri the Prefect of Police, were on the side of Napoleon. All the deputies of the Assembly were closely watched and shadowed, in order to determine which side they favoured. The Prince President himself was at the head of the whole conspiracy. On the 2nd of December all the Orleanist deputies were arrested and imprisoned, and proclamation of the Empire made. All the Republican papers were stopped. Griscelli compares Napoleon I and Napoleon III by saying that the former had said to his soldiers after Austerlitz:

"I am proud of you."

The *latter*, on the 2nd of December 1851, broke up the Press, killed liberty, cut the throats of women and children in Paris, and said to his generals:

"Burn the capital."

Griscelli says early in his memoirs that the secret agents spy on one another instead of doing useful work, and stir up trouble in order to appear to be doing something of value. To prove his contention he cites the two spies who, at the instigation of the secret service, during the Crimean

war introduced themselves into two munition factories and there stirred up sedition and revolt. On an appointed night all were to congregate at the Opéra Comique to make a demonstration; all were arrested. Despite Griscelli's contention, the incident is not at all convincing.

Attempts on the life of Napoleon III were numerous. He was one night invited by the Duchess Castiglioni, an Italian, to attend a function at the Hotel Beauveau. Griscelli, as usual, accompanied him. Just as Napoleon entered the door, a signal given by a maid brought forward a man from some hiding place. Griscelli stabbed him to death. On his person were found a revolver and a poisoned stiletto. With the same weapon he caused the surrender of Sinibaldi, an Italian, who had come from London with the intention of assassinating the Emperor. Of unknown nationality was the man who left Calais for the same purpose. Griscelli wormed himself into his confidence, and in the end stabbed him. Orsini was another plotting assassin, who, while not possessed of sufficient spirit himself to throw the bombs, after his arrest turned traitor to those whom he had hired to carry out his schemes.

Prince Cammerata was a general favourite around the court of Napoleon III because of his knowledge, relationship to the Emperor, and sterling personal qualities. He had the indiscretion, however, to declare his affection for the Empress under circumstances that led to its being overheard by the maids-of-honour in attendance. The same evening he was shot dead by a secret agent ordered to do so. The murdered man was a close friend of Pietri, Prefect of Police. The next morning Griscelli went to London to look for the agent, and within fifty hours had disposed of Zombo, who had killed the prince. Soon after this Pietri left the prefecture, and Griscelli, unable to work with his successor, transferred his services to Count Cavour, Minister to the King of Sardinia.

The memoirs of Griscelli are not of much value as a revelation of criminal life. They are valuable almost solely as depicting the actual life led by a secret agent. They will therefore be considered more briefly than the others.

After joining Cavour Griscelli was appointed special agent in the liaison of the various groups scattered throughout Italy conspiring to overthrow

the rule of Austria.. Parma, Modena, Bologna, Turin, Florence were some of the centres of conspiracy. From one to the other of these cities Griscelli travelled with special instructions from Cavour, ~~and~~ inciting the populace to revolution. In all cases he was successful.

Garibaldi's campaign in Sicily was not very tasteful to the French, who demanded an explanation. Cavour declared that the general had forcibly taken the ships which carried his expedition. As a matter of fact, however, Cavour fitted out the expedition himself and was the main organiser of the campaign. Griscelli had little to do with this part of the war, but he reports it as a point of interest.

It now became necessary for Cavour to know what plots were being made at the Vatican against France and Italy. By skilful artifices Griscelli succeeded in being taken into the pay of Antonelli and Pius IX. The exact means whereby he earned his commission from the Pope was the ferreting out of the printing place of a violently anti-papal sheet which arrived weekly.. Since the paper was published by Cavour's agents, it was a simple matter for him to do. He was now fully installed as a secret agent of the Pope, and so in a good position to ascertain their plans. One of them was to murder Napoleon III and Garibaldi, using for the purpose two condemned murderers who were released for the purpose. The French police in Rome arrested these two men, and so foiled the papal party. Soon after that he was asked to discover the revolutionary committee in Rome; Cavour ordered him to disclose their names on condition that they be exiled from the papal states. From Rome he was sent to Sicily. where he saw Garibaldi's campaign. The latter succeeded more through the treachery of his opponents, who had sold themselves to the enemy, than through the valour of his party. The plot to murder him was again brought forward, and Griscelli was sent to Palermo with the two ruffians who had again been released, to commit the deed. The agents of Cavour warned Garibaldi of what was transpiring, adding that Griscelli was on this occasion acting for the King of Naples, Francis II. Thus he was in the pay of three separate parties at the same time. A farcical trial was held after the arrest of Griscelli and his accomplices, at which they were acquitted. Soon after this Victor Emanuel conquered Naples; Cavour died and Griscelli left the service of the Italians. He was created Baron de Rimini by the King of Sicily.

Subsequent to these events Griscelli performed some secret missions, for the papal party, to Spain and England to raise money by means of loans, all of which he accomplished successfully. He was also appointed official representative of the Vatican at the Congress of Frankfort, where he met the Emperor Francis Joseph, who was the next master he served. The task assigned to him was to go to Florence to spy on the Italians to ascertain their plans. Chance enabled him to help the private secretary of the Italian Minister for war, from whom he learned all the details of the plan of campaign against the Austrians. His last act while in the employ of the Austrians was to spy out the route being taken by the Italian army in their attack. This he did so successfully that at the battle of Custozza the Italians were utterly defeated.

Griscelli ends his memoirs with the statement :"If people could only see crowned heads as near as I have seen them, how disgusted they would be". It is this sentiment of disgust, even loathing, that one feels in reading the life story of this man who sold his life to the highest bidder to betray his fellows. To him all that mattered was the money to be gained: all else, even life and honour, must be sacrificed to its acquisition. He is the polar opposite of Le Caron who worked, not for his own gain, but for the good of his country. At the beginning of his memoirs he states that secret agents as a class are thoroughly unprincipled. No one illustrates this lack of principles more clearly than himself.

Of more recent date, dealing with the work of Scotland Yard during the past war, and having to do chiefly with political crime, is the volume written by Basil Thomson - "My Experiences at Scotland Yard." Some incidents connected with crimes against the person and property are given, and they will be related as they occur.

The professional detective should be a jack-of-all trades rather than a specialist, because the wider the experience he has the more able will he be to cope with the situations that arise. The Sherlock Holmes type of individual does not exist in the flesh. The success of a detective is largely a matter of luck, for the detection of crime consists in good organisation, hard work, and luck; and if the latter element predominates the detective is successful. Method, industry

and local knowledge, in turn make the best organiaations for detecting crime. In London, the city is divided into twenty-one divisions, each with a Criminal Investigation staff of its own; above these is the Central Office - the whole making such an efficient organisation that every house of any type in the entire city can be combed in about two hours. This was the organization of which Thomson was head from 1913 to 1919. From 1919 to 1922 he was in charge of the Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department of the British Government, a branch that had to do with preventing political agitators from committing crimes to attain their ends. the Criminal Investigation Department has to unravel the crimes that have been already committed.

The only two non-political crimes Thomson speaks of are the Spanish prisoner fraud, and the confidence trick. In the former a supposed Spanish noble is languishing in prison, whence he writes to someone in England, for instance, asking him to look after his daughter, heiress to a large fortune part of which will go to the protector of his daughter when she comes into her own. All that the victim of justice requires is a small sum to help him out of an urgent difficulty. If the dupe sends money to the address given, he never sees it again. The confidence trick consists in inducing a stranger - chiefly Americans or Australians visiting London - to entrust money to a "crook" on the instigation of an accomplice.

The plots and conspiracies having as their object the liberation of Ireland, have been related down to the time of Sir Robert Anderson. Thomson gives us an account of the efforts of the Irish nationalists to set up a republic during the war. In this instance the Irish leaders were Sir Roger Casement and John Devoy: their assistants, the Germans. The negotiations were carried on through the German Ambassador in Washington - Bernstroff. Devoy supplied part of the money required for their plans, the German secret service the rest. Casement's plan was to go to Germany and there form an Irish Brigade from the Irish prisoners of war, and that this brigade should effect a landing in Ireland coupled with a strong German military force; in the meantime the Irish volunteers in Ireland should be supplied with arms in order to be ready for the rising. A

document embodying these terms was signed in December 1914 between Casement and the Germans.

Casement went to Germany and formed a brigade of fifty-six men whom he was able to seduce from their allegiance. Devoy, in America during this time, had meanwhile become impatient of inactivity and decided to call a rising for Easter Saturday 1916. To support the rising the Germans undertook to send two or three trawlers with rifles and ammunition to Tralee Bay. On April 21st Casement and some others were taken from Germany to Ireland in a submarine and landed in Tralee Bay. The same night the steamer "Aud", loaded with the promised arms, sailed into the same harbour, but found no one there to unload her. Her crew were disguised as the crew of a Norwegian tramp. Thinking it dangerous to remain in the harbour, she put out to sea where she was sighted by a British patrol boat, which ordered her to follow to Queenstown. On the way the Germans blew up the ship, and surrendered - dressed in German naval uniform. The rising actually took place on Easter Monday but was easily put down. Casement was executed.

Germany tried to stir up revolution in India as well as in Ireland. The first step in carrying out their project was to assassinate simultaneously many of the chief statesmen of the allied countries. The chief plotter was an Indian living in Berlin, while the English end of the conspiracy was also in the hands of British Indians. All the conspirators in England were seized and interned until the end of the war. Equally unsuccessful was the plot to stir up revolution in India by means of Indian prisoners of war liberated for the purpose. The leader of the expedition was an Indian landowner who posed as an Indian prince. The members of his party never succeeded in going farther than Afghanistan. One more attempt was made by the Germans, when using the Indian conspirators at Berkeley, California, as their tools, they tried to have arms shipped to India. The arrest of the leaders by the U. S. police put an end to this plot. Their efforts to stir up the Senussi Arabs in north Africa and the Moors in Morocco were almost futile.

In time of war there are naturally many spies employed by the belligerents. Whether or not a man who engages in espionage degrades himself thereby, depends on why he does it. It is almost entirely a question of motive. If the spy works for his country without thought for his own aggrandisement,

then there is no disgrace in espionage; but if he engages in the work from motives that are purely mercenary, serving whichever master pays him most, then to him should be shown no mercy, as he is of no more moral worth than the vilest wretch. All types of spies were caught in England during the war. Much has been written about the all-embracing system of espionage of Germany: too little is known concerning that of England. Before war broke out every German spy in England was known and continually watched. On August 5th, 1914 every spy in England was arrested save one who managed to escape arrest by embarking for Germany. Such is the efficiency of the British Secret Service.

Typical of the best men engaged in spying for the Germans was Carl Lody. He had lived for a time in the United States and so spoke English fluently. His business was to serve as a guide for tourists in England, an occupation which gave him an intimate knowledge of the country. Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914 he was employed by the German Secret Service, and to cover his movements was given a passport stolen from an American tourist. After the 4th of August he cycled around Edinburgh searching for information about the fleet. His telegrams from Scotland aroused suspicion. From Edinburgh he went to London, Liverpool, Dublin and Queenstown, at which latter place he was detained while detectives arrived from Scotland Yard. The materials found in his baggage completed the proof against him. He was tried by court-martial on 30th and 31st October and executed in the Tower five days later. A letter he wrote before his execution shows his attitude:

> "My Dear Ones,- I have trusted in God and he has decided. My hour has come, and I must start on the journey through the Dark Valley like so many of my comrades in this terrible War of Nations. May my life be offered as a humble offering on the altar of the Fatherland.
>
> "A hero's death on the battlefield is certainly finer, but such is not to be my lot, and I die here in the enemy's country silent and unknown; but the conciousness that I die in the service of the Fatherland makes death easy.

"The Supreme Court-Martial of London has sentenced me to death for Military Conspiracy. To-morrow I shall be shot here in the Tower. I have had just Judges, and I shall die as an Officer, not as a spy. Farewell, God bless you,

Hans." (1)

In another letter he thanked those in charge of him during his imprisonment for their considerate treatment. He went to his death unflinchingly. Equally patriotic, but of a stiff, abrupt nature which precluded any success as a spy, was Kuppferle, - a typical German non-commissioned officer.. He also was from the United States, but was soon arrested and put in prison where he committed suicide.

It seems a pity to execute patriotic men of integrity like Lody. No such sentiments can be felt towards the hireling spy, who is often the scum of humanity. It was proved during the war that summary execution greatly deterred this type of human vermin. Illustrative of the worst of this type was Preiznitser, a German-Jew who had secured British naturlization. On the outbreak of war he was interned at Ruhleben, where he devised the scheme of going to England and acting as guide for the Zepplins during their raids. Fellow-prisoners found some letters he had written outlining his plans, so they were forwarded to Scotland Yard. When he arrived in England he was soon arrested. Thomson says of him "I think that during the war I never met a more loathsome type of international. He was ready to serve any and every master if only it should be to the advantage of Max Preiznitser".(2) Of the same type was Meyer, another Jew, who had a criminal record,and who played false with his employers by giving wrong information. To the same race belonged Rosenthal, who, discovered by mere accident through the mis-directing to London of a letter that should have gone to Berlin, tried to escape death by simulating patriotism; and when that failed attempted suicide. Nevertheless he was hanged.

One would hardly expect musicians to be guilty of spying, but a good proportion of detected spies belonged to this profession. Breckow, a pianist who had lived in the United States for some years

(1) My Experiences at Scotland Yard P. 138
(2) Ib. P. 177

prior to the war, was sent to Germany to train for his new occupation; thence to England. When arrested, his artistic temperament could not stand the ordeal, and in the end he made a complete confession. Before his execution he broke down completely and was demented by fear. Such was not the attitude of Buschman, a born gentleman and a cultured musician, who refused to have his eyes bandaged and who faced the rifles with a brave smile.

The commonest disguise given to the German spies was that of commercial travellers. In some cases they purported to be cigar salesmen. When they telegraphed an order from a naval base for a certain number of cigars of various types, that signified the number and class of ships in the harbour on that date. Disguises of this general type were given to the spies who had their origin in other countries. Such were Zender, a South American, - the last spy to be shot in England during the war, all others being given life sentences - Patrocinio a Brazilian; Guerrero a Spaniard; and Vieyra a Dutch Jew. During the whole war there was only one Englishman who engaged in espoinage for the Germans and examination proved him to be of unsound mind. Towards the end of the war the information most desired by the Germans was the state of the British morale.

Journalism supplied only one important spy - George Vaux Bacon: at least he called himself a journalist, from the United States. He first went to Holland, where his associations aroused suspicion, so he was arrested when he reached England. Before his arrest he had gone to Ireland to secure information subsequent to the Rebellion. In his confession he stated that his mission was to find out the location of the anti-aircraft defences, the movements and morale of British troops; the position of squadrons in Scottish waters; and the types of new battleships being built. All these things he had tried to do. The entry of the United States into the war saved him from execution.

Women spies were not a success, according to Thomson. He mentions the case of Margaret Gertrude Zeller, of Dutch and Javanese parentage, who tried to carry information from Spain to Germany. The British Secret Service suspecting her, she was arrested, but since nothing definite could be proved against her, they merely sent her back to Spain. The next year she was caught in France with incriminating documents on her person. She was duly executed

but showed absolute fearlessness before the firing party. The most important woman spy during the war was Eva de Bournonville, who engaged in spying as a last resort to gain a livelihood. She was very inept and was soon captured. Although condemned to death, her sentence was reduced to life imprisonment.

To what extent sabotage during the war was due to spies is unknown. In America the work of sabotage directed by von Papen the military attaché at Washington, did considerable damage. In England they did not have the same opportunity to carry out their plans. However, several explosions did occur for which no explanation could be given. In Lancashire an explosion and fire caused the death of ten people and great destruction of property; at Silvertown an explosion resulted in the death of forty-five people; in another at Arklow a number of people lost their lives. In addition to enemy spies these might have been caused by Sinn Fein sympathisers, or by pacifist fanatics.

The revolutionary movement in England was fostered by an organisation known as the Rank and File Movement, with ideals and tendencies similar to those of the Russian Bolsheviks; and another called the Shop Steward Movement. The only serious strike caused by these bodies was in May 1917, when many workers laid down their tools, causing a serious stoppage of munition and other war work. The strike was successfully put down by the arrest of a few of the leaders. There was another conspiracy having as its object the desertion of those men who were still under arms in 1919. Of all these things Scotland Yard had accurate knowledge, as well as of similar movements throughout Europe. In fact, Scotland Yard was regarded as a clearing house for all Europe. "The great art of acquiring information is to have friends in every grade of society in as many countries as possible," says Thomson. The revolutionary press was subsidised by the Russians in their efforts to stir up strife. To all who are guilty of sedition there should be given a short trial and summary sentence, because experience has proved that this procedure always has a deterring effect on those who would preach sedition.

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C H A P T E R III.

PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

Having considered criminals in the act of committing crimes against the person and property, and conspiring to cause destruction to political ends, the next phase in the general treatment of the theme of this thesis is to study criminals as they appear in prison, and to learn what effect prison has on them. The best source of information on this phase of the subject is Major Arthur Griffiths' book "Fifty Years of Public Service." Major Griffiths was at first in charge of various prisons, rising finally to the position of Inspector of Prisons.

According to him there is no ample proof of a born criminal class. The characteristics of criminals specified by Lombroso are found in the general population outside prisons as well as inside, although it is true that these characteristics were noted by Griffiths in the large percentage of the dangerous classes. There is about convicts an air of furtiveness, in particular. "Their cringing and timid ways, the mobility and cunning of their looks, a something feline about them, something cowardly, humble, suppliant, and crushed, makes them a class apart." (1)

There are two types of prisons - those in which the congregate plan is used, and those employing the cellular system of strict isolation. The resultant effect on prisoners of the former type is in all cases marked deterioration of character, because the general example is bad, permeating the whole body of inmates. The congregate plan also makes for a larger number of attempted outbreaks, which nevertheless do not succeed as a rule because prisoners do not combine loyally; there is always one at least who will betray his companions in the hope of securing gain for himself. The prisoner is also disheartened by the knowledge that he will be beaten by the authorities in the end. Besides freedom, which is the chief desire of every prisoner, they crave tobacco, and will do anything to smuggle it into the prison. Accidents sometimes bring benefits to prisoners. Such was the manner in which a prisoner at Wormwood Scrubs derived advantages by opening a safe for Major Griffiths when the lock stuck.

Life at a convict prison such as Chatham was real penal servitude. The day began at 5.30, when hammocks were rolled, cells cleaned, and the roll taken by the convicts putting their brooms

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service P.145

through the door. Breakfast of very meagre quantities followed, and at 7.A.M. all gathered for service in the chapel. After service they were marched into the yard, formed into working parties, minutely searched for weapons or disguises, and then paraded to the scenes of their labour. Many works of importance have been completed by convict labour, notably Portland Breakwater, the extension of the docks at Chatham and Portsmouth, the reclamation at Dartmoor, and the construction at Borstal of the forts covering Chatham. At noon the convicts were recalled to the prison, again searched minutely, and given dinner. After an hour's rest work began once more, and at five o'clock they marched wearily back to their cells. While they were out, the cells were carefully searched for aids in escape. Prison life made Griffiths harsh and dour. To get away from its influence he had to take a day off each week and seek the softening influence of his free fellows. If it makes the governor harsh, what must be the effect on the prisoner?

For the convicted their penal servitude was relentless, devoid of all creature comforts or joy or hope of betterment., Deterrence from crime was sought by the observance of an iron, rigid rule, which allowed no alleviation of the hard conditions imposing a dull, monotonous routine, stale and unprofitable, on all offenders of the law. Griffiths would have helped them by ameliorating their condition, but could not. The diet shared in the monotony of routine, with curious results. The palate of these prisoners craved a change from the ever-recurring sameness of the food, to the extent that some would eat axle grease. earth, candles, grass and even it is said, live frogs. Medicine of the most abhorrent taste was taken with relish. To the same cause might be attributed the many attempts made to secure a period in hospital by inflicting wounds on themselves.

The character of inhuman,callous brutishness given by Vaux to the warders in charge of prisoners on the hulks may be recalled. Griffiths gives another version of their character. Most of them had served their time in the army or navy, and so believed implicitly in the duty of obedience. They were not given to conciliatory measures with their charges and seemed unsympathetic. "Taking them as a whole, the warders at

Chatham were honest, upright men, well-meaning, hard-working, and I look back upon them, after my long association with them, with respect and a most friendly feeling" (1). Most of them were quite human and hid kindly natures under their brusque exteriors, regarding themselves often as the impersonal agents of a higher authority. To one of them, who had been a boatswain's mate in the navy, was given the task of flogging with the cat-o-nine-tails. This form of punishment was used only in cases of absolute necessity, when the conduct of some ringleaders threatened to upset the routine of prison life. If there were no 'cat', then the bullet would have to be used sometimes.

From Chatham Griffiths was transferred to Millbank, another convict prison in which were incarcerated military prisoners as well as civilians. The soldiers were treated in the same way as ordinary criminals, a process which reduced their strength and entirely unfitted them for their profession. About the year 1899 this system of punishing soldiers was changed, and those sentenced to long terms were shut up in military prisons where the labour was of a type which did not detract from their usefulness as soldiers. Of the old forms of punishment two may be mentioned - the "crank" and "shot drill". The former consisted of a wheel which was set against cogs that exercised a resisting pressure: it was turned by a handle weighted according to the amount of labour required to be done. It was most fatiguing and humiliating work, because it accomplished nothing. To execute "shot drill" the prisoners were formed in a circle, each with a twenty-four pound shot between his feet. At the word of command each picked up his shot and carried it waist high six paces, when it was deposited: then he walked back to his former position to find there another shot deposited by the man behind him. This process was carried on for hours, with only brief intervals of respite to rest the tortured muscles. Although the treadwheel was not found in Millbank it was in use in many English prisons until 1895. This punishment consisted of walking incessantly up the steps on the side of a large wheel. It was defended as the most natural and efficient method of producing forced labour, and had also the

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service. P. 178

merit of compelling every convict to do his share of the work. The power developed by the treadwheel was often unutilised, but in other cases it was employed in grinding wheat and raising water. These devices had as their object the deterrence of criminals from repeating their offences.

Many people thought that prison life was then altogether too severe, and contended that better results might be achieved by more kindly treatment. To test this theory experiments on a large scale were tried at Millbank, and every opportunity given to determine their efficacy. The first step taken was to treat first offenders who were still young and who held out a prospect of doing better in later life, with great leniency. Kindness was the guiding principle in their treatment; persuasion and admonition were substituted for coercion, even at the expense of good order. What was the result of the experiment?

> "The well-meant experiment,so ambitious in its inception, and carried out so extravagantly, with an expenditure that was almost unlimited, was proved at length to be an acknowledged failure. This abortive attempt to correct and remove the obstinate canker of crime by mild methods remains as an object lesson to those who still believe in its efficacy." (1)

Prevention of crime should begin with children, by removing them from evil surroundings and giving them an opporunity in reformatory and industrial schools to fit themselves for useful places in life.

On the failure of this experiment at Millbank, the authorities determined on a new plan. Deportation overseas had been proved a colossal failure, and was discontinued to Australia in 1840. It was then decided to send convicts to Tasmania, but under a better management. They were first to be kept in the large towns doing forced labour; then removed to the out stations with varying degrees of liberty; finally given their freedom. The result of this was to permeate the island with a criminal class who eventually numbered as many as the free inhabitants. Millbank was chosen as the starting-point of the new system, whence the convicts were

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service. P. 199

to be sent to Hobart. The experiment was a failure. The final plan adopted was to confine them for very short terms in convict prisons, and then send them to Bermuda or Gibraltar for forced labour, where they could earn release on ticket-of-leave.

Female prisoners are much more difficult to manage than are male offenders. "I forbear to enter into any psychological enquiry into the cause or reasons, but will merely state the facts drawn from my own experience, that the female 'side' of a prison gives more trouble to the authorities than the male". (1) Outbreaks among them were frequent, due to the laxity of discipline. They were very imitative in their wrongdoings. One prisoner began to drum her feet on the cell door, a practice which developed into an epidemic in the prison, lasting for months. It was finally overcome by building a cell within a cell, so that no sound could be heard without. Any weakness whatever in enforcing prison rules led to a rapid spread of insubordination.

All types of criminals were naturally found at Millbank. There was Crutchy J., a cripple who stole watches only; the "Devil on two sticks", paralyzed in both legs, yet an expert thief; blind Taddy, of whom an account has already been given; Dixblane and Constance Kent, murderesses; and many others of lesser importance. Imbeciles under observation were kept there at that time, comprising all types of delusion. One prisoner would not eat an egg because there were three spots on the shell; others said their food was poisoned, and that everything was adulterated, even the water; some swallowed pebbles; another was earning £1000 a day to look after the other prisoners; one was King of the Moon; another could make the sun shine on a wet day; G.D. called himself the Prince of Wales; T.K. invented a cork ship that could sink the entire British navy. There were also some suicidal maniacs, but they were so closely watched that they could do no harm.

Griffiths was next made governor of Wormwood Scrubs, a prison which he built entirely with convict labour. His means of restraining the prisoners in the early days of construction were very slender. On one occasion only did he use the 'cat' to preserve order, and the infliction had the desired deterrent effect. Fortunately

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service. P. 205

he had under him an excellent group of warders - "upright, steadfast, hard-working, of good character and the best intentions."

Prisoners were taught a trade in the convict prisons according to their aptitude. Besides benefitting them for after life, these trades served as an admirable means to maintain discipline. Convicts worked much harder when they knew that by diligence they would earn promotion from the unskilled to the skilled trades. If, after winning a place among the skilled artisans, they shirked or caused trouble, a period spent at the unskilled tasks always induced them to mend their ways. The long-term convicts were in a prison a sufficient length of time to go through all the stages of a trade and emerge skilled workmen. Among the things made by prisoners were mats. Since in the manufacture of these articles they came into competition with free labour, the latter protested so successfully that prison labour on a large scale was not thenceforth used in making articles for the open market. The convict labour was used to make materials for the army and navy, for government offices, and for the prisons themselves. The prison inspectors suggested that trades should be centralised in one particular prison according to local facilities; for instance, all shoes would be made at Warwick, tailors would all be in Halloway; Wakefield would produce blankets; and so on. This plan could not be fully carried out because of the cost of transporting prisoners from place to place, since the majority were not in prison long enough to repay the expense.

In 1876 all the prisons in Great Britain, which had formerly been under the jurisdiction of local authorities, were united into one central department under the Home Office. The Prison Commission of four members and a secretary, were put in charge of bringing into effect the new organization. Six Inspectors of Prisons were appointed, of whom Griffiths was one. Under the new regime, forms, reports, accounts etc. were made uniform; supplies were bought by the Prison Commission rather than by each prison separately; and industry was encouraged in the prisons. Strict cellular confinement was enforced in cells which

must measure up to the government requirements. It was expressly forbidden to use any "cell for the separate confinement of a prisoner unless it was certified by one of ~~the~~ H.M. Inspectors of Prisons to be of the proper size, to be lighted, warmed, ventilated, and fitted up in such a manner as may be requisite for health, and furnished with the means of enabling the prisoner to communicate at any time with an officer of the prison." (1) What a contrast to the dungeon in which Latude spent his time; or to the hulks told of by Vaux.

Many of the prisons were models. That of Wakefield in Yorkshire was one of the best; run on the principle of a huge factory, and splendidly efficient. Durham, Leeds, and Hull all had modern prisons. In sharp contrast to these were those of Newcastle, parts of which belonged to mediaeval times, dark and gloomy; of York, founded by Sydney Smith, which was so out of keeping with its objects that it was long known as "the greatest joke Sydney Smith ever made"; of Lancaster which dated back to the time of the Romans. All these old prisons have been swept away, and modern new ones substituted for them. In the local prisons were kept only those guilty of minor offences; in the convict prisons the worst criminals. In all prisons the procedure of admittance was the same: all his private clothing and belongings were taken away; he was introduced to a bath, dressed in prison garb, classed for labour by the doctor; and sent to his cell. All prisons are now models of cleanliness, as well as being equipped with good hospitals.

Prison governors were generally retired army or navy officers whose training in discipline was invaluable in these positions. The chaplains were earnest, devoted men who did the best they could for their charges. The prison medical officer had perhaps the most difficult and important office of all. He was continually besieged by complaints, often fictitious, which would secure the coveted goal of a rest in the hospital. Some prisoners simulated paralysis and so escaped work. At Dartmoor one man had a bad sore on his foot which refused to heal. The mystery was solved by the finding of two needles embedded in the wound. Many pretend to be insane. One prisoner sewed his eyelids and mouth to prove that he was insane. Despite these efforts at self-mutilation, there are very few suicides in

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service P.276

prison: and those that do occur generally take place early in the prisoner's incarceration when the outlook is blackest.

The work of the prison inspectors was to travel from prison to prison, examining the buildings and officials, hearing complaints, and in general acting as intermediaries between the prisons and the Prison Commission. The complaints made were generally on the most trivial matters. Diet, however, forms an important part of prison management. Quality was complained of rather than quantity. When Griffiths began his career in Chatham, the amount served was very meagre. After that a new scale was introduced allowing a more ample diet; and later still the amount was increased to such an extent that many people maintained that prison life was a luxury to the convicts.

It has been noted that one of the most urgent desires of prisoners is to escape. At Wakefield a shoemaker made a false key from a bit of iron hoop, unlocked his cell door after removing the food trap, made a hole in the roof, and slid down the gutter-pipe to freedom. From the same prison another convict escaped by raising himself through the ventilator. He was later captured for another offence and while serving his sentence in Manchester murdered a warder. A good disguise and a clear start are essential in escapes. Marvellous ingenuity is often shown in making the articles needed for escape. Scraps of iron, tin or wood are all made to serve this purpose. One convict even made a key from two rusty nails, modelling it on that of the chaplain which he saw when the latter made his visits. Latude's escape from the Bastille may here be recalled.

It will be remembered that Prévost went calmly to his execution, but that he hoped to the end that his sentence would be commuted. Nicholls, who shared the condemned cell with Vaux, went calmly to his death after trying to make peace with his Creator: but the second condemned man who was in the cell with him went to the scaffold in a spirit of bravado. These men illustrate in a general way the attitude of the condemned awaiting death. The motives that prompted their deeds vary - possibly an uncontrollable impulse to avenge a wrong; or a desire to remove an incubus - as in the case of Prévost murdering Adèle Blondin;

perchance the desire for an ultimate advantage or immediate gain - all these might be the motives that finally brought them to the death cell. Whether the murder be committed in a fit of passion or deliberately planned, the murderer is generally cool and self-possessed after the act, going about his tasks as though nothing had happened. After arrest this calmness characterises most of them. They will talk of the occurrence without emotion, giving their version of the affair and adhering doggedly to their first story. Hope of ultimate freedom never dies in them, and the actual verdict of death comes as a terrible shock to most of them, and is more bitter than the actual certainty of execution. Often their cowardly nature shows itself in an attempt to put the blame on someone else. After the verdict their attitude varies from absolute indifference, to a desire to make amends for their acts and be at peace with God. While awaiting execution many employ themselves in writing, as did Lacenaire; the majority pass their time in reading. Lombroso says that the condemned are not concerned about their last hour. Guillot and Griffiths disagree, and cite the greater number as desiring the ministrations of the chaplain. The Abbé Crozes says that "all alike are possessed with one single idea, that of escaping death. The dread anticipation never leaves them; as it daily grows nearer and nearer, everything in them betrays the liveliest apprehension". When the hour comes some face it bravely; others are seized with terror, others still have to be forcibly taken to the scaffold. In the main, however, there is no display of feeling on the scaffold.

Belgium does not exact capital punishment; instead they put condemned murderers into strict cellular isolation. The result of this is, according to Griffiths, a total loss of health; and very often insanity. Italy also enacts life imprisonment for murder, but permits the associating of prisoners, so that in Italy the number of those who become insane is smaller than in Belgium. Great Britain does not keep a man in isolation for a period exceeding six months. In Belgium, so accustomed had the convicts become to isolation that when they were put in a large room after having become insane, each man kept strictly to himself. Morselli has also proved that strict

cellular isolation causes more suicides than any other form of imprisonment. Thus it is easily seen that of the two forms of punishment a sudden death is preferable to dying by inches; even though capital punishment sometimes causes the execution of an innocent man through judicial error.

Macé gives an account of the impersonal attitude of the executioners in Paris. The same is true of hangmen in England. Marwood, the executioner in the time of Griffiths, had once been a local preacher in a small sect, but had become a hangman by accident almost. He had a predilection for hemp rope, and would never use manila. His nature was not altogether unkindly.

In 1896 there was held in Geneva a Congress of Criminal Anthropology at which Griffiths represented Great Britain. The chief topic of discussion was Lombroso's new theory of the existence of a"born criminal" type in which the traits of criminality were implanted by heredity, and from which they had little chance of escape. Griffiths' contribution to the Congress was a paper on the practical treatment of the habitual criminal - the recidivist.

Existing modes of repression do not prevent crime: this is proved by statistics the world over, and by the continual reappearance of the same individuals in prison. "These habitual criminals constitute the essence of the criminality of a country, the outlaws, overt and undisguised, against society; those, in fact, who persistently defy the law, and refuse to abide by the rules and regulations that society makes, and which are respected by honest people." (1) Present penal methods have no deterring effect on them. No sooner are they liberated than they commit a fresh crime. Have such criminals a right to be free? If they regain freedom for the sole purpose of renewing their warfare on society, has not society the right to keep them in its power indefinitely and so prevent them from carrying on their nefarious practices? If this principle is granted, then the only effective means of dealing with the habitual criminal is to use some form of indefinite detention.

The objections that may be advanced against the indeterminate sentence are that it is novel, and that therefore public opinion is not prepared to sanction the absolute loss of liberty implied in the method proposed. However, the indeterminate sentence does not mean that the prisoner will never again be free. Ultimate release is the goal held

(1)Fifty Years of Public Service P.385

up as the reward for improvement,provided that a cure has been effected and the habit of crime overcome. This brings up perhaps the most serious objection of all - who is to determine when the cure has been effected? As the prisoner gives pfoof of improvement, prison discipline is gradually relaxed. Penal institutions as at present constituted are too severe a punishment for an indefinite period: a new and less rigourous form of prison would have to be used. None of these difficulties, however great, are insuperable.

At the Congress, Griffiths' proposition was thoroughly discussed. M. Van Hamel, of Holland, supported it unreservedly, because it would have a far more deterrent effect on the criminal than the present method. A prisoner can steel himself to bear a definite period in gaol; but let him know that he is to go to prison until such time as the authorities think he is fit to be set free,and his lapses assume a more serious significance. To determine the fitness for release of the prisoner, Van Hamel suggested the creating of a board to inquire minutely into each man's character. Mr. Gauthier, professor of law at Geneva, was utterly opposed to the whole scheme, because in his opinion the committee could never arrive at a decision. Mr. Ferri gave the scheme his approval, but would have one man to recommend release, rather than a committee.

Occasional criminals can be adequately dealt with in prisons as they are at present. Serious crimes may sometimes be dealt with by the same system effectively. But the habitual criminal, let it be repeated, is not properly dealt with at present. Habitual drunkards, vagabonds and vagrants could easily be kept in an institution similar to a workhouse, where they could in time work out their salvation and win freedom. But the recidivist who commits more serious crimes must be dealt with in a special manner. A new type of prison must be established, in which discipline would be less severe; the imposed labour would take the form of trades, handicrafts, industrial occupations, and the various branches of agriculture; and the cells would be made of inexpensive material- perhaps of corrugated iron. The toil would be in common, but separation at night must be the rule. A good dietary would be imperative. For recreation literature, concerts and lectures could be

given as a reward for continued good conduct. The inmates might even be allowed out on "pass" for varied periods.

These ideas may seem Utopian and impracticable. Some may say that the concentration in one spot of all that is worst in the human race cannot work anything but ill. However, experience shows that many criminals who commit the worst of crimes are the best behaved in prison. In fact, by continually returning to gaol the habitual criminal imposes on himself indefinite detention. Why not keep him there, and prevent the damage he does? Many of them prefer captivity to freedom, as is shown by wide experience. Good discipline may easily be maintained by constant vigilance. The costliness of the system is not as real as would seem, for against the cost of maintenance there must be placed the prevention of the damage caused to person and property, and the saving of the legal expenses involved in convicting recidivists.

The present system of liberting a criminal on condition of good behaviour is proved ineffective by the large number of crimes committed by prisoners out on licence. The police cannot maintain a vigilance over all these criminals at all times, so society is not protected by this method of treatment. Prolonged indefinite detention, having as its end release conditional on a cure having been effected, is surely to be preferred to the present ineffective methods.

Sir Robert Anderson upholds this contention. He says, speaking of habitual criminals:

> "If these men are the victims of neglect or harsh treatment in childhood-and this may possibly be true of some of them-it is no reason why they should be allowed to prey upon the community, to corrupt others by their evil example, and to breed children after their kind. It is all the more reason why they should be saved from themselves by being relegated to a 'preventive detention', in which they might be taught to live a useful life,with hope not only of happiness in the next world, but also of restoration to liberty in this world, if and when they give proof of genuine repentance and reform." (1)

(1) The Lighter Side of My Official Life. P. 232

Anderson says that a bill having this indefinite detention as its aim was brought into the British Parliament in 1908; but due to the "pestilent influence of the humanitarians", it was changed into a measure which made the way of the criminal easier than ever. He would lock up all habitual criminals in an asylum-prison with the object of curing them. Society can best protect itself against them by exercising ordinary care.

The object of imprisonment has varied according to the views that have been in the ascendant from time to time. Civilized nations agree that deprivation of personal liberty is the best means of punishing offenders against the law. A theory often believed is that the period of detention may be utilized to reform and regenerate the criminal, so that when he regains his liberty he will sin no more. The experiment at Millbank has proved the theory false. Those who persist in believing that persuasion will change the nature of the morally weak are following a will-o-the-wisp. Another theory is that the more severe the prison discipline, the more irksome the restraints imposed; the greater will be the deterrent effect on those who have experienced it once; and the sterner will be the warning to those who have not fallen. The recidivist proves conclusively that this theory is wrong. Imprisonment does not punish.

> "Its curative process, in a moral sense, has been disappointing. As a punishment it fails because, with due regard to humanity, it cannot be inflicted in its most severe form." (1)

At the present time legislation aims at decreasing the prison population. First offenders are not convicted if they offer any hope of abstaining from crime. Anderson says that punishment is not an end, but a means to an end; and the end of greatest importance is the protection of society. For this purpose imprisonment should not be for a stated period, but for an indefinite time, until the offender may safely be allowed in society. The punishment should fit the crime: if the crime is against property, restitution should be made; if against the person, a like penalty should be imposed. The

(1) Fifty Years of Public Service. P. 395

criminal has no respect for the sanctity of the person of his victim; it is therefore strange that people in general have a morbid respect for the sanctity of the person of the culprit.

There are certain phases of the problem of the criminal which are not sufficiently important to merit a separate chapter, but an account of which is necessary. The first of these is the identification of criminals. In England prior to 1893, habitual criminals were identified solely by an officer or a warder who had been concerned in the arrest or the imprisonment of the offender. This recognition was helped by photographs and by a register of the peculiar distinguishing marks of each criminal. The limitations of this system are apparent. While it served in a measure to identify those criminals who habitually stayed in London, or the country, it was of no use whatever in identifying the international criminals who were in London only on occasion. In 1893 a small committee was formed to inquire into the whole question of the identification of criminals. They concluded that the system then in force was imperfect and ineffecient. Furthermore the committee was commissioned to investigate any other methods which would be more effective, in particular the Bertillon method; and the system of finger prints then being developed.

M. Bertillon, a French scientific doctor, discovered that certain bony structures of the body vary with every individual, but in each adult they are invariable. By measuring these and classifying them, an individual could always be recognised from his own particular measurements. The five most important measurements taken were the length and width of the head, the length of the left middle finger, the length of the left foot, and the length of the left forearm. When the committee saw these measurements being made and recorded, they recognised the merit of the system, but would not recommend its adoption as the sole means of identification.

The finger print system was developed by Sir Francis Galton. It had its origin in a custom in India, where the thumb print was the royal sign manual, and where the peculiarities of finger prints

were an accepted tradition. The print of the finger is unchanged all through life, and differs in all persons. Sir Francis Galton has calculated that the chance of two finger prints being alike is one in 64,000 millions. This method seemed to the committee to be preferable to any hitherto in use. The identification is based on the fact that the fingers make three distinct types of pattern - "arches", "loops", and "whorls". There are variations of these forms in different individuals, but the same pattern is never repeated. In conjunction with the finger print system the committee advised the adoption of the Bertillon method, and the continuation of photographing; the whole to be placed in a central registry at Scotland Yard. Subsequently in 1900 the Bertillon system was discarded and the finger print method wholly used. Prints are taken by smearing the finger tips with ink and then pressing them lightly on paper.

Mention has been made several times of "Scotland Yard" and the "Criminal Investigation Department". In 1829 Peel brought forward a bill which created the Metropolitan Police Force, and put the office of police directly under the Home Secretary. The Police Office was in the time of Peel situated in Westminster and was known as Scotland Yard because the kings of Scotland and their ambassadors formerly lodged there. In 1842 a special detective branch was formed from the members of the police force. Because of irregularities the department of detectives was reorganised in 1878 under Sir Howard Vincent, and there was formed the "Criminal Investigation Department" consisting of a chief superintendent and numbers of officers. The C.I.D. as it is often called, is also located at Scotland Yard. Sir Robert Anderson was in charge of the C.I.D. from 1888 till1902 with the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police; the head of the Metropolitan Police is given the title of Chief Commissioner of Police. The Metropolitan Police district covers an area of 700 square miles. The C.I.D. has an inspector and a staff of officers in each of the twenty-one police divisions of London, so that every crime committed in the city is immediately reported to the Chief. Its officers are often sent to the provinces to assist in solving mysteries of crime. In Paris, the Prefecture of Police corresponds to the Metropolitan Police; and the Service de la Sûreté to the Criminal Investigation Department.

The interaction of police and public; of police and their chiefs; of the various police or detective departments on one another, are important factors in the efficiency of a force in detecting and putting down crime. Sir Robert Anderson says that one of the first essentials of success is co-operation between the police and their chiefs, and confidence in one another. In England the public help the police by their sympathetic attitude: "Our Police are friends of the people, and therefore the people are always ready to help us." They belong to the people, acting as the servants of the public, not merely as the agents of the Executive Government. This sympathy with the police is one of the chief general causes of their success, which is well seen in the statistics of crime in London. Between the years 1879 and 1900, crimes against property per 1,000 of the population ranged from 4.8 to 2.4. The average number of murders in London is fifteen or sixteen per year, and nearly all the murderers are brought to justice. Contrast this with the case Anderson cites of 2,000 murders committed in Chicago in one year. While in England the police preserve order chiefly by persuasion, in Paris they exercise control by inspiring fear.

In the time of Anderson there was considerable official antagonism to the "Detective Department". As a result, the officers of the C. I. D. were demoralized and hindered in their work: the official report that year stated that "crime during the year has shown a decided tendency to increase". Macé says to keep politics out of the police force: give them a free hand. The chief object of Macé's censure were the "brigades de recherches" which were under political control, and to whose negligence and incompetence was due the escape of many a criminal. Too much attention was paid to these "brigades politiques", and not enough to the ordinary policemen protecting life and property. Shortly after Prévost's crimes, a campaign was begun against the police force for crimes committed by its members. In their defence Macé says that a body corporate should not be condemned because of the faults of a few. In such a large body of men as the police force it is only natural to find at times a criminal, but in the main they are irreproachable.

All the memoirs written are not genuine. Two examples only of bogus memoirs will be cited. The first are those of Vidocq, which purport to be written by himself. Vidocq was born in Arras, where he worked in his father's bakery. He soon learned to pilfer small things, and finally stole quite a large sum of money. He fled from home

and after an adventurous youth joined the army. For a quarrel with another officer he was imprisoned at Lille; and while there earned eight years hard labour for helping to forge an order for the release of a prisoner. Twice he escaped and was recaptured; the third time he evaded the police and lived with the worst criminals of Paris whose methods he thus learned thoroughly. In 1809 he offered his services as a spy to the Paris police. He was made chief of the detective department, where his knowledge and ability earned him remarkable success in tracking criminals. After retiring from the detective service he built a paper-mill, but the venture was a failure. To recoup his losses he re-entered the police service, but was discharged because he organized a theft, and at the appropriate time discovered the criminals after all others had failed. Vidocq actually lived, but according to the Encyclopedia Brittanica it is doubtful if his memoirs are original.

Claude was Chef de la Sûreté under the Second Empire, and had to do with the solution of several important crime mysteries. His memoirs occupy ten volumes, concerning which the Nouveau Larousse says:

> "On a publié d'après ses notes, un ouvrage curieux, mais peu digne de foi, intitulé les 'Mémoires de M. Claude' "

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C H A P T E R IV.

JUVENILE CRIME.

Of late years more and more attention has been given to the diminshing of crime by cutting off the supply of criminals by the reformation of those who early show criminal tendencies. In former times youthful offenders were imprisoned with hardened veterans, thereby becoming more addicted to crime than ever before. Boys were sent to prison for crimes ranging from throwing stones to the committing of larceny. One boy was sentenced to death at the age of thirteen for stealing a watch. His sentence was commuted, but he continued his career of crime. He was only one of the thousands who yearly became inmates of English prisons. In 1854, fourteen thousand juveniles were imprisoned. The ages of 60% of the whole were between fourteen and seventeen; the youngest were twelve. Such conditions plainly called for reform.

Before this time Charles Dickens had again and again cried out for reform in the treatment of juvenlie offenders. His ideas are crystallized in "Household Words" Vols. I and III. He advocated prevention rather than cure, and the compulsory indistrial education of neglected children, as well as the punishment of neglectful parents. The earliest attempts at reclamation had been made by the Marine Society in 1756, when it attempted to clothe the waifs and strays and send them to sea. Next came the Philanthropic Society which founded the Farm School at Redhill. In 1838 parliament established the Parkhurst prison for the detention of juveniles who accepted pardon on condition that they voluntarily entered the above institution. In 1854 the first Reformatory Act was passed.

The Act of 1854 changed these unofficial establishments into places for the legal detention of juvenile offenders, and gave government aid and inspection. Judges were empowered to send to these Reformatories all who were guilty of acts punishable by short terms of imprisonment. Before being sent to these establishments, they were at first given a short term in the common gaol. Some authorities say that this term in prison is essential to reformation. Colonel Inglis, H. M. Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, says it is entirely bad. Griffiths maintains that no good can come of the procedure because the child who has once been inside a gaol comes out with a taint. The "prison taint" is not imaginary, because there is harm and deterioration in the very air, and all the influences on the child are corrupting.

Experience soon showed that the Reformatories were having a marked correctional influence, a fact which turned the minds of many to prevention of crime by helping the under-privileged. To this end Industrial Schools were established by the act of 1857. As the Industrial Schools increased in number, the Reformatories decreased, thus showing that the preventive measures adopted were having their effect. In the Reformatories the object has been to secure the domestic character of a small home, so each one is divided into small schools. The education is very practical, beginning with field labour and progressing to a number of trades from which the boys choose for themselves. The results are most gratifying, nearly 92% of the boys discharged from Redhill in the early days having been completely reformed. The Industrial Schools use the same general methods of discipline and management, but they differ from Reformatories in that they are not penal, though attendance is compulsory. To them are sent the children who are neglected, deserted, or of evil parentage. The truant schools and the day industrial schools are meant for those children who have defied school-boards. The result obtained by the Industrial Schools are seen in the figures 86% for boys, 83% for girls, who were doing well after discharge. In the case of Reformatories 79% of the boys and 76% of the girls were reclaimed. Most of the schools are operated on the "congregate" plan, but the larger ones are divided into smaller houses, each with an "official father" at its head. "Boarding out", or allocating a boy to a family, is not recommended as a general practice because of the difficulty in finding suitable foster parents.

The next step in stopping the supply of criminals at its source was the Elementary Education Act of 1870, made compulsory in 1876, which took the waifs of the street and brought them under the improving influence of education. Very soon the effects of this law were seen in a reduced number in prison. Some years later there came into force the Probation of Offenders Act whereby first offenders are put under a probation officer in an endeavour to reform them. The Children's Act prohibits the imprisonment of children under fourteen, and permits that of children between fourteen and sixteen only as a last resort. Lastly is the Borstal system, which is of very great importance since it deals with youths between sixteen and twenty-one, the ages between which it has been proved that the criminal habit becomes set and fixed.

The Borstal system is based on strict discipline, tempered by rewards for good conduct. Its objects are to reform youthful offenders and to reduce the number of professional criminals. If these objects were attained, then the problem of dealing with the recidivist would be greatly helped. The system was found necessary because short sentences given to young offenders tended to increase crime rather than stop the habit; and because detention in an ordinary prison did not permit the individual treatment which is necessary to make an impression on young criminals. These younger criminals between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were found to be below the average for their age in height, weight, and mentality. To correct these defects, they are sentenced to a Borstal institution for a term of not less than one year. There they are given daily physical drill; their moral and intellectual education advanced; and their interest aroused by special lectures. The prisoners are put into three classes: Penal, Ordinary and Special, the latter carrying with it special privileges. On being admitted they are put into the Ordinary class, so as to have an incentive to work up to the Special class, and to keep out of the Penal class which has no privileges whatever. Merit marks are given only when from personal knowledge it is known that the prisoner desires to respond to reformatory treatment. They are all employed, in association, at various trades which will be useful to them in after life. The diet is liberal. Those whose records are particularly good may be released on licence after six months. An After-Care Association composed of voluntary workers, secures employment for the youths when they are released, and keeps a friendly eye on them to ensure their successful rehabilitation. A modified form of the Borstal scheme is applied to those whose sentences are too short to permit of their securing the full benefits of the system. The success of the experiment is attested by the fact that from 60% to 70% of those treated under the full scheme are at work and doing well, and 58% of those treated under the modified scheme. Only 11% have been reconvicted. In the words of the Annual Report of the Borstal Association we find a summary of the whole system:

> "For the most part they enter Borstal in an unpromising condition of mind and body, lumpy, slack, sometimes defiant, generally out of condition, and, as a whole, below the average of physique and intelligence of their class. They come out healthy, well set-up,

improved in manner,and,in the great majority of cases, anxious to show that they can work honestly and hard." (1)

Practically every country in Europe has devoted much effort towards the rescue of children from falling into criminal ways. It has come to be recognized that the best way to check crime is to stop the supply of criminals at its source. Many of those who become criminals never have a chance to be anything else. Some judges have left the bench rather than sentence these young offenders to prison terms. One such was M. Demetz of France, who founded, along with the Vicomte de Courteilles, the agricultural colony of Mettray which has served as a model for all other such colonies. Belgium has a highly organized system for the treatment of juvenile delinquents. Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark - all have institutions of various types designed to rescue those who would otherwise drift into crime. In all cases the country and society have benefitted from the effort.

To show how far youthful depravity may go, it may be recalled that Rossignol tells of the murder committed by Abadie and Gille.Perrichon, a fifteen year old boy, killed a rival for a girl's favour, and was run down by Rossignol. Two other examples will suffice. Near Galt, Ontario, a seventeen year old boy shot at and clubbed to death the wife of his employer merely because she refused a request he made. He was found guilty and hanged. Eddie Elliott, fifteen years old, killed with a poker and a stick of wood the old retired farmer for whom he worked in Ontario , in order to rob him of whatever money he had. When this boy was younger he continually tortured any animals that he could lay hands on. He confessed to the crime without any trace of emotion. If such boys as these had been treated in a Borstal or a similar institution perhaps their crimes would never have been committed.

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(1) Quinton, Crime and Criminals P. 151

C H A P T E R V.

CONCLUSION.

In drawing conclusions from the memoirs considered, it may be objected that the number of criminals and crimes cited is not sufficiently large to justify the inferences. The objection is well taken, but it may be here repeated that the subject of the thesis is crime and criminals as depicted in English and French memoirs. Furthermore, the memoirs tend to repeat and to emphasize the same factors and phases of the problem of crime. In Andrieux's "Souvenirs d'un Préfet de Police" and in Powell's "An American Siberia" we find the same characteristics of criminals as in the memoirs narrated. Therefore no new light would be thrown on the subject by detailing further memoirs. It must also be noted that these memoirists are not theorisers who have no intimate knowledge of their subject: without exception they are men who have spent their lives in dealing with drime; and to whom crime is a stern reality, and the criminal a real, actual menace. Their opinions should therefore carry weight and authority.

The first fact that stands out very clearly is that the criminal regards all society as his legitimate prey. He is at war with society, and in prosecuting his warfare he shows no mercy whatever to his victims. Whether the criminal be a murderer like Voirbo, Prévost, Lacenaire, Abadie, De Surville, or Burcham; a thief like Vaux; one of the many species of sneak-thieves; a dynamiter like the Fenians; or one of the many other types of criminals, he shows the same lack of regard for the rights of others: the only rights he considers are his own. The statement of this fact needs no further amplification.

Having this attitude towards society, he commits acts which break the laws that organised society regards as essential to its well-being. The criminal is the aggressor. We have seen him in the process of committing his crimes, so that we are the better able to judge his nature. Nothing could be more cowardly than the attack of Voirbo on Bodasse, of Prévost on Lenoble, of Lacenaire and Avril on Chardon, of Burcham on Gripston, of Gille and Abadie on their helpless old victim. These crimes were all carefully planned beforehand, so that they were not in any way due to a sudden outburst of passion. The dynamite outrages perpetrated by the Fenians were likewise deliberately prepared. The depredations of Vaux were in no way due to accident, but rather caused by his own perverse nature. How the majority of

thieves plan and deliberately execute their thefts is amply shown in the passages from Griffiths, as is also the hopelessness of reclaiming them. The acts of these criminals inspire horror and loathing.

Since the criminal is the aggressor, society is on the defensive. In self-defence it must take drastic action towards criminals. The means used to ensure safety of life and property are imprisonment and execution. The second fact that is outstanding in these memoirs is that imprisonment as at present carried out does not deter the criminal sufficiently. Vaux carried on his swindling and thieving despite imprisonment and deportation, besides giving evidence in his memoirs that his fellow-convicts recommenced their careers of crime when they were liberated. Blind Taddy kept on stealing despite prison sentences. The thieves cited by Griffiths openly declare that they use their prison sentences to plan further thefts with greater care. The statistics of all countries prove that the habitual criminal, the recidivist, is not deterred from crime by imprisonment.

Whether or not there is a born criminal class, there is a class of habitual criminals, who make crime their profession. They are moral incurables "whom the criminal law cannot either reform or deter from crime". (1) They regard all others as fair prey. For them life is a gamble, and they count no risks in playing for their stakes. There must be some defect in their constitution which keeps them tied down to their criminal ways. It is a peculiar thing that most recidivists work patiently and willingly inside a prison in order to obtain release, but once outside, their industry disappears and they live by crime. It is against these habituals that society must guard itself particularly.

Anderson, Griffiths and Quinton clearly show that the recidivist is not deterred from crime by imprisonment as at present carried out. Early ideas on imprisonment were that its chief object was penal - to make prison life so hard and distasteful that the criminal would not risk a return to gaol. Griffiths shows that this method was ineffective. Reform was a secondary consideration in early prison practice, but after 1877 the reform of the criminal occupied a greater share of attention. The experiment at Millbank quoted by Griffiths showed that the adult recidivist could not be reformed. Anderson and Quinton concur in this belief; and at Elmira in the United States they have had very little success

(1) Crime & Criminals P. 75

in their attempts at reformation. Deportation of criminals has been proved a failure; and the present system of ticket-of-leave is only partially successful. Clearly, therefore, present methods are not fully effective; and a new system must be devised.

The only logical conclusion to arrive at is the indeterminate sentence for the treatment of recidivists. This system has already been fully outlined and needs no further details. A penal system should be "punitive without being vindictive, reformatory without being demoralizing, and deterrent without being inhumane" (1) All these conditions are fulfilled by the indeterminate sentence, which seems to be the only method to effectively cope with habitual criminals. When society has its enemies in its power, it is fully justified in keeping them where they can do no harm.

One of the most effective ways to put down the habitual criminal is to cut off the supply. This may be done by training those who if left alone would drift into crime, to become useful members of society. The method has already been proved successful in Reformatories and Industrial Schools in England, and in European countries by the establishment of special schools and colonies designed to prevent children becoming criminals. The Borstal system has proved equally effective in reclaiming those criminals still between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. The success that has already attended these efforts merits their continuance.

Another inference that may be made is that murderers deserve capital punishment. Life is indeed a precious possession, and we should hesitate before depriving anyone of the right to live. But, since murderers do not concede to others the right to live, then society may with equal justice refuse to grant that right to them. If we recall the crimes of Voirbo, Prévost, Lacenaire, De Surville, and others; and remember the premeditation shown, as well as the cowardly nature of their attacks, we can fully agree with Macé's conclusion that there are no extenuating circumstances for such. The crimes of dynamiters force upon us the same conclusion. The only alternative to capital punishment is life imprisonment, and the disastrous consequences of this system in Belgium and Italy when it is carried out in cellular confinement

(1) Crime and Criminals P. 249

makes it a far less desirable punishment than death. When we consider the murderer committing his crime in concrete instances, we must conclude that society has the right to exterminate him.

It may also be concluded that prison treatment is becoming more humane. Prisons at their worst are seen in the memoirs of Latude and Vaux, where prisoners passed their time in dungeons devoid of comfort, and utterly lacking in sanitation. Later developments of English prisons are given in Griffiths and Quinton. In the latter half of the eighteenth century John Howard exposed the fearful state of English gaols wherein typhus was rampant. It was not until 1840 that his works bore fruit in the model prison at Pentonville. In 1865 by Act of Parliament all prisons were fitted with cells of the type instanced by Griffiths. From passing their time in absolute idleness, prisoners have come to be employed in useful trades, thereby helping themselves and the state. Prisons in France have made a corresponding advance.

Leniency may be carried to extremes in the treatment of prisoners. The result of this is seen in the report made after an investigation by Mr. Andrew D. White, First President of Cornell University, in which he states that the average number of murders in the United States is 8000, a number forty-three times greater than that in Canada, and eight times greater than that in Belgium the worst record in Europe. The sympathy bestowed on criminals is disquieting leading Mr. White to conclude that "the State should purchase the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, confine all murderers in it and dine them and wine them until they die of gout". (1) The pampering system employed in many United States prisons would speedily increase the number of criminals in England.

The public owe a great deal to the police and detectives for their protection. The safety of life in London has been depicted by Sir Robert Anderson; Macé shows how a good police system tends to keep down crime; Rossignol is an example of the policeman performing his duty faithfully: Le Caron typifies the upright secret agent protecting his country and his fellows; and Thomson lets us see the effectiveness of a good detective service in time of war. The vital importance of these services to ordinary life is amply demonstrated in their memoirs.

The question of the integrity of secret agents and spies rests entirely on the motives that

(1) Crime and Criminals P. 199

prompt them to engage in their occupations. The work of Le Caron is to be highly commended; but the mercenary spirit of Griscelli and the hireling spy must both be heartily condemned. The execution of spies in war time, whether men of honour or not, is regarded as imperative by military authorities. Both Griscelli and Le Caron, whatever their principles, give an insight into the motives that actuate many important events.

While human nature remains as it is, there will be crime and criminals. It cannot be expected that any penal system of correction, or any reformative method of prevention, can totally eradicate crime. However, these memoirs show clearly that there exists a class of human beings whose sole motive is to prey upon society. Through its police and detective agencies, society captures these men in self-defence. They are incarcerated for periods of varying lengths in an effort to reclaim and reform them. But, since many criminals resist all present modes of deterrence and reformation, they must be kept imprisoned for an indefinite period, for the safety of the law-abiding. Their numbers may be greatly reduced by preventing the young from drifting into crime. For those who kill their fellows, the penalty should be death.
