II.

THE FACTORY CHILD
II.

The Factory Child

In any picture of the Victorian child the question of infant labour looms large, so notorious is the publicity given to it by the Factory Reports and the outcry raised by the crusading philanthropists. Dr. Ure (1835) quotes a contemporary newspaper's account of the overcharged picture that obtained currency abroad, as if England were one huge factory. Infant labour was, however, no innovation. Of the Yorkshire woollen industry under George I, Defoe (1661-1731) wrote with frank delight: "Though we met few people without doors, yet within we saw houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding, or spinning; all employed from the youngest to the eldest; scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its support." Pitt recommended the extension of the schools of industry. "If anyone would take the trouble to compute the amount of earnings of the children who are already educated in this manner he would be surprised when he came to consider the weight which their support by their own labours took off the country, and the addition which, by fruit of their toil, and the habits to which they were forced, was made to its internal opulence." These words lent themselves to the following interpretation by Faucher: "Vers la fin du dernier siècle, les chefs de l'industrie se plaignant de l'augmentation des taxes, M. Pitt leur signalait le travail

1. Dr. Andrew Ure: The Philosophy of Manufactures (p.294)
3. Speech -- Mr. Whitbread's Minimum Wage Bill, Feb.12th, 1796
des enfants comme la grande ressource que devait leur permettre d'en supporter le fardeau."

These may, also have suggested Michelet's legendary outburst quoted by Hammond: "When the English manufacturers warned Pitt that, owing to the high wages, they had to pay their workmen, they were unable to pay their national taxes, Pitt returned a terrible answer: 'Take the children.' The saying weighs like a curse upon England."

Macaulay (1800-1859) compares favourably the conditions in the 19th century with the widely prevalent practice in the 17th century of setting children prematurely to work: "At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered eminently benevolent, mention with exultation the fact that in a single city boys and girls of very tender age created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by twelve thousand pounds a year. The more carefully we examine the history of the past the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns and the humanity which remedies them."

Even the enormity of this evil did not originate with the factory system. "Factory owning witnesses

---
before the Committee of 1816 had maintained that work began as early and went on as long, in domestic weaving as in the mills, and that it was more laborious. The horrors that outraged the humanitarianism of Richard Oastler (1830: Letter on Yorkshire slavery) could be matched by those in authentic records of the doing to death of apprentices by Mrs. Brownrigg and others which fully justify Crabbe's (1754-1832) story of Peter Grimes. As there was no inspection of domestic conditions of service, the evil-minded and avaricious master could misuse his apprentice with little fear of anything beyond a bad reputation among his neighbours.

"But none inquired how Peter used the rope
Or what the bruise that made the stripling stoop,
None could the ridges on his back behold
None sought him shivering in the winter's cold
Pinn'd, beaten, cold, pinch'd, threatened and abused
His efforts punished and his food refused -
Awake tormented, soon awoke from sleep -
Struck if he wept, and yet compelled to weep."

Judged by numbers the extractive and manufacturing industries did not, in the early 19th century, occupy any dominant position in the industrial balance of the country. Out of the total population of approximately 5 million (5,189,000) children under ten years old, in Britain in 1851, "the cotton industry admitted to over 2,000 boys and nearly 8,000 girls under ten, woollen and worsted to nearly 3,000 boys and over 2,000 girls." (J. H. Clapham: An Economic History of Modern Britain).

What gave to child labour its sinister aspect in the early 19th century was, therefore, not its innovation,
nor its extent, nor even its enormity, but its concentra-
tion brought about by the factory system and the rise of
a new political economy "which seemed to carry with it a
sort of justification of the existing constitution of
society as inevitable." "Aux environs de 1830,"
writes Casamian, "la réussite parallèle de deux grands
mouvements, l'un économique, l'autre intellectuel, accroît
d'une part le pouvoir et les appétits de l'individu, et
d'autre part fonde en droit ce pouvoir et ces appétits.
La révolution industrielle et philosophie utilitaire con-
vergent vers l'exaltation du moi social."

The employment of children was now systematised and
extended on a vast scale; and excessive hours instead of
being an occasional episode, say for once a week, as it
was in the domestic workshop, became a regular thing,
every day in the week. Over-crowded factories were
hot-beds of what was called putrid fever, and it was an
epidemic in Manchester causing the death of many factory
apprentices that first drew attention to their wrongs,
and ultimately led to the problems being tackled seriously
in a practical manner. "So far from originating
cruelty to children, the factory system called attention
to the evil by concentrating it where all could see and
so stimulated indignation that brought it to an end."
The ultimate emancipation of the factory child, no
doubt redounds to the glory of the Victorian age, but
it was a long-drawn-out process. Although the first
blow was struck with the passing of Peel's Act, "The

1. Arnold Toynbee: Industrial Revolution p. 113
Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1808”, the horrors connected with the factory system continued unabated and in some respects assumed an aggravated form, far into the middle years of the 19th century. Southey (1774-1843) gave his impressions after a visit to a cotton factory. "If Dante had peopled one of his hells with children, here was a scene worthy to have supplied him with new images of torment." Wordsworth (1770-1850) sadly described the cotton mills as:

"Temples where is offered up to gain, the master idol of the realm, 2 Perpetual sacrifice."

Peel was struck with the uniform appearance of bad health, and in many cases, the stunted growth of the children. Robert Owen, soon after he became the owner of the New Lanark Mills, discovered that although the children in his factory were extremely well-fed, well-clothed, and well lodged and very great care taken of them when out of the mills, their growth and their minds were materially injured by being "employed within the cotton mills for eleven hours and a half per day."

He testified, what sounded to the commissioners inconceivable, that a little girl of three was employed in a mill at Stockport and that such infants were employed "to pick up the waste cotton from the floor, to go under the machines, where bigger people cannot creep." The usual age, however, at which children commenced work

1. Letter quoted in England from Wordsworth to Dickens by F.W. King
4. Ibid. p.20
5. Ibid. p.88
was seven. They began as pieceers and their work re-
quired them to be constantly on their feet, their hours
of labour being 5 a.m. to 3 p.m. and their wages about
£/Cd a week. Only half an hour was allowed for dinner,
but they got their breakfast as they could, eating while
working. They were cruelly beaten for being late in
the morning, for letting the ends run down, for speaking
to each other, and more frequently to keep them awake
toward night. "Some have been beaten so violently that
they have lost their lives in consequence of their being
so beaten." The Chairman of the 1840 Select Committee
cited two cases of cruelty in one of which a girl of
thirteen was struck down by an overlooker, and died in
consequence. In both cases it had been impossible for
the inspector to institute an inquiry, having no authori-
ty to do so by the Act. The instrument for chastise-
ment was a strap or a billy-roller. The latter was a
heavy rod of wood, from two to three yards long, of two
inches in diameter and with an iron pivot at each end.
"I have seen them take the billy-roller and rap them on
the head, making their heads crack, so that you might
have heard the blow at the distance of six or eight
yards, in spite of the din and rolling of the machinery."
Children cleaning machinery while it was in motion often
lost their limbs or their hands. Unboxed machinery
endangered the safety of girls in particular. A sub-
inspector of factories testified that at Stockport a

---

1. Report from the Committee on the Bill to regulate the
   Labour of Children in the Mills and Factories of the U.K. XI, p.157
2. Ibid., p.19
3. First Report from the Select Committee on the Act for the Regulation
   of Mills, 1840-8, p.100; 4 Dept. 1871-32, p.16
girl had been carried by her clothing round an upright shaft and crippled for life. Work generally pursued in an erect or in a constrained position for 13, 14, or 15 hours a day, produced deformities. What would be the effect of such conditions of work upon the moral and physical welfare of the child is thus hypothetically put by a surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital: "Take, for instance, a healthy child from an agricultural district in the bloom of health, animated, cheerful, lively, strong, active and free-limbed, and place it in a factory; let it work for 12 hours a day in the stifling heat of some of the work-rooms, confined in the impure air breathed by a hundred others, without any provision of ventilation; let it learn to drink ardent spirits to support its enfeebled frame and depressed feelings caused by overlabour and harassing tasks, with a proportionate disrelish for wholesome food; let it then be turned out of this heated factory on a damp, foggy November evening, to rest its fevered and debilitated frame in some dark and close cellar of an overpeopled manufacturing town, and shall we be surprised, is it not rather a certain consequence, that the unfortunate child becomes the victim of disease?"

It was stated that factory employment disabled people generally at 40; and that lately, with the introduction of speedier machinery, work had increased in intensity. The provision made under the 1802 Act for religious instruction on Sundays, it was asserted, operated prejudicially and had the effect of very much

1. 2nd Report from the Select Committee on Mills and Factories, 1840, p. 2
2. Report 1831-32, S. Ibid. p. 452
increasing the children's sufferings, and of depriving them of that rest and proper recreation and freedom which they should enjoy at some time or other. A minister of religion expressed concern over the manner in which the children were confined on the Sabbath day after the very close confinement of the week: "They may think that our system on the Sabbath day is a sort of justification of the system in the week-day."

Such, in the main, is the picture of the factory child as it emerges from the report of Sadler's Committee (1881-82) before which, we are told, filed "a long procession of workers, men and women, girls and boys. Stunted, diseased, deformed, degraded, each with the tale of his wronged life..." The employers alleged that Sadler's Committee had not been fair to their side and on their motion another Commission was appointed whose report Lord Althorp quoted to show how healthy factory life was for children. Ure seems fully to endorse this view: "I have visited many factories, both in Manchester and in the surrounding districts, during a period of several months, entering the spinning rooms, unexpectedly, and often alone, at different times of the day, and I never saw a single instance of corporal chastisement inflicted on a child, nor indeed did I ever see children in ill-humour. They seemed to be always cheerful and alert, taking pleasure in the light play of their muscles - enjoying the mobility natural to their

1. Ibid. p. 381
2. Ibid. p. 414, 415
3. Hammond Supra p. 171
This is obviously an over-statement of the case, and is in a line with Dr. Ure's wholesale condemnation of the Report of 1832: "The partial, distorted, and fictitious evidence conjured up before the Committee of the House of Commons on factory employment of which Mr. Sadler was the mover and chairman." The evidence collected by Sadler's Committee came, on the whole, to be corroborated by the Supplementary Report of 1832.

"L'impression qui en reste après une lecture attentive, sans venir à l'appui de tous les excès signalés dans l'enquête de 1832, en confirme assurément les allegations principales."

The wide difference of opinion that strikes us when we compare Dr. Ure's Philosophy of Manufacture with the gloom of Lord Ashley's speeches may be partly due to the fact that working conditions varied widely from one branch of industry to another, even from one factory to another. There were model employers like Robert Owen and John Bright. But as late as 1858 Roebuck after a visit to a cotton mill wrote to his wife that he saw - "a sight that froze my blood." Even in 1849 Fredrika Bremer found that the treatment of children in English factories was still intolerable.

The factory child, who had since the elder Peel's times, aroused so much legislative concern and public interest was little treated in literature. Godwin's genuine affection for children finds

1. Ure Supra, p.301
2. Ibid., p.291
3. Faucher Supra, p.68
4. Quoted Hutchins and Harrison: A History of Factory Legislation, p.91
5. Rubenius, Aina: The Woman Question in Mrs. Gaskell's Life and Works (Upsala 1950)
expression in his graphic picture of child labour in a factory. But his picture in Fleetwood (1804) is incidental and his interest centres on things political and philosophical rather than on things sociological. His acquaintance with the problem lacks reality. It is as a theoretical revolutionist that he condemns child labour as morally wrong. "Liberty is the school of understanding." Put the child in a mill and its understanding "will improve no more than that of the horse which turns it." Even Dickens (1812-1870) touches but briefly, though poignantly, upon children whose lives are spent "in the midst of dreadful engines which make young children old before they know what childhood is, and give them the exhaustion and infirmity of age, without, like age, the privilege to die." This passage was inspired by Dickens's recent visit to Manchester (1838) but as Cazamian points out: "L'impression que sa sensibilité en recit est trop forte, trop imaginative, elle est aussi trop rapide et superficielle." Mrs. Gaskell (1810-1865) to whom alone it was given to enter into what remained for other English novelists a closed world of industrial life, has mentioned child labour only on a few occasions, and that also with reference to the restrictions that existed: factory inspectors had been appointed who saw to it that no children under the legal factory age were employed. Higgins in "North and South" feels compassion for John Buncher "wi' a sickly wife and eight

2. Nicholas Nickleby, Ch.4
3. Cazamian Supra., Vol.II, p.51
children, none on 'em factory age." Mrs. Frances Trollope (1799-1863) was, therefore, something of a pioneer in taking the factory child as the main theme of her novel: "Michael Armstrong". An abstract of this little-known novel will not be out of place here. Nine year old Michael and his elder brother, a sickly child, are employed as pieceers in the factory of Sir Matthew Dowling. Their wages keep their bed-ridden mother out of the workhouse. They live in a typical factory slum - "a long, closely-packed double row of miserable dwellings...... Crawling infants, half-starved cats, mangy curs, and fowls that looked as if each particular feather had been used as a scavenger's broom, shared the dust and sunshine between them." Michael becomes involved in "a marvellously silly adventure" in which he saves Lady Clarissa from being attacked by a cow. To humour her, the snobbish, middle-class factory owner has to adopt Michael, "all for the love of pure benevolence and little boys." This gesture was also intended to divert public attention from the notorious publicity his mill had acquired by the death of a factory girl through overwork.

On this subject his rebuke to his overseer and the latter's boast in defence are revealing: "It was a d—d stupid thing to have a girl go on working and not know whether she was dying or not." "I am noted for being able to keep the children awake and going longer than

1. North and South, Ch.XVII
2. Vol.1., p.87
any other man in the mills."

To Michael this extraordinary turn of fortune brings nothing but suffering: division from his family and dread of his patron, who devises all manner of ingenious torments for him. Once, Michael is taken to the factory and asked to kiss the 'scavenger' girl as she is performing her dangerous operations. Here is a graphic description of her work: "In the performance of this duty, the child was obliged from time to time to stretch herself with sudden quickness on the ground, while the hissing machinery passed over her; and when this is carefully done and the head, body and outstretched limbs carefully glued to the floor, the steady-moving, but threatening mass, may pass and repass over the dizzy head and trembling body without touching it. But accidents frequently occur, and many are the flaxen locks rudely torn from infant heads in the process."

The knight takes such an aversion to the boy that he determines to get rid of him by apprenticing him in a Derbyshire factory built in a wild, desolate spot to evade Peel's law. Michael is befriended by Miss Brotherstone, a rich heiress, and by Martha Dowling, the kindly-disposed daughter of the factory owner. Sir Matthew has, however, been too quick for Miss Brotherstone's mediation, and the boy is whisked away to the Deep Valley Mills before any help can reach him. But Miss Brotherstone is unremitting in her efforts to trace him. She takes

Michael's elder brother and mother under her care and protection. A great-hearted clergymen, Mr. George Bell, aids her efforts, and his long disquisitions, though they retard the progress of the story, serve to give point to her humanitarian resolve and to the more alarming features of the factory system: its bad influence on home life, the early and indiscriminate promiscuity of the sexes, the low moral standards, the decay of parental affection, the neglect of education, the resort to the gin-shop.

"All these horrors," she protests, "are perpetrated for the sake of making rich, needlessly, uselessly rich. What I want to find out," Miss Brotherstone explains, "is whether, by the nature of things, it is impossible to manufacture worsted and cotton wool into articles useful to man, without rendering those employed upon it unfit to associate with their fellow creatures?"

Mr. Bell does not think that the remedy lies in abolishing the use of machinery. "It is not from increased or increasing science that we have anything to dread, it is from a fearfully culpable neglect of the moral power that should rule and regulate its uses, that it can be other than one of God's best gifts." While not decrying her individual benevolence, he believed that nothing short of a Ten-hour-day legislation would meet the situation; "but that any of the ordinary modes of being useful on a larger scale, such as organising schools, founding benefit societies, or the like, could be of any use to beings crushed, so toil-worn and so
degraded, it would be idle to hope." At a time when the 'laissez faire' creed of the Utilitarian philosophers like Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) and of the Manchester school still largely held the field, Mrs. Trollope's plea for legislative protection strikes a courageous note.

Instructed and encouraged by Mr. Bell, Miss Brotherstone sets out to recover Michael, visits some factories and in one of these happens to see a Sunday School at work. Mrs. Trollope vents her scorn upon the piety which keeps children at work until midnight on Saturday and summons them to Sunday School at seven in the morning. That Sunday Schools were made subservient to the manufacturers' interests is borne out by the evidence before the Select Committee. Mr. Brotherstone hears the Evangelical factory owner pronouncing an exhortation, intended to show that obedience to their earthly masters was the only way of saving children from the eternal burning prepared in the world to come for those who were disobedient. She blesses the circumstance that not one of the children was sufficiently awake to listen to the mercy of their Maker thus blasphemed.

Arrived at the Deep Valley Mill, she learns from Fanny, a girl-companion of Michael, that he was one of the many victims of an epidemic of fever which had lately broken out in the apprentices' house. The terrible mortality, the burials at night in different cemeteries to avoid notice, are among the facts narrated and borne

---

1. Report 1831-32, p. 281
out by Parliamentary investigations. Balked of Michael she adopts Fanny and sets out on the homeward journey. Unknown to Fanny, however, Michael meanwhile lies battling with his fever. He soon recovers, rejoices at Fanny's escape, and hopes that she, now grown a big girl, might rescue him. But years wear away and the disillusioned Michael makes a desperate bid for liberty and succeeds. He finds his home empty and desolate, his mother dead, and his elder brother adopted by Miss Brotherstone. In delirious despair he attempts suicide, is rescued by a Westmoreland farmer, and is taken into his service. In almost Wordsworthian vein Mrs. Trollope describes the educative process of nature, elevating Michael's heart and imagination and "preparing him, more effectually perhaps than any other school could have done, for the different sphere of life in which he now hoped to move."

To escape the social criticism provoked by her adoption of the factory children, Mary Brotherstone has settled with her wards in Europe. Thither Martha, whose father, now reduced to Bankruptcy, is dying, intends to follow. Michael, revisiting the Dowling mansion, sees the gruesome end of the factory owner, now haunted by terrible nightmares of the factory children. "Their arms and legs are all broken and smashed, and hanging by bits of skin. Take them away, I tell you, Crockley! Their horrible joints will drop upon me; they are dangling and loose, I tell you!"
Michael's identity is disclosed and he accompanies Martha to join Mary Brotherstone's happy circle. In due course Michael and Fanny marry. Michael's elder brother is restored to health and married to Mary Brotherstone: a stock fictional solution of the class problem.

Mrs. Trollope was, by nature, a woman of ready generosity, impulsive, easily aroused to the extremes of championship, too passionately indignant against oppression to be always just or accurate. "Michael Armstrong" reflects these qualities. A certain want of tact and delicacy characterises her work. In her novel as we have seen, horrors abound, and there are melodramatic and conventional touches and passages of cheap pathos. The whole story hinges on a rather fantastic episode, "the marvellously silly adventure", as Mary Brotherstone puts it, of Michael's rescue of Lady Clarissa from an old half-starved cow. It reads almost like a parody of romance: a knight succouring a lady in distress. Nevertheless, the work is, on the whole, a courageous defence of persecuted childhood, looking backward to "Oliver Twist" and forward to Mrs. Browning's "The Cry of the Children". Despite exaggerations and some fictional touches, it can claim a basis of fact, as disclosed in the Factory Reports. We cannot endorse Wanda F. Heff's criticism of Mrs. Trollope as one of those who wrote after a rapid survey of conditions of which they knew nothing and were unreliable. Mrs. Trollope's picture

1. **Victorian Working Women** (1929) p.44
lacks, no doubt, the intimate touch which long contact with factory life gave to Mrs. Coshell. But it has vigour and sincerity and J. L. and Barbara Hammond have testified to its terrible truth. The tale was based on notes taken by the authoress and her son Tom on a special journey to Lancashire and Yorkshire when they were shown as much as time allowed of the evil realities of the remote moorland valleys.

The conditions were, in fact, so bad that they could hardly be exaggerated. In a letter dated 29th December, 1858, Dickens wrote to Edward Fitzgerald: "I went, some weeks ago, to Manchester and saw the worst cotton mill. And then I saw the best. Ex uno disco omnes. There was no great difference between them."

Referring to the influences which helped to secure the passage of the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847, the contemporary historian of the Factory Movement, Alfred (pseud. S. Kydd) writes: "Mrs. Trollope's novel, "Michael Armstrong" has been much abused; it has, however, been useful, and so, also, has been "Helen Fleetwood" by Charlotte Elizabeth."

Different in tone from Mrs. Trollope's "Michael Armstrong" is Charlotte-Elizabeth's "Helen Fleetwood" (1841). Her work has a passionate religious earnestness that is lacking in the other book. Daughter of a clergyman at Norwich, Charlotte Elizabeth was born in 1790, and brought up under the shadow of the grand old

---

1. Lord Shaftesbury, p.78
2. See Michael Sadler: Trollope - A Commentary, p.93
5. Cf. Mrs. G.L. Balfour: A Sketch of Charlotte-Elizabeth (1854)
The stories of the Protestant persecutions and "Fox's Book of Martyrs" inspired the young Charlotte's wish to be a martyr. Her father was an accomplished musician and a Tory of the old school. Rendered almost blind from over-reading, Charlotte had to undergo a severe medical treatment, which occasioned her deafness. After her marriage she devoted herself to literary and philanthropic work. In Dublin where she followed her husband, she felt drawn to the Irish people, but hated Popery. A mystic, she felt a continual sense of God's presence. She experienced, in Ireland, a "conversion". Her philanthropy was essentially religious. She adopted a deaf and dumb child and taught him with admirable charity and perseverance. She found it difficult, however, to give to his concrete imagination the idea of God. "God, no", was his reply, when God could not be shown to him. She took the method of blowing in his face with a pair of bellows and asking him if he saw the wind, then the idea flashed on him, "God like wind"—near, unseen. Her devotion was rewarded by her pupil's affection and gratitude and when she returned, his parents resigned him, saying that "he belonged to her more than to them, for she was the mother of his mind."
The moral and spiritual destitution of the Irish residents of St. Giles's touched her heart and she resolved to erect a place of Anglican worship. Starting with seven pounds she was able to collect a sum of thirteen hundred by her zeal and patience. On Sundays at her
cottage at Sandhurst she gave religious instruction to no less than sixty children, for she was convinced of the necessity of religious instruction for a class above the very poor. "They are a most important class, for from them are the Chartist bodies officered, and active agents supplied in works of infinite mischief." "Helen Fleetwood" is written in this spirit.

The Greens are a pious and industrious family who have adopted and brought up Helen Fleetwood, an orphan. The father dies, their cottage lease expires, and destitution stares them in the face. To avert a possible burden on the parish, the guardians conspire with a factory agent the migration of the Green family to a factory town with inducements of lucrative employment. The immigrants are paid good wages, but they also see much suffering, misery, and demoralisation. The author affirms that the evil painted here very faintly shadows forth the realities. Her care and accuracy in facts carry conviction. The defects of the Factory Act of 1834, the means of evasion, are exposed at length. One inspector and four superintendents are expected to visit no less than 1800 factories in widely scattered and remote areas; their powers are extremely limited; there are numerous evasions beyond their scrutiny, such as cheating children out of their proper hours for meals and schooling by altering the clock, by intentionally stopping the machinery for a few minutes to have an excuse for

1. Chap.XX
working overtime. Magistrates, the natural allies of manufacturers, make mock of legislative regulations by imposing derisory fines. Seven children are proved to have been cruelly overworked. No defence is set up, the offender is adjudged to pay a fine of two shillings and sixpence. The author enters a strong protest against the manner in which children are treated as a matter of merchandise between two parties: parents and mill-owners. "If, 'Train up a child in the way he should go', be a precept that God himself has vouch­safed to give, as the preliminary to an upright walk through life, oh, who could marvel that the little ones so fearfully forced into every way in which they should not go, become in riper years incarnate fiends!"

Her biblical and prophetic accents combined with her factual accuracy inspired respect in circles where Mrs. Trollope's book might have been dismissed as Chartist propaganda. Cazamian writes on "Helen Fleetwood":

"Sur un public habitué aux discussions religieuses, nourri de théologie combative, avide aussi de faits précis, d'arguments concrets, le roman a pu agir à la façon d'un traité didacte que, auquel un minimum d'art aurait gagné bien des lecteurs"

1. Chap. X.