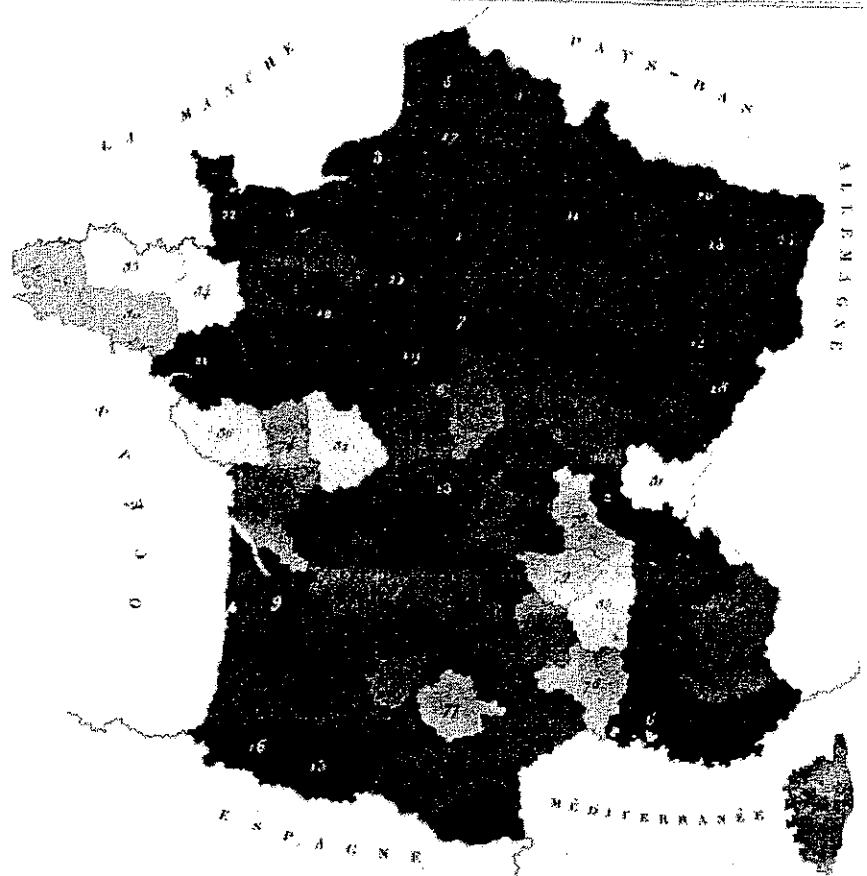


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ENFANS NATURELS.



A TRANSLATION OF  
 ANDRÉ-MICHEL GUERRY'S  
*ESSAY ON THE MORAL STATISTICS OF FRANCE*  
 (1833)

A SOCIOLOGICAL REPORT TO THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

André-Michel Guerry

Edited and Translated by  
 Hugh P. Whitt  
 and  
 Victor W. Reinking

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1	Alsace	10,000	17	Normandie	1,500,000	34	Dauphiné	1,000,000	51	Provence	1,000,000
2	Artois	1,000,000	18	Orléans	1,000,000	35	Dauphiné	1,000,000	52	Dauphiné	1,000,000
3	Bretagne	1,000,000	19	Paris	1,000,000	36	Dauphiné	1,000,000	53	Dauphiné	1,000,000
4	Champagne	1,000,000	20	Normandie	1,000,000	37	Dauphiné	1,000,000	54	Dauphiné	1,000,000
5	Dauphiné	1,000,000	21	Normandie	1,000,000	38	Dauphiné	1,000,000	55	Dauphiné	1,000,000
6	Dauphiné	1,000,000	22	Normandie	1,000,000	39	Dauphiné	1,000,000	56	Dauphiné	1,000,000
7	Dauphiné	1,000,000	23	Normandie	1,000,000	40	Dauphiné	1,000,000	57	Dauphiné	1,000,000
8	Dauphiné	1,000,000	24	Normandie	1,000,000	41	Dauphiné	1,000,000	58	Dauphiné	1,000,000
9	Dauphiné	1,000,000	25	Normandie	1,000,000	42	Dauphiné	1,000,000	59	Dauphiné	1,000,000
10	Dauphiné	1,000,000	26	Normandie	1,000,000	43	Dauphiné	1,000,000	60	Dauphiné	1,000,000
11	Dauphiné	1,000,000	27	Normandie	1,000,000	44	Dauphiné	1,000,000	61	Dauphiné	1,000,000
12	Dauphiné	1,000,000	28	Normandie	1,000,000	45	Dauphiné	1,000,000	62	Dauphiné	1,000,000
13	Dauphiné	1,000,000	29	Normandie	1,000,000	46	Dauphiné	1,000,000	63	Dauphiné	1,000,000
14	Dauphiné	1,000,000	30	Normandie	1,000,000	47	Dauphiné	1,000,000	64	Dauphiné	1,000,000
15	Dauphiné	1,000,000	31	Normandie	1,000,000	48	Dauphiné	1,000,000	65	Dauphiné	1,000,000
16	Dauphiné	1,000,000	32	Normandie	1,000,000	49	Dauphiné	1,000,000	66	Dauphiné	1,000,000
17	Dauphiné	1,000,000	33	Normandie	1,000,000	50	Dauphiné	1,000,000	67	Dauphiné	1,000,000
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21	Dauphiné	1,000,000	37	Normandie	1,000,000	54	Dauphiné	1,000,000	71	Dauphiné	1,000,000
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24	Dauphiné	1,000,000	40	Normandie	1,000,000	57	Dauphiné	1,000,000	74	Dauphiné	1,000,000
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27	Dauphiné	1,000,000	43	Normandie	1,000,000	60	Dauphiné	1,000,000	77	Dauphiné	1,000,000
28	Dauphiné	1,000,000	44	Normandie	1,000,000	61	Dauphiné	1,000,000	78	Dauphiné	1,000,000
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32	Dauphiné	1,000,000	48	Normandie	1,000,000	65	Dauphiné	1,000,000	82	Dauphiné	1,000,000
33	Dauphiné	1,000,000	49	Normandie	1,000,000	66	Dauphiné	1,000,000	83	Dauphiné	1,000,000
34	Dauphiné	1,000,000	50	Normandie	1,000,000	67	Dauphiné	1,000,000	84	Dauphiné	1,000,000
35	Dauphiné	1,000,000	51	Normandie	1,000,000	68	Dauphiné	1,000,000	85	Dauphiné	1,000,000
36	Dauphiné	1,000,000	52	Normandie	1,000,000	69	Dauphiné	1,000,000	86	Dauphiné	1,000,000
37	Dauphiné	1,000,000	53	Normandie	1,000,000	70	Dauphiné	1,000,000	87	Dauphiné	1,000,000
38	Dauphiné	1,000,000	54	Normandie	1,000,000	71	Dauphiné	1,000,000	88	Dauphiné	1,000,000
39	Dauphiné	1,000,000	55	Normandie	1,000,000	72	Dauphiné	1,000,000	89	Dauphiné	1,000,000
40	Dauphiné	1,000,000	56	Normandie	1,000,000	73	Dauphiné	1,000,000	90	Dauphiné	1,000,000
41	Dauphiné	1,000,000	57	Normandie	1,000,000	74	Dauphiné	1,000,000	91	Dauphiné	1,000,000
42	Dauphiné	1,000,000	58	Normandie	1,000,000	75	Dauphiné	1,000,000	92	Dauphiné	1,000,000
43	Dauphiné	1,000,000	59	Normandie	1,000,000	76	Dauphiné	1,000,000	93	Dauphiné	1,000,000
44	Dauphiné	1,000,000	60	Normandie	1,000,000	77	Dauphiné	1,000,000	94	Dauphiné	1,000,000
45	Dauphiné	1,000,000	61	Normandie	1,000,000	78	Dauphiné	1,000,000	95	Dauphiné	1,000,000
46	Dauphiné	1,000,000	62	Normandie	1,000,000	79	Dauphiné	1,000,000	96	Dauphiné	1,000,000
47	Dauphiné	1,000,000	63	Normandie	1,000,000	80	Dauphiné	1,000,000	97	Dauphiné	1,000,000
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49	Dauphiné	1,000,000	65	Normandie	1,000,000	82	Dauphiné	1,000,000	99	Dauphiné	1,000,000
50	Dauphiné	1,000,000	66	Normandie	1,000,000	83	Dauphiné	1,000,000	100	Dauphiné	1,000,000

Institute of France

**REPORT TO THE ROYAL ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES**

by  
Messieurs LaCroix, Silvestre and Girard, Reporter

Messieurs LaCroix, Silvestre, and I have been charged to submit a report to the Academy on a manuscript that Monsieur Guerry, the lawyer, presented to it July 2, 1832, and which carries the title *Essai sur la statistique morale de la France*.

Among the different subjects to which statistics has been applied, one of the most important and most difficult to deal with consists of the enumeration and classification of those human actions that can exercise an influence of some kind on the condition of the isolated individual or on the condition of the society to which the individual belongs. But the actions which it is a question of enumerating and classifying are spread across such a vast field, present themselves in so many ways, and are produced by so many diverse causes that this branch of statistics is unable to lead to useful results unless these results are derived from a large series of observations.

It is known that these observations must not only be numerous, but also that they must be repeated in various times and settings, and above all in an orderly way using methods that ensure comparability. Thus, when public administrations submitting to a uniform regimen are obligated to record in special registers the essential circumstances of those aspects of social life under their jurisdiction, and when specific functionaries are charged with making known on a regular basis all the facts it falls within their province to observe, one can compare one fact with confidence with another. The quality of certitude that has impressed the public indeed renders these statistical tabulations highly appropriate to serve as the basis for the research of which the *Statistique morale* is composed.

Vital statistics registers, such as have been kept in France for the last forty years,<sup>5</sup> and periodic censuses of population provide the means for establishing ratios of the number of births, marriages and deaths to the population. Since we are ahead of most other nations in the systematization and care devoted to maintaining these documents, it is plain that foreigners are coming to our country to consult them, finding here the elements of a new science that is becoming recognized as more and more important.

What is said here about vital statistics applies without restriction to the *Comptes* issued annually on the administration of criminal justice between 1825 and 1831.

Since human actions are always innocent or guilty in relationship to society, research on mathematical laws, based on how those actions are defined in a particular country, is the essential thrust of moral statistics. It is also through research of this type that Monsieur Guerry approaches his subject matter in the treatise he has submitted to the judgment of the Academy.

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<sup>5</sup>Responsibility for vital statistics registration was transferred from parish priests to city governments by the law of 20 September 1792 (Title 1, article 1; Title VI, articles a and 2).

The number of persons accused appears to him to more exactly represent the number of crimes committed than does the number of convictions. Since there is no doubt that a crime has occurred, even if most of the accused are acquitted, he believes it appropriate to take the number of accused as the basis for his calculations.

The criminal statistics tables drawn up by the Ministry of Justice lead to general results that are repeated each year in the different parts of France with a constancy and regularity that it is impossible to attribute to chance.

To present the proof of this reality more tangibly and more decisively, the author has divided France into five regions, each composed of seventeen neighboring departments: the northern, southern, eastern, western, and central regions. Then, adopting the two major classes of crimes--those against persons and those against property--he examines both for the period 1825-1830. He finds that:

1) During this period of six years, the greatest variation in the number of crimes against persons in these regions from year to year did not exceed one twenty-fifth of their number.

2) The maximum variation is reduced to one fiftieth for crimes against property.

Moreover, these remarkable conclusions are not altered by the sex of the accused, by their age, or by the season of the year when the crime was committed.

To generalize these conclusions, it would undoubtedly be useful to establish parallels between the various nations which conduct surveys of judicial statistics. Unfortunately, differences in the laws they have enacted work against the data being comparable from one nation to another, at least for the present, rendering almost insurmountable the difficulties of estimating the morality of nations from the number of convictions returned by their courts.

We are thus reduced to confining ourselves to France and to the facts that can be observed there.

In his first table [Tables 6A and 6B in this edition],<sup>6</sup> the author classifies the crimes committed each year by their order of frequency. Each year there are about 1,900 crimes against persons and 5,300 crimes against property. Various types of theft comprise the greater part of the latter. Monsieur Guerry enumerates all the other types of crime, but the time allotted to us does not permit us to go into them in detail.

The next two tables [7A through 8B in this edition] show how crime is partitioned between accused persons of the two sexes. One sees there that 86 percent of crimes against persons are committed by males and 14 percent by females. Men commit 79 percent and women 21 percent of crimes against property.

Is it therefore safe to conclude that criminal propensities are weaker among women than among men? The author does not think so. He believes that, because of the type of education they receive and the weakness of their physical constitutions, women very rarely find themselves in a position to commit certain crimes. For example, they are almost never accused of forgery or unlawful removal and concealment of documents and so on because they generally have little knowledge of business transactions. Similarly, they are rarely involved in cases of armed robbery, using overt force to resist authorities, assault and battery, or other violent acts that require force and audacity because the fear of exposing themselves to immediate danger restrains them. But they become more enterprising to the extent that danger is absent and that the nature of the crime seems to make it more difficult to discover. This is probably why twelve of fourteen poisonings are committed by women and only two by men. It is the same with theft by domestic servants, which make up 2/5 of the thefts committed by women by only 1/5 of those that men commit.

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<sup>6</sup>The numbering of tables in the original manuscript of the *Report to the Royal Academy of Sciences* differs from that in the translation. We have numbered all of Guerry's tables consecutively, whether or not he assigned them numbers in the original text — trans.

A fourth table [Tables 9A and 9B in this edition] offers the distribution of crime at different ages, ranging from puberty up to those over seventy years of age.

The discussion of this table leads to important conclusions which Monsieur Guerry has made tangible by graphically representing the number of crimes committed at different ages over consistent ten-year ranges. The mere inspection of the figures constructed in this manner informs us that the number of crimes reaches its maximum during the period of life that runs from twenty-five to thirty years of age, with this taking place equally for both sexes. The graph also shows that if the propensity for crime is developed earlier for men than for women, it weakens more rapidly for the former than for the latter, and that, finally, from the age of fifty until the end of life inclination toward guilt is the same for both sexes.

In addition, Monsieur Guerry has constructed a table showing the crimes characteristic of the two extremes of the life span. This is shown in the fifth table [Tables 10A through 10D in this edition] of his work.

Do the seasons exert some influence on the number of crimes committed? The sixth table [Tables 11A and 11B] and the graph [Plates 3 and 4 in the Appendix] based on its results answer this question. A glance is sufficient to conclude that the number of crimes against persons is greater in summer than in winter, and that, in contrast, the number of crimes against property is greater in winter than in summer. Spring and autumn show roughly equal numbers.

It is perhaps worthy of note that assault on modesty is the one among the crimes against persons for which the seasons exert the greatest influence. Indeed, 36 percent of crimes of this type are committed in summer, 25 percent in spring, 21 percent in autumn, and only 18 percent in winter.

The most important aspect of criminal statistics is that which takes as its subject of inquiry the verifiable motives for committing crimes. But this research is beset by so many difficulties that so far the motives of only capital crimes have proved susceptible to classification. Monsieur Guerry has identified twelve such motives of capital crimes, which he has arranged by order of frequency in the seventh

table [Table 12A] . Hatred and revenge, which are ranked first, led to the commission of twenty-six percent of crimes of poisoning, murder and arson, more than a quarter of the total.

The next table [Table 12B] presents capital crimes classified according to their apparent motives. The author finds that thirty-five percent of poisonings--more than a third--result from adultery. In addition, whatever the type of assault provoked by adultery, whether against the spouses or their accomplices, it has been observed that almost half these crimes were directed against the offended spouse [Table 13].

In contrast, most crimes committed as a result of debauchery, concubinage and seduction are directed against the lives of concubines or the woman who has been seduced. At least this is the immediate conclusion to be drawn from the facts reported in the fourth table [Table 14].

Monsieur Guerry ends this discussion by indicating some causes peculiar to our day which tend, perhaps more than in former times, to lead judgment astray and make it less severe against intimate relationships condemned by morality. His thoughts in this regard appear to us entirely prudent and reasonable.

The author then occupies himself with citing reports on ratios of crimes against persons to total population for the five regions of France.

In taking up this topic [in Table 15], he makes use of criminal statistics data for the six years 1825-1830 inclusively. He finds that the ratio of the number of accused to total population was 1:11,003 in the south, 1:17,349 in the east, 1:19,964 in the north, 1:20,984 in the west, and 1:22,168 in the central region.

It can be seen that the number of crimes committed in the south is twice that committed in the central region. The differences are greater if one considers the departments taken singly. So as to make these differences perceptible to the eye, Monsieur Guerry, following the example of one of our honorable colleagues in his research along similar lines, has indicated the ratio of the number of crimes against persons to the population for each of our 86 departments by shading them in darker or lighter colors on a map.

One sees, for example, that the department of Corsica, where one person was accused for every 2,199 inhabitants, is the most darkly colored, while the department of La Creuse, where only one person in every 37,014 was accused, is not shaded at all.

After having thus summarized his research on crimes against persons, Monsieur Guerry reports his findings on crimes against property.

He finds [in Table 17] that, during the period 1825-1830, the ratio of indictments to population was 1:3,984 in the north, 1:1:6,949 in the east, 1:7,534 in the south, and, finally, 1:8,265 in the central region.

As can be seen, the greatest number of crimes against property is always in the northern region, which ranks only third among the regions on crimes against persons.

A second map indicates that the central region is, once again, the one with the fewest crimes against property. This map also shows that the department of the Seine, colored more darkly than any of the others, has one indictment for every 1,368 inhabitants, while the department of La Creuse, which is not shaded, has no more than one indictment in a population of 20,235 individuals.

Many people have thought ignorance to be one of the principal causes of committing crimes. It was thus necessary to proceed with the verification of this view by the same path used to establish the rank orderings by which crimes against persons and against property are distributed in the different sections of the kingdom.

But instead of measuring the state of education by the number of pupils attending the schools of different departments, Monsieur Guerry, fearing that these data might not be available with sufficient accuracy, is of the opinion that the information collected since 1827 by order of the Ministry of War on the number of young men who know how to read and write at the time they were conscripted would furnish him with a better measure.

It is on the basis of this information that he sets up his tenth table [Table 18]. There, one sees that during the three years 1827, 1828 and 1829, 53 of every 100

young men drafted in the eastern region of France knew how to read and write. The other figures are 52 of 100 in the north, 33 in the south, 27 in the western region, and 25 in the central region. But, for every 100 accused persons brought before the assize courts, 52 in the east, 47 in the north, 29 in the south, 26 in the western region and 24 in the central region knew how to read and write.

There is thus hardly any difference in exposure to elementary education between those who are accused of crimes and those who have not in any of our five regions. From this, it follows that instruction does not exert any influence, at least at present, on the number of crimes committed. This conclusion would appear to invalidate a generally held opinion, but it may itself be later invalidated by new observations.

A map on which our 86 departments are shaded according to the number of conscripts who know how to read and write visually indicates the geographical distribution of education among young men in the same draft levy. The legend accompanying this map [see Table A2 in the Appendix] shows, for example, that 74 of every 100 conscripts in the department of the Meuse know how to read and write, compared with only twelve in the department of Corrèze, where education is less widespread than in any other department.

Monsieur Guerry has indicated by the same procedure on a fourth map all the ratios observed in the various departments between the number of legitimate births and that of illegitimate births. The departments of the Seine, the Rhône, the Seine-Inférieure, Nord, the Bouches-du-Rhône, and Gironde are those where the proportionately largest numbers of illegitimate children are born. This may be explained not only by the population agglomeration of the large cities--Paris, Lyon, Rouen, Lille, Marseille and Bordeaux--but also by the ease with which these children

can be deposited in refuges devoted to receiving them. In this same manner, in England legal charity indefinitely increases the number of poor people.<sup>7</sup>

The author has collected several documents on donations and bequests in favor of paupers, schools and religious establishments. He has considered the geographical distribution of these activities by department, and according to the age, sex, and social position of donors. But it is necessary to recognize that these documents are neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently precise to permit inferring definite conclusions from them.

The last part of Monsieur Guerry's treatise relates an account of his research on suicide.

According to the *comptes* of criminal justice from 1827 through 1830, 6,900 suicides, which is to say 1,800 each year, have been committed in the kingdom as a whole. Again, it is necessary to note that, the judicial authorities having verified only those of these crimes which actually led to death or which gave rise to official investigation, the figure of 1,800 is probably far below the number of suicides actually committed.

Now, if one remembers in the context of these facts that the number of crimes against persons amounts to 1,900 per year, of which only 600 are attacks on the life of another person, one is drawn to the unexpected conclusion that every time a man dies a violent death in France (excluding accidents and involuntary homicides), the odds are three to one that he will himself be responsible for ending his days.

From these general considerations, our author turn to the geographical distribution of suicides committed in each of the kingdom's five regions.

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<sup>7</sup>It is important to note that if the ease of depositing illegitimate children in special refuges always serves to increase the number of illegitimate births, these establishments can also sometimes have the advantage of preventing the crimes of abortion and infanticide.

He finds that for every 100 suicides committed annually, 51 are committed in the northern region, 11 in the south, 16 in the east, 13 in the west, and finally, 9 in the central region.

With regard to the ratios of the number of suicides to population, one suicide for every 9,853 inhabitants is recorded in the northern region. There is one for every 21,734 persons in the east, one for every 27,393 in the central region, one for every 30,499 in the west, and, finally, one for every 30,876 in the south.

It should be noted that the department of the Seine by itself contributes about a sixth of the total number of suicides committed each year in our 86 departments, but it is necessary to note at the same time that most of these suicides are from outside the capital.

Thus, of 100 [*sic*] individuals guilty of committing suicide [in Paris], 505 are natives of northern departments, 168 of those in the south, 65 of the west, and, finally, 52 of the central region. This distribution is in the same order if not in the same proportions as the distribution of suicides in our five regions, taking populations into account.

The explanatory legend of the map Monsieur Guerry has drawn of the distribution of suicides by department [Table A2 in the Appendix] indicates that there is one suicide for every 3,600 inhabitants of the department of the Seine, where the rate is highest, while in the Haute-Loire, where the rate is lowest, there is only one suicide for every 163,000 inhabitants.

An inspection of this map reveals a peculiar pattern. From whatever point in France one begins, the number of suicides increases fairly regularly as one approaches the capital; thus the rate is higher in the nearby departments of Seine-et-Oise, the Oise, and Seine-et-Marne than in the departments of Seine-Inférieure, Aube, and Loiret, a little farther way. The same pattern applies to the city of Marseille, considered by some the metropolis of our southeastern departments. The closer departments are to this city, the higher their suicide rates.

A comparison of crimes against persons with verified suicides in the different regions of the kingdom furnishes proof that the departments where the lives of others are most often attacked are precisely those where attacks on one's own are most uncommon, and *vice versa*.

We shall not follow the author in his reflections on the various causes that can drive a man to suicide. Let us only say, with him, that the true motives of this crime are known with much greater certainty than the motives of most of the others. It is rare indeed that individuals who take their own lives fail to leave behind something in writing where they make known their last wishes, and where they lay bare their reasons for their choice to die, almost always while trying to justify them.

Monsieur Guerry has been able to consult a large number of these posthumous writings preserved in the prefecture of police and to sort them into some degree of order by classifying them under different headings based on the sentiments they express. He has constructed a table whose every entry offers moralists ample opportunity for reflection.

We shall not belabor any longer the analysis of the work Monsieur Guerry has submitted to the judgment of the Academy. His treatment of moral statistics may be placed in the first rank among the branches of general statistics, as much because of the difficulty in interrelating moral facts demanded by the research as by the great importance of the results to which this research leads. Indeed, the exact knowledge of these facts and the certainty that they recur in determined circumstances could in and of themselves enlighten the government's choice of the most efficient means of creating or improving all kinds of institutions capable of exerting some kind of influence on national public or private morals.

We have already pointed out that we in France find ourselves in possession of the most valuable documents for the advancement of statistics. One cannot sufficiently praise the large government administrations which collect these documents, which publish them, and which, prior to publication, convey them with as much liberality as goodwill to persons needing to consult them.

Monsieur Guerry has had the happy idea of pulling together a large number of these documents, and he has done so with perception and sagacity. Even though the conclusions he has drawn from the facts his work presents are not all equally well founded in the discussion, he nonetheless has the merit of having extended the domain of moral statistics by embellishing it with new classifications he has established based on considerations of a high order. He seems to us in this to have rendered a genuine service and gives an excellent model. Consequently, we believe that Monsieur Guerry should be encouraged to persevere in the career he has entered and that his work is worthy of obtaining the approval of the Academy.

Presented to the Academy, April 8, 1833

Signed: LaCroix, Silvestre, Girard, Reporter

The Academy approves the conclusions of this report.

Permanent secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences

Signed: Arago

## ESSAY ON THE MORAL STATISTICS OF FRANCE

by

André-Michel Guerry

### INTRODUCTION

The observation and study of facts are the bases of our knowledge. This principle has contributed to the rapid development of the natural sciences, but not always to that of the moral and political sciences. While it is true that the moral sciences recommend this approach in theory, they nonetheless neglect it in practice. There is discussion rather than observation, and scant regard for the facts either with respect to issues or to the solutions proposed, so that what one writer regards as certain another dismisses as erroneous. The result is a plethora of opinions that are not grounded on a solid observational foundation.

The employment of the method of observation in the study of moral and political questions not only contributes to the progress of science, but also to concerns that are perhaps more important and more immediate. The theoretical



systems of our day do not long remain mere abstractions; they move from their written form to the public sphere and soon penetrate our institutions, where they exert an influence for good or for ill on society. It is therefore important that the moral sciences adopt, to the greatest extent possible, the rigorous methods of the natural sciences, paying attention to facts, collecting them, observing them, and then diffusing knowledge. In so doing, the moral sciences will be able to invalidate false systems while at the same time verifying useful truths. By shedding light on the weighty questions of criminal legislation, statistics has already demonstrated the usefulness of its application and the success which one would hope for in research of this type. Until recently, statistical analysis was limited almost exclusively to the tabulation of facts relative to the vital statistics of nations and the knowledge of their commercial and agricultural riches; no one had yet dreamed of the necessity of collecting, in a special work, statistics that would evaluate the moral condition of a nation's population. Because we are persuaded of the importance and utility of such a work, we have felt compelled to undertake it.

It is upon France that our attention is focused. We offer, in a series of tables for the kingdom as a whole and for each of its departments, a collection of empirically based documents, methodically presented and coordinated with one another, which, taken together, represent the moral condition of society.

In indicating in a brief text our understanding of the principal results and a few of the relationships which they demonstrate, we have duly avoided any speculative consideration of causes and causal chains so as not to stray from the object of statistics, which, by limiting itself to facts in their most concise form, does not directly show how they are linked. The study of causes is slow, difficult, and fraught with error. In order to be fruitful in such delicate and complex matters, it is necessary that the work which we publish today be replicated after a period of years. In this way, the facts could be embraced in one single look, not only in cross-section, but also over time; their causes and reciprocal action would become more apparent, and erroneous theoretical induction from the data would be rectified.

We have made use of various graphical techniques to render our results more striking. Without excluding the enumerations in the tables which the reader may reflect upon at his pleasure, our graphical presentations provide advantages which are also real, but of another type. The gradations of shading of our maps make geographical relationships which would be obscured in a long series of figures instantly stand out, while quantitative relationships are expressed with precision through graphs for which a single look leaves a durable impression in memory. If it is necessary to justify the employment of these methods by appealing to the authority of an illustrious name, we cite Mr. Al[exander] von Humboldt, who has often made the most ingenious use of them, and who does not think that science should be scornful of borrowing anything helpful. "All that relates to extent and to quantification," he says, "is properly presented by geometrical constructions. Statistical projections which speak to the eye without fatiguing the mind have the advantage of fixing attention on a great number of important points."<sup>1</sup>

No systematic spirit has guided us; we have sought support from no theory. To have done so would have been to demonstrate philosophical short-sightedness and to poorly understand the interests of one's country by attaching oneself to facts favorable to a doctrine to the neglect of those which seem contrary to it. We have, in addition, carefully made known the sources we have drawn upon, thus supplying the means by which one may be assured of our exactitude and of our sincerity.

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<sup>1</sup>Al[exander] von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, Volume 1, Introduction.

We might also cite W. Playfair. The reflections abstracted from his *Commercial and Political Atlas* apply perfectly to our work:

"The giving form and shape to what otherwise would only have been an abstract idea has often rendered easy and accurate a conception that was in itself imperfect and acquired with difficulty.--Men of great rank or active business, can only pay attention to general outlines; nor is the attention to particulars of use any farther than as they give a general information. And it is hoped, that with the assistance of these charts, such information will be got without the fatigue and trouble of studying the particulars of which it is composed." *The Commercial and Political Atlas*, Vol. 1, p. 4, London 1786.

## CRIMINAL STATISTICS

### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The first certified documents on the administration of criminal justice in France go back only as far as 1825. In order to determine the nature and the number of crimes committed during the preceding years, one would be reduced to examining each district registry. Quite apart from the extreme difficulty of executing it, a study of this sort would be so incomplete as to be useless.

Today, the chief prosecutors convey to the Minister of Justice quarterly reports on the criminal or correctional matters brought before the courts in their districts. These reports, drawn up on uniform models so that they present positive and comparable results, are examined with care by the Ministry, their various parts checked against one another, and their analysis conducted at the end of each year in the form of the *Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle* [*General Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice*]. Never before has anyone executed a work of this type in so complete a manner; we are in the debt of Monsieur Guerry de Champneuf, the former Director of Criminal Affairs and Pardons, who

never ceased working over a five-year period to improve it.<sup>2</sup> All our information relating to crime is derived from this work.

Rather than taking the number of persons convicted as the basis for calculating rates and ratios, we have instead used the number of persons accused, which more exactly represents the number of crimes committed. This method may at first seem surprising and may appear defective. Since it was the object of such strong criticism at the publication of the *Compte Général* of 1827, we believe we must explain the motives that have led us to follow it.

This critique points out that a defendant is not necessarily guilty and that the number of crimes may not therefore be inferred from the number of persons accused, unless one counts as criminal men who are subsequently judged innocent. It would

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<sup>2</sup>The *compte* on the administration of criminal justice in France, which is still little known in this country, has been called by foreign commentators A NATIONAL TREASURE, and A MODEL THAT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY CIVILIZED PEOPLES, OR THOSE THAT PRETEND TO BE, WHO WOULD LIKE TO OBSERVE THE STATE OF THEIR MORALITY. Today, it is imitated throughout Europe. The following are, to the best of our knowledge, the nations which each year collect more or less extensive statistical documentation on the administration of criminal justice. These documents, some of which are not made public, are very hard to find in France.

England and Wales--Scotland	West Indies
Austria (ms.)	Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice
Belgium	Milan (ms.)
Grand Duchy of Baden	Prussia
Bavaria	Russia (ms.)
Denmark	Sweden
Spain	Canton of Vaud
Geneva	Württemberg

We regret that we cannot call public attention to the authors of these useful works. We can only say we believe that the report for Geneva was drawn up by Monsieur de Roches-Lombard, the counselor of state; the report for the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, by Monsieur F. W. Wick, counselor to the court of Justice at Butzow; the one for Belgium, by Messieurs Ed. Smits and [Adolphe Lambert] Quetelet; and the best of them all, the one for Baden, by one of the most distinguished German criminologists, Monsieur Mittermaier, a professor at Heidelberg.

In a speech delivered last January, the governor of New York strongly urged the legislature to allocate the funds necessary for the publication of a report on the administration of justice in the United States (*The Westminster Review*, October, 1832, page 379).

undoubtedly be mistaken to regard as guilty a man who goes on to be recognized as innocent. But can one conclude that there has been no crime simply because the crime may not have been committed by the precise person to whom it is imputed? A person is accused of murder, but sufficient evidence is not brought against him and he is acquitted. Despite the acquittal it is nonetheless true that a murder has been committed. The crime is certain; its author remains unknown. Sometimes, trials uncover extenuating circumstances which appear accompanying the written charges. But when this happens, the crime does not disappear. Instead, the defendant is charged with a less serious crime. The presumed murder becomes voluntary manslaughter, the voluntary manslaughter becomes involuntary. Nonetheless, sometimes the conclusion that a crime has occurred is indeed mistaken, as when an accident or suicide is attributed to crime. While it is true that this sometimes happens, the numerous formalities completed before the bringing of an indictment render it extremely rare.

Before a case can be submitted to the jury, an inquiry is made by the Crown Prosecutor and the examining magistrate, who presents his report to the *chambre du conseil*; if the evidence is sufficiently established, and if it points to a felony having been committed, the official record and a report on the evidence are transmitted to the chief prosecutor of the Royal Court. A report is made by the latter to the Indictments Chamber. If this chamber perceives not a trace of guilt or insufficient evidence of culpability, it orders the defendant to be set free. If the Indictments Chamber finds sufficient evidence of guilt, the chief prosecutor draws up an indictment, and the defendant is returned to the Court of Assizes. It is difficult, when there is a judicial investigation to which so many persons contribute, and which lasts at least three months, to fail to discover the verifiable facts which give rise to prosecution. The Ministry of Justice has also observed that, of a thousand cases brought before the Court of Assizes, one would be hard pressed to find twenty that do not remain classified as either felonies or misdemeanors after the defendant is acquitted.

Using the number of persons accused as the basis for calculations undoubtedly leads to errors, but these errors are less serious than those that would be made if one used convictions alone. Indeed, the criminal proceedings required by law of the chief prosecutors and Crown prosecutors under the direction of the Ministry of Justice are everywhere exercised in the same rigorous way, at least in non-political criminal cases, while convictions by juries are not always based on the same elements or on the same body of evidence. Motives independent of their opinion as to culpability often determine the jury's response--if, for example, they fear the application of a punishment which they judge to be too rigorous. Throughout the kingdom the same charges are sufficient to bring the defendant before the bench of the Court of Assizes, but the chances of acquittal vary by the nature of the crime and the place where it is judged. For arson, more than three-quarters of the accused are acquitted each year, even though there is almost never any doubt as to the reality of the crime.<sup>3</sup> In a number of departments, infanticide remains the crime least often punished, while in others its repression is always extremely strong.

The differences resulting from these two ways of operating are especially important only if one limits oneself to particular crimes or to isolated departments, for they are partly canceled out when these crimes are grouped together or when one considers an entire region.<sup>4</sup> It follows then that error is generally less on the grand total of crimes if calculations are based on accusations rather than convictions.

One might perhaps also question whether it is generally correct to attribute the crimes committed in a department to its residents. This objection, to which it would have been entirely impossible to respond twenty years ago, was examined in the *Comte* of 1828. It is known today, without resorting to conjecture, that most of

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<sup>3</sup>Arson was a capital crime--trans.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. 11-12 for what we mean by "region."

the persons accused--72 percent--were born and live in the department where they were tried. This figure rises to 84 percent for crimes against persons and falls to 69 percent for crimes against property. The percentage is increased considerably for this latter type of crimes if one excludes the data from the departments of the Rhône and the Seine. A very tiny proportion of the accused--only three percent--are foreigners.

The first writings on criminal statistics presented such positive results and fit so well with generally accepted theories that they were greeted extremely favorably. People were growing weary of seeing the same doctrines in turn defended and attacked on the basis of logical arguments, and it was believed that at last an instrument had been found that was capable of consistently obtaining a solution to the most difficult issues. But soon the accuracy of the results of these studies was being called into question, and alternative figures were being used to overturn what the original numbers had established. At that stage in the debate, criminal statistics inspired so much mistrust that it was accused of being a useless and conjectural science of no help whatsoever.

In criminal matters, it was said, just as in the those pertaining to the moral sciences, the facts are too changeable, too hard to pin down, to be captured by numerical observation.<sup>5</sup> Thus, so the argument went, it was necessary to restrict oneself, as in the past, to theories based on logical reasoning, to the examination of general concepts, and to individual experience. Nonetheless, we might ask how the results of personal experience are to be evaluated, since they are neither classified nor stated numerically, and, as a consequence, the importance of particular experiences varies, not only from one individual to another, but even within individuals themselves. Facts of a particular type momentarily produce the most vivid and durable impressions on one's mind depending on one's biases and the special or

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<sup>5</sup>The French here evokes imagery of the facts as fugitives fleeing from the justice which could be rendered if they could only be captured for statistical analysis. Literally translated, the passage reads ". . . the facts are too mobile, too fugitive, to not escape numerical observation." -- trans.

accidental circumstances under which the experience occurs. How is one to pull together such disparate elements and compare them with one another? Indeed, what is a general concept? It is a collection, a categorization, of particular facts of which it is nothing but the simplest expression and whose enumeration it implies. If particular facts have not first been observed and established as fact, or if they are incomplete, vague, uncertain, or unknown, what would the general concept represent? Clearly, each person could create such a generalization, modify it at will, and thereby lay the foundation for any theoretical system one could imagine.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, if prevailing opinion (based on this kind of general experience) about a great number of already rigorously established facts of moral statistics were entirely mistaken—and the remainder of this work will prove that this is the case—is it possible to assume that this conventional wisdom would be any less erroneous when based on facts which are less directly observed and consequently more difficult to analyze?

The errors for which statistics has been blamed cannot be directly attributed to it. They are due to an absence of critical thought, haste, impatience to obtain clear-cut results and immediate applications. Conclusions based on statistical analysis are incorrect, not, as one might suspect, because the facts have changed, but most often only because the facts used in the analysis are hypothetical or exceptional.

Criminal statistics becomes as empirical and accurate as the other observational sciences when one restricts oneself to the best-observed facts and groups them in such a way as to minimize accidental variation. General patterns then appear with such great regularity that it is impossible to attribute them to random chance. Each year sees the same number of crimes in the same order reproduced in

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<sup>6</sup>General formulas can only be derived by bringing together well observed facts classified according to common principles. They must be none other than a logical deduction from these facts, a generalized experience, and not the uncertain and divinatorial application of a purely abstract principle.

--Dupin the Elder (Discourse before the French Academy)

the same regions. Each type of crime has its particular invariant distribution by sex, by age, and by season of the year. All these are accompanied in parallel fashion by secondary patterns which appear less important and whose regularities are very difficult to explain.

Before entering into the details of criminal statistics, it is important to give examples of the consistency and constancy in the reproduction of general patterns until now considered unknowable in their totality and subject to no scientific law.

In order to compare the distribution of crime in the various parts of the kingdom at several points in time, it is necessary to group together a number of departments, thus reducing the influence of accidental causes. We have therefore divided France into five natural regions: the north, the south, the east, the west and the central, constructing each by grouping together seventeen contiguous departments as shown in Table 1.

This division is not arbitrary, and it does not tend to favor any theoretical system, since it is totally geometric and the boundary of each region is determined by those of the four others. This appears to be the most convenient way of grouping the facts, which must be studied based on large masses of persons. However, we are far from suggesting that it be adopted for the publication of official statistical documents, which ought to be presented with the original wealth of detail. If the administration were to present statistical data only by royal court jurisdiction or even by the departments forming the territory of a former province, as some have suggested as a way of simplifying the task, the data would be considerably less useful and would not be any easier to collect.

If the number of crimes committed each year in France is represented by 100, the five regions offer the proportions [shown in Table 2].

One sees that, for crimes against persons, the greatest difference observed in any region never exceeds the average over the six-year period by more than *four one-hundredths*, and that, for crimes against property, the difference is no more than *two one-hundredths* above or below this average. Most assuredly, the annual crop

Table 1  
Division of France into Five Regions

Region	Departments	Population
NORTHERN	Aisne, Ardennes, Clavados, Euré, Manche, Marne, Meuse, Moselle, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas-de-Calais, Seine, Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Somme	8,757,700
SOUTHERN	Ardèche, Arriège, Aude, Aveyron, Bouches-du-Rhône, Gard, Haut-Garonne, Gers, Hérault, Lot, Lozère, Hautes-Pyrénées, Pyrénées-Orientales, Tarn, Tarn-et-Garonne, Vaucluse, Var	4,826,493
EASTERN	Ain, Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes, Aube, Côte-d'Or, Doubs, Drôme, Isère, Jura, Haute-Marne, Meurthe, Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin, Rhône, Haut-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, Vosges	5,840,996
WESTERN	Charente, Charente-Inférieure, Côtes-du-Nord, Dordogne, Finistère, Gironde, Ille-et-Vilaine, Landes, Loire-Inférieure, Lot-et-Garonne, Maine-et-Loire, Mayenne, Morbihan, Basses-Pyrénées, Deux-Sèvres, Vendée, Vienne	7,008,788
CENTRAL	Allier, Cantal, Cher, Corrèze, Creuse, Eure-et-Loir, Indre, Indre-et-Loire, Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret, Haute-Loire, Nièvre, Puy-de-Dôme, Sarthe, Haute-Vienne, Yonne	5,238,905
	Population of the Five Regions	31,672,822
	Corsica	185,079
	Population of the Kingdom	31,857,961

Table 2  
Proportion of All Crimes Occurring in Each Region of France, 1825-1830

Crimes Against Persons							
Year							
Region	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	Average
North	25	24	23	26	25	24	25
South	28	26	22	23	25	23	24
East	17	21	19	20	19	19	19
West	18	16	21	17	17	16	18
Central	12	13	15	14	14	18	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Crimes Against Property							
Year							
Region	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	Average
North	41	42	42	43	44	44	42
South	12	11	11	12	12	11	12
East	18	16	17	16	14	15	16
West	17	19	19	17	17	17	18
Central	12	12	11	12	13	13	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

harvest or tax figures in the various parts of the kingdom could not have been predicted in advance with greater precision or certainty than the number of thefts, manslaughters, and premeditated murders.

Of 100 individuals cited for theft in the kingdom as a whole, the number of men and of women were respectively as [shown in Table 3]. The relationship between sex and crime is thus known to within *two one-hundredths*.

Of 100 individuals accused of theft each year, [their ages are as shown in Table 4]. The greatest variation for the average has not exceeded *one one-hundredth*.

Crimes are not only committed in a known proportion, in a predetermined place, by individuals whose age and sex can be predicted, but each of them is also affected by the season of the year. Thus, indecent assaults are more frequent in summer, as one might expect, but what is more difficult to imagine is that they reappear in the same proportion each year. [As shown in Table 5], the crimes of assault and battery show no less regularity in their distribution. The greatest difference has been no more than *two one-hundredths* above or below the average.

If we were now to consider the infinite number of circumstances which might lead to the commission of a crime, the outside influences or purely personal factors which determine the character of individuals, we would find it difficult to conceive that, in the final analysis, their interplay should lead to such constant effects, that acts of free will should develop into a fixed pattern, varying within such narrow limits. We would be forced to recognize that the facts of the moral order, like those of the physical order, obey invariant laws, and that, in many respects, the judicial statistics render this a virtual certainty. Also, despite the fact that statistics has sometimes been abused, and despite the critical responses by writers whose theories it contradicts, moral statistics has imparted, on all sides, a new direction to studies with relevance for penal legislation and public morals. Regardless of what opinion or what theoretical system one may wish to attack or defend on these matters, henceforth one will no longer be able to scorn the help offered by statistics; it will be necessary to pay attention to the facts presented by statistics and to discuss them.

Table 3  
Sex of the Accused

	Year					Average
	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	
Male	79	79	78	77	78	78
Female	21	21	22	23	22	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4  
Age of Persons Accused of Theft

	Year					Average
	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	
Ages 16-25	37	35	38	37	37	37
Ages 25-35	31	32	30	31	32	31

Table 5  
Percentage of Indecent Assaults and Assault  
and Battery Committed in Summer

	Year				Average
	1827	1828	1829	1830	
Indecent Assault	36	36	35	38	36
Assault and Battery	28	27	27	27	28

The regularity in the numerical relationships of crimes with one another, and especially in their geographical distribution, emphasizes the importance of establishing parallels similar to those we are making for the departments of France between the nations which collect data on judicial statistics. At first glance, one would think that drawing such parallels would be very easy to accomplish, but for a great many reasons it would be almost impossible. The most important of these is the difference in criminal laws.<sup>7</sup>

It is undoubtedly true that premeditated murder, poisoning, and manslaughter are everywhere defined as crimes, but there is a great number of other guilty acts for which there is far less agreement. There is no general rule for how they are classified as to their seriousness, or for distinguishing between petty offenses, misdemeanors, and felonies. It follows that the words felony, misdemeanor, and petty offense do not precisely correspond to any particular act, and that their meanings change from one country to another.

In France, where the nature of the infraction is classified according to the nature of the penalty, a simple theft is a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment [for more than five days but less than five years—trans.], no matter what the value of the object stolen. By contrast, in England, where the nature and value of the object is taken into account, the theft of a horse, an ox, or even a sheep is a felony punishable by death. If one were to record the number of felonies in France and in England without taking into account this difference in the way in which theft is treated, the outcome would be that, in each country, a certain number of misdemeanors, or even petty offenses, would be mistakenly classified as felonies, and that one would thus fall into extremely serious errors. Attacks against persons

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<sup>7</sup>The major sources of error in comparative criminal statistics have been pointed out by Monsieur A. de Candolle in the *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève* and by Monsieur Mittermaier in an excellent piece he has recently published under the title *Beiträge zur Criminal-Statistik, mit vergleichenden Bemerkungen über die Verhältnisse der Verbrechen und der Criminal-Justiz*, Berlin: Starcke, 1830.

present even more marked differences, since some of them are treated in England as infamies, a category for which we do not even have a name in our criminal code.<sup>8</sup> We admit, however, that on certain points it is possible to establish a concordance of criminal laws.<sup>9</sup> The difference in the laws governing criminal investigation, and in their application, when it is in no way overseen as it is in France by a supreme court which standardizes jurisprudence, would be in itself sufficient to insure that the facts would not be comparable, not only from one country to another, but even in the various regions of the same nation.

In nations, such as England, where criminal proceedings are instituted by private individuals, the fear of exciting resentments, the necessity of bearing the costs of proceedings, and even the possibility of having to pay damages should the accused be acquitted are obstacles to the prosecution of crimes. In other lands, like Germany, that are divided into a large number of small principalities which have no central police force in common, guilty persons can easily escape capture simply by traveling a few leagues or crossing a river to come under the jurisdiction of a different government. Undoubtedly, the statistical tables of the German principalities, which

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<sup>8</sup>The French is *peines afflictives et infamantes*. The Council of Europe's *French-English Legal Dictionary* (Bridge, 1994) defines this as a combination of *peine afflictive* (punishment by imprisonment for life or a fixed term) and *peine infamantes* (banishment and civic disqualification). Taken by itself, *peine afflictive* implies harshness of punishment, and it can refer either to the death penalty, to life imprisonment, or a very long fixed sentence. *Peine infamante* implies the punishment associated with a crime of dishonor.—trans.

<sup>9</sup>One may judge the almost complete impossibility of establishing an exact correspondence between English law and our own from this passage from the *Quarterly Review*: "The edition of statutes by Tomlins and Raithby, which is the most condensed of any hitherto given to the public, forms seventeen volumes and two parts, from Magna Carta to the end of 1818; five volumes and a half of which comprise the acts from King John's to the end of the reign of George II, and the remaining ten and a half are filled with those of the present reign. Since the Union with Ireland a thick closely-printed volume has been published every two or three years, and the average number of public acts passed in each of the last years amounts to 140. At this rate of accumulation, their size, at the end of the present century, will have swelled to fifty of such ponderous quartos, and the number of public acts to 14,000. No in-appropriate companion tho the 800 or 1,000 volumes of Reports which, at that period, are likely to compose a portion of a lawyer's library [sic] (*Quarterly Review*, December, 1820).



still do not include criminal trials in all jurisdictions, could well show a number of crimes proportionally less than that of France. One should not, however, jump to the conclusion that there are really more crimes committed in France than in Germany.

These considerations allow an appreciation of just how much confidence is merited by writings on statistics which either make judgments of the comparative morality of peoples without at least minimal analysis of foreign legal systems or merely throw together whatever tables of criminal judgments are available regardless of the point in time to which they refer.

Detailed data relative to the outcome of criminal proceedings, the prevention of crime, recidivism, and the more or less speedy working of justice in the jurisdiction of each royal court would give rise to some important insights, and would at the same time allow us to demonstrate the numerous practical improvements in the administration of justice introduced by statistics. We must, however, set these aside as beyond the scope of our present project. In any case, this material would be truly useful only if it could be treated in detail. These questions should become the object of a special study.

#### CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS

Crimes against persons comprise more than a quarter of the total number of crimes. Nearly 1,900 are committed each year.

Crimes of assault and battery, the most common type (#1 and #9 in Table 6A), account for a quarter of all crimes against persons.

Murder is somewhat less common than manslaughter. The various voluntary killings, combined with these two crimes, amount to more than 700 per year, or almost two per day.

The crimes of resisting arrest, obstruction of justice, and contumacy, which occupy fourth place in Table 6A, normally consist of armed resistance to the police

Table 6A  
Nature and Number of Crimes Against Persons Committed in France Each Year  
Classified in Order of Frequency (Summaries of 6 Years, 1825-1830)

Rank Order	Crime	Number of Crimes per Year	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Assault and Battery	368	197
2	Manslaughter	298	168
3	Murder	255	137
4	Contumacy	196	105
5	Rape and Indecent Assault on Adults	173	93
6	Rape and Indecent Assault on Children	133	71
7	Infanticide	118	63
8	Perjury and Subornation	87	47
9	Assault and Battery on Parents	85	46
10	Poisoning	40	21
11	Conspiracy	22	12
12	Crimes Against Children	20	11
13	Parricide	23	7
14	Abortion	12	7
15	Bigamy	11	5
16	Violence Against Judges or Public Servants	9	5
17	Begging with Violence	9	5
18	Political Crimes and Misdemeanors	6	3
19	Blackmail	6	3
20	Prison Escape	1	
21	Violation of Sanitary Regulations	1	
22	Castration	1	
23	Perjury in Civil Matters		} 2
24	Public Indecency	} 1	
25	Abuse of Authority		
26	Trading in Black Slaves		
	Total	1,865	1,000

Table 6B

Nature and Number of Crimes Against Property Committed in France Each Year  
Classified in Order of Frequency (Summaries of Six Years, 1825-1830)

Rank Order	Crime	Number of Crimes per Year	Share of 1,000 Crimes	
1	Theft (Other than those below)	3,219	610	
2	Domestic Theft	1,043	198	
3	Forgery (Other than those below)	265	48	
4	Highway Robbery	159	30	
5	Forgery of Commercial Instruments	106	20	
6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	105	20	
7	Arson of Buildings	87	16	
8	Theft from Churches	54	10	
9	Forgery by Impersonation	48	9	
10	Counterfeiting Coins	46	9	
11	Embezzlement and Bribery	39	7	
12	Obtaining a Signature by Duress	27	5	
13	Destruction of Real or Personal	24	5	
14	Pilfering of Damaging Grain	23	4	
15	Arson of Various Objects	18	3	
16	Forgery of Seals and Devices	9	2	
17	Pilfering or Damaging Personal	6	1	
18	Removing or Concealing Titles or	4		
19	Counterfeiting Banknotes	3		
20	Embezzling or Misappropriating	3		
21	Smuggling	2	}	
22	Breaking Seals	2		
23	Loss of Ship by Pilot Negligence	}	3	
24	Misuse of Office			2
25	Importing of Prohibited Merchandise			2
26	Misuse of Blank Check			
		5,282	1,000	

Table 6C

Military Courts in the Interior of the Kingdom: Number of Military Personnel  
Brought to Judgment over the Ten-Year Period 1818-1827

Military Crimes and Misdemeanors	
Desertion	16,462
Treason	23
Spying, Recruiting Spies	29
Threats Against Superiors	2,655
Insubordination	941
Theft and Dishonesty	3,852
Lying	75
Abuse of Authority	56
Other Military Crimes and Misdemeanors	3,334
Total	27,446
Common Crimes and Misdemeanors	
Theft and Swindling	1,147
Murder, Manslaughter, Violence	2,177
Rape and Indecent Assault	160
Total	2,884
Military Crimes and Misdemeanors	27,446
Grand Total	30,330*

\*Of this number, 17,724, or more than half, were convicted.

in connection with such misdemeanors as brawls or plundering grain committed in rural areas and forests. Until 1830, they did not amount to more than 180 per year. Now that they are more common and often take on a different character, a different category should be established in the records for those which are not purely due to motives of private interest. It will also be important not to confound ordinary killings with those which result from political fervor. Otherwise, in a few years, the results of the *Compte de la justice* will no longer be comparable because of the influence of those departments where the annual number of attacks against authorities greatly outruns previous levels and where it could rise even higher in the event of local insurrection or political strife. The regularity that one observes in their occurrence at certain times of the year would soon be disturbed if ordinary crimes were confounded with a large number of other, purely exceptional crimes not subject to the same natural influences. The same cause of error would have no less an effect on the data on criminal investigations.

Tables 6A and 6B do not include cases brought before military and maritime courts. In 1829, the Minister of War, at the request of Monsieur Guerry de Champneuf, initiated the collection of documents to be used to prepare a rough draft of the military penal code for the Ministry of Justice. Table 6C on page 20 shows the principal results contained in these documents.

Assaults against modesty (rape and indecent assaults) comprise a sixth of the crimes against persons. They are not committed against adults much more frequently than against children under the age of fifteen. One hundred thirty cases of indecent assault on children are submitted to juries each year.

Infanticide, perjury and giving false evidence, subornation of witnesses, and assault and battery of parents follow in descending order. They account for a twentieth of all crimes against persons, bringing more than 80 cases per year before the Assize Courts.

These crimes are the major determinants of the ordering of the various departments on the map of crimes against persons. Poisoning, parricide, and other

types of attacks are so rare as to be regarded as nothing more than accidental facts, especially in regard to their geographical distribution. It is nonetheless necessary to note that abortion, ranked no higher than fourteenth, is considerably more common than its ranking would seem to indicate. In some areas of the kingdom it is probably as common as infanticide.

To the extent that crimes occur less frequently, there is greater variation in their rates over time. Also, the last figures in this table, although exact enough when grouped together, ought not to be considered, when appraised separately, as more than simple approximations.

#### CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY

Crimes against property account for almost three quarters of the total number of crimes. Nearly 5,300 are committed each year.

Various types of theft make up the greater part of these crimes, in the neighborhood of 85 percent.

Domestic thefts account for a quarter of all thefts, while those committed on a public road account for no more than a thirtieth of the total; the least common of all are those committed in churches, of which approximately 50 per year are recorded.

These are followed in descending order by various types of forgery, fraudulent bankruptcy, arson, counterfeiting, fraudulent receipt of money by a public officer, obtaining a signature by duress, and, finally, other, even more uncommon, crimes whose numbers vary a great deal from one year to another.

It is often said that major crimes are increasing in an alarming way in France. The absence of documentation for the earlier period prevents the establishment of an exact comparison between our present situation and the one that existed before 1825. We are thus reduced, on this point, to simple opinions devoid of proof of any kind. Moreover, there is nothing to lead us to believe that assaults against persons are more

common today than at the end of the last century. In those days, as has been reasonably established, criminal cases were tried in secret, and their details were rarely made known beyond the jurisdiction of the tribunal dealing with the case. Today, no sooner has a crime been committed than the periodical press immediately announces it to every corner of the kingdom. As the procedure moves through each step of its journey, and during the hearings, the press reports the most outrageous details, which are often repeated again and again--on the occasion of the appeal of a point of law to the Court of Cassation, the petition for mercy, and the carrying out of the punishment. This publicity, which is nonetheless not without advantages, gives rise to the inevitable result of making it seem that the number of assaults is greater than it really is.

On the other hand, in an effort to prove the existence of a progressive improvement in morals, some journalists have maintained that, since the Restoration, the grand total of crimes has gone down. Lacking empirical information, they have resorted to a variety of deductions based on inferential logic. They have thought, for example, that the list of sentences to forced labor handed down each year by the Assize Courts could be used to estimate the approximate number of crimes committed. We have already pointed out what renders this an uncertain basis for making inferences; even if it were adopted, it would be indispensable to know what categories of crimes were responsible for the difference, inasmuch as the laws have changed since 1825. It is also said that prison expenditures always exactly correspond to the number of prisoners and that the number of prisoners corresponds to the number of offenses committed. Since expenditures have decreased, it seemed logical to some of these writers to conclude that there had been a similar proportional decrease in the number of crimes. This conclusion, even though it seems perfectly natural, is nonetheless erroneous. The introduction of productive work in the prisons and improved internal administration have been the sole causes for the decrease in expenditures. It is clear that in statistics the facts should, insofar as possible, be

directly observed rather than established by inference, and that even the most legitimate hypothesis can never substitute for direct observation.

In 1825, the number of accused brought before the Courts of Assize for crimes against persons rose to 2,069, but, rather than continuing to increase, the figures for the four<sup>10</sup> following years fell to 1,709, 1,911, and 1,844. Finally, in 1830, the number fell to 1,666.

Conversely, crimes against property, after remaining more or less stationary for three years, suddenly experienced a considerable increase in 1828, when their number jumped from 5,018 to 5,552. It is true that the year 1830 shows a decrease, but one which is without doubt only apparent. The decrease can be accounted for by the fact that court proceedings were less active beginning in the last quarter of that year, and that, in several departments, because the fourth-quarter session of the Courts of Assize was not even opened, a large number of accused were not brought to trial until the first session of the following year. It is thus likely that the *Compte général* for 1831 will show a rather strong increase compared with the data from the preceding year.

One of the major causes of the increase in crime, both here at home and in England, is the ever-increasing proportion of recidivists among the young people convicted of property crimes. For a long time, every thought of reform in penal laws or in the operation of prisons has been scorned as mere learned speculation. When the administration finally decided to make improvements, it was done at random. What is the result of this? In France, almost a third of convicted persons fall into recidivism, and, even though it is hard to believe, in our central prisons, where the efforts of the *philanthropes* on improving the material lot of inmates is almost exclusively concentrated, recidivism is today *considerably greater than in the forced labor camps* (*bagnes*).

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<sup>10</sup>Although he appears to be referring to 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829, Guerry includes data for only three of these years--trans.

Judicial statistics, by bringing to light the true state of affairs, has pointed out the problem; it falls to the government to combat it and stop its progress. The first way of intervening would be to set theoretical systems aside and gather a great deal of well-verified facts on the prison system, then bring them into the discussion. Perhaps we could thus avoid attempting changes, at enormous expense, that would later have to be abandoned.

### THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER

Figures on crimes broken down by gender are shown in Tables 7A through 7D. Crimes being more often committed by men than by women, the rank order of frequencies for men is more or less the same as in Tables 6A and 6B, which present the types and numbers of crimes without distinguishing the sex of the accused. Thus we shall be mostly concerned here with the crimes committed by women.

Infanticide alone makes up two-fifths of the crimes against persons of which women are found guilty (Table 7B). This is the crime they commit most often. Premeditated murder, which comes immediately behind infanticide, is, relatively speaking, almost twice as frequent for women as for men, although the latter in reality commit seven times more murders. That is, premeditated murder comprises a larger fraction of the crimes against persons committed by women than of those committed by men, but a larger actual number of such crimes is committed by men.

For women, poisoning accounts for more than six percent of crimes against persons; for men, it accounts for no more than one percent.

These differences result primarily from the fact that the crimes of assault and battery, of manslaughter, and of resisting or interfering with authority, all considerably more often committed by men, reduce the percentage of all crimes in the categories to which we were referring above and at the same time make them appear more common for women.

Table 7A  
Crimes Against Persons Committed by Men

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Number per 1,000 Crimes Against Persons
1	Assault and Battery	213
2	Manslaughter	171
3	Murder	147
4	Contumacy	110
5	Rape of Adults	105
6	Rape of Children	88
7	Perjury and Subornation	47
8	Assault and Battery of Parents	44
9	Conspiracy	14
10	Poisoning	13
11	Violence Against Judges	7
12	Crimes Against Children	6
13	Bigamy	6
14	Parricide	6
15	Violent Begging	5
16	Infanticide	5
17	Blackmail	5
18	Political Crimes and Misdemeanors	4
19	Abortion	2
20	Prison Escape	
21	Violation of Sanitary Regulations	
22	Perjury in Civil Matters	
23	Public Indecency	} 2
24	Castration	
25	Slave Trade	
26	Abuse of Authority	
Total		1,000

Table 7B  
Crimes Against Persons Committed by Women

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Number per 1,000 Crimes Against Persons
1	Infanticide	406
2	Murder	107
3	Assault and Battery	72
4	Poisoning	64
5	Assault and Battery of Parents	63
6	Contumacy	62
7	Perjury and Subornation	48
8	Manslaughter	43
9	Crimes Against Children	37
10	Abortion	32
11	Conspiracy	21
12	Parricide	19
13	Violent Begging	8
14	Rape of Adults	6
15	Rape of Children	5
16	Castration	2
17	Bigamy	1
18	Blackmail	1
19	Political Crimes and Misdemeanors	1
20	Prison Escape	1
21	Violence Against Judges	1
Total		1,000

Table 7C  
Crimes Against Property Committed by Men

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Number per 1,000 Crimes Against Property
1	Theft	635
2	Domestic Theft	156
3	Forgery	53
4	Highway Robbery	37
5	Forgery of Commercial Documents	22
6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	20
7	Arson of Buildings	14
8	Theft from Churches	10
9	Forgery by Impersonation	10
10	Counterfeiting Coins	9
11	Embezzlement and Bribery	9
12	Destruction of Property	5
13	Obtaining a Signature by Duress	5
14	Pilfering and Damage of Grains	5
15	Arson of Various Objects	4
16	Forgery of Seals and Devices	2
17	Pilfering and Damage of Personal Property	1
18	Removing or Concealing Titles or Deeds	
19	Counterfeiting Banknotes	
20	Embezzling Public Funds	
21	Smuggling	
22	Loss of Ship by Negligence	3
23	Misuse of Office	
24	Misuse of Blank Check	
Total		1,000

Table 7D  
Crimes Against Property Committed by Women

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Number per 1,000 Crimes Against Property
1	Theft	516
2	Domestic Theft	362
3	Forgery	25
4	Arson of Buildings	23
5	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	13
6	Highway Robbery	12
7	Theft from Churches	11
8	Pilfering and Damage of Grains	8
9	Obtaining Titles or Signatures by Duress	7
10	Forgery of Commercial Documents	6
11	Forgery by Impersonation	6
12	Counterfeiting Coins	6
13	Arson of Various Objects	3
14	Pilfering or Damage of Personal Property	} 2
15	Counterfeiting Banknotes	
16	Destruction of Real or Personal Property	
17	Removing or Concealing Titles or Deeds	
18	Embezzlement and Bribery	
19	Forgery of Seals and Devices	
	Total	1,000

The various types of theft account for 84 percent of the crimes against property committed by men and 90 percent of those committed by women (Tables 7C, 7D). Thefts by domestic servants and other household members make up two-fifths of the thefts committed by women, while they account for less than a fifth of those for which men are found guilty. Is one to conclude that women are twice as likely to misappropriate the property of their masters? Before arriving at a conclusion in this regard, it would be necessary to know, for the kingdom as a whole, the number of hired servants of the two sexes, but as easy as it would be to assess this in a general census, these numbers are completely unknown. If it were to turn out that there were twice as many women as men employed as domestic servants, the result would be that domestic theft would be no more frequent for one sex than for the other.

Thefts in churches account for one percent of the total number of thefts committed by both men and women.

Tables 7A through 7D indicate, separately for each sex, the relationships between different crimes when the total number is expressed as 1,000. In contrast, Tables 8A and 8B below show, separately for each crime, using a base of 100, the proportion committed by offenders of each sex. It is essential to make a distinction between these two ratios, which can be confused with one another at first glance. The first classifies crimes according to absolute frequency, the second according to relative frequency.

The crimes of slave-trading, abuse of authority, rape, bigamy, and assaults on judges, appearing at the top of the first column of Table 8A, most of which are rare, are characteristic of men. At the bottom of the same column one finds the crimes of infanticide, castration, and abortion, for which the numbers are also very irregular, but which are characteristic of women. The criminal attacks for which the greater part are committed by men being of necessity those for which women commit a smaller proportion, and vice versa, the result is that the rank ordering for the two sexes is inverse.

Table 8A  
Sex Ratio for Persons Accused of Each Crime,  
Crimes Against Persons

Rank Order	Type of Crime	For Every 100 Crimes there were	
		By Men	By Women
1	Slave Trade	100	0
	Abuse of Authority	100	0
	Public Indecency	100	0
	Violation of Sanitary Regulations	100	0
	Perjury in Civil Matters	100	0
2	Rape of Adults	99	1
3	Rape of Children	99	1
4	Bigamy	98	2
5	Violence Against Judges	98	2
6	Blackmail	97	3
7	Political Crimes and Misdemeanors	97	3
8	Manslaughter	96	4
9	Assault and Battery	95	5
10	Contumacy	91	9
11	Murder	89	11
12	Perjury and Subornation	85	15
13	Prison Escape	83	17
14	Assault and Battery of Parents	80	20
15	Conspiracy	80	20
16	Violent Begging	79	21
17	Parricide	64	36
18	Poisoning	55	45
19	Crimes Against Children	50	50
20	Abortion	28	72
21	Castration	25	75
22	Infanticide	6	94

Table 8B  
Sex Ratio for Persons Accused of Each Crime,  
Crimes Against Property

Rank Order	Type of Crime	For Every 100 Crimes there were	
		By Men	By Women
1	Smuggling	100	0
	Breaking Seals	100	0
	Loss of Ship by Negligence	100	0
	Misuse of Office	100	0
	Misuse of Blank Check	100	0
2	Embezzlement and Bribery	99	1
3	Counterfeiting Seals	98	2
4	Destruction of Real or Personal	98	2
5	Counterfeiting Banknotes	95	5
6	Forgery of commercial Documents	93	7
7	Highway Robbery	92	8
8	Removal or Concealment of Titles	90	10
9	Pilfering or Damaging Personal	89	11
10	Forgery	89	11
11	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	86	14
12	Forgery by Impersonation	86	14
13	Counterfeiting Coins	86	14
14	Arson of Various Objects	84	16
15	Theft	83	17
16	Theft from Churches	78	22
17	Obtaining Signatures by Duress	71	29
18	Arson of Buildings	70	30
19	Pilfering of Damage of Grains	69	31
20	Domestic Theft	60	40



For every 100 crimes against persons, men commit 86 and women 14. Of the same number of crimes against property, men commit only 79 and women 21.

It would be a mistake to think that these figures represent the strength of the penchant for crime for each sex or to conclude, for example, that, for crimes against persons, these criminal tendencies are actually five times more developed in men than in women. There is a principle which one should never lose sight of in making comparisons of this sort: one should only compare facts that are of the same nature and placed in a similar context. Are the motives and outside influences that produce crime the same for the two sexes? Are the opportunities and means for executing a crime equally available? It is evident that very different conditions can be found on each side, and that these differences greatly affect the accuracy of the relationships indicated above. There are many crimes which women almost never find themselves in a position to commit, and if they are not found guilty of them one should not search for the reason in their better moral character. It is not very surprising that they are not tried for extortion or misappropriation of funds by a public official, since they do not assume public office. If they are rarely accused of forgery, bribery, counterfeiting, misappropriation, or unlawful removal and concealment of documents, it is because they are generally poorly educated and, in any event, they are little versed in the knowledge of the various civil transactions. In addition to the crimes tied to social position, there are others which demand both physical strength and daring: armed robbery, interfering with lawful authority, assault and battery, and manslaughter. In situations in which the opportunity to commit these crimes is offered to women as often as to men, women are frequently intimidated by their feelings of weakness and by a fear of danger. But these opportunities are infinitely less common for them. Speaking only of manslaughter and assault and battery, which alone account for two-fifths of crimes against persons committed by men, these crimes are usually, as can be seen in the table of motives (Tables 12B, 12C below), the result of quarrels in public places, brawls, and chance encounters which women almost never meddle in. Rivalries of commerce and industry and disputes

in the guilds are also frequent causes of assault and manslaughter which do not exist for women.

It is impossible, given the present state of judicial statistics, to take account of these differences. Nonetheless, even if it is agreed that women are generally more moral than men, it is also necessary to recognize that, in reality, there is less disproportion than is generally supposed in the strengths of the criminal tendencies of the two sexes. The following data will emphasize the specific characteristics of crimes committed by women.

Men commit the crimes of assault and battery, premeditated murder, and manslaughter at a higher rate than they commit parricide and poisoning. The opposite is true of women. Although they are found guilty of only a twentieth of manslaughters and a twenty-fifth of the cases of assault and battery, women commit a tenth of the premeditated murders and voluntary manslaughters, a quarter of the assaults and batteries against parents, more than a third of parricides, and almost half the poisonings.

To the extent that the danger decreases, they become more enterprising. If they commit no more than five percent of the assaults and batteries, and eight percent of highway robberies, they nonetheless commit 17 percent of ordinary thefts, 22 percent of thefts from churches, and, without including infanticides here, half the assaults on small children.

More than three-fifths of poisonings between spouses are committed against the husband by the wife, acting alone or aided by accomplices.

Of 100 attempts on the life of one spouse by the other approximately 60 are committed by the husband and 40 by the wife. Nonetheless, for wives, four-fifths are premeditated, as opposed to only three-fifths premeditated by husbands.

When one spouse makes an attempt on the life of the other as a result of family quarrels and arguments, except in cases of adultery, and family members are accomplices, they are almost always women.

The general opinion of stepmothers (and the name itself has become almost an insult among us) is justified by the facts, since when children of a first marriage are killed by the new spouse, it is almost always by the second wife of their father.

Poorly directed natural affections and the intensity of feelings which women often allow themselves to be drawn into would seem to be, for them, the most usual cause of crimes against persons, attacks whose nature is then determined by their weakness. This has already been discussed above, but there is a new and truly extraordinary proof of it: this is the fact that some women kill their children out of tenderness, and only to remove them from the hardships of life. Some will ask if these women have gone mad. Nothing in their previous conduct would lead one to suspect it, and they consider their crime to be an act of devotion. They contemplate it for a long time and carry it out calmly. Immediately afterwards, they take their own lives.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF AGE

Tables 9A and 9B show the rank ordering of crimes at each age of life. This ordering is clearly not the same for men and women. It is therefore important to make a simultaneous distinction based on both the age and sex of the accused, but the documents in our possession on this subject permit us to establish this only imperfectly, and then only for the sum total of all crimes. Here are the major findings offered by an analysis of these documents. We present them using absolute numbers and without taking into account the distribution of the population by sex and age, which, in our country, is not precisely known.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Monsieur [Adolphe] Quetelet, who has published some remarkable papers on the general statistics of the Netherlands, has included his *Recherches sur le penchant au crime aux differens ages* in the most recent volume of the papers of the Brussels Academy. Although presented in a different format, the results of his work are in complete agreement with our own.

The maximum level of crime for both sexes falls between the ages of twenty-five and thirty. Almost a fifth of the total number of crimes are committed in this short period of five years (Plates 1 and 2).

Criminal tendencies are developed earlier in men than in women. Comparatively, they are strongest among men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. On the other hand, they fall off more rapidly among men than among women, particularly after the age of thirty-five. Of 1,000 crimes committed by men, nineteen take place before the age of sixteen, 169 between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, and 162 between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five; for a similar number of crimes committed by women, the figures for the same age groups are 14, 135, and 158.

Until the age of twenty-five, each five-year period shows, as can be seen, a higher proportion of crimes for men. This excess becomes even more obvious if one takes into account criminal cases involving men from twenty to twenty-five years of age which are removed from civilian jurisdiction and brought before military or admiralty courts. On the contrary, the proportion of crimes by women increases after the age of twenty-five, and especially between the ages of thirty and fifty. Of 1,000 crimes, the figures for women in successive age groups are 185, 148, 117, 84 and 66, while for men, they are 182, 144, 91, 76 and 59. After the age of 50, the figures for the two sexes differ hardly at all until the end of life, which is to say that, in any given age category, men and women commit a similar fraction of the total number of crimes of which they are found guilty during the entire period of their existence. It would be difficult to explain these parallel patterns without knowing the particular types of crime to which they apply.

Let us now examine the distribution of crimes at different ages by ten-year periods without making a distinction by sex. Here, each column represents 1,000 crimes, and the results are completely comparable since there has been no attempt to establish a relationship with population figures.

Table 9A

## Distribution of Crimes Against Persons at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Under 21 Years			Ages 21-30		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Assault and Battery	184	1	Assault and Battery	218
2	Indecent Assault on Adults	169	2	Manslaughter	157
3	Manslaughter	147	3	Murder	120
4	Indecent Assault on Children	123	4	Contumacy	111
5	Murder	101	5	Indecent Assault on Adults	105
6	Contumacy	78	6	Infanticide	83
7	Infanticide	48	7	Indecent Assault on	58
8	Assault on Parents	47	8	Assault on Parents	50
9	Conspiracy	32	9	Perjury	33
10	Perjury	29	10	Poisoning	16
11	Poisoning	14	11	Crimes Against Children	10
12	Miscellaneous	8	12	Conspiracy	10
13	Violent Begging	6	13	Parricide	8
14	Crimes Against Children	5	14	Miscellaneous Violence	6
15	Parricide	5	15	Abortion	5
16	Abortion	3	16	Violent begging	2
17	Bigamy	--	17	Bigamy	1
	Other Crimes	4		Other Crimes	7
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

Table 9A (continued)

## Distribution of Crimes Against Persons at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 30-40			Ages 40-50		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Assault and Battery	179	1	Murder	194
2	Murder	154	2	Assault and Battery	181
3	Manslaughter	152	3	Manslaughter	133
4	Contumacy	110	4	Contumacy	100
5	Indecent Assault on Adults	73	5	Indecent Assault on Children	94
6	Infanticide	63	6	Perjury	69
7	Indecent Assault on Children	59	7	Indecent Assault on Adults	61
8	Assault on Parents	59	8	Assault on Parents	44
9	Perjury	49	9	Infanticide	41
10	Poisoning	25	10	Poisoning	23
11	Crimes Against Children	16	11	Conspiracy	19
12	Conspiracy	12	12	Bigamy	13
13	Parricide	9	13	Violent Begging	8
14	Violent Begging	8	14	Crimes Against Children	7
15	Bigamy	8	15	Abortion	7
16	Abortion	6	16	Parricide	4
17	Miscellaneous Violence	6	17	Miscellaneous Violence	4
	Other Crimes	12		Other Crimes	12
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

Table 9A (continued)

## Distribution of Crimes Against Persons at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 50-60			Ages 60-70		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Manslaughter	185	1	Manslaughter	173
2	Murder	182	2	Indecent Assault on Children	166
3	Assault and Battery	175	3	Murder	159
4	Contumacy	98	4	Assault and Battery	138
5	Indecent Assault on Children	88	5	Perjury	99
6	Perjury	76	6	Contumacy	78
7	Indecent Assault on Adults	32	7	Infanticide	42
8	Infanticide	24	8	Poisoning	35
9	Poisoning	20	9	Parricide	21
10	Assault on Parents	19	10	Abortion	18
11	Abortion	15	11	Indecent Assault on Adults	14
12	Bigamy	15	12	Crimes Against Children	11
13	Violent Begging	13	13	Assault on Parents	7
14	Parricide	10	14	Conspiracy	7
15	Conspiracy	10	15	Bigamy	7
16	Crimes Against Children	6	16	Miscellaneous Violence	7
17	Miscellaneous Violence	6	17	Violent Begging	7
	Other Crimes	26		Other Crimes	11
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

Table 9A (continued)

## Distribution of Crimes Against Persons at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 70 and Above		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Rape of Children	318
2	Assault and Battery	137
3	Manslaughter	125
4	Murder	102
5	Perjury	102
6	Contumacy	94
7	Poisoning	23
8	Infanticide	23
9	Rape of Adults	23
10	Conspiracy	11
11	Miscellaneous Violence	11
12	Assaults on Parents	--
13	Parricide	--
14	Crimes Against Children	--
15	Abortion	--
16	Bigamy	--
17	Violent Begging	--
	Other Crimes	34
	Total	1,000

Table 9B

Distribution of Crimes Against Property at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Under 21 Years			Ages 21-30			
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	
1	Theft	676	1	Theft	617	
2	Domestic Theft	241	2	Domestic Theft	227	
3	Highway Robbery	24	3	Forgery	37	
4	Theft from Churches	16	4	Highway Robbery	35	
5	Forgery	12	5	Forgery of Commercial Documents	14	
6	Arson of Buildings	11	6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	13	
7	Forgery of Commercial Documents	5	7	Theft from Churches	9	
8	Pilfering Grains	3	8	Forgery by	9	
9	Arson of Various Objects	3	9	Arson of Buildings	9	
10	Forgery by Impersonation	3	10	Counterfeiting	7	
11	Counterfeiting	2	11	Pilfering Grains	6	
12	Destruction of Property	1	12	Extortion of Signatures	4	
13	Pilfering Personal Property	1	13	Destruction of Property	4	
14	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	}	14	Arson of Various	3	
15	Extortion of Signatures		15	Pilfering Personal	2	
16	Counterfeiting Seals		3	16	Counterfeiting Seals	1
17	Extortion and Embezzlement		17	Extortion and Embezzlement	1	
	Other Crimes			Other Crimes	3	
Total		1,000	Total		1,000	

Table 9B (continued)

Distribution of Crimes Against Property at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 30-40			Ages 40-50		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Theft	599	1	Theft	578
2	Domestic Theft	177	2	Domestic Theft	149
3	Forgery	58	3	Forgery	71
4	Highway Robbery	35	4	Highway Robbery	33
5	Forgery of Commercial Documents	27	5	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	33
6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	26	6	Forgery of Commercial Documents	28
7	Arson of Buildings	17	7	Arson of Buildings	25
8	Counterfeiting	11	8	Extortion and Embezzlement	15
9	Theft from Churches	10	9	Forgery by Impersonation	15
10	Forgery by Impersonation	9	10	Counterfeiting	12
11	Extortion and Embezzlement	8	11	Extortion of Signatures	9
12	Extortion of Signatures	7	12	Theft from Churches	7
13	Pilfering Grains	6	13	Destruction of Property	6
14	Arson of Various Objects	3	14	Pilfering grains	6
15	Destruction of Property	3	15	Arson of Various Objects	4
16	Counterfeiting Seals	2	16	Counterfeiting Seals	3
17	Pilfering Personal Property	6	17	Pilfering Personal Property	1
	Other Crimes	3		Other Crimes	5
Total		1,000	Total		1,000

Table 9B (continued)

## Distribution of Crimes Against Property at Different Ages, by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 50-60			Ages 60-70		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Theft	542	1	Theft	507
2	Domestic Theft	131	2	Domestic Theft	166
3	Forgery	90	3	Forgery	118
4	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	42	4	Extortion and Embezzlement	32
5	Forgery of Commercial Documents	33	5	Arson of Buildings	29
6	Extortion and Embezzlement	32	6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	28
7	Highway Robbery	31	7	Highway Robbery	25
8	Arson of Buildings	29	8	Forgery by Impersonation	24
9	Forgery by Impersonation	13	9	Counterfeiting	21
10	Counterfeiting	11	10	Forgery of Commercial Documents	15
11	Theft from Churches	9	11	Destruction of Property	10
12	Extortion of Signatures	7	12	Theft from Churches	9
13	Pilfering Grains	7	13	Arson of Various Objects	6
14	Arson of Various Objects	7	14	Extortion of Signatures	4
15	Destruction of Property	6	15	Pilfering Grains	3
16	Counterfeiting Seals	4	16	Counterfeiting Seals	1
17	Pilfering Personal Property	1	17	Pilfering Personal Property	1
	Other Crimes	5		Other Crimes	1
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

Table 9B (continued)

Distribution of Crimes Against Property at Different Ages,  
by Ten-Year Age Groups

Ages 70 and Above		
Rank Order	Type of Crime	Share of 1,000 Crimes
1	Theft	538
2	Forgery	102
3	Domestic Theft	81
4	Arson of Buildings	65
5	Counterfeiting	37
6	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	32
7	Extortion and Embezzlement	22
8	Forgery by Impersonation	21
9	Arson of Various Objects	21
10	Forgery of Commercial Documents	21
11	Highway Robbery	21
12	Pilfering Grains	11
13	Destruction of Property	6
14	Theft from Churches	6
15	Extortion of Signatures	--
16	Counterfeiting Seals	--
17	Pilfering Personal Property	--
	Other Crimes	16
	Total	1,000

Among all the crimes against persons committed by accused of both sexes under the age of twenty-one, those of assault and battery, rape committed against adults and manslaughter are the most common (Table 9A). Between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, the most common are assault and battery, manslaughter, and murder. These three crimes, whose rank order is sometimes transposed, invariably appear in the first three positions from age twenty-one up to age sixty, but after this age assault and battery and murder become a little less common. They are reduced in frequency and are then replaced by indecent assaults, which occupy the first rank among accused who are over seventy.

In the first column, under the heading "under twenty-one," rape committed on adults appears in second place. Between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, and between thirty and forty, this crime is in no more than the fifth position. It falls to seventh rank after the age of forty, and finally to eleventh after sixty. Beginning in the same column, sexual assault on children appears in the fourth position and then follows a direction parallel to that of rape of adults until the age of forty, but after this age their positions are reversed. Indecent assaults on children, which had been diminishing up to that point, suddenly become more numerous. In the forty to fifty year-old age group, they reappear in the fifth position, just as they do in the under twenty-one age group. They remain in the fifth position for the next ten-year age group, but they rise to second among sixty to seventy year-olds and finally to first for those seventy and above.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Something is wrong here, either in the table or the text. We have corrected the text to make it consistent with the table, but it is possible that it is the table rather than the text which is incorrect in the original. As given by Guerry, the text reads:

... Beginning in the same column, sexual assault on children appears in the fourth position and then follows a direction parallel to that of rape of adults until the age of forty. Indecent assaults on children, which had been diminishing up to that point, suddenly become more numerous. In the forty to fifty year-old age group, they reappear in the fifth position, just as they do in the under twenty-one age group. They are in the second position for the next ten-year age group, and they finally rise to first for the age group seventy to eighty and above.

--trans.

Premeditated murder is quite uncommon before the age of twenty-one, but it becomes the most frequent crime of persons between the ages of forty and fifty. Nonetheless, it is not in that age group but among those between twenty-one and thirty that the greatest number of actual murders is committed. After the age of sixty, murder becomes a lesser part of the total number of crimes. The decrease, however, is not so great as the drop in rank would seem to indicate, since the numbers in the last column, with the exception of the first, are too small to be considered an expression of a scientific law.

One would expect that parricide would decrease in each column along with advancing age, but it occupies only the fifteenth rank in the series of crimes committed by those under twenty-one. It increases to fourteenth after age fifty and to ninth after age sixty. Not only is parricide placed higher in the latter columns, which might be explained by other crimes decreasing to the point that they fall below it without reducing its proportional relationship to the total number of crimes, but this proportion increases quite regularly rather than remaining constant. From no more than five crimes against persons before age twenty-one, parricide increases to 8 in 1,000 at ages twenty-one to thirty, to nine at ages thirty to forty, and finally to ten in 1,000 after age fifty and 21 after age sixty.

Fathers being generally about twenty-five years older than their sons, one would think that most parricides would be committed against old men of ninety. This interpretation seems at first glance to fit the facts, but it is nevertheless not completely justified, since the age of the sons is often confounded with that of their accomplices, which is ordinarily greater.

Theft is, at every age, the most frequent of the crimes against property (Table 9B). It is also the easiest means of taking possession of the property of others. Theft by domestic servants occupies the second rank until the age of seventy, after which

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first for the age group seventy to eighty and above.

--trans.

it diminishes because there are many fewer opportunities to commit it. Moreover, as we pointed out above, the number of persons of the two sexes employed as domestic servants in France is unknown, as is their distribution by age. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that they are few in number among those of advanced age.

Below the age of twenty-one, highway robbery comes immediately after domestic theft. After this age, it is exceeded by forgery, and it remains in the fourth position until the age of fifty. It falls thereafter, making way for fraudulent bankruptcy, forgery of commercial documents, extortion or misappropriation of money by a public official, and later by forgery by impersonation and arson, crimes for which physical strength is not necessary and which also do not place the life of the offender in danger.

Thefts from churches are at every age the least common variety of thefts, but it is during youth that they attain their highest rank ordering in the series of crimes against property. After the age of seventy they fall to the lowest rank.

The crimes of counterfeiting coinage, arson, and extortion or misappropriation by a public official are characteristic of old age. This is true in particular of extortion and misappropriation by a public official, which is only in the seventeenth rank for those under twenty-one, but rises progressively with advancing age and occupies the fourth position after age sixty.

It should be easy to follow the development of other crimes with increasing age. The last crimes in each column and those which are the least common after the age of seventy should be disregarded.

The crimes characteristic of each age are not necessarily those which occur most frequently at that age, but rather those for which a greater proportion are committed at that age than during the rest of life, whatever may be their relationship with the absolute number of other crimes. This is a distinction analogous to the one already made above in speaking of the influence of gender (Tables 8A, 8B), where

we have seen, for example, that certain crimes that are characteristic of women may be very rare, while others which, numerically, occupy the highest rank among women, may nonetheless be committed more often by men. The absolute frequency of crimes at each age is thus not taken into consideration in Table 10A through 10D. Rather, these tables show their relative distributions, which are calculated on a base of 1,000 to facilitate comparison without taking into account their respective numbers.

Among the crimes against persons, indecent assaults against adults are the category most often committed before the age of twenty-five (Table 10A). Criminal conspiracy comes next in order, then assaults on sitting judges in court, and finally indecent assaults on children under fifteen years of age. Poisoning, perjury, and begging by violent means are the crimes committed proportionately least often by young people.

Among the crimes against persons for which old people are found guilty, one finds, first of all, as in the preceding table, rape against children. We have already seen that, among all the crimes against persons, this is the one they commit most frequently, and it remains the one which is committed proportionally more often than any other by those over sixty years of age. To be sure, it is distressing to see thus reproduced, always at the highest ranks, a crime so contrary to the feelings of respect old age ought to inspire, but, in any case, rape against children is a crime of such foolish and enfeebled character that quite often it can be considered a symptom of senile dementia.

It was shown in Table 9B that theft from churches, which is the most frequent type of crimes against property by persons under twenty-one years of age other than other types of theft, diminishes progressively with age, becoming one of the rarest types after the age of seventy. We see here that this crime is again, of all the crimes, the one most characteristic of young people because almost half of such crimes are committed by accused who are under twenty-five. In contrast, it is among the crimes for which the smallest proportion is committed by accused over sixty. To what can



TABLE 10A  
Crimes Against Persons Characteristic of Young People

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Of 1,000 Crimes, Number Committed	
		Before Age 25	After Age 25
1	Indecent Assault on Adults	476	524
2	Conspiracy	405	595
3	Assault on Judges	357	643
4	Indecent Assault on Children	334	666
5	Infanticide	325	675
6	Assault and Battery	319	681
7	Assault on Parents	306	694
8	Contumacy	292	708
9	Manslaughter	291	709
10	Crimes Against Children	271	729
11	Parricide	271	729
12	Murder	237	763
13	Perjury and Subornation	207	793
14	Poisoning	177	823
15	Abortion	172	828
16	Violent Begging	135	865
17	Bigamy	42	958

TABLE 10B  
Crimes Against Persons Characteristic of the Elderly

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Of 1,000 Crimes, Number Committed	
		After Age 60	Before Age 60
1	Indecent Assault on Children	108	892
2	Perjury and Subornation	87	913
3	Parricide	86	914
4	Abortion	86	914
5	Poisoning	63	937
6	Assault on Judges	54	946
7	Manslaughter	43	957
8	Murder	42	958
9	Bigamy	38	958
10	Violent Begging	38	962
11	Crimes Against Children	32	968
12	Contumacy	31	969
13	Assault and Battery	29	971
14	Infanticide	24	976
15	Conspiracy	23	977
16	Indecent Assault on Adults	7	993
17	Assault on Parents	5	995

TABLE 10C  
Crimes Against Property Characteristic of Young People

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Of 1,000 Crimes, Number Committed	
		Before Age 25	After Age 25
1	Theft from Churches	443	557
2	Domestic Theft	439	561
3	Theft	377	623
4	Destruction of Property	340	660
5	Highway Robbery	308	692
6	Arson of Various Objects	290	710
7	Pilfering Grains	264	733
8	Arson of Buildings	204	796
9	Forgery by Impersonation	200	800
10	Counterfeiting	167	833
11	Forgery	154	846
12	Forgery of Commercial Documents	143	857
13	Extortion of Signatures	114	886
14	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	69	931
15	Extortion and Embezzlement	5	995

TABLE 10D  
Crimes Against Property Characteristic of the Elderly

Rank Order	Type of Crime	Of 1,000 Crimes, Number Committed	
		After Age 60	Before Age 60
1	Extortion and Embezzlement	136	864
2	Counterfeiting	93	907
3	Arson of Various Objects	86	914
4	Theft by Impersonation	81	919
5	Destruction of Property	78	922
6	Forgery	78	922
7	Arson of Buildings	77	923
8	Fraudulent Bankruptcy	50	950
9	Forgery of Commercial Documents	29	971
10	Pilfering Grains	29	971
11	Theft	28	972
12	Theft from Churches	26	974
13	Domestic Theft	25	975
14	Highway Robbery	25	975
15	Extortion of Signatures	23	977

we attribute this contrast? Perhaps it is because religious ideas are stronger in old age. But, if this is the case, why do crimes, instead of becoming less serious, instead become more depraved and of more pronounced perversity than they formerly were? The fact is that, often, enfeebled by the years and stricken by vague apprehensions about the future, man can respect everything connected to worship, and even devote himself to observing the external practices of religion, without as a result reforming his conduct in any way.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEASONS

The greatest number of crimes against persons is committed in summer; the fewest are in winter. Spring and autumn show more or less equal numbers (Table 11A; Plate 3).

Of all the crimes against persons, indecent assault is the one for which the influence of the seasons is the most evident. Of 100 crimes of this type, 36 occur in summer, 25 in spring, 21 in autumn, and only 18 in winter.

If this distribution were, as some would have us believe, an indirect effect of temperature variations, crimes against persons should be most numerous when the average temperature is highest, and, in consequence, during the months of July and August. However, it is not then that they are ordinarily most numerous, but instead in the month of June.

The maximum number of crimes against persons, which may nevertheless be linked to the rise in temperature, would seem to better coincide with the length of the day. It will be possible to confirm this in a few years when specific findings by month for the various crimes become available.

Infanticide is more frequent in spring and winter than in summer or autumn. In the event that this distribution is maintained in the future, it will be easy to explain, since it is more or less the same as that of the most numerous births. The

TABLE 11A  
Influence of the Seasons on Crimes Against Persons

	Per 1,000			Per 1,000
December	82	}	Winter	221
January	69			
February	70			
March	85	}	Spring	255
April	78			
May	92			
June	99	}	Summer	283
July	89			
August	95			
September	88	}	Autumn	241
October	75			
November	78			

TABLE 11B  
Influence of the Seasons on Crimes Against Property

	Per 1,000			Per 1,000
December	102	}	Winter	279
January	96			
February	81			
March	84	}	Spring	236
April	75			
May	77			
June	78	}	Summer	231
July	71			
August	82			
September	80	}	Autumn	254
October	85			
November	89			

month of March, in which the greatest number of infanticides is committed, is second only to February as the month having the most births.

Crimes against property appear in more or less the reverse order of crimes against persons, so that the minimum of the former often coincides with the maximum of the latter (Table 11B; Plate 4). It is in summer that crimes against persons are most frequent; it is also during this season that the greatest number of admissions are made to the royal asylum at Charenton.

Must it be concluded that there exists, as some have said, a relationship between madness and crime, and that the same causes can disturb the mind and pervert the will? Even if the coincidence that some have found so remarkable indeed existed, and, moreover, even if it were to recur with even stronger numbers, we believe it would in no way suffice to resolve the issue. Indeed, since some time, which may be fairly long, elapses between the period of the onset of delirium and the time when it is decided to take the lunatic away from his family, and since, in any event, the asylum at Charenton receives its patients from all parts of France, it follows that, in general, admissions during the month of June result from the onset of madness in, generally speaking, the month of May.

Comparisons between lunatics and criminals, considered especially in their relationships to age and sex, would undoubtedly be of great interest. We nonetheless point out that part of the statistical research on which it would be necessary to base such comparisons does not merit a great deal of confidence, since it covers hardly more than the public mental institutions in the capital, and we can learn nothing from it about lunatics confined in the departmental prisons and hospitals or those who are treated in the bosom of their family. As a consequence, many of the findings presented in this research may well be exceptional, which is to say that they relate only to a certain category of lunatics. Dr. Esquirol, to whom we are in debt for the statistics on Charenton, Bicêtre, and Salpêtrière, and who does research with so much zeal on everything that might be useful to the study of mental illness, himself recognizes how incomplete and insufficient are the documents we possess on this

subject.<sup>13</sup> Many times he has asked the administrative authorities to publish a general statistical study of mental illness in France. This work began in 1818 along lines he had laid out, but it was later interrupted. It is our hope that it will soon be completed and that not only will it bring about the solution of important questions of moral philosophy but that, above all, it will shed some light on the treatment of one of the saddest infirmities which smites the human species.

#### MOTIVES OF CAPITAL CRIMES

Of all the parts of criminal statistics, perhaps the most important is the one that has as its object to make known the motives of crimes, at least insofar as they emerge from criminal investigations and court proceedings. Unfortunately, this is at the same time among those parts of criminal statistics which offers the greatest difficulties and which has been the least studied until recently. The table of motives we have constructed based on the reports for the five years 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830 is undoubtedly incomplete. The division of motives into categories could be more methodical, and each entry, instead of being reduced to a simple statement, ought to be covered in a chapter and be fully developed. Despite all its imperfections, Table 12 nonetheless offers findings worthy of our attention. Furthermore, it serves to clarify ideas and to mark the point of departure for future research. In any event, it should be noted that, since the reports have been completed only for a five-year period, the various numerical relationships presented here are not rigorously exact and that they only indicate tendencies, especially in Tables 13 and 14 below.

<sup>13</sup>[Jean Etienne Dominique] Esquirol. "Remarks on the Statistics on Lunatics." *Annals of Public Hygiene and Legal Medicine*, December, 1830.

--Ibid. "The Status of Lunatics in France, and Ways of Improving Their Lot" (Paris, 1818).

TABLE 12A  
Rank Order of Apparent Motives for the Crimes of Poisoning,  
Manslaughter, Murder, and Arson,  
Classified by Frequency

Rank Order	Motive	Frequency per 1,000 Crimes
1	Hatred--Vengeance--Resentment	264
2	Domestic Dissension--Hatred among Relatives	143
3	Gambling Disputes--Quarrels in Public Places	113
4	Theft (by Perpetrator or by Victim)	102
5	Chance Encounters or Disputes	94
6	Altercations over Damage--Disputes among Neighbors	80
7	Adultery	64
8	Debauchery--Concubinage--Seduction	53
9	Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity	26
10	Desire to Collect a Life or Property Insurance Claim	25
11	Scorned or Thwarted Love--Refusal of Marriage	20
12	Jealousy	16
Total		1,000

TABLE 12B  
Rank Order of Apparent Motives, by Crime

Poisoning			Murder		
Rank Order	Motive	Frequency per 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Motive	Frequency per 1,000 Crimes
1	Adultery	349	1	Hatred--Vengeance--Resentment	218
2	Domestic Dissension--Hatred among Relatives	320	2	Theft	214
3	Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity	120	3	Domestic Dissension--Hatred among Relatives	150
4	Hatred--Vengeance--Resentment	97	4	Gambling Disputes--Quarrels in Public Places	94
5	Debauchery--Concubinage--Seduction	57	5	Adultery	91
6	Theft	17	6	Debauchery--Concubinage--Seduction	72
7	Scorned or Thwarted Love--Refusal of Marriage	17	7	Altercations over Damage--Disputes between Neighbors	59
8	Desire to Collect an Insurance Claim	12	8	Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity	50
9	Jealousy	11	9	Jealousy	26
10	Gambling Disputes--Quarrels in Public Places	--	10	Scorned or Thwarted Love--Refusal of Marriage	26
11	Chance Encounters or Disputes	--	11	Chance Encounters or Disputes	--
12	Altercations over Damage--Disputes between Neighbors	--	12	Desire to Collect an Insurance Claim	--
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

TABLE 12B (continued)  
Rank Order of Apparent Motives, by Crime

Manslaughter			Arson		
Rank Order	Motive	Frequency per 1,000 Crimes	Rank Order	Motive	Frequency per 1,000 Crimes
1	Hatred--Vengeance--Resentment	305	1	Hatred--Vengeance--Resentment	343
2	Chance Encounters or Disputes	214	2	Desire to Collect an Insurance Claim	198
3	Gambling Disputes--Quarrels in Public Places	177	3	Altercations over Damage--Disputes between Neighbors	154
4	Domestic Dissension--Hatred among Relatives	119	4	Domestic Dissension--Hatred among Relatives	115
5	Altercations over Damage--Disputes between Neighbors	86	5	Debauchery--Concubinage--Seduction	50
6	Debauchery--Concubinage--Seduction	36	6	Scorned or Thwarted Love--Refusal of Marriage	49
7	Theft	35	7	Theft	49
8	Adultery	14	8	Jealousy	39
9	Scorned or Thwarted Love--Refusal of Marriage	6	9	Adultery	30
10	Jealousy	5	10	Gambling Disputes--Quarrels in Public Places	--
11	Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity	--	11	Chance Encounters or Disputes	--
12	Desire to Collect an Insurance Claim	--	12	Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity	--
	Total	1,000		Total	1,000

TABLE 12C  
Rank Order of the Crimes of Poisoning, Murder, Manslaughter and Arson,  
Classified According to Their Apparent Motives

I. Crimes Committed Because of Hatred, Vengeance or Resentment		II. Domestic Dissension or Hatred among Relatives	
1	Manslaughter	504	
2	Murder	315	
3	Arson	159	
4	Poisoning	22	
Total		1,000	
1	Murder	403	
2	Manslaughter	366	
3	Poisoning	132	
4	Arson	99	
Total		1,000	
III. Gambling Disputes, Quarrels in Public Places		IV. Theft	
1	Manslaughter	682	
2	Murder	318	
3	Poisoning	--	
4	Arson	--	
Total		1,000	
1	Murder	797	
2	Manslaughter	148	
3	Arson	45	
4	Poisoning	10	
Total		1,000	
V. Chance Encounters and Disputes		VI. Altercations over Damage, Disputes between Neighbors	
1	Manslaughter	1,000	
2	Poisoning	--	
3	Murder	--	
4	Arson	--	
Total		1,000	
1	Manslaughter	486	
2	Murder	280	
3	Arson	234	
4	Poisoning	--	
Total		1,000	

TABLE 12C (continued)  
Rank Order of the Crimes of Poisoning, Murder, Manslaughter and Arson,  
Classified According to Their Apparent Motives

VII. Adultery		VIII. Debauchery, Concubinage, Seduction	
1	Murder	542	
2	Poisoning	321	
3	Manslaughter	95	
4	Arson	42	
Total		1,000	
1	Murder	522	
2	Manslaughter	299	
3	Arson	115	
4	Poisoning	64	
Total		1,000	
IX. Desire to Collect an Inheritance or Annul a Life Annuity		X. Desire to Collect a Life or Property Insurance Claim	
1	Murder	731	
2	Poisoning	269	
3	Manslaughter	--	
4	Arson	--	
Total		1,000	
1	Arson	973	
2	Poisoning	27	
3	Manslaughter	--	
4	Murder	--	
Total		1,000	
XI. Scorned or Thwarted Love, Refusal of Marriage		XII. Jealousy	
1	Murder	500	
2	Arson	310	
3	Manslaughter	138	
4	Poisoning	52	
Total		1,000	
1	Murder	612	
2	Arson	225	
3	Manslaughter	122	
4	Poisoning	41	
Total		1,000	

The first table (12A) shows the motives of the crimes of poisoning, manslaughter, murder, and arson arranged in order of frequency, without making a distinction based on the nature of the crime. Hatred and vengeance, which appear in the first position, were the motives of 26 percent, or more than a quarter of the total number of these crimes. These are followed by domestic dissension and family hatreds (14%), then by gambling quarrels and disputes in public places (11%). The motives under these first three headings by themselves produce more than half the crimes of poisoning, manslaughter, murder, and arson.

The four expanded tables (12B) found immediately after the first one show the relative frequency of motives separately for each of the crimes discussed above. In the first of these tables, it can be seen that the most common cause of poisoning is adultery,<sup>14</sup> which is ranked first and which motivates 35 percent, or more than a third of these crimes.

Next come, in the second and third positions, domestic dissension (32%) and a desire to collect an inheritance or avoid paying a life annuity (12%).

Gambling disputes or quarrels in public places, chance encounters, and neighborhood arguments are almost never motives for poisoning—they give rise to manslaughter, and, sometimes, to premeditated murder. This finding is obvious.

The following twelve tables (12C) show crimes rank ordered not by their nature but according to the motives which lead them to be committed. They refer back to the numbers in the general table (12A).

We have not included in these tables the small number of homicides and arsons committed by children or lunatics.

Whenever, for reasons of adultery, one spouse makes an attempt on the life of the other, one might think that it is often the offended spouse who takes revenge

<sup>14</sup>One is reminded of the old adage of Roman law: *Mulier adultera, ergo venefica.*

Table 13  
Poisoning, Manslaughter, and Murder Committed by Reason of Adultery

		Per 1,000	Per 1,000	Per 1,000	
Attempts on the Life					
Of Adulterous Spouses	Of Adulterous Husbands	—	—	} 11	
	Of Adulterous Wives	By the Offended Husband	22		} 33
		By the Wife's Lover	11		
Of Offended Spouses	Of Offended Husbands	By the Adulterous Wife	77	} 437	
		By the Wife's Lover	177		
		By the Wife and Her Lover	166		
	Of Offended Wives	By the Wife and a Third Party	17	} 719	
		By the Adulterous Husband	177		
		By the Husband and His Lover	55		
Of Lovers	Of Husbands' Lovers	By the Husband's Lover	50	} 282	
		By the Offended Wife	17		
	Of Wives' Lovers	By Relatives of the Adulterous Husband	17	} 34	
		By the Offended Husband	110		
	Of Children of Adultery	By the Wife and a Third Party	11	} 138	
		By Relatives of the Unfaithful Wife	17		
Of Children	Of Legitimate Children	By the Adulterous Mother	22	} 39	
		By the Offended Husband	17		
	By the Adulterous Mother	5	} 55		
Of Third Parties	By the Adulterous Husband and His Lover	11		} 16	
	By the Wife's Lover	16	} 21		
Of Third Parties Opposed to the Adultery	By the Offended Husband	5		5	
Total		1,000	1,000	1,000	



on the guilty spouse. This, however, hardly ever happens. Of 100 assaults of this type, no less than 96 are against the offended spouse, but it is necessary to note that this finding applies when both spouses are considered together. If one considers only adulterous husbands, one sees, astonishingly, that their lives are never threatened. The small proportion of four percent applies only to unfaithful wives, who are struck down by their own lovers half as often as by the husbands they have betrayed (see Plate 5 in the Appendix).

It is sad to think that those who have often been publically subjected to scandalous jesting for mistakes they did not commit are precisely the ones who must most fear for their lives. The crimes directed at them amount to three quarters of those set in motion by adultery. Attacks on the husband's life are the most common; they amount to three-fifths of the total number, while those on the wife make up only two-fifths.

Attempts on the lives of offended husbands present themselves in the following order: they are most often committed by the wife's lover acting alone, then by the lover and the wife, then wife acting alone, and, finally, by the wife and a third party.

More than three-fifths of attempts on the lives of offended wives are directly committed by their adulterous husbands, one-fifth by the husband's lover, and roughly another fifth by the husband and his lover acting together.

If the lives of adulterous spouses is almost never threatened, this is not the case for their lovers, who are, nonetheless, almost three times less often exposed to attack as offended spouses.

The adulterous husband's lover is three times less often the victim than is the wife's lover. The latter most often perishes at the hand of the husband, but sometimes at the hand of the wife or those close to her. It is indeed worthy of remark that whenever relatives get mixed up in these bloody disputes they are consistently driven by honorable motives. If they become involved, it is always to put an end to the disturbances that have perturbed the family and to avenge the spouse who has

been deceived. They inevitably strike, not at their relatives who betray their marital duties, but rather at their lovers.

After spouses and their lovers, children are the primary victims. First, there are those who are the fruition of adulterous intercourse, then those born to a legitimate union. The former are killed by mothers who wish to eradicate every trace of their indiscretions or by husbands to avenge their insult. The others, objects of aversion or jealousy, and whose inheritance is coveted for preferred children, are struck down by adulterous spouses and their lovers.

These findings pertain to crimes committed by the population as a whole, without making distinctions of any kind. They would probably be quite different if they applied only to crimes committed by inhabitants of large towns, and especially if they were limited to the higher social classes.

Debauchery,<sup>15</sup> seduction, and concubinage<sup>16</sup> lead to the commission of roughly as many crimes as adultery.

We have seen that, in adultery, it is the life of the man that is most often threatened. Here, it is exactly the opposite. By compensation of a sort, more than three-fourths of the attacks are directed against women. Their lives are at risk twice as often as those of men.

The desire to prevent a complaint from being filed after an indecent assault and thus to escape the scandal and the dangers of a criminal proceeding is the most common motive for attacks on the lives of women, but this motive alone produces only roughly a quarter of such attacks.

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<sup>15</sup>The French term is *débauche*. In Guerry's day, this was a legal term which referred to various sorts of behaviors that were then considered depraved, including both heterosexual "perversions" and homosexual practices—trans.

<sup>16</sup>The French term is *concubinage*. It carries roughly the same gender-neutral meaning that unmarried cohabitation does today. A *concubine* was a female cohabitant, while the male partner was a *concubin*—trans.

Next, a sixth of these crimes is committed to take revenge on unfaithful cohabitants or those who want to break away from illicit practices. Another sixth is committed to dispose of women who have been seduced or abandoned lovers who have become an obstacle to the marriage of the accused. What a sad consequence this is of liaisons like this! No matter whether she is faithful or unfaithful, the danger faced by the seduced woman is the same.

Some of these crimes, roughly one in seventeen, are of special nature, and are committed in some sense with the complicity of the unfortunates who are the victims. They result from unintentional poisonings and perilous maneuvers whose goal is to induce abortion and to avoid a future crime.

In marriage, the wife's infidelity leads to only about one in every thirty-three assaults on the woman's life. It produces a sixth, or four times as many, in illicit unions.

As was noted above, the most common motive for attacks on the lives of women as a result of seduction, sexual immorality and illicit cohabitation causes a fourth of the total number of such crimes, and the motive principally responsible for attempts on the lives of men is even more powerful, causing more than half these crimes. This motive is the desire to avenge relatives who have been seduced. In crimes such as this one, those which are in no sense due to a direct and personal interest are extremely rare, so much so as to account for barely two percent of the total, which includes the Corsican *vendetta*. Half of these are committed on sudden impulse or in defending a third party. The other half is, generally, to avenge a relative who has been seduced, but often also, it must be said, with the intent of satisfying the hatred against persons with whom the accused was involved in an illicit criminal liaison.

One in roughly thirty-three assaults on the lives of men in the context of seduction, debauchery, and illicit cohabitation is committed in a place of prostitution. This is almost always where prostitutes are attacked when there is an attempt on their lives.

Table 14  
Poisoning, Manslaughter and Murder Committed by Reason of Debauchery, Seduction and Concubinage

		Attempts on the Life	Per 1,000	Per 1,000	Per 1,000
		Of Men Who Have Seduced the Relatives of the Accused (Daughters, Sisters, or Nieces)	123		
		Of Men During or After Acts of Debauchery	29	} 218	
	Of Males	Of Men by Their Abandoned Concubines	22		
		Of Rivals in Illegitimate Intercourse	22		
		Of Seducers, to Get Rid of Them	15		
		Of Boys, After Homosexual Rape	7		
Of Offended Persons and Those Engaged in Illicit Relations	}	Of Young Women, After Indecent Assault, to Prevent Them from Lodging a Complaint	167	}	899
		Of Concubines Who Have Abandoned the Accused	145		
		Of Women Who Have Been Seduced, to Get Rid of Them	138		
		Of Prostitutes in Bawdy Houses	102		
		Of Young Women During an Attempted Abortion by a Physician or Their Seducer	36		
	Of Females	Of Concubines and Seduced Girls by Their Lover	36	}	681
		Of Young Women Who Would be Obstacles to Marriage, by Their Seducers	22		
		Of Women Engaged in Illicit Intercourse, by reason of Altercations of Jealousy	14		
		Of Concubines, by Concoctions Intended to Render Them Sterile	7		
		Of Prostitutes	7		
		Of Concubines by Their Lovers to Prevent Them from Becoming Unfaithful	7		
		Of Fathers of Seduced Girls by Their Seducers	22		
	Of Relatives	Of Children Issuing from Illicit Intercourse	15	}	44
		Of Brothers trying to Put an End to Their Sisters' Relationship with the Accused	7		
Of Third Parties	}	Of Men Who Have Informed Fathers of Their Daughters' Relationship with the Accused	15	}	101
		Of Men Who Have Carried Girls Rescued Girls from Their Ravishers	14		
	Of Strangers	Of Men of Whom the Concubines of the Accused Have Complained	14	}	57
			Of Relatives of Women the Accused Has Molested		
		Of Persons Who Have Given Sanctuary to Kidnaped Girls	7		
Total			1,000	1,000	1,000

To complete this table of evils that follow in the wake of the dissolution of morality, one must add to this startling series of crimes roughly one in fourteen of the persons for which the motives are known, a great many duels, mental illness, especially among prostitutes, all infanticides, and then, finally, for the capital, the greater part of the suicides committed by young women.

One is led by these facts to considerations which undoubtedly have not escaped the reader. Today, when religious belief has weakened, traditional standards of private conduct (at least those which do not directly touch on material and pecuniary interests) are shaken and called into question. Above all, sexual liaisons censured by morality are looked upon with extreme indulgence. The theater and popular literature, by ceaselessly portraying them as excusable mistakes, lead public opinion astray and, if that is possible, render it even less strict. However, if we abandon the principle of duty in favor of those of self-interest or utility, so that in our eyes the morality of an act results not from its inherent nature but entirely from its consequences, our conduct must still remain the same. We are forced to admit that, understood in the context of this new information, liaisons of this type become no less serious as offenses than they were under the doctrine which has been rejected as insufficient and founded on vain prejudice. In deepening our knowledge of men in society, it will always be found that the ideas of true utility and duty, far from ever being in opposition, merge with one another and are inseparable.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

### CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS

The five regions of the kingdom, ranked according to the number of crimes committed there in proportion to their population appear in the order [shown in table 15] for the six-year period 1825-1830.

Based on Table 15, the departments of the southern region are, over those six years, those where the greatest number of crimes against persons are found. Crimes there were twice as numerous as in the western and central regions, whose crime rates were roughly the same. The differences for individual departments taken separately are even greater.

On the average, each year, one person in every 2,199 inhabitants of the department of Corsica is accused of crimes against persons; in the department of Lot, this figure is one in 5,885; it is one in 6,173 in Ariège, and one in 17,085 for France as a whole. At the other end of the scale, the rate is no more than one in 32,000 inhabitants in the Côte-d'Or and Indre, one in 33,000 in the departments of Somme and Sarthe, one in 35,000 in the Ardennes, and, finally, one in 37,000 in La

Table 15  
Ratio of the Number Accused of Crimes Against Persons to Population  
(One Accused per .... Inhabitants)

Region	Year						Average
	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	
South	9,072 S	9,972 S	11,830 S	11,743 S	11,277 S	13,080 S	11,003
East	17,972 E	15,535 E	16,980 E	16,361 E	16,661 C	18,512 E	17,349
North	17,983 N	19,995 W	17,880 N	18,476 N	20,414 E	19,151 N	19,964
West	20,140 C	22,485 C	19,475 C	21,471 C	22,388 N	22,807 C	20,984
Central	22,293 W	24,168 N	20,852 W	22,756 W	23,759 W	26,548 W	22,168

Creuse, whose rate is approximately fifteen times less than Corsica's. In this latter department the number of accusations has grown smaller each year, falling by more than half since 1825.

Of all crimes against persons, those directed against parents imply the greatest moral perversion. It is important therefore to know if crimes of this type are equally concentrated in the south. But since it is probable that local causes in that region which increase crimes against persons also increase attacks on parents, we compare the data on crimes against parents with the total number of crimes against persons rather than with population.

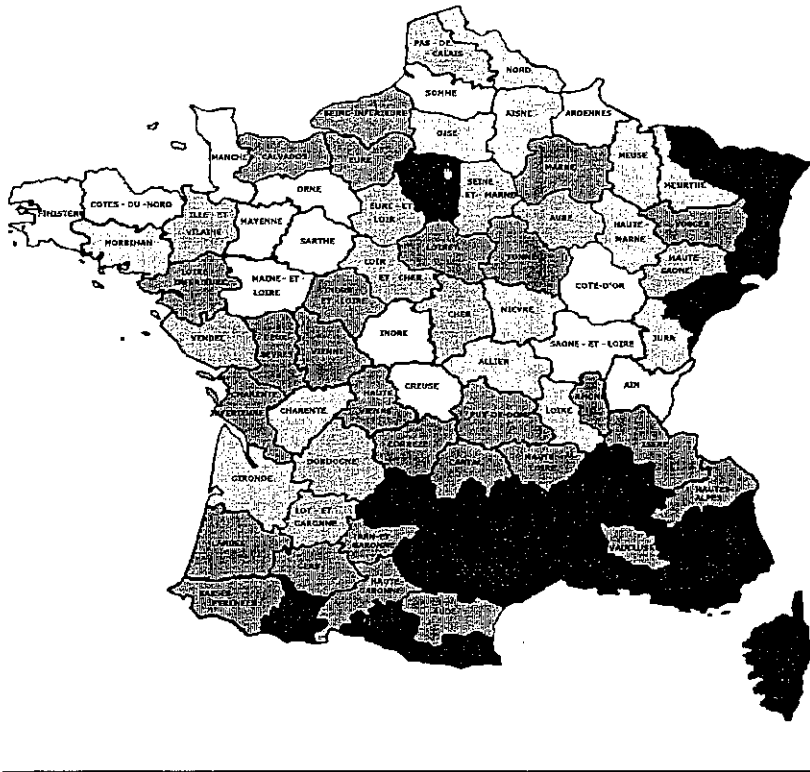
It is in the southern and central regions, in Berry, Limousin, Auvergne, and Provence, and in parts of Languedoc and Guyenne that attacks against parents are least numerous in comparison with the total number of crimes against persons. It is in the north, the east, and the west that they are more frequent. Corsica, Lot, Ariège, Pyrénées-Orientales, Haut-Rhin and Lozère, the six departments ranked first on crimes against persons, rank only 81st, 54th, 67th, 74th, 40th, and 72nd on assaults on parents. Undoubtedly, for these latter crimes the rank order of departments cannot be determined with great precision, but they are nevertheless close enough to permit approximation.

The areas of the kingdom where there is the greatest respect for parents are generally those where young soldiers most quickly leave military service to return to their families. It is in these areas that one also finds fewer illegitimate births and suicides.

We shall examine, in the text accompanying the education map, the extent to which the opinion attributing most crimes against persons to ignorance is justified.

Because population concentration softens morals while at the same time reducing the chance of escaping the pursuit of justice, some would say it reduces the frequency of crimes against persons. By consulting Table A1 in the Appendix, it can be seen that the effect of population concentration is at most very limited, if it exists

## CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS



Map 1  
Crimes Against Persons

at all, since a large number of crimes of this type are committed in the departments of Bouches-du Rhône, Hérault, Var, Haut-Rhin and Moselle, where there are very populous cities. Replacing population density with the ratio of rural to urban population would not make this influence stand out any better, since although the departments of Corsica, Lot, Ariège, Aveyron, and Lozère have sparse populations, the southeastern region is nonetheless the one with the largest urban population. The western and central regions, with the smallest urban populations, are those which show the smallest number of crimes against persons. This is the opposite of what we should have seen had the position we spoke of above been generally true.

The lottery has been represented in Parliament as the principal cause of all domestic theft, assault and battery against parents, and poisonings, if not of all types of crime. It is difficult to conceive how the lottery—an institution which we are in any case far from approving—could by itself produce all these crimes. Poisonings are much too uncommon for their distribution by department to be anything but very uncertain. It is more or less the same with assault and battery against parents. It would be mistaken to draw conclusions from data for a single year, which could represent exceptional figures. We now know that a fairly large proportion of these crimes are committed in departments where the lottery is seldom played and in others where it is not played at all because there are no lottery bureaus. In any case, even if we assume that domestic theft, assaults against parents, and poisonings are in reality more common in the departments where more is bet on the lottery than in the others, it might very well be a simple coincidence or the spurious correlation of two effects, independent of one another but both produced by a common cause.

In each period in history, there are general causes that are claimed to explain everything and whose effects are seen everywhere. Thus it is that in France, for example, the differences which have been observed between the moral character of different peoples, in their customs and prejudices, have been successively attributed, always according to the dominant ideas of the time and in an exclusive manner, to climate, to temperature, to diet, and finally, in recent times, to elementary education,

Table 16  
Crimes Against Parents

Rank	Number of Crimes Against Parents per 1,000	
Order	Department	Crimes Against Persons
1	Landes	133
2	Charente	129
3	Charente-Inférieure	125
4	Aisne	116
5	Meurthe	110
6	Côtes-du-Nord	107
7	Somme	106
8	Marne	104
9	Morbihan	100
10	Seine-et-Oise	94
<hr/>		
77	Aube	13
78	Loire	12
79	Cantal	11
80	Aude	10
81	Corsica	2
82	Indre	--
83	Nièvre	--
84	Jura	--
85	Hautes-Pyrénées	--
86	Corrèze	--

to the industrial system, to the actions of the clergy, and to the enjoyment of political rights. Especially today, when people's spirits are thrown into lively discussions of public affairs, one is inclined to view the moral character of different peoples as the variable result of institutions. Natural influences, which seem to go almost unnoticed, nonetheless operate with no less force and are worthy of as much attention.

Among the causes of the unequal geographical distribution of crimes against persons, there is one which has until now has not received enough attention. This factor is regional differences in acquired or early organization which, despite the regularity of our new administrative divisions, makes it necessary to recognize the kingdom as made up of several distinct nations, each with its own language, manners, customs, and traditional prejudices. In similar circumstances, a Basque or an inhabitant of Languedoc will behave very differently than a person from Normandy; similarly, someone from Lower Brittany will not behave like a resident of Auvergne or Berry. Moreover, these variations in character-types in many of our old provinces are so striking that they have long been consecrated in popular proverbs. Unfortunately, the natural history of man, in which we should take a vigorous interest, is too little advanced to be of any use here. Distinctions of type or race have been scarcely glimpsed for only part of Europe, and then only on the basis of historical documents and in an entirely incomplete and superficial matter. The study of physiological characteristics would seem likely to lead to more empirically-based and satisfactory results,<sup>17</sup> but it will undoubtedly be a long time yet before we have sufficiently numerous observations to rigorously determine a geographical distribution of races in this country.

In addition to the facts which we have collected, and whose linkage with the distribution of crime can be studied, there are other extremely important data which

<sup>17</sup>W.F. Edwards.--*Physiological Characteristics of the Human Races, Considered in Their Relationship to History*. (Paris, 1829).

we regret not being able to offer to our readers. Even if the end result of examining them should prove negative, it would not be fruitless, since, in research of this type, in which *a priori* explanations are almost always erroneous, it is usually only by the path of exclusion that one can hope to arrive at the truth.

In order to appraise ease of transport, we have drawn up the fold-out map of royal highways per square league;<sup>18</sup> we hope that a similar study would be published of departmental highways, communal roads, and navigable rivers. It would also be useful to know whether these roads traverse forests or uncultivated land for any long stretch, and to know, for each department, the property divisions, the physical aspect of the countryside, the principal industry, the type of cultivation, and, consequently, the customs and usual occupations of its inhabitants. It is true that these pieces of information are for the most part in our possession, but since until now they have been indicated in a vague and imprecise manner, they ought to be sufficiently based on observation and sufficiently precise as to be expressed numerically and to permit the classification of departments in rank order, all of which is in a large number of cases impossible today. Finally, our desire would be that, for capital crimes only, the *Compte général de la justice criminelle*, so perfect in other respects, would distinguish in the future between crimes committed by city-dwellers and those committed by inhabitants of the countryside, and, in addition, that it would present the major findings by administrative districts,<sup>19</sup> as is done for correctional matters. This would be one of the best ways of demonstrating the local causes of crimes and delivering the most active police surveillance to those places where it is most necessary.

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<sup>18</sup>This map is not available to us. — trans.

<sup>19</sup>Here, Guerry is asking for the equivalent of modern county and census tract data. He calls for breakdowns by *arrondissements*, which were in most departments roughly the equivalent of counties in the United States. For Paris, an *arrondissement* was one of the city's twenty wards. — trans.

Some will perhaps wonder at our seemingly endless requests for new information and more extensive details. It is quite generally thought that, once a statistical framework is set in place, nothing remains but to periodically fill it in without searching for more information. This is gravely mistaken. Statistics, thus considered, would be of highly restricted utility. Of course, as a first priority, facts that have been previously presented should always continue to be collected in the same form so as to show development over time. On the other hand, supplemental or secondary data that might be tied to these primary facts should not be neglected. It is seldom that a single table gives the complete answer to a question. The simpler a question appears, the more often it is discovered to be complex. By continuing to extend the scope of research as the issue is broken up into parts, one arrives at an understanding of all its elements, illuminating it on all sides. If, on the other hand, one stops with the first partial results, it is necessary to use untested hypotheses to compensate for the knowledge of the facts that remain unknown, and one thus becomes involved in an interminable series of errors

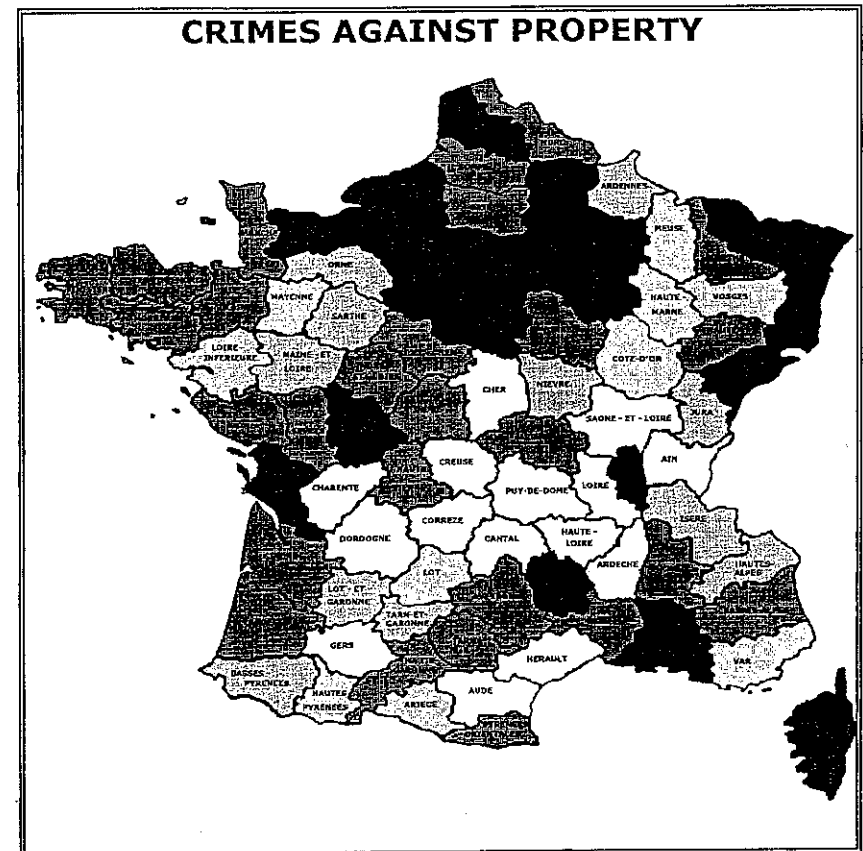
#### CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY

The five regions of the kingdom, arranged on the basis of the relationship between their populations and the number of crimes against property committed, appear in the order [shown in Table 17].

The maximum is consistently found in the northern region, which only ranks third for crimes against persons; and except for the year 1830, for which the results may have been affected by causes we have indicated above, the minimum always falls in the central region, where crimes against property are generally twice as uncommon as in the northern region. Following the department of the Seine, where there is one accused for every 1,368 inhabitants, or twelve times more than in the departments of Haute-Loire and La Creuse, the greatest number of crimes is in part

Table 17  
 Ratio of the Number Accused of Crimes Against Property to Population  
 (One Accused per .... Inhabitants)

Region	Year						Average
	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	
+North	4,226 N	4,181 N	4,238 N	3,681 N	3,561 N	3,773 N	3,924
East	6,194 E	7,089 E	6,896 E	6,637 W	7,362 C	7,463 E	6,924
South	7,912 W	7,472 W	7,324 S	7,313 S	7,369 E	7,686 W	7,534
West	7,992 S	8,423 S	7,354 W	7,353 E	7,403 W	7,745 S	7,945
-Central	8,382 C	8,703 C	9,792 C	8,148 C	7,626 S	8,279 C	8,285



Map 2  
 Crimes Against Property

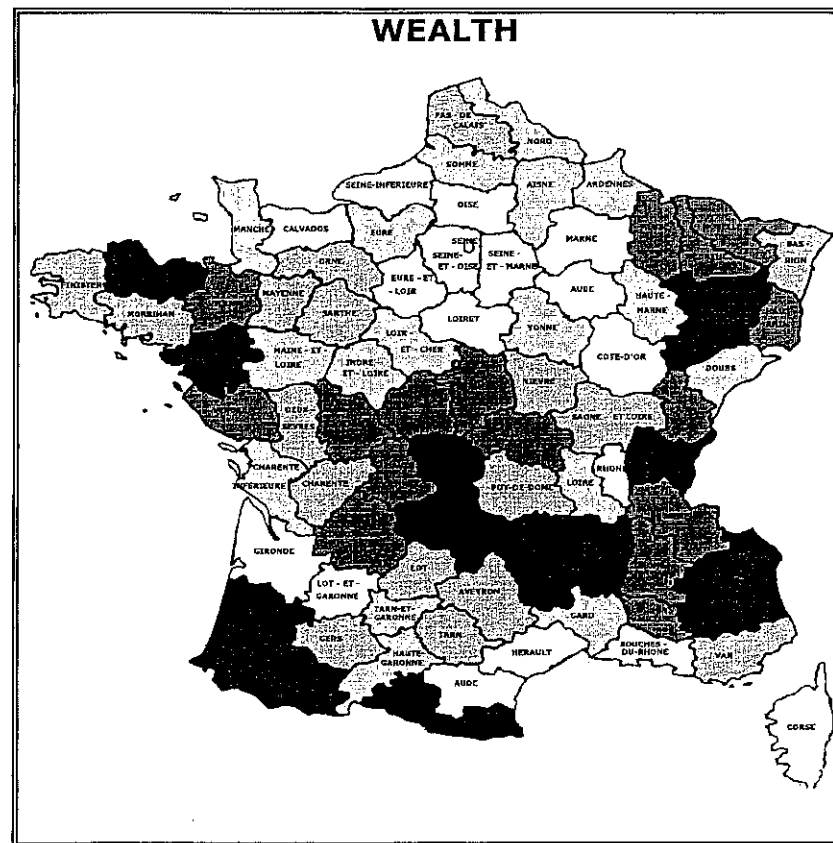


of Normandy, and, after that, in the departments of Seine-et-Oise, Eure-et-Loire, and Pas-de-Calais.

By way of happy compensation, the parts of the kingdom which have the most crimes against persons show very few against property. However, Alsace and the departments of Corsica, Seine-et-Oise, Moselle, and Lozère are exceptions which are once again highly ranked, just as they were in the preceding map.

Proportionally to population, crimes against property are usually more common in populous cities than in those whose inhabitants are less numerous. Some believe it is possible to conclude from this that high population density is the principal cause of crimes against property. This would be carrying the generalization too far, since fewer crimes of this type are committed in some departments where one finds major cities--Nantes, Bordeaux, Nîmes, Toulouse, Montpellier, and Marseille--than in the northern departments where the largest towns are Troyes, Châlons, Arras, Evreux and Chartres. Some have undoubtedly attributed to population concentration the influence actually due to various other factors which frequently coincide with high population density without necessarily being causally linked with it as a result. Since these factors vary together, it is difficult because of their similar distributions to distinguish how great an effect is due to each factor.

Wealth, as indicated by the amounts of taxes on both income and property (Column A, Table A1 in the Appendix) and by regional revenues, is more closely related than population density to crimes against property, so that it thus appears to be an indirect cause of such crimes. It should be noted that it is true that the maximum level of wealth as measured by the combination of these two elements falls in the northern departments, where one also finds the most crimes against property, and that the minimum falls in the central region, where these crimes are the most uncommon. But then, on the other hand, average wealth is almost as high in the south as in the north, following the direction of a curve that, beginning in the department of Charente, crosses parts of Guyenne, Languedoc, and Provence. If



Map 3  
Wealth

wealth indirectly produces crimes against property in the north, why is the same not true in the south?

Although the poorest departments are those with the fewest crimes against property, it would be careless to conclude that abject poverty is not the principal cause of such crimes. To justify this last opinion, which we are far from rejecting, it would be necessary to have more direct proof. Indeed, it is possible that the departments where there is the least wealth are nonetheless not those where there are the most indigent persons, and that the departments where the most considerable fortunes are found are precisely those where poverty is at the same time most extreme for a certain part of the population.

The question of the influence of wealth or poverty on morality presents more difficulty than might be supposed at first glance. In order to study it, it would be indispensable to establish the proportional numbers of indigent persons and beggars for each department. It is true that some documents have been published on this subject, but they are of a dubious nature and do not appear to merit enough confidence to be included in the present analysis.

Column B of Table A1 in the Appendix, which is based on the excellent report presented to the Public Finance Administration in 1830 by Monsieur de Chabrol, shows, for each department, the development of commerce and industry, represented by the ratio of business licenses to the population. Almost all of those departments where this ratio is highest are above the average on crimes against property; while the others, with the exception of Corsica, are well below it. We could point that there are, as always, exceptions: for part of Brittany, for example, where there is the least industry but where theft is very common, or for the departments of Ardennes, the Meuse, and the Côte-d'Or, where, in contrast, one finds few crimes against property coupled with very active industry. But we must emphasize the general findings.

This apparent connection between crimes against property and the development of commerce and industry merits careful study, since France is not the only country where it has been noticed.<sup>20</sup>

In the capital and surrounding areas, as well as in the large manufacturing cities and seaports, a large proportion of crimes against property is committed by professional thieves,<sup>21</sup> whose number for the kingdom as a whole is said to be no fewer than thirty to forty thousand individuals of both sexes. Among them are found many young men who have openly prepared themselves in our reformatories for the exercise of their infamous craft. Ex-convicts who have served their sentences, though they are objects of terror for society, are rarely found guilty of crimes as dreadful as is imagined in the world at large. Since they know the penal laws perfectly well, they carefully avoid committing actions that would carry them to the gallows, and their crimes are thus no longer directed against persons, but against property. They enter the *bagnes* as premeditated murderers or other kinds of killers and come out as thieves and forgers.

Here would be an appropriate place to examine an opinion which we cannot share, even though it is found in worthy and esteemed writings. We shall not conclude without a few words on the subject.

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<sup>20</sup>Whilst commerce has increased one half, crime has nearly quadrupled. -- *Statistical Illustrations of the British Empire* (London, 1827, Preface); Girard, *Report to the Academy of Sciences on a Memoire by Monsieur de Morogues Entitled "On the Usefulness of Machines and Their Inconveniences, etc."*, page 17 (Paris, 1832).

<sup>21</sup>This observation applies with even greater force to the city of London, where thieves, more numerous and more skilled than here in France, have formed a kind of corporation or trade guild--a regularly organized society --*Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Secondary Punishments* (London, September 1831, page 103). --*Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions* (London, July 1828, page 5).

-- *Minutes of Evidence Taken before Select Committee on Secondary Punishments* (London, June 1832, page 64).

Attacks against persons are, it is said, *the most serious* of all crimes. Assuredly, they are the most serious for those who are the victims, but is this equally true for those who are found guilty? Do such crimes presuppose greater corruption and perversity than crimes against property? We do not think so. Assault and battery, simple homicide, even manslaughter, when they are not with the object of facilitating a theft, are most often due to being caught up in a violent passion which can leave behind remorse--a fit of jealousy, an uncontrollable rage, a desire to rebuff a provocation or avenge an injustice. In particular circumstances, such crimes may even have a sense of honor as their source; while it is true that we know them to be wrong, we are inclined to excuse them.

In contrast, crimes against property, which are planned out for a long time and endlessly repeated, are evidence of a distressing perseverance in wrong-doing, and presuppose depravity no less than cowardice. Never do they excite any sympathy. The swindler, the forger, the fraudulent bankrupt of our northern departments who, with his polished etiquette and wide-ranging education, coldly accomplishes the ruin of twenty families whose trust he has abused, is, in our eyes, more vile, more immoral than the illiterate inhabitant of our southern departments, who strikes down his adversary in a brawl and kills him.

## EDUCATION

It is said that ignorance is the principal cause of crime, and that to make men better and happier, it is sufficient to give them an education. This opinion has been sustained in Parliament and in the Royal Prison Society, and is generally accepted in France. Since the publication of the *Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle*, this position has been repeated with so much assurance and in so many forms that it has become a widely-accepted truth, a commonplace that requires no additional proof.

What is the major basis of this opinion? It is based on the observation that *the departments where education is least widespread are those where the most crimes are committed*. But the question is, is this really true? To resolve it, it is necessary to determine exactly, over a period of years, the distributions of education and crime in the various parts of the kingdom. We believe we have succeeded in doing this.

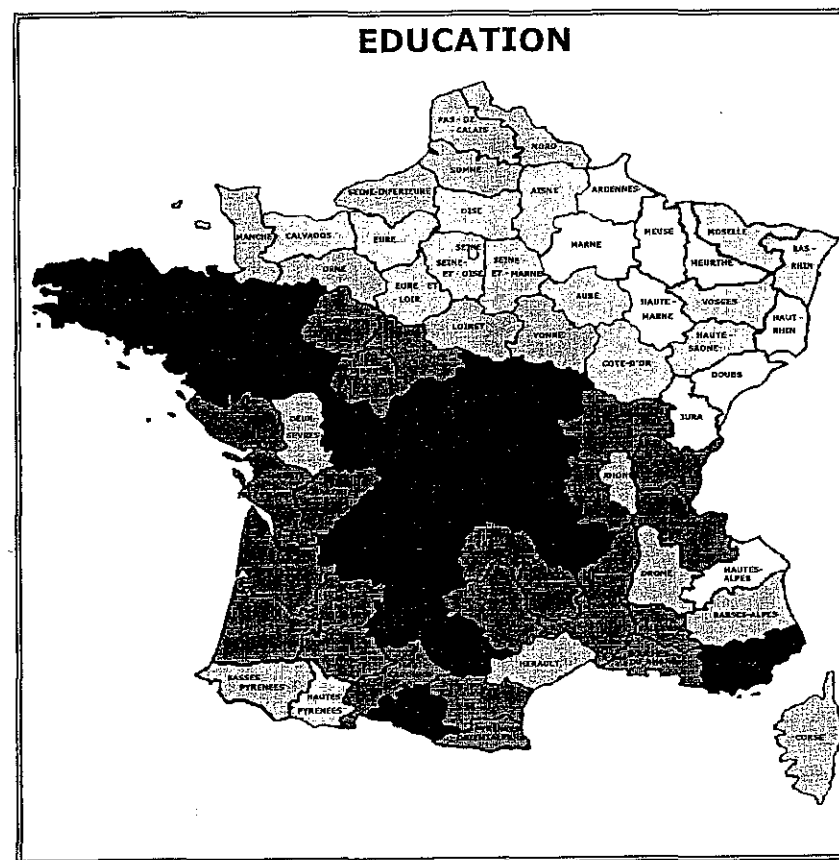
The difference which exists in the data on education between what some have since called the "dark" France and the "illuminated" France was noted for the first

time in 1823 by Monsieur Malte-Brun as a fact worthy of serious attention.<sup>22</sup> The number of male students admitted to the schools, which that author used, was the only component of educational data available at that time. It is also the only component considered in later research published on the same subject.

It was thought to be extremely probable that the number of students in each department could more or less represent the state of education of the population as a whole. There was, however, reason to fear that the data sent to the ministry were not everywhere collected with the same accuracy and that, moreover, they ignored the number of children taught by their families or by uncertified teachers.

We now have a more reliable way of arriving at a solution to the problem. Since the military draft of 1827, the Minister of War has required young men called up to the army to submit to an examination ascertaining how many know how to read and write at the time of their selection. We have drawn a comparative education map for the various departments using information on this subject collected over a three-year period. It merits all the more confidence since it includes, for the same time period, men from all social classes without distinction, and, since the figures are not calculated on the basis of total population, which is often poorly known, but on the basis of the number of young men listed in the census returns.

What is most striking when one first looks at the map of education is the light shading spread across the thirty departments in the northeast, those that are located above a straight line that could be drawn from the department of la Manche to that of Ain. The departments of Meuse, Doubs, Jura, Haute-Marne and Haut-Rhin, included in this series, show the most favorable proportions. For every 100 young men listed in the census returns, 71 to 74, or almost three-quarters, know how to read and write.



Map 4  
Education

<sup>22</sup>The first documents published on the educational statistics of France may be found in the works of the learned Venetian geographer Monsieur A[driano] Balbi, *Statistics of the Kingdom of Portugal and of Algarve*, as noted in the *Journal des Débats* for July 21, 1823.

It is not, as some incorrectly believe, in the southern provinces that the greatest ignorance is found, but rather in the western and central provinces, in Berry, Limousin, and Brittany. For every 100 young men, no more than fifteen in the department of Finistère know how to read and write; the percentages are 14 in Morbihan, 13 in Cher, the Haute-Vienne, and Allier, and, finally, only 12 percent, or approximately one-eighth, in Corrèze.

Exceptions must be made in the west for the departments of Deux-Sèvres, Charente-Inférieure, Charente, Gironde, and Basses-Pyrénées, which fall above the average for the entire kingdom. In the department of Corsica, which is widely believed to be backward with respect to education, half the young men (49%) know how to read and write. There are sixty departments that have not attained this proportion.

Let us now compare this map with the one for crimes against persons. The maximum crime rate is in Corsica, in the southeastern provinces, and in Alsace. Is this because there is greater ignorance there? Our map supplies evidence to the contrary. Furthermore, the minimum occurs in the western and central provinces. Can it be said that the highest level of education prevails there? Clearly the relationship people talk about does not exist.

We have shown above that the distributions of crimes against persons and against property, whatever their causes, are now known extremely well, and that they are repeated each year in a uniform way. This point having been well established, it seems to us that one can now no longer contest the value of these findings by contending that, even according to our work, the distribution of education remains uncertain and accidental, or that it might change from one year to the next or according to the components of education used, and that, as a consequence, nothing can be concluded about the relationship between education and crime. Even if the order in which the departments are ranked is not rigorously exact, it is nonetheless certain that, when the departments are collapsed into groups, the partial errors compensate for one another, that this order becomes almost invariant, and that this

is true even though the order of the groups is determined by numerical proportions that differ only slightly among themselves. The table on the following page, constructed using various pieces of information collected over a period of several years, provides convincing evidence of this observation.

The three parts of Table 18 (A, B, C) being, as can be seen, based on different kinds of information, it is evident that reporting errors for any one of them are entirely independent of those which might affect each of the others. The partial results serve as checks on one another. Now, whether we consider the ratio of students to the total population, the ratio of educated defendants to the total number of persons accused, or, preferably, the ratio of the number of young men who know how to read and write to the total number of young men listed in the census reports, we always find the same distribution of education across the five regions of the kingdom.

These regions, classified according to the education of their residents, appear in the same order every year: eastern, northern, southern, western, and central. The west, it is true, in one instance in seven appears immediately after the central region rather than immediately before it, but it should be noted that, since the figures for these two regions are roughly the same, they can alternate without the order really being reversed as a result.

In the three parts of the table, the eastern region always shows at least twice as much education as does the central, and three times as much in the table showing the ratio of students to the population (C.).

The general results of the education map are thus fully confirmed, and it is demonstrated that the departments where there is the greatest ignorance are not, as we hear in everyday conversation, those where most crimes against persons are

Table 18  
Distribution of Instruction in the Five Regions

A. Young Men Counted in the Census					
Ratio of the Number of Young Men Knowing How to Read and Write to the Number of Young Men Recorded in the Census Tables					
Region	1827		1828		1829
East	51	E	56	E	58
North	48	N	53	N	55
South	32	S	33	S	34
West	26	W	27	W	27
Central	24	C	25	C	25

B. Persons Accused of Crime					
Ratio of the Number of Accused Persons at Least Knowing How to Read to the Total Number of Defendants Brought Before the Assize Courts					
Region	1828		1829		1830
East	52	E	52	E	53
North	49	N	47	N	47
South	31	S	28	S	30
Central	29	W	25	W	24
West	25	C	23	C	23

C. Students	
Ratio of the Number of Male Students to Population (One Student for Every ... Inhabitants)	
Region	1829
East	14
North	16
South	43
West	45
Central	48

committed.<sup>23</sup> It would not be useful to discuss crimes against property at this point, since they are found primarily in the departments with the highest levels of education.

It has been recognized for some time that crimes against property should no longer be attributed to ignorance, as they once were.

Changes over time in this educational distribution are hardly noticeable, since the numbers of students has been increasing everywhere, although disproportionately, so that the various parts of the kingdom always remain in more or less the same order. The following evidence supports this conclusion:

According to the tables appended to the primary education bill presented last year to the House of Peers, fifteen years ago, in 1817, the maximum level of education was, as it is today, in the northeast, in the educational districts of Metz, Strasbourg, Besançon, Douai, and Dijon, where there was, respectively, one student for every 14, 14, 15, 16 and 17 people in the population. The minimum, again, fell in the western and central regions, in the educational districts of Lyon, Bourges, Clermont, Grenoble, and Rennes, where no more than one student per 113, 126, 190, 158, and 567 inhabitants, respectively, was counted.

Ten years later, in 1827, these proportions had increased, but without the rank ordering of regions being noticeably changed. The maximum was again in the schools of Besançon, Metz, Amiens, Strasbourg, and Dijon, where the student ratio was one in 11, 11, 12, 12, and 15, respectively. The minimum was in the districts of Angers, Limoges, Orléans, Rennes, and Clermont, where the ratio was only one in 74, 92, 128, 150, and 159 inhabitants. Hence these educational districts always follow one another in roughly the same order, but with more and more favorable proportions.

<sup>23</sup>These results confirm those already presented in *Statistique comparée de l'état de l'instruction et du nombre des crimes*, which we published in 1829 with Monsieur A[driano] Balbi, but they are worthy of greater confidence because they cover a longer period, especially since the distribution of instruction is now better established.

Those who attributed most crimes against persons committed in the southern region to educational deficits found it necessary, to be consistent, to argue at the same time that those individuals who are found guilty of crimes against persons are more ignorant than those who commit only crimes against property. They considered this true beyond any doubt. Now that the *Compte de la justice* has for three years presented data on the educational levels of defendants, is it the case that there is indeed greater ignorance among individuals prosecuted for crimes against persons than among other defendants? Hardly, since it is precisely the opposite.

In crimes against property, 38 percent of the accused have received some education; the figure is 42 percent for crimes against persons. Moreover, we must not fail to mention the fact that among these latter crimes, the most depraved and perverse appear generally to be committed by preference by educated perpetrators. Thus, educated offenders commit 43% of assaults and battery against strangers, 44% of assaults and battery against family members, 45% of indecent assaults against adults, 47% of indecent assaults against children, 47% of manslaughters, 49% of premeditated murders, and, finally, 49% of poisonings, or twice as many as highway robbery.

Let us examine one last argument which is found in most writings on public education and which some believe is unanswerable. It is said that the proof that ignorance is the principal cause of crime is that, at various points in time, both in England and here at home, *half to two-thirds of the prisoners did not know how to read.*<sup>24</sup> What can be concluded from this? Absolutely nothing, except that this was the case. In order for this fact to take on some importance, it would be necessary to

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<sup>24</sup>The investigations conducted by order of the British Parliament suggest to us that, by comparison, instruction is rather widespread among prisoners in England. Those in London, in particular, for the most part know how to read and write, but it appears that they are grossly ignorant in all other respects. *"Most of them can read and write, but they are excessively ignorant, their reading and writing gives them no sort of knowledge. It is the same as if they could not read or write as to any useful knowledge"* (Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee on Secondary Punishments—London, September, 1831, page 104).

prove that the total population from which the prisoners came was more educated than the prisoners, but it is unknown whether this is the case. If three-quarters of the prisoners knew neither how to read nor how to write, but in the total population four-fifths of the inhabitant of the same age and sex were completely illiterate, the prisoners would then be proportionately more educated, and ignorance could no longer be regarded as the cause of their crimes.

Since this manuscript was submitted to the Academy of Sciences,<sup>25</sup> some believe themselves to have found a better proof of the influence of education in reducing the number of crimes. "This influence," we are assured, "will be evident if it can be demonstrated that young criminals become increasingly rare as education expands. Now, the number of persons under sixteen years of age who were accused was 143 in 1828, but no more than 114 in 1830 [see Table 19]. Instead of the 1,278 accused between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one counted in 1828, there were only 1,161 in 1830. Since records began to be kept, *the trend has always been downward.*"

Instead of first examining whether this principle is incontestable, we shall limit ourselves, in response to it, to the presentation of the number of youths accused during the five-year period 1826-1830, inclusive. We would only make the observation that the number of crimes prosecuted being slightly reduced in 1830, for reasons which we have already indicated, it is not surprising that the number of accused of any given age should be lower than during the preceding year.

It is now easy to determine whether the trend in the number of young criminals is always decreasing as has been claimed.

Some may perhaps reproach us for overturning theories long sanctified by the most respected authorities. Our response is that we are not creating doctrine here;

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<sup>25</sup>At a session on July 2, 1832.

Table 19  
 Number of Youths Accused of Crimes Against Persons  
 and Against Property, by Age

Age	Year				
	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
Under 16	124	136	143	107	114
16-21	1,101	1,022	1,278	1,126	1,161

we are exposing the facts without claiming to explain them. In any event, we are persuaded that any error would ultimately be deplorable, and that, in order to be useful to science and to men, it is necessary to place the authority of the facts before the authority of names, and never to sacrifice any truth to these secondary considerations.

If our research were not limited to France, we could add that these unexpected findings are in agreement with those obtained in the most enlightened nations by knowledgeable and honorable men. In England, in Germany, and in the United States, where the happy influence of enlightenment and industrial development on moral improvement was celebrated only a few years ago, it has already been recognized that establishing schools is not sufficient to prevent the corruption of morals and that we must search for another cure for the malady that plagues society.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup>*The Seventh Report of the Committee for the Improvement of Prison Discipline* (Appendix, page 108).

*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed to Inquire into the Cause of the Increase in the Number of Criminals [sic] Commitments [sic] and Convictions in England and Wales* (June, 1827).

*London Medical Repository, New Series* (vol. 3, page 337).

Brougham, *Speech in the House of Commons* (June, 1820).

John Miller, *Inquiry into the Present State of the Statute [sic] of Criminal Law of England* (London, 1832, page 231).

*First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society* (Boston, etc., page 83).

*Statistical Illustrations of the British Empire Compiled by the Order of the London Statistical Society* (London, 1827, vol. 1, page 9).

Quetelet, *Recherches sur le penchant au crime*, pages 44 and 78 (*Mem. de l'Acad. de Bruxelles*, vol. 7, 1831).

A. de Candolle, *De la statistique criminelle* (*Bibliothèque universelle de Genève*, January, 1831).

Ran, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1828, vol. 1, page 58).



It would perhaps be tempting to conclude that from the foregoing that the cultivation of the intellect is incapable of weakening criminal tendencies, and that, rather, it strengthens them. This would undoubtedly be an additional error.

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Julius, *Vorlesungen über die Gefängnissskunde* 2c (Berlin, 1830).

Zellweger, *Neue Verhandlungen der Schweizerischen gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft über Erziehungswesen, Gewerbfleiss und Armenpflege* (Zürich, 1827, vol. 3, page 257).

Two magistrates of the Royal Court of Paris, Messieurs G[ustave] de Beaumont and A[lexis] de Tocqueville, who have just traveled throughout the United States of North America, where they have collected a considerable number of documents on procedures of the penitentiary system and on criminal statistics, have been good enough to communicate to us the following note excerpted from the very notable work which they are now preparing for publication:

"Some persons in the United States believe that the enlightenment provided by instruction, so widely available in the northern states, tends to reduce the number of crimes.

"In the state of New York, with a population of two million, five hundred fifty thousand children are taught in the schools, and the state alone spends more than six million francs each year on education. It would seem that an educated population for whom employment is available in agriculture, commerce and manufacturing ought to commit fewer crimes than a population possessing these same employment opportunities but lacking the same level of education. Nevertheless, we do not think that the lower level of crime in the north should be attributed to education, since, in Connecticut, where education is even more widespread than in the state of New York, the crime rate is rising extremely rapidly. Although one cannot blame education for this prodigious increase in crime, one is at least forced to recognize that education is powerless to prevent it.

"Education, even when not separated from religious beliefs, gives birth to a multitude of new wants and desires, which if unsatisfied drive those who have experienced education into crime. Education increases social contacts; it is the soul of commerce and industry. But it thus creates between individuals a thousand opportunities for fraud and bad faith that simply do not exist in an ignorant and uncouth population. Thus, it is in the nature of education to increase rather than decrease the number of crimes. Moreover, this point appears to be rather generally known today, since in Europe it has been observed that crimes are increasing in most of the countries where education is very widespread. We will take this opportunity to express our full opinion on the influence of education. Its advantages appear to us infinitely greater than its inconveniences. It develops all intellects and supports all activities. It thus protects the moral strength and material well-being of nations. The passions it excites, disastrous to society when nothing holds them in check, become pregnant with benefits when they can attain the goal toward which they strive. Thus, it is true that education spreads some seeds of corruption among men, but it is also true that it makes a nation richer and stronger. For a nation surrounded by enlightened neighbors, it is not only a benefit, but also a political necessity."

G. de Beaumont and A. de Tocqueville, *Du Système Pénitentiaire* (Part I, Chapter 3).

Education is an instrument which can be used well or poorly. The instruction offered in our elementary schools, which consists entirely of learning, in a rather imperfect way, how to read, write, and do arithmetic, cannot make up for faulty moral education,<sup>27</sup> and it is not necessarily obligated to exert much influence on morality. We believe it serves neither to corrupt nor to improve morality. It is difficult for us to understand how training a man to do certain almost mechanical operations could be sufficient to provide him at the same time with steady morals and to develop in him a sense of honor and probity.

Moreover, we are far from suggesting by the foregoing that this knowledge is useless, and we sincerely applaud the zeal of honorable men who, for the last fifteen years, have striven to expand this type of training in our country. If it does not provide all the advantages that were supposed at first, it at least destroys absurd or harmful prejudices, teaches some orderly habits, permits people to devote themselves to less laborious occupations, and may thus contribute to improving the conditions of the working classes.

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<sup>27</sup>The distinction between "instruction" and "éducation" which seems at times to be misconstrued, has often been called to mind by some of our best journalists, Messieurs Dégérando and Roter Collard among others. The latter, in a speech delivered in 1817, put it this way: "Without education, instruction would be but an instrument of ruin. . . . Morality is born of education; education alone creates it and perpetuates it, because it alone really teaches how to carry duty through in practice."

It is beyond the scope of this work to search for the means whereby moral education might be combined with instruction. We might say, however, that, without exaggerating the influence of "book-learning," it would be necessary to encourage, through national financial compensation, the composition of good textbooks for popular instruction, and especially textbooks useful for teaching morality.

## ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN<sup>28</sup>

Based on population movements in the kingdom over the twelve-year period 1817-1828, data on which have been published by the *Bureau des Longitudes*,<sup>29</sup> the average annual number of illegitimate births is 67,876, of which 34,708 are males and 33,168 females. For every illegitimate birth, 13.3, or more than 13, legitimate children are born.

The ratio of the number of legitimate children who are female to those who are male is about 15:16, but it is only about 20:21 for illegitimate births, which is to say that for every twenty illegitimate girls, twenty-one illegitimate boys are born. The quantity by which this fraction deviates from the general ratio of 15:16 is not small enough for the deviation to be attributable to chance, and the number of births on which it is based is too large. Strange as it may seem, there is reason to believe

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<sup>28</sup>The rates shown on the map were calculated by Monsieur Villerme, using the figures published by the *Bureau de Longitudes* for the five years 1817-1821 (*Bulletin universelle de M. de Férussac*, Section 6, January, 1826).

<sup>29</sup>The *Bureau des Longitudes*, which still exists today, was established in 1795 with the charge of improving the astronomical determination of longitudes. Its activities expanded to include cartography, weather and climate and the influence of astronomical and climatological events on human behavior. —trans.

that there exists, with respect to illegitimate children, some sort of cause which reduces the preponderance of male births over female births. This influence makes itself felt in the same way on births for a single year, as may be confirmed by calculating the ratio of births of the two sexes for each of the years in the ten-year period 1817-1826.<sup>30</sup>

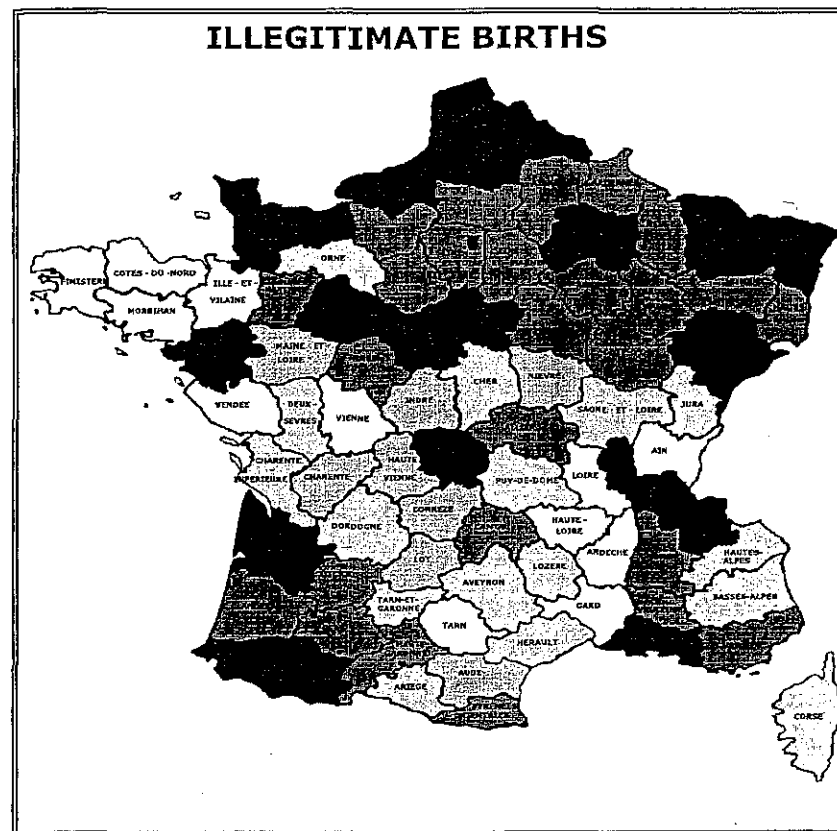
The department of the Seine, which accounts for approximately one thirty-second of the population of the kingdom, produces a sixth of the illegitimate births. Their number there is some 11,000 per year.

The ratio of these births to legitimate births for the department as a whole is one to 2.66; for the city of Paris by itself, it is on the order of one to 1.77. In consequence, there is one illegitimate birth for a little less than every two legitimate births.

This proportion, which is higher, it is true, in some departments in the interior, would seem to imply that more than a third of the indigenous population of the capital is composed of bastards. If the proportion is much lower than this, it is because most of the children will perish in the asylums which take them in at birth. According to research by Dr. Villermé, during the period 1817-1821 almost three-fifths (58%) of illegitimate children are abandoned by their mothers, and mortality among them is as high as 67 percent before attaining the age of two.<sup>31</sup> Hence, for every three children turned over to public charity, no more than one is still alive by the end of the first year. The mortality is no less shocking in St. Petersburg, Vienna, Dublin, Florence, and Madrid. Monsieur Malthus has observed, moreover, that a man indifferent to his choice of means for holding down population could do no better than to increase the number foundling homes, in which children would be

<sup>30</sup>Poisson—*Memoires of the Academy of Sciences*, Paris, 1830 (table IX, p. 241).

<sup>31</sup>Villermé—*The Laws of Population, or Relationships of Medicine and Political Economy* (Vol. 2, Mortality, Abandoned Children) (unpublished).



Map 5  
Illegitimate Births

received without distinction and in unlimited numbers.<sup>32</sup> These establishments, whose cost becomes more onerous each year, seem to have had the inevitable effect of increasing the number of illegitimate births in the country, just as legal charity indirectly increases the number of poor people in England.

It has already been noted that three-fifths of illegitimate children are abandoned, and that, for the most part, they die during their first year. What becomes of those who survive? How do they behave in a world where they find themselves without guidance and support? A general statistical study of prisons would no doubt provide the answer, but the administration, which alone has access to this piece of information, has published nothing on this subject. In regard to illegitimate girls, recent research has verified that in the large cities they are generally doomed to a life of prostitution. In Paris, at least one of every seven prostitutes is an illegitimate child, and it must be noted that, in any event, this proportion, based on nearly 4,000 observations, applies only to girls whose birth certificates could be found. It would certainly be much greater if it included the considerable number for whom it has not been possible to obtain accurate information, and whose origins consequently remain uncertain. The fate of these girls in the capital is well-known: stupefied by bad treatment, corruption, habitual drunkenness, severe poverty, implicated in brawls, theft, and swindling, thrown in turn from the prison to the hospital, when they do not succumb early to shameful diseases, they terminate their sad existence in poorhouses or lunatic asylums.

<sup>32</sup>Malthus--*Essay on the Principle of Population, or a View of Its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness* (London, 1807, 2 vols.--Book 3, Ch. 3, page 367).

Yet here in France, this position of the noted English economist on the pernicious influence of foundling homes is generally regarded as repugnant. It is nonetheless shared by a man whose works are authoritative in these matters, Monsieur de Gouffé, Vice Chancellor of the University of Petersburg, who has traveled throughout Europe collecting components of his research on illegitimate children and foundlings. His work, bound in three volumes and accompanied by a large number of statistical tables, will soon be published in Paris.

Table 20  
Number of Prostitutes Coming to Paris from Various Departments

Rank Order	Department	Number of Prostitutes
1	Seine	4,774
2	Seine-et-Oise	874
3	Seine-Inférieure	545
4	Seine-et-Marne	456
5	Oise	338
6	Aisne	327
7	Nord	309
8	Somme	302
9	Loiret	262
10	Marne	260
11	Aube	207
12	Côte-d'Or	204
13	Calvados	194
14	Eure	179
15	Eure-et-Loire	178
16	Haute-Marne	178
71	Gard	5
72	Vendée	4
73	Arriège	3
74	Corrèze	3
75	Dordogne	3
76	Landes	3
77	Tarn	3
78	Basses-Alpes	2
79	Vaucluse	2
80	Aveyron	1
81	Hautes-Alpes	1
82	Aude	1
83	Corsica	1
84	Gers	1
85	Lot	1
86	Lozère	--

This information has been communicated to us by Dr. Parent-Duchâtelet, who has for several years been assembling data for a statistical analysis of prostitution in the city of Paris. This new research, assisted by the municipal administration and conducted with the care and exactitude by which all the works of Dr. Parent are distinguished, presents findings equally interesting to medicine, public hygiene, and moral philosophy.

It would be interesting to compare the distribution of prostitution in the different parts of the kingdom with the distribution of illegitimate births and with certain crimes against persons, but as of yet we lack a way of establishing a comparison. We can only indicate, based on Dr. Parent's findings, the number of prostitutes coming to Paris from various departments during the fifteen years from 1816 to 1831. We should note that the figures on the previous page probably often contain undercounting errors resulting from omissions in the registrations during the first years in the series.

It is remarkable that the greatest number of prostitutes do not, as would be expected, come from the departments closest to Paris, but mainly from the departments of the northeast and northwest in the old provinces of Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Alsace, and Bourgogne. So the maximum, instead of forming spokes around the capital, is extended fairly regularly in each direction, including almost all departments extending north of a line drawn from the department of La Manche to the department of Jura. The numbers promptly drop off to the south of this line, and before long remoteness from the capital begins to make itself felt. Then the influence of the cities other than Paris with the greatest commercial development becomes more distinctly recognizable than in the north. Indeed, the departments in this large southern area which furnish the most prostitutes are those where the cities of Nantes, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Nîmes, and Marseille are located.

Some interior departments, among them Puy-de-Dôme, Allier, Cantal, and Creuse, show not very favorably here, just as in the map of illegitimate children.

This finding, which is perhaps unexpected, would seem to be explainable by the annual migrations to the capital by part of the population of these departments.

The departments of Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, Nord, and Calvados are those, excluding the Seine, which have the most illegitimate births in proportion to their populations. The departments of Vienne, Côte-du-Nord, Ille-et-Vilaine, Ardèche, and Vendée are those with the fewest. In the first four, there is one illegitimate child for each three, five, seven and eight legitimate children, respectively. In the other five, there is only one illegitimate child for every 35, 36, 40, 42, and 62 legitimate children, respectively.

It is said that population concentration increases illegitimate births. This opinion would appear to be justified if one limits oneself to the departments with the highest rates on this map, but it becomes clear on closer examination that it is not always justified by the facts.

Indeed, there are many more illegitimate children in proportion to the population in the departments whose principal cities are Le Mans (19,000 inhabitants), Bayonne (13,000), Châlons (12,000), Blois (11,000), Tarbes (8,000), and Vesoul (5,000) than in the departments containing the cities of Rennes and Angers (29,000 inhabitants), Clermont, Toulon, Saint-Étienne (30,000), Montpellier (35,000), Nîmes (39,000), Toulouse (53,000) and Nantes (71,000).

In the first six of these departments, the ratios of illegitimate to legitimate children are one in 10, 11, 12, and 13; in the other eight, they are only one in 14, 15, 18, 21, 28, and 29.

The effects attributed to seaports do not appear to be very marked, since, although illegitimate births are common in the departments of Bouches-du-Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, and Gironde, where they might nonetheless be due to different causes, they are nonetheless very rare in departments containing the ports of Rochefort, La Rochelle, Lorient, Saint-Malo and Brest, departments which are all well above the average, with ratios of illegitimate to legitimate births of only one in 23, 31, 40, and 28, respectively.

Moreover, to resolve these issues and the many others surrounding the same subject, it would be indispensable to have available the number of illegitimate births in the cities and in rural areas, data that have long been provided by Sweden and Prussia. Thus, it would be desirable for the administration to publish data on the general state of vital statistics with necessary breakdowns, instead of limiting itself each year to data on births and deaths in each department.

The departments of Vienne, Corsica, Indre-et-Loire, Deux-Sèvres, Aveyron, and Haute-Vienne are those where the most infanticides are committed. Annually, the ratios of these crimes to total population are one in 84,000, 85,000, 96,000, 108,000, 110,000, and 127,000, respectively. The departments of Pas-de-Calais, Gironde, Nord, and Cantal show only one per million residents, and, finally, the three departments of Pyrénées-Orientales, Ardennes, and Oise have not had a single infanticide over a five-year period.

The departments with the most illegitimate births are generally those where the fewest infanticides are committed, and, conversely, those where infanticides are most numerous are frequently those where the fewest illegitimate births are encountered. The departments of the Seine, the Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, Nord, Calvados, and Bouche-du-Rhône, ranked first on the map of illegitimate children, are ranked 67th, 33rd, 61st, 81st, 56th, and 74th on infanticides (see Table A1 in the Appendix). On the contrary, the departments of Ain, Vienne, Côtes-du-Nord, Ille-et-Vilaine, Ardèche, and Vendée, which show the fewest illegitimate births, are ranked 60<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup>, 69<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, 47<sup>th</sup>, and 44<sup>th</sup> on infanticide. As a consequence, they fall closer to the average, which in this case is found in 43rd position. Thus, it would seem that, with the exception of foundling homes, which are equally distributed across the kingdom, the causes that tend to increase illegitimate births at the same time contribute to a reduction in infanticide.

## DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS

The citizens of France have the right, under certain conditions, to give all or part of their wealth to religious or charitable organizations. The summary of these donations, prepared on the basis of royal authorization orders inserted in the *Bulletin des lois*, completes the picture of our moral situation and presents an additional aspect of it.

Statements are frequently published of the amounts given annually to poorhouses, communes, and clergy in money, endowments, and real estate. This research, in which generosity is considered as comprising a sort of subordinate budget, reports mainly on financial matters; our research is more specifically focused on moral questions. It demonstrates how public beneficence is practiced in each part of the kingdom and in various stations of civil life. It can lead to some interesting comparisons and shed some light on some points of legislative reform. Indeed, it is impossible to modify the laws governing the right to dispose of property if one ignores how these laws are exercised and, even more important, whether general opinion in this regard is not only incorrect but also accepts as true the precise opposite of what is actually the case.

We present the frequency of transfers without consideration independently of their value. Listing amounts would substantiate wealth more than the spirit of beneficence, since a single considerable bequest could raise a department above another where the bequests are nonetheless much more numerous. In any event, it is impossible to determine the amounts raised annually through these acts of generosity, since valuation estimates for some of them are missing while others are clearly undervalued. In limiting ourselves in this way, we nevertheless do not regard our findings as having great accuracy because the authorization orders often contain only incomplete information. We have seen some which indicate neither the sex nor the number of the donors, nor even the nature of the transactions included in their wills. In others, there is no mention of the department in which a commune receiving a donation is located. We have thus been compelled to make several omissions, but they do not alter the specific findings even though they reduce the overall total. Therefore, the reader should somewhat increase the total so that it more closely approximates the actual figure, while at the same time taking into account gifts of under 300 francs, for which royal authorizations are not necessary, and secret gifts which avoid legal scrutiny.

#### DONATIONS TO THE POOR

Dispositions of property through gifts and bequests to the poor, poorhouses, and public charitable establishments in general (schools excluded) account for more than half (52%) the total number of such dispositions.

More than three-fifths, or 61 percent, are given by men, while only two-fifths are donated by women; these figures are the same for two separate time periods,

1815-1820 and 1820-1825, and they differ by only one percent from those found by Monsieur B. de Châteauneuf for the twenty-two year period 1802-1824.<sup>33</sup>

For every sixteen persons who give to the poor, only one does so anonymously. Among those who make donations to the clergy, for whom the comparable figure is only one anonymous gift in forty-nine, anonymity is preserved less than half as often.

Next, if we consider the nature of these transactions, we see that the poor receive almost twice as much from bequests as they do from donations *inter vivos*.<sup>34</sup>

This distinction reveals some odd findings, which appear difficult to explain, for dispositions made by women. Married women give more to the poor than single women through donations during their lifetimes, and single women give more than widows. In contrast, widows leave more in their wills than single women, and single women leave more to the poor than married women. This is exactly the reverse. These donations are distributed [as shown in Table 21].

In order to assure ourselves that this inverse relationship was not accidental, we partitioned the data into two successive five-year periods. Each series produced exactly the same results, which thus cannot be attributed to anything other than a cause which operates with regularity.

If one draws a straight line from the department of Côte-d'Or to the department of Ariège, most of the donations to the poor will be found to the southeast of this line, in the departments formed from Provence, Languedoc, Bourgogne, and Dauphiné. The fewest donations are in the provinces in the western and central regions. In the department of Vaucluse, there was one donation to

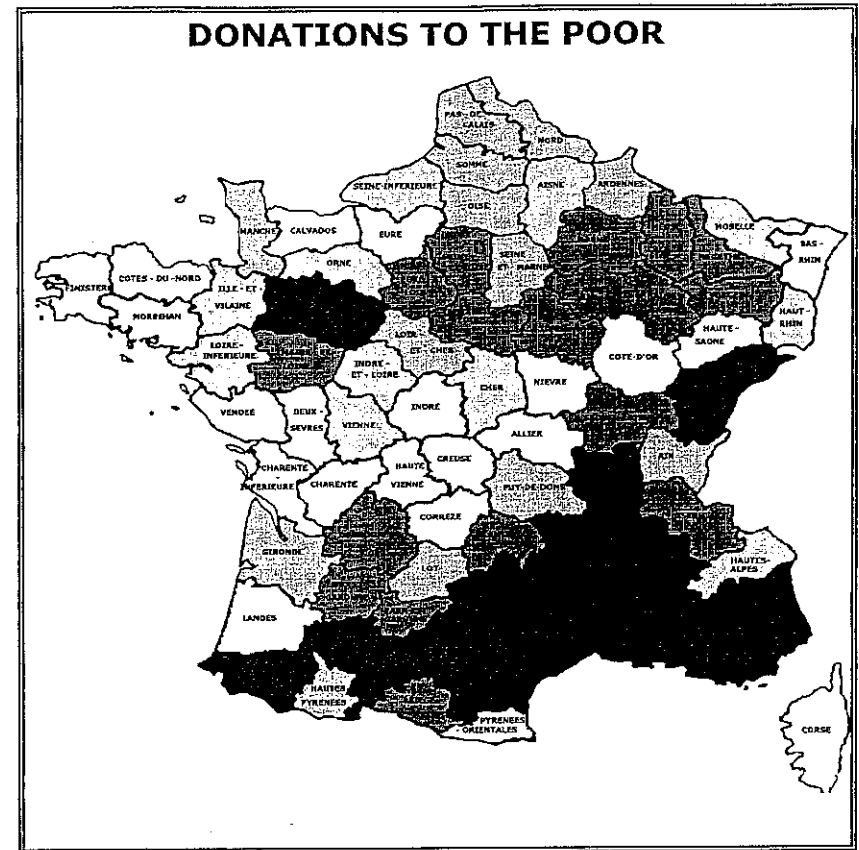
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<sup>33</sup>*Bulletin universel des sciences*, 1825, vol. 5, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup>Bequests were gifts to charities from the estate of the deceased donor, who provided for them in a last will and testament. Donations *inter vivos* were made during the donor's lifetime. All such donations in amounts greater than 300 francs were supposed to be registered. — trans.

Table 21  
Donations and Bequests to the Poor by Marital Status of Women

Donations <i>Inter Vivos</i>		Bequests	
	Percent		Percent
By Married Women	38	By Married Women	25
By Single Women	33	By Single Women	36
By Widows	29	By Widows	39
Total	100	Total	100



Map 6  
Donations to the Poor



charitable establishments for every 1,246 inhabitants during the ten-year period 1815-1825; in the departments of Hérault, Rhône, Lozère, Mayenne, and Haute-Garonne, these dispositions were in ratios of one in every 1,680, 1,983, 2,040, 2,107 and 2,286 inhabitants, respectively, but in the departments of Morbihan, Corrèze, Deux-Sèvres, Finistère, Calvados, and Corsica, they were only in ratios of one in every 14,000, 16,000, 23,000, 27,000, and 37,000 inhabitants.

By comparing this map with the map of crimes against persons and with Table A1, column C in the Appendix, it can be seen that, if Corsica is excluded, one encounters the greatest contributions to the poor in those departments where the Catholic clergy is most widespread and where crimes against persons are at the same time most common.

It is also notable that it is there that the most illegitimate children are born, though Brittany, Alsace, Lorraine, and Vendée are exceptions. Here again, one should keep in mind the influence of the distinct customs and unique character that in so many other ways set apart the residents of our southern regions.

The departments where education is least prevalent seldom make donations to the clergy, and even more seldom to the poor. It cannot be supposed that this is due only to the effect of wealth, since, as we have already pointed out, we consider only the number of dispositions regardless of their value.

#### DONATIONS TO RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS

Among the dispositions of property to religious establishments, we have included those made for building and maintenance and those made to clergy, to communes (whenever the donation pertains to goods related to worship), to seminaries, and, finally, to members of religious orders. We have, however, treated gifts to the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity as indirect donations to the poor and the schools.

These dispositions amount to almost half the total number of donations *inter vivos* and bequests. It is generally believed that this proportion is much higher. This belief no doubt results from the fact that status reports published up until recently, rather than comparing the amounts received by religious establishments to the total designated for the poor, used instead the partial totals of such things as gifts to poorhouses, governmental lending institutions,<sup>35</sup> and various philanthropic foundations.

Men give more than women to both charitable organizations and religious establishments, even though the opposite is often claimed. It is also widely believed that transactions to the clergy without consideration are accomplished primarily through bequests and that they are most often the result of undue influence brought to bear on the minds of the dying. Because of this, some believe that greater restrictions should be placed on the right to dispose of property in this manner. But it is not testamentary gifts but donations *inter vivos* which are most often given to the clergy. Thus, the legislator seeking to make donations to the clergy more difficult and less frequent should focus his attention on gifts made during the donor's lifetime.

Through such donations, married women again contribute more than single women and single women more than widows, while, on the contrary, widows leave more in their wills than single women, at least for the time-period 1815-1820, and the latter leave more than married women. This is only slightly different from the distribution in the table of disposition of property in favor of the poor.

Gifts to Protestant establishments are too rare for data on them to be of any interest. They represent hardly more than one disposition in 150. Most dispositions in this category--more than three-fourths-- are given by bequest and by men. They pertain to religious establishments, which comprise more than half the total

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<sup>35</sup>The French is *mont-de-piété*, or, literally, a pawn-shop, but in 19th-century France the term connoted a governmental lending institution where the poor could receive loans using their property as collateral. - trans.

Table 22  
 Donations and Bequests to the Clergy by Marital Status of Women

Donations <i>Inter Vivos</i>		Bequests	
	Percent		Percent
By Married Women	41	By Married Women	24
By Single Women	31	By Single Women	38
By Widows	28	By Widows	38
Total	100	Total	100

dispositions, while gifts to the poor amount to only about a third. Nonetheless, it is only fair to make the observation that, while, on the one hand, Protestants give less than Catholics to the poor, they also do not forget our charitable establishments when making donations to their co-religionists, and that it is among them that the schools find their greatest benefactors.

A frequently repeated observation is that the departments where there are the most priests and the least education are those where the clergy receive the greatest contributions. An examination of the facts proves there is nothing to this, since the departments of Corsica, Lozère, Aveyron, Pyrénées-Orientales, Basses-Alpes, and Cantal, which rank only 84th, 42nd, 23rd, 77th, 37th, and 60th in terms of donations, are nonetheless the six highest-ranked departments in the rank-order distribution of Catholic clergy.

The greatest number of dispositions of property in favor of religious establishments are found in the provinces of Lorraine, Brittany, Normandy, Artois, and Champagne and the smallest number in Berry, Limousin, Auvergne, Corsica and Dauphiné. With the exception of some departments in Brittany and Midi, it is thus the wealthiest, most enlightened part of the kingdom, in a part of the kingdom long distinguished by its free elections and industrial ingenuity, that accounts for the most dispositions of property in favor of religious establishments.

Although there is an astonishing regularity from year to year in gifts to public charities and their various activities, it does not follow that the number of these gifts has remained stationary. Instead, they have rapidly increased. From 1815 to 1820, there were only 2,000 bequests and donations *inter vivos* to the clergy each year; this increased during the following year to 3,800, almost double the earlier figure. It is troubling that during this same period gifts to the poor increased by only 45 percent, or only half as much.

## DONATIONS TO SCHOOLS

In France, dispositions of property to institutions of public education, among which we have included the endowment of prizes, are the rarest form of such gifts and bequests. They account for only about a thirtieth of the total number, although it appears that in England, where such assistance would seem less necessary, they account for almost a third.<sup>36</sup>

Like the clergy, the schools receive more from gifts during the life of the donor than from bequests and more from men than from women. In whatever form they dispose of their property, unmarried women give more to the schools than married women and widows. This last finding recurs in two time periods, but, on the other hand, the figures are too small to indicate anything but a tendency.

Donors whose names remain unknown are five times more numerous among those who give to the schools than among those who dispose of their property in favor of the clergy. It is in the departments of the northeast, where education is, as is well known, already widespread, that donations to the schools are most frequent. They are most frequent in Franche-Comté, Normandy, Champagne, Lorraine, and Bourgogne.

There are seventeen departments where, over a six-year period, there was not a single disposition of property in favor of the schools. These were generally those where the least education prevails. Of these, thirteen are in the western and central regions, and, of this number, eleven are contiguous with one another. Thus, even admitting that some inaccuracy may have slipped into the data, these inaccuracies are present in only a few departments, and they cannot explain such a finding.

The departments of Sarthe, Maine-et-Loire, Rhône, Loire, Puy-de-Dôme, Cantal, and Haute-Loire rival our most enlightened provinces in this regard. Perhaps

the statistics, by making known a few years ago the terrible state of primary education in these parts of the kingdom, contributed to the increase in gifts which has improved education there. We hope this example will not be lost on the provinces of the western and central regions, and that the total number of dispositions of property in favor of the schools, which more than doubled its previous level during the 1820-1825 time period, will continue to grow at the same rate.

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<sup>36</sup>*Statistical Illustrations of the British Empire* (London, 1827). Chapter 8, "Charitable Donations for the Support of Public Schools."

## SUICIDES

Among the subjects included in moral statistics, suicide is one of those which has attracted the most lively attention and about which there has been the most discussion. But until about the end of the last century, as a result of the intellectual temper of the times, discussion of this matter was always limited to abstractions, generalities, and, above all, debates over the question of whether man is permitted to put an end to his existence. There was no attempt to do research on the motives that usually cause suicide, and even less of an appreciation of the extent to which a person who commits suicide may be subject to external or philosophical influences when he carries out this deadly decision. Here, as in almost all of our previous discussion, the data are recent--no more than five years old. Also, despite numerous public writings on suicide, we have been completely ignorant until now, not only of the most common motives which lead to suicide in France, but also, the age and sex of suicides, which would be much easier to ascertain.

The only bits of information available on suicides committed in France go back only four years. They were published in the *Compte général de la justice criminelle*, and indicate only, for each department, the number of suicides brought to the attention of the Crown Counsel's Office for which it was necessary to

investigate the circumstances. Our suicide rates for the various parts of the kingdom are calculated over tabulations for 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830. Additional statistical findings are taken from my unpublished research on suicides committed in Paris during a thirty-six year period from 1794 up to 1832.<sup>37</sup>

According to Ministry of Justice tabulations, there were 6,900 suicide during the period 1827-1830, or almost 1,800 per year.

One would be seriously mistaken to regard these figures as entirely accurate; they are probably much too low. The lists submitted by the Crown Prosecutors include far from all known suicides--and known suicides are only a portion of the suicides committed--but only those that are verified judicially, which is to say, in almost all cases, those in which death follows from circumstances which lead to the suspicion that a crime has taken place which gave rise to a preliminary investigation.

It is impossible to know the ratio of either verified suicides or those which are simply known about to the total number of suicides committed. We can, however, give, at least for the city of Paris, the proportion of the number of persons who, in attempting to end their lives, only manage to grievously wound themselves when the

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<sup>37</sup>In our tabulation for the city of Paris, we have attempted to note the following for each suicide: Sex, age, physical condition--Profession or occupation--Dwelling place--Place of birth--Marital status, single, widowed or married, with or without children--Financial condition, 1 = wealthy, 2 = affluent, 3 = poor, 4 = abject poverty--Education, 1 = literary education, 2 = knows how to read and write, 3 = illiterate--Mental state--Moral character, having been convicted of adultery, prostitution, gambling, unmarried cohabitation, habitual drunkenness, etc.--Religion.

The location where the suicide was committed, its principal circumstances, evidence of legal drugs--Date, day of the week and time of day of the suicide--Weather conditions--When and how the suicide became known to authorities and investigated.

Known or presumed motives--Letters written by suicides, what do they contain that is noteworthy?--If there has been a previous suicide attempt, when and how it occurred--Whether relatives were lunatics or committed suicide--Objects found with or on the body, account books, petitions, lottery tickets, pawn tickets, playing cards from gambling houses--Whether the body is identified and claimed, when and by whom.

This study will be preceded by *Historical Research on Suicide* and a general bibliography of works on the same subject.

execution of their plan does not entirely run aground. This proportion varies according to the means chosen for killing oneself. Based on observations for six years chosen at random from the thirty-six year period of which we spoke above, unsuccessful suicides account for 35 percent, or more than a third, of the total number of attempts. If one then considers that family interests and affections combine to conceal incidents of this sort from public scrutiny and that many deaths classified as accidental, especially those resulting from falls or submersion, are really voluntary, we would estimate that the number of actual suicides is probably almost double the number investigated.

Moreover, without relying on any estimates, if one limits oneself to carefully collecting information about known suicides, their number is almost always greater than the number verified by court proceedings. Thus it is that in assembling official records preserved in the archives of the Office of the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police in Paris, and comparing them with individual reports, with mortality listings drawn up in town hall, and with registers from the morgue, we have succeeded in appreciably increasing the figures in the official tabulations for certain years. It is probable that in the departments the number of suicides could be increased by about the same proportion if multiple sources of listings and ways of verifying them existed as they do in the capital.

Despite the frequent omissions which inevitably appear in the Ministry of Justice tabulations, the total number of suicides for the entire kingdom is, as we have seen, about 1,800 per year. It is thus almost as high as the number of crimes against persons, and it is almost three times the number of cases of manslaughter and murder combined. It can be concluded from this that whenever a man dies a violent death in France, but does not perish in an accident or involuntary manslaughter, it is, in general, twice as likely that he will make an attempt on his own life as it is that his death will be the result of voluntary manslaughter or murder.

Although suicide has not been considered a crime in our country for a long time and probably should not become the object of any future legislation, it is

nonetheless an extremely serious matter for moralists and statesmen, and certainly one that is as important to study as the various criminal offenses included today in criminal statistics. It seems to us that it is incumbent upon high levels of administration to collect and periodically publish official documents on this type of moral illness, which every year with regularity deprives their families and their country of almost two thousand individuals, most of them in their prime of life.

We shall not examine the question of whether suicide is, as is often claimed, more frequent today than in the past, nor shall we explore the issue of whether more suicides are committed in France than in other countries. These two issues, both sides of which are always argued with equal certainty, present considerable difficulty and beg to be carefully studied. We are now working to collect and coordinate the data which may serve to bring about a solution.

After these general observations, we shall consider suicides, and particularly their geographical distribution, and we shall then speak of some of the causes to which suicide is most often attributed.

If the total number of suicides in France in each year from 1827 through 1830 is represented by 100, the percentages of the total for each of the five regions are as shown below [in Table 23].

During these four years, the proportion of suicides committed in each region did not vary by more than three one-hundredths from the average; in the central region, it varied by only one one-hundredth, and, finally, in the western region, the greatest difference from one year to the next was less than one one-hundredth.

The distribution of suicides is thus no less constant than those of various types of crimes against persons or against property.

If we now establish ratios of suicides to the population, the five regions, classified according to the number of suicides committed there, present themselves in the following order [Table 24]:

Table 23  
Percentage of Total Suicides in Each Region:<sup>38</sup>

Region	Year								Average
	1827	1828	1829	1830					
North	51 N	48 N	54 N	51 N					51
South	14 S	15 S	12 W	12 W					13
East	17 E	16 E	15 E	16 E					16
West	11 W	11 W	11 C	11 C					11
Central	9 C	10 C	8 S	10 S					9
Total	100	100	100	100					100

Table 24  
Ratio of the Number of Suicides to Population  
(One Suicide for Each ... Inhabitants)

Region	Year								Average
	1827	1828	1829	1830					
North	11,257 N	10,376 N	8,470 N	9,742 N					9,853
East	24,542 E	21,714 E	19,667 E	21,553 E					21,734
Central	29,766 W	26,751 C	25,935 C	27,145 C					27,393
West	23,060 S	26,964 S	32,177 S	28,559 S					30,499
South	35,752 C	27,005 W	32,448 W	32,150 W					30,876

<sup>38</sup>Guerry gives the title of Table 23 as the "ratio of the number of suicides to the population," but the table is clearly mislabeled. As we have shown by changing the title, the body of the table actually shows the percentage of the total number of suicides found in each of the five regions. Moreover, many of the numbers in the table are internally inconsistent, especially in the column showing means. We have made no attempt to correct them--trans.

The northern and eastern regions occupy the first two positions every year. The central, southern and western regions, where suicides are generally twice as uncommon, do not follow in the same order each year, since their figures are roughly equal. In the departments of the Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Bouche-de-Rhône, the annual ratio of suicides to the population is one in 3,500, 5,800, 6,900, and 9,400, respectively. It is only one in 98,000, 185,000, 122,000, 214,000, and 222,000, respectively, in the departments of Cantal, Ariège, Allier, Haute-Loire, and Hautes-Pyrénées.

As we have pointed out, the department of the Seine annually accounts for a sixth of the illegitimate births, and it also sees the commission of a sixth of the total number of suicides. There are as many suicides in this department as in thirty-two southern and central departments combined.

Since about a third of the population of Paris is composed of migrants, it would not be without interest to know the proportion of natives of other departments who attempt to kill themselves in this city. We have constructed a table whose findings are quite close to those of the preceding tables. The influence of proximity to Paris is once again quite perceptible, as might be expected.

Of a thousand suicides by migrants to Paris, one finds the numbers in Table 25 for the twelve highest ranked departments and for each of the five regions.

With the exception of the transposition of the western region, which moves above the southern region in this table, this rank order is the same as the one for suicides committed in the interior of the kingdom. The minimum falls in the central, western, and southern regions, and the northern region, even excluding the department of the Seine, again produces more than half the suicides.

The concentration of the population in the large cities does not seem to contribute to an increase in voluntary deaths, as some have claimed. They are more frequent in the departments whose principal cities are Langres and Meaux (7,000 inhabitants each), Evreux (9,000), Mâcon (10,000), Blois (11,000), Auxerre, Châlons, Beauvais and Bar-le-Duc (12,000 each), and Chartres (13,000) than in the

Table 25  
Number of Suicides Committed in Paris

A. By Residents of Other Departments			
Rank Order of Department on Suicides in:		Department	Per 1,000 Suicides Committed in Paris
France	Paris		
2	1	Seine-et-Oise	109
4	2	Seine-et-Marne	41
11	3	Somme	39
12	4	Aisne	37
26	5	Rhône	33
48	6	Calvados	30
3	7	Oise	29
23	8	Côte-d'Or	29
22	9	Meurthe	28
78	10	Aube	26
40	11	Moselle	24
9	12	Loiret	23
B. By Residents of Each Region			
Rank Order Committed in France	Region		Per 1,000 Suicides Committed by Migrants in Paris
	1	North	504
	2	East	210
	3	Central	168
	5	West	65
	4	South	52
Total			1,000

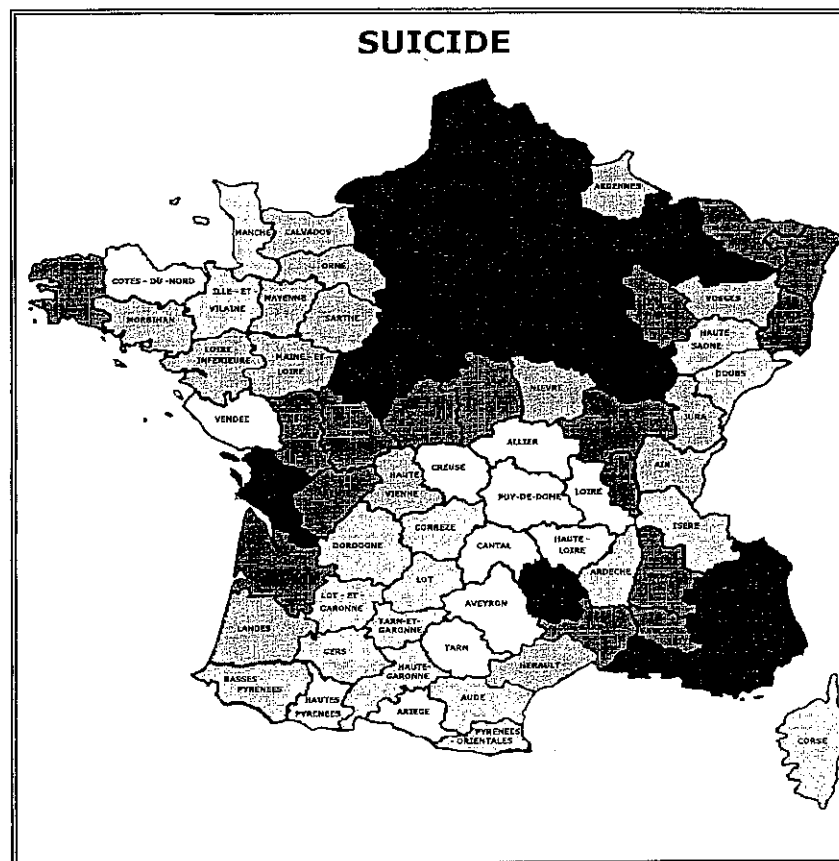
departments where the cities of Clermont and St. Etienne (30,000 inhabitants each), Montpellier (35,000), Caen (38,000), Metz (49,000) Toulouse (53,000), Nantes (71,000) and Bordeaux (93,000) are found.

In general, no matter where one begins in France, the number of suicides increases regularly as one approaches the capital. This progression is especially striking for the departments traversed by the roads from Paris to Lyon, Strasbourg, Nantes, or Bordeaux. Upon leaving from Bordeaux in the direction of Paris, one finds one suicide for every 28,000 inhabitants in the department of Charente, one for every 25,000 in the department of Vienne, one for every 18,000 in Indre-et-Loire, one for every 14,000 in Loir-et-Cher, one for every 10,000 in Loiret, and, finally, one for every 5,000 in the department of Seine-et-Oise and one for every 3,000 in the department of the Seine.

These six departments, whose shadings on the suicide map become darker and darker the closer they get to the department of the Seine, show the following ranks, successively, on suicide rates: 41, 34, 20, 18, 9, and 2. Along the road from Lyon to Paris, one successively encounters departments with ranks of 35, 23, 8, 4, and 2. Starting in Strasbourg, the ranks along the road to Paris are 28, 22, 14, 16, 6, 4 and 2. Finally, from Nantes to Paris one finds the progression 50, 45, 19 and 2.

Thus, whatever the population density may be in each of the departments through which one travels, and regardless of the level of education, or of trade and industry, the distribution of the Catholic clergy or the rates of various crimes against persons or against property, the number of suicides increases regularly and from all directions to the extent that one approaches the capital. Of all the maps we have drawn, there is none that shows the influence of proximity to Paris in a more remarkable manner.

In the same way, in several departments in the southeast, the number of suicides increases to the extent that one approaches Marseille. Thus, with regard to suicide, Marseille appears in certain respects to be to Provence and Dauphiné what the city of Paris is for the rest of France.



Map 7

Suicide



One might think that the rough manners, the intensity of passions, and the violent national character of our southern provinces, which produce so many sudden brawls and produce such a large number of crimes against persons, should also lead many people to kill themselves. But this would be incorrect. A comparison of the suicide map with the one showing crimes against persons leads to the discovery that, with a few exceptions (especially for Alsace and Provence), the departments where the lives of others are most often attacked are precisely those where people most rarely make attempts on their own, and vice versa.

A passion for the lottery has been singled out as among the causes that impel man to kill himself. Some have gone so far as to argue on the floor of the legislature for a direct link between the number of drawings and the number of suicides! If one consults Table A1, Column G in the Appendix, one will discover that there are many departments where the average proceeds from stakes in the lottery are very high, while suicides are nonetheless comparatively rare, and vice versa. We can rest assured, for Paris at least, that very few suicides are due to this cause. We should not be surprised by this. A passion for the lottery does not produce the sudden and unforeseen ruin that drives one to desperate solutions; it only drains resources, accustoming him to painful privations, and, after having weakened his character, it reduces him to a life of dependence on public charity. Gambling houses, whose drawbacks have attracted less attention, seem to have much more distressing effects in this regard.<sup>39</sup>

Only statistical studies, done with critical judgment and good faith, can shed light on the source of a loss of reason of this kind.<sup>40</sup> The studies published so far are

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<sup>39</sup>We have often found playing cards from gambling houses among the papers of suicide victims.

<sup>40</sup>In order to judge how much confidence is merited by most of the published views on suicide and its motives, it is usually sufficient to compare them and to see the extent to which they agree among themselves. We shall only cite a few.

insufficient, since the most disparate causes are sometimes confounded with one another and lumped together in the same category. It is insufficient to be told, in general terms and without drawing distinctions, that disordered morals, domestic troubles, abject poverty, illnesses, and disgust with life drive one to hopelessness and produce a third or a fourth of voluntary deaths. This almost amounts to saying that suicide has its causes, but they can easily be surmised without having to resort to statistics. What would be useful to know would be the frequency and importance of each of these causes relative to all the others. Beyond this, it would be necessary to determine whether their influence, once it is established for the population as a whole, varies by age, sex, education, wealth, or social position.

In the notes left behind by the unfortunate people who take their own lives, one can usually find indications of the true motives behind their decision to kill themselves.

A philosophical analysis of these suicide notes would undoubtedly be of great interest for the moral sciences if it could be totally disentangled from personal opinions and theoretical presuppositions. We have contemplated the possibility of reducing the ideas most often expressed in these notes to a smaller number of

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Voltaire, who lived in opulence, thought that suicide was ordinarily caused by the abuse of the enjoyments of life, boredom, or the passions of love or of youth (*Dictionnaire philosophique*).

Montesquieu, preoccupied by ideas about the influences of climate and constitution, attributed suicide to a *defect involving the infiltration of nervous juices*. "The machine whose motive force always finds itself without activity," he said, "grows tired of itself. The soul no longer feels sadness, but only a certain difficulty with existence" (*Esprit des Lois*, L. IV, Ch. 12).

Mercier, a man whose writings enjoyed a great deal of success for some time and who proposed countless reforms to public administration, uncovered a cause completely different from the above in his *Tableau de Paris*. "If, during the last twenty-five years," he wrote, "so many people have killed themselves in Paris, it is not necessary to blame modern philosophy, it is the result of the government" (*Tableau de Paris*, Volume 3, Page 193, Amsterdam, 1782).

Their genius notwithstanding, if men such as Voltaire and Montesquieu did not divine that which can only be understood through observation, and if they can be reproached for serious errors on several statistical points, it would nonetheless be ignorant and presumptuous to flatter ourselves that today we are more fortunate or more skillful or that the workings of the mind can compensate for observation.

categories, representing them by conventional algorithmic symbols, and then assigning numeric values to each category. This method, whose utilization would undoubtedly demand a great deal of time and attention, would have the advantage of introducing observation and quantification into matters for which this approach would not at first seem applicable. One would thus learn precisely the sentiments characteristic of each sex, each age group, and each time period, those which feed on one another and those which are mutually exclusive; one would find out the extent to which such and such notions and sentiments develop or grow weaker with advancing age. It goes without saying that the results of such an analysis would be not be reliable if it were not carried out on an extremely large number of suicide notes.

By way of demonstrating our conception of how such an analysis would be done and what it would include, we present here, for the city of Paris and only for a hundred suicide notes, a table of sentiments, notions, and opinions expressed most often by suicide victims. In general, the table does not include the avowed motives for suicide, which will be discussed elsewhere. These various sentiments, to which numerical values have not yet been assigned, are classified in the table roughly following the order of their appearance in the series rather than according to their relative frequency.

Nothing appears to be more arbitrary and random than the choice of a method of killing oneself. Nonetheless, this choice is influenced in unknown ways by age, sex, social position and a multitude of other factors which are often very difficult to assess. Chance is no more involved in this than in the distribution of crimes or other statistical facts, and although the observations are not very numerous, some well-known components of the question may help in deciding some of the others. We shall conclude by citing a remarkable example.

At each age, men choose characteristic methods for killing themselves. When they are young, they hang themselves, but this method is soon abandoned in favor

Table 26  
Sentiments Expressed in Suicide Notes (City of Paris)

That they were in possession of their reason.	Regrets for failing to demonstrate their thanks to their benefactors.
That one is able to deliver oneself from life when it becomes a burden.	Descriptions of vanishing hope.
That it was not decided upon until after long hesitation.	Regrets with life.
Mental anguish.	Requests for their friends to shed tears in their memory.
That their ideas are confused.	Regrets for being separated forever from a brother, etc.
The horror they are filled with by the action they are going to commit.	Requests to conceal the nature of their death from their children.
Preoccupation with the suffering they must endure.	Concern for the future of their children.
Fear of losing their courage.	Farewells to their friends.
Confession of a secret crime.	Desire to recover the blessings of the church. <sup>41</sup>
Regret at having yielded to seduction.	Insults to clergymen.
Request that they be forgiven for their mistakes.	Belief in a future life.
Desire to expiate a wrong.	Thoughts of debauchery and libertinism.
That they are henceforth useless on this earth.	Materialism.
Disgust with life.	Uncertainty of their future destiny.
Insults against persons they have complaints against.	Commending their soul to God.
Kindly words for persons they have complaints against.	Confidence in divine mercy.
Requests not to publicize their suicide.	Funeral instructions.
Invitation to publish their letters in the newspapers.	Request for their friends to preserve a lock of hair, a ring, etc., in their memory.
Reflections on the misery of human destiny.	Desire to be buried with a ring or other souvenir.
Belief in fatalism.	Recommendations to their friends on the manner of their burial.
Indifference toward what might be thought of their action.	That they dread being exposed to the morgue.
Requests that their children forgive their suicide.	Reflections on what would shortly become of their corpse.
That they died a man of honor.	Desire to be taken directly to the cemetery.
	Request to be buried in a pauper's grave.

<sup>41</sup>This manifestation of religious sentiments at the same time that one is about to commit an action which religion condemns as a crime is undoubtedly surprising and would appear difficult to explain. Be that as it may, similar contradictions are not as unusual as one might think. Many suicides cross themselves before killing themselves, while others kneel and say their prayers, and beads and devotional books are sometimes found with their bodies.

of firearms. As strength weakens, they revert to the earlier method, and elderly men who put an end to their existence usually perish from hanging.

Plate 7 in the Appendix ("Various Findings") clearly present this finding for suicides committed in the city of Paris.

The height of the columns in Plate 7 express the number of men at the age indicated at the bottom who committed suicide by pistol or by hanging. As in each of the other graphs in the Appendix, the heights of the columns indicate the ratio of the number of cases to the total number of observations, normed to 1,000.

The curve formed by the top of the columns for suicide by pistol in Plate 7 attains its maximum at the age of twenty to thirty and decreases fairly regularly through the remainder of the life-span.

The second set of bars in the graph (suicides by hanging), which is almost the inverse of the first, shows a curve that increases progressively with age, not attaining its maximum until the age of fifty to sixty, by which time the population is greatly reduced. It slowly falls off after that, but there are more suicides by hanging by seventy-to-eighty year-olds than among those aged thirty to forty. Whenever the number of observations is large, these various patterns are constantly reproduced.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The findings presented in this work are too varied and deal with issues that are too complex to be briefly summarized or reduced to a small number of propositions. One of the most general conclusions that we can draw is that everything comes together to confirm that most facts of the moral order, when considered for populations and not for individuals, are determined by recurring causes whose variations are restrained within strict limits and which can be subjected, like those of the material order, to direct quantitative observation. Another conclusion to which our results lead with equal strength is that, on important issues of philosophy and civil economy, theoretical systems which have heretofore gone unchallenged are often based on supposed facts that are inaccurate, incomplete, or clearly wrong.

These preliminary essays will rarely steer us in the direction of immediate applications, and they eliminate erroneous ideas more often than they establish truth. Their usefulness consists less in advancing theories than in encouraging a more widespread spirit of skepticism and empirical examination of the facts. In any event, these essays are too imperfect to give any idea of the immense advances that could be provided by future research along the same lines.

*Moral Statistics*,<sup>42</sup> having as its object of investigation the mind of man, studies his capabilities, his morals and customs, his feelings and sentiments, and his passions. Thus it encompasses at once the whole of moral philosophy, politics, religion, legislation, history, literature and the arts. Its future progress is linked to that of material statistics that provides its foundation and its means of controlled observation, and which necessarily preceded it.

## APPENDIX VARIOUS FINDINGS

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<sup>42</sup>General statistics, which has long been bound up in geography, excludes description and consists essentially of the methodical enumeration of the various components from which it determines averages.

Table A1  
Rank Order of Various Moral Statistics  
Data by Department

Departments (a)	Region	Size of Principal City*	A. Wealth	B. Commerce and Industry	C. Distribution of Clergy	D. Crimes Against Parents	E. Infanticides	F. Donations to The Clergy	G. Lottery	H. Military Desertion
Ain	East	Medium	73	58	11	71	60	69	41	55
Aisne	North	Medium	22	10	82	4	82	36	38	82
Allier	Central	Medium	61	66	68	46	42	76	66	16
Basses-Alpes	East	Small	76	49	5	70	12	37	80	32
Hautes-Alpes	East	Small	83	65	10	22	23	64	79	35
Ardèche	South	Small	84	1	28	76	47	67	70	19
Ardennes	North	Medium	33	4	50	53	85	49	31	62
Ariège	South	Small	72	60	39	74	28	63	75	22
Aube	East	Medium	14	3	42	77	54	9	28	86
Aude	South	Medium	17	35	15	80	35	27	50	63
Aveyron	South	Medium	50	70	3	51	5	23	81	10
Bouches-du-Rhône	South	Large	2	26	30	45	74	55	3	23
Calvados	North	Medium	10	48	7	57	56	11	13	12
Cantal	Central	Medium	59	7	6	79	83	66	82	1
Charente	West	Medium	87	47	79	2	7	81	60	61
Charente-Inférieure	West	Medium	18	5	86	3	38	72	35	74
Cher	Central	Medium	63	56	83	69	11	86	44	51
Corrèze	Central	Medium	74	80	46	86	16	82	84	2
Corsica	---	Medium	?	83	1	81	2	84	83	9
Côte-d'Or	East	Medium	16	12	37	49	27	18	33	78
Côtes-du-Nord	West	Medium	70	86	30	6	69	15	72	47
Creuse	Central	Small	78	82	75	75	24	75	85	4
Dordogne	West	Medium	60	72	77	64	18	79	77	44
Doubs	East	Medium	31	57	24	38	25	6	18	73
Drôme	East	Medium	66	41	22	21	13	62	54	46
Eure	North	Medium	20	17	27	39	45	45	47	27
Eure-et-Loir	Central	Medium	11	21	16	18	62	14	48	72
Finistère	West	Medium	36	84	66	24	78	25	36	77
Gard	South	Medium	26	31	81	15	39	59	20	40
Haute-Garonne	South	Large	23	40	23	62	59	13	25	15
Gers	South	Medium	40	30	12	43	13	32	74	30
Gironde	West	Large	8	20	69	27	80	48	4	13
Hérault	South	Medium	12	34	67	47	51	28	19	43
Ile-et-Vilaine	West	Medium	55	77	19	12	31	22	37	50

Table A1  
Rank Order of Various Moral Statistics  
Data by Department (continued)

Departments (a)	Region	Size of Principal City	A. Wealth	B. Commerce and Industry	C. Distribution of Clergy	D. Crimes Against Parents	E. Infanticides	F. Donations to The Clergy	G. Lottery	H. Military Desertion
Indre	Central	Medium	54	55	84	82	19	83	69	29
Indre-et-Loire	Central	Medium	27	25	58	48	3	41	15	49
Isère	East	Medium	65	46	53	52	27	73	23	26
Jura	East	Medium	62	54	32	84	66	43	39	71
Landes	West	Small	81	68	63	1	43	56	73	28
Loir-et-Cher	Central	Medium	19	23	57	65	37	70	46	54
Loire	Central	Medium	24	79	34	78	77	34	42	6
Haute-Loire	Central	Medium	75	85	8	73	17	65	62	3
Loire-Inférieure	West	Large	80	76	73	56	52	29	12	45
Loiret	Central	Medium	9	24	54	44	22	16	17	60
Lot	South	Medium	42	67	20	54	15	68	78	24
Lot-et-Garonne	West	Medium	7	53	49	26	32	46	52	34
Lozère	South	Small	77	69	2	72	45	42	86	5
Maine-et-Loire	West	Medium	34	52	43	19	36	20	24	76
Manche	North	Medium	32	73	9	33	70	3	59	21
Marne	North	Medium	13	6	47	8	58	39	22	81
Haute-Marne	East	Small	25	7	18	63	55	4	56	65
Mayenne	West	Medium	38	75	40	59	40	8	61	58
Meurthe	East	Medium	57	11	26	5	71	1	21	70
Meuse	North	Medium	52	2	33	17	65	12	58	59
Morbihan	West	Medium	48	81	31	9	29	7	32	69
Moselle	North	Large	53	19	13	35	9	2	16	68
Nièvre	Central	Medium	44	33	80	83	20	80	63	37
Nord	North	Large	28	38	74	14	81	38	7	64
Oise	North	Medium	15	14	60	31	86	50	43	57
Orne	North	Medium	35	62	21	29	50	31	57	25
Pas-de-Calais	North	Medium	45	39	44	36	79	10	27	48
Puy-de-Dôme	Central	Medium	51	78	52	42	63	61	53	8
Basses-Pyrénées	West	Medium	79	71	38	34	72	60	34	7
Hautes-Pyrénées	South	Medium	85	51	17	85	75	71	76	20
Pyrénées-Orientales	South	Medium	71	37	4	67	84	77	11	18
Bas-Rhin	East	Large	46	16	64	23	48	51	5	53
Haut-Rhin	East	Medium	58	29	65	40	53	17	10	56
Rhône	East	Large	6	18	35	37	33	21	2	14

Table A1  
Rank Order of Various Moral Statistics  
Data by Department (continued)

Departments (a)	Region	Size of Principal City	A. Wealth	B. Commerce and Industry	C. Distribution of Clergy	D. Crimes Against Parents	E. Infanticides	F. Donations to The Clergy	G. Lottery	H. Military Desertion
Haute-Saône	East	Small	69	27	25	25	68	57	65	83
Saône-et-Loire	East	Medium	49	61	59	11	10	58	45	31
Sarthe	Central	Medium	41	45	41	41	57	19	49	75
Seine	North	Large	1	9	85	60	67	53	1	33
Seine-Inférieure	North	Large	3	22	62	28	61	74	9	36
Seine-et-Marne	North	Medium	4	13	56	16	73	26	29	67
Seine-et-Oise	North	Medium	5	8	45	10	30	24	6	42
Deux-Sèvres	West	Medium	39	59	72	30	4	85	71	84
Somme	North	Medium	21	36	48	7	64	33	30	80
Tarn	South	Medium	47	44	14	13	9	47	67	17
Tarn-et-Garonne	South	Medium	29	50	29	66	41	52	64	39
Var	South	Medium	43	39	61	55	49	40	26	52
Vauchuse	South	Medium	64	28	78	61	76	54	8	41
Vendée	West	Small	56	64	70	50	44	30	68	79
Vienne	West	Medium	68	43	71	20	1	44	40	38
Haute-Vienne	Central	Medium	67	63	76	68	6	78	55	11
Vosges	East	Medium	82	42	51	58	34	5	14	85
Yonne	Central	Medium	30	15	55	32	22	35	51	66

(a) The figures in the eight lettered columns of the table indicate the rank of each department in the series of 86 departments classified by wealth, industry, etc. The maximum is always indicated by "1" and the minimum by "86." Departments whose figures are identical are classified in alphabetical order.

\* "Large" indicates the ten departments where the ten largest cities are found, and "Small" the ten departments whose principal cities have the smallest populations.

**A. Wealth**--Share of taxes on personal and movable property per inhabitant (*Proposition de lois pour la fixation des dép. et des recettes de 1821. État C and E, No. 2.* Calculated by Monsieur Villot--*Bull. univ.* Section VI, January, 1826). *Maximum*--North and Southwest. -- *Minimum*--Central, Lorraine and Dauphiné (?)

**B. Commerce and Industry**--Ratio of the number of patents to the population, 1830--(*Rapport au roi sur l'administration des finances*, by Monsieur de Chabrol. Tables and statistical documents, *État X*). (*Maximum*--Northeast -- *Minimum*--Central, Brittany, Southeast -- Coincides with the distribution of instruction.

C. **Distribution of Clergy**--Ratio of the number of Catholic priests in active service to the population. (*Almanach officiel du clergé, 1829*). --*Maximum*--Corsica, Southeast and Normandy. *Minimum*--Flanders, Picardy, central and west (?). Coincides with crimes against persons and with donations to the poor.

D. **Crimes against Parents**--Ratio of the number of crimes against parents to all crimes against persons--Average of the six years 1825-1830 -- (*Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle*). -- *Maximum* -- Northeast and west (?) -- *Minimum* -- Central, south and Corsica.

E. **Infanticide**--Ratio of infanticides to population--Average of the six years 1825-1830 -- (*Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle*). -- *Maximum* -- Corsica and central. *Minimum* -- North, east and Auvergne (?)

F. **Donations to Clergy**--Ratios of the number of bequests and donations *inter vivos* to population--Average of the ten years 1815-1824. (*Bull. des lois, ordonn. d'autorisation*). -- *Maximum* -- Northeast, Anjou, Brittany and Normandy -- *Minimum* -- Central and southeast.

G. **Lottery**--Ratio of the proceeds bet on the royal lottery to the population--Average of the seven years 1822-1826. (*Comptes rendus par le ministre des finances--Développemens par départemens et par produits, sur les contributions et les revenus publics*) -- *Maximum* -- Northeast and departments with large cities (?) -- *Minimum* -- Central.

H. **Military Desertion**--Ratio of the number of young soldiers accused of desertion to the force of the military contingent, minus the deficit produced by the insufficiency of available billets--Average of the three years 1825-1827 -- (*Compte du ministre du guerre, 1829, état V*) -- *Maximum* -- Central and southwest -- *Minimum* -- Northeast -- The maximum coincides with the minimum of crimes against persons and crimes against property, and the minimum corresponds with the maximum of instruction.

Table A2  
Data on Donations to the Poor, Illegitimacy, Literacy, Crime and Suicide

Department	Donations to the Poor	Population Per Illegitimate Birth	Percent Who Can Read and Write	Population per Crime Against Property	Population per Crime Against Persons	Population Per Suicide
Aisne	8901	14572	51	5521	26226	12831
Allier	10973	17044	13	7925	26747	114121
Basses-Alpes	2733	23018	46	7289	12935	14238
Hautes-Alpes	6962	23076	69	8174	17488	16171
Ardèche	3188	42117	27	10263	9474	52547
Ardennes	6400	16106	67	8847	35203	26198
Ariège	3542	22916	18	9597	6173	123625
Aube	3608	18642	59	4086	19602	10989
Aude	2582	20225	34	10431	15647	66498
Avéyron	3211	21981	31	6731	8236	116671
Bouches-du-Rhône	2314	9325	38	5291	13409	8107
Calvados	27830	8983	52	4500	17577	31807
Cantal	4093	15335	31	11645	18070	87338
Charente	13602	19454	36	13018	24964	25720
Charente-Inférieure	13254	23999	39	5357	18712	16798
Cher	9561	23574	13	10503	21934	19497
Corrèze	14993	19330	12	12949	15262	47480
Corsica	37015	24743	49	4589	2199	37016
Côte-d'Or	2540	15599	60	9159	32256	16128
Côtes-du-Nord	10387	36098	16	7050	28607	75056
Creuse	10997	14363	23	20235	37014	77823
Dordogne	4687	21375	18	10237	21585	36024
Doubs	3436	12512	73	5914	11560	40690
Drôme	2829	16348	42	7759	13396	23816
Eure	11712	16039	51	4774	14795	13493
Eure-et-Loire	4553	14475	54	4016	21368	15015
Finestère	23945	28392	15	6842	29872	25143
Gard	3048	28726	40	7990	13115	18292
Haute-Garonne	2286	15378	31	7204	18642	56140
Gers	2848	15250	38	10486	18642	61510
Gironde	5076	10676	40	7423	24096	19220
Hérault	1680	21346	45	10954	12814	30869
Ille-et-Vilaine	7686	40736	25	6524	22138	45180
Indre	11315	20046	17	7624	32404	25014
Indre-et-Loire	7254	16601	27	6909	19131	15272
Isère	4077	12236	29	8326	18785	36275
Jura	3012	20384	73	8059	26221	34476
Landes	12059	15302	28	6170	17687	35375
Loir-et-Cher	5626	13364	27	6017	21292	14417

Table A2  
Data on Donations to the Poor, Illegitimacy, Literacy, Crime and Suicide (continued)

Department	Donations to the Poor	Population Per Illegitimate Birth	Percent Who Can Read and Write	Population per Crime Against Property	Population per Crime Against Persons	Population Per Suicide
Loire	3446	29605	29	12665	27491	71364
Haute-Loire	2746	31017	21	18043	16170	163241
Loire-Inférieure	8310	14097	24	9392	19314	27289
Loiret	4753	9986	42	5042	17722	11813
Lot	5194	20383	24	9049	5883	48783
Lot-et-Garonne	4432	17681	31	8943	22969	38501
Lozère	2040	25157	27	5990	7710	11092
Maine-et-Loire	4410	18708	23	8520	29692	33358
Manche	5179	14281	43	7424	31078	55564
Marne	3963	11267	63	4950	15602	8334
Haute-Marne	4013	17507	72	9539	26231	19586
Mayenne	2107	18544	19	9198	28331	28331
Meurthe	3912	12355	68	6831	26674	15652
Meuse	4196	17333	74	9190	24507	13463
Morbihan	14739	31754	14	7940	23316	34196
Moselle	9515	13877	57	4529	12153	25572
Nièvre	10452	19747	20	8236	25087	29381
Nord	6092	8926	45	6175	26740	13851
Oise	5501	18021	54	6659	28180	5994
Orne	9242	20852	45	8248	28329	34069
Pas-de-Calais	5740	10575	49	4040	23101	15400
Puy-de-Dôme	5963	22948	19	12141	17256	78148
Basses-Pyrénées	3299	12393	47	8533	16722	65995
Hautes-Pyrénées	6001	12125	53	9797	12223	148039
Pyrénées-Orientales	11644	15167	31	7632	6728	37843
Bas-Rhin	14472	14356	62	4920	12309	18623
Haut-Rhin	6001	14783	71	4915	7343	21233
Rhône	1983	3910	45	4504	18793	17003
Haute-Saône	11701	11850	59	7770	22339	39714
Saône-et-Loire	3710	20442	32	10708	28391	22184
Sarthe	3357	10779	30	8294	33913	29280
Seine	4204	2660	71	1368	13945	3632
Seine-Inférieure	7245	7506	43	2906	18355	9523
Seine-et-Marne	5303	16324	54	5786	22201	7315
Seine-et-Oise	4007	16303	56	3879	12477	3460
Deux Sevres	16956	25461	41	6863	18400	24533
Somme	4964	12447	44	7144	33592	12836
Tarn	3449	29305	20	6241	13019	68980
Tarne-et-Garonne	4558	23771	25	8680	14790	48317
Var	2449	14800	23	9572	13145	13380

Table A2  
Data on Donations to the Poor, Illegitimacy, Literacy, Crime and Suicide (continued)

Department	Donations to the Poor	Population Per Illegitimate Birth	Percent Who Can Read and Write	Population per Crime Against Property	Population per Crime Against Persons	Population Per Suicide
Vaucluse	1246	17239	37	5731	13576	19024
Vendée	14035	62486	28	7566	20827	67963
Vienne	8922	35224	25	4710	15010	21851
Haute-Vienne	13817	19940	13	6402	16256	33497
Vosges	4040	14978	62	9044	18835	33029
Yonne	4276	16616	47	6516	18006	12789



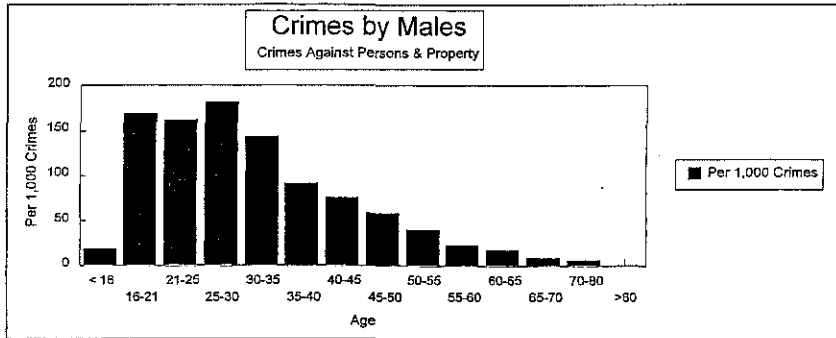


Plate 1  
Age Distribution of Crimes by Males

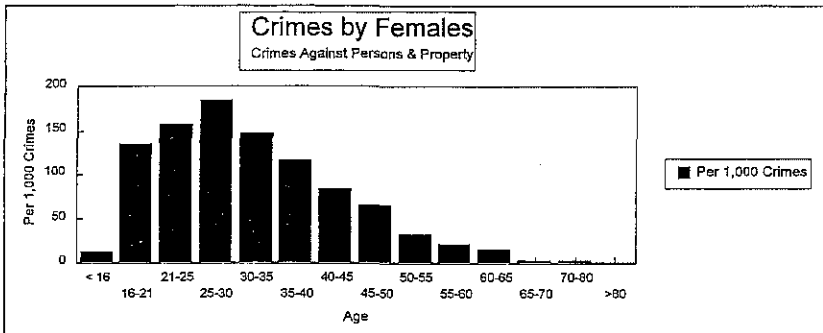


Plate 2  
Age Distribution of Crimes by Females

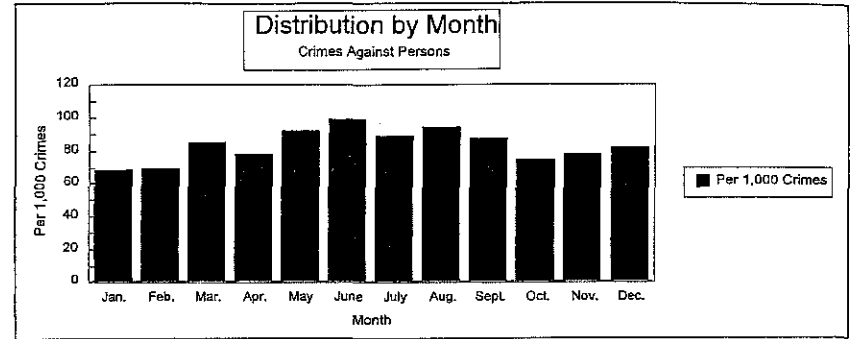


Plate 3  
Distribution of Crimes Against Persons by Month

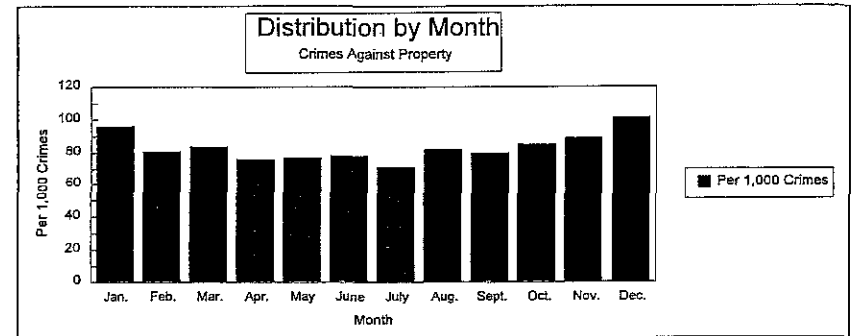


Plate 4  
Distribution of Crimes Against Property by Month

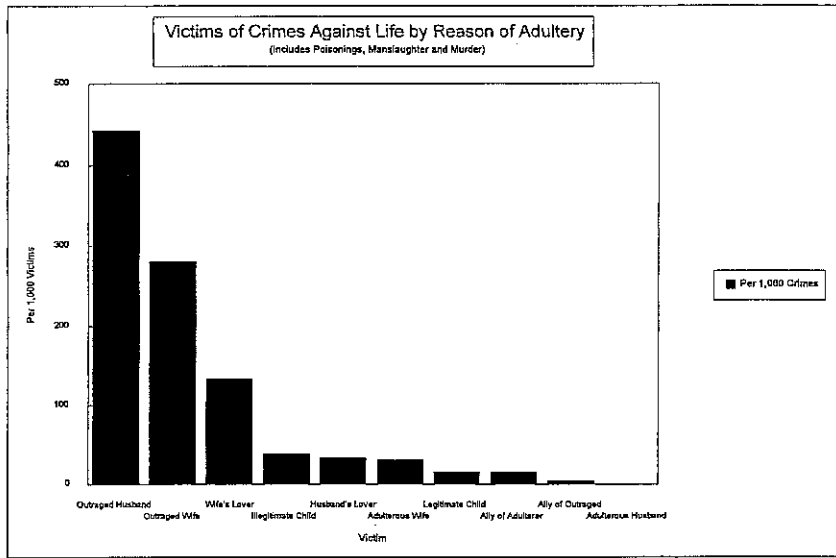


Plate 5  
Victims of Crimes Against Life by Reason of Adultery

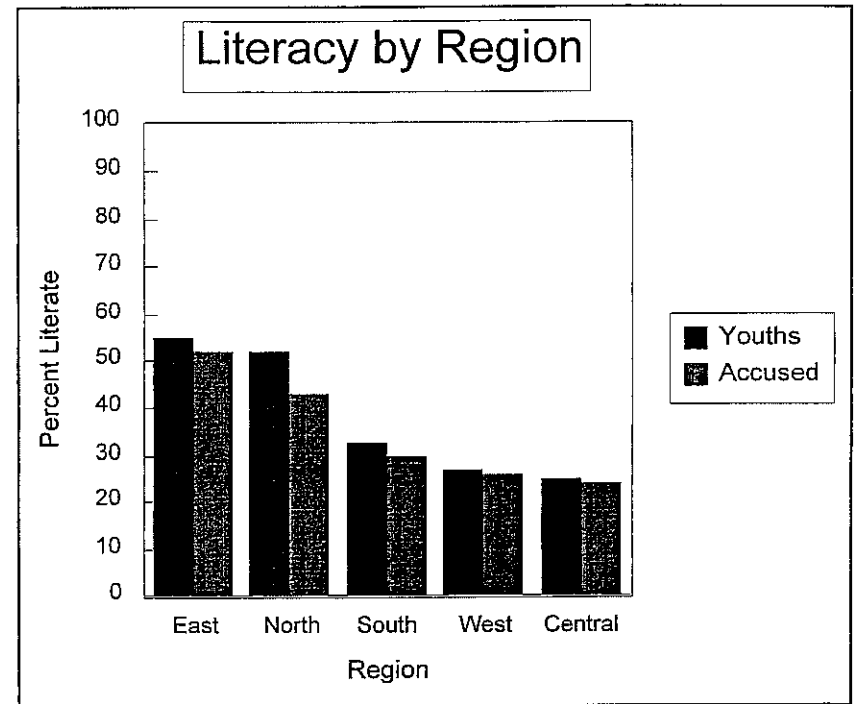


Plate 6  
Literacy by Region

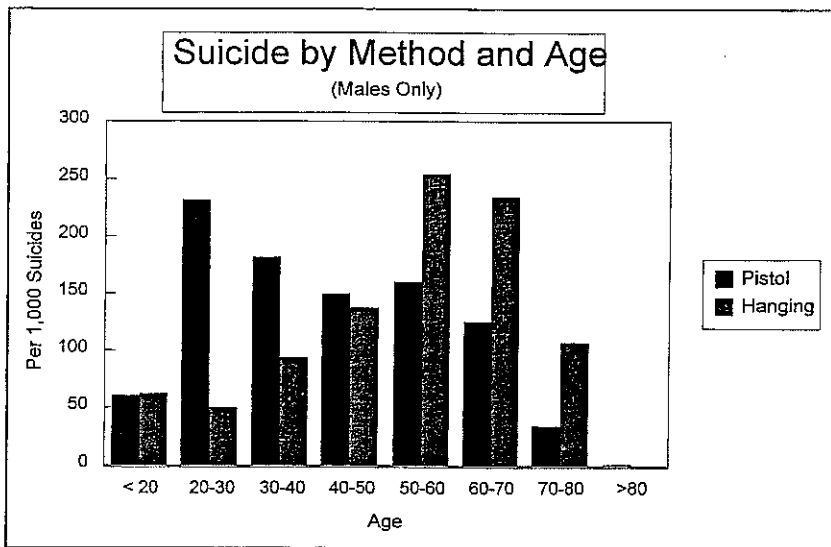


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