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**Criminology as Reflected in the Poetic
Themes Used in George Crabbe's
'Smugglers and Poachers', 'Peter Grimes '
and 'The Election(1832-1754) '**

By

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Abstract

This paper is trying to study criminology as a trend in literary works. It depicts one of the most significant subjects exploring crimes in George Crabbe's selected poems, their correspondence and the social conditions of the eighteenth century. This paper represents crimes considered as a dark phenomenon in the history of the world and particularly in Great Britain. Throughout history, British society underwent numerous social complications such as corruption, crimes, poverty, poor hygiene and lack of self-security. George Crabbe's poems such as 'Smugglers and Poachers' in Tales of the Hall in addition to two poems 'Peter Grimes' and 'The Elections' in The Borough are the literary works that handle the concept of crime, which is found in English poetry. This paper explains the main causes that contributed to the rise of criminality, the nature of different crimes and legal penalties of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, it attempts to highlight how crimes in George Crabbe's poems are closely linked with the real criminological events. The imaginary names of Crabbe's characters indicate the kind of crimes these characters committed. Crabbe's imaginary character Grimes has the same rhythm of the word crimes in English Language so as to reveal how this person commits horrific crimes. In reality, this male criminal was a woman whose name was Elizabeth Brownrigg .

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Key words: interdisciplinary approach, George Crabbe, the eighteenth-century poetry ,
criminology, Blue-collar crime, Homicide, white-collar crime.

علم الإجرام في الموضوعات الشعرية بقصائد 'مهربون
ولصوص' و 'بيتر جرايمس' و 'الانتخابات' للشاعر
جورج كريب (١٧٥٤ - ١٨٣٢)

إعداد

الدكتور/ه/ رؤى محمد رشدى الطماوى

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية بكلية الآداب بجامعة أسيوط

جمهورية مصر العربية

ملخص البحث :

تعد هذه الورقة البحثية محاولة لدراسة علم الإجرام بإعتباره إتجاهاً سائداً في الأعمال الأدبية حيث تعرض أحد أهم الموضوعات المتعلقة بإستكشاف الجرائم التي تناولها الشاعر البريطاني جورج كريب في مجموعة من قصائده المختارة وبعض خطابه وذلك في ظل الظروف الاجتماعية التي كانت سائدة في بريطانيا في القرن الثامن عشر، وتستعرض هذه الورقة البحثية الجرائم التي توصف بالظاهرة السوداء أو الظاهرة المظلمة في تاريخ العالم وخاصة في تاريخ بريطانيا العظمى. وقد شهد المجتمع البريطاني عبر التاريخ العديد من التعقيدات الاجتماعية مثل الفساد والجرائم والفقر وسوء النظافة الصحية وإنعدام الأمن الذاتي إلخ. إن قصائد جورج كريب المختارة مثل قصيدة 'مهربون ولصوص' بديوانه الشعرى **حكايات القاعة** بالإضافة إلى قصيدتي 'بيتر جرايمس' و 'الانتخابات' بديوانه الشعرى **الإقليم** تعد من الأعمال الأدبية التي تناولت مفهوم الجريمة في الشعر الإنجليزي. إن هذه الورقة البحثية تشرح الأسباب الرئيسية التي ساهمت في تصاعد الإجرام وتحليل الجرائم

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المختلفة والعقوبات القانونية بالقرن الثامن عشر. وفضلاً عن ذلك فإن هذه الورقة البحثية تحاول أن تسلط الضوء على الارتباط الوثيق بين الجرائم التي تناولتها قصائد جورج كريب والأحداث الجنائية الواقعية. إن الأسماء الافتراضية التي أطلقها جورج كريب على شخصياته تشير نوعية الجرائم التي ارتكبتها هذه الشخصيات فكلمة 'جرائمس' التي إستخدمها جورج كريب كإسم لإحدى شخصياته الخيالية يحمل نفس إيقاع كلمة جرائم باللغة الإنجليزية وذلك لكشف الغطاء عن الجرائم المروعة التي ارتكبتها هذا الشخص، و في الواقع فإن هذا المجرم الذكوري هو عبارة عن تجسيد لشخصية إجرامية أنثوية واقعية تدعى إليزابيث برونريج.

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Introduction

The French term 'criminologie', which can be considered as the French equivalent of the English term 'criminology', is thought by some academics that the French anthropologist Paul Topinard used it for the first time in 1879. However, other academics assert that this term was created in 1885 by one of the greatest law professors in Italy called Raffaele Garofalo as 'criminologia' (Treadwell, 2013, p.6). From the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, many criminological theories emerged to analyze crime and criminal justice. Theories depict the processes of making laws, breaking laws, as well as criminal behavior and activity. Theories can generate ideas that may be useful to policy-makers. Individual theories may be either macro or micro. Macro theories of criminal conduct elucidate the distinctions in the rates of crime and gangs. Micro theories of criminal conduct identify reasons why some individuals are likely to commit crime more than others are. (Akers, Sellers and Jennings, 2013, p.12).

An organized crime is a type of transnational, national, or local groups of highly integrated business tackled by criminals who plan to involve into illegal activity regularly "for money and profit" (Macionis,2010,p. 206). Gangs may become well organized enough to be considered as a

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criminal organization. A mafia, mob, network, subculture community of criminals or underworld can be considered as different references to a criminal organization (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). There is no definition of organized crime, which has an international recognition. This is due to the heavy growth of organized crimes that differ from one place to another according to the distinctive social, economic and legal régimes (Gandhirajan, 2004, p. 4).

One of the most significant organized crimes especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was smuggling or contraband. Originally, the term "smuggle" is derived from either the German word "schmuggeln" or the Dutch word "smokkelen". Both of German and Dutch words mean "to transport (goods) illegally" (Wedgwood, 1865, p.236). In the 13th century, smuggling first became a recognised problem in England because of the creation of a national customs collection system by Edward I in 1275 (Gras, 1918, pp.20-21). Historically, smuggling is a form of tax evasion. It is demonstrated on the south coast of England in the 17th century. This was due to the pressure of high taxes. In 1724, Daniel Defoe wrote:

"I do not find they have any foreign commerce, except it be what we call smuggling and roguing; which I may say, is the reigning commerce of all this part of the English coast, from the mouth of the Thames to the Land's End in Cornwall" (Defoe et al., 2006).

In his Advice to Yong Men, William Cobbett describes smuggling as "the slavery of the tea and coffee and other slop-kettle" (1829, p.26). Frank McLynn explains that in eighteenth-century England, over half of the tobacco, tea and coffee were imported illegally (2002, P.173).

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The association between, literature, and criminology is undeniable and, yet for too long those studying crime and literature respectively, have failed to see the connection between the two, or dismissed it as being irrelevant. The phenomena of smuggling, poaching, murder and political corruption are usually aligned with the criminological, psychiatric, sociological, or psychological field. Rarely has connection been made between the phenomena of smuggling, poaching, murder and political corruption and other unrelated academic areas such as— literature. Crime expert, Curt Bartol states: “Over the years, the study of crime has been dominated by three disciplines—sociology, psychology, and psychiatry—but other disciplines or sub-disciplines are becoming more actively involved” (2001, P. 4) .

In the eighteenth century, many people viewed criminals as heroes of the century. Newspapers and books were crammed with the stories of the criminals. George Crabbe's poetry was widely read throughout the world because it examined British society and most of its major themes are crime and corruption. The focus point of this study is to present how crimes in Crabbe's poetry are closely related to the historical events. So, this study will discuss crimes and criminals as well as criminal justice system including imprisonment, lawyers and punishments. The definitions of crimes vary from place to place according to the cultural customs and traditions. But they may be broadly classified as lower-class (blue-collar) crime, lower-class (white-collar crime), corporate crime, organized crime, political crime, public order crime, state crime and state-corporate crime. In his narrative poetry, George Crabbe depicts three or four types of crime (Gibson, 2014, pp. 20-34). This paper examines Crabbe's three poems 'Smugglers and Poachers', 'Peter Grimes' and 'The Election' in the light of criminological

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theory of Sutherland and Cressey, which is known as theory of Differential Association. This theory differed from most of assumptions based on individual-level deficiencies of lower-class citizens and criminals. Consequentially, this theory was based on an assumption, which considered crime like any behavior being learned through differential association.

Crabbe's poetic depiction of Lower-Class Crimes

In *Applying Psychology to Crime*, Julie Harrower supports this opinion when she emphasizes: "Criminology attempts to integrate the potential contributions of a wide range of disciplines in order to study criminal behavior and legal issues" (1998, P.1). There is much truism to both statements particularly in relation to the literary field becoming actively involved. Smuggling, poaching, murder and political corruption have been depicted and analyzed in a plethora of literary works. For instance, the attempt to enter the assassin's mind in order to discover what lies beneath has preoccupied the scholars for centuries. In *Retreat into the Mind: Victorian Poetry and the Rise of Psychiatry*, Ekbart Faas writes: "murder, or the attempt at it, is the second most stereotypical event found in the history of English literature" (1988, P.154). Hamlet, Othello, and Macbeth are all literary works, which portray psychologically tormented murderers. Moreover, they reveal outstanding insight into the criminal mind. In his well-known essay "On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth", De Quincey praises Shakespeare's genuine portrayal of a murderer (1823, P. 545) .

Likewise, in his poem "Smugglers and Poachers", George Crabbe (1754-1832) depicts how the criminal minds of the eighteenth century smugglers are shaped. Although those smugglers regularly strike down the national commercial laws focusing only on maximizing their profits, they think

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that they are traders who really do nothing more than exchanging one thing for another:

To one reduced by godless men to sin ‘

"Who, being always of the law in dread ‘

To other crimes were by the danger led —

And crimes with like excuse. —The Smuggler
cries ‘

"What guilt is his who pays for what he buys[498] ."?'

Indeed, a smuggler is a trader "who pays for what he buys?" but he is not a fair trader. The smugglers are free traders "who, being always of the law in dread" because they violate the regulations of commercial exchange. There is a distinction between fair traders and smugglers/ free traders. Fair traders are not free traders, because they accept the commercial restrictions imposed on them .

In this respect, for example, in the eighteenth century, merchants weakened the governmental authority to protect their businesses. Adam Smith describes human tendency to "truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another" by undermining the very clear need for governmental protection of "life, Liberty, and property" (Smith, 2011, p. 20). In that era, smuggling became the way of local inhabitants of every class to act and think intercontinentally much more than their governments did. In every geographic location, the separation between physical spaces of different countries provided those smugglers a wide scope to determine which laws to accept and which to ignore. Recognizing the laws as written in any country, regardless of its geographic location, cannot guarantee that they will be followed. Definitely, recognizing the laws is not enough to determine anything about its enforcement patterns. As Michael B. Mukasey, United States Attorney General, declared, "Not every wrong, or even every violation of the law, is a crime" (Lichtblau, 2008). Such an argument shocks many legislators;

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nonetheless, it clarifies many historical facts about adhering to the laws worldwide at any time .

Smugglers are considered as the opposite of fair traders. They do not accept the commercial restrictions; at least if they have an opportunity to violate them. It is implied by those smugglers that the governmental laws and their restrictions are the main cause of being outlaws. In Crabbe's narrative poem, Robert succeeded in convincing his innocent sweetheart Rachel that he is not guilty, "Of guilt she thought not, -- she had often heard/ They bought and sold, and nothing wrong appear'd;...[497]". The corruption of the officials enables Robert and his gang to escape from punishment they deserve. Accordingly, this ability enables him to prove his innocence for the society. Although smuggling was not a sufficient source of income for those criminals, the widespread poverty in the eighteenth-century British society helped those smugglers be heroes. Christopher Hill states that "in eighteenth-century ...the smuggler was cast for the role of noble robber and became a popular hero'. This was due to they provided the smuggled goods at cheap prices to the poor families (Hill,1996,P.110). Smuggling is practiced by all ranks of people in all societies, including the corrupt merchants or the smugglers whose illegal trade is protected by corrupt officials. The latter enlarge the abilities of the former to accumulate profits by reducing the risks the former may face. Thus, the beneficiaries from those corrupt merchants regularly violated the laws, designed to ensure British authority in commercial matters and protect fair traders. A nineteenth-century historian expresses:

We have not yet done, however, with all the ramifications of this vast and magnificent league [of smuggling], for it extended itself... to almost every class of society. Each

tradesman smuggled or dealt in smuggled goods; each public-house was supported by smugglers, and gave them in return every facility possible; each country gentleman.... dabbled a little in the interesting traffic; almost every magistrate shared in the proceeds or partook of the commodities (James, 1845, p.3).

The writer of these words shows that both of smugglers and magistrates might belong to the same social classes. As a result, those magistrates, who are supposed to enforce the law, can be corrupt by the temptations of cheaper goods or a lump sum gained from cheating the government treasury. Moreover, as earlier stated, those officials who assert a need for commercial laws also violate the same rules that they contribute to creating .

Smuggling is a victimless crime because smugglers achieve their duties without resorting to either the use or threat of violence. They have the cunning skills to do everything and get away with it. As earlier stated, in many cases, corrupt officials facilitate smuggling. The combination of cunning action and corrupt officials elucidates why the smugglers are rarely arrested. In the words of G. P.R. James, who prepares a study about smuggling in the English countryside:

The magistrates and officers... were in general so deeply implicated in the trade themselves, that smuggling had a fairer chance than the law in any case that came before them, and never was a more hapless enterprise undertaken, in ordinary circumstances than of convicting a smuggler, unless captured in flagrant delict (James, 1845, p.4).

Although James' study case is smuggling in the English countryside, he generalizes his study outcomes to describe smuggling anywhere in the world. He asserts that smugglers are rarely brought to the court. If this happens, the corrupt officials, who facilitate smuggling, will prevent by every means in their power all publicity or exposure of the ways in

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which smuggling take place. Also, they will hide the identities of the smugglers and their clients. In addition, a majority of the arrested smugglers are not generally involved in grand-scale activities .

Need and Greed were the essential motivations of the poaching in the eighteenth century. Poaching means stealing wild creatures, such as birds, animals or fish, from those who own the land or water they live in. The parliamentary enclosure movement of the eighteenth-century led many small farmers to lose their land and become poor workers with no alternative food supply. Thus, the majority of the poachers did not only poach for eating but also a profit-making venture. They were working with organized gangs to get food supply not only for their poor families but also for selling it in the black market. Howkins defines poaching as "an economic crime" (1979, P.283).

Crabbe depicts how greed possesses the criminal minds of Robert's gang. After several hazardous activities of smuggling, they discover that smuggling is an insufficient source of income for them:

Their traffic fail'd—and the adventurous crew

No more their prontless attempts renew :

Dig they will not, and beg they might in vain .

Had they not pride, and what can then remain[498] ?

In that moment, Robert and his gang decide to change their criminal activity. They search for another one that may generate a lot of money in a short time. Their second criminal activity is poaching:

Now was the game destroy'd, and not a hare

Escaped at least the danger of the snare †

Woods of their feather'd beauty were bereft †

The beauteous victims of the silent theft †

The well-known shops received a large supply †

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That they who could not kill at least might buy[498] .

In the eighteenth-century, most of the poachers were the poor workers who lost their small farms as a direct result of Game Laws. Consequently, many villagers considered poaching as an "innocent practice" against "the growing brutality of the Criminal Law" which "had raised up a little Nimrod in every manor" (Hammond and Lawrence, 1912, pp. 162-63). If Robert and his gang are able to escape the punishment of the second crime committed, smuggling, they fail to escape from punishment of the first crime committed, poaching, because Robert's good brother, James, is the gamekeeper .

In that era, severe punishments prohibited poaching the game. For every rich man in London, there were two main advantages of game. The first was to enjoy having a meal in a game. The second was to hold the celebrations of public occasions in the game. However, as stated earlier, illegal poaching of game was commonly considered as an "innocent practice". Therefore, the police politely turned their backs on the trade. By contrast, the landowners and parliamentary members officially denied and rejected the practice of poaching. According to George Nicholls' book entitled History of the English Poor Law, during the reigns of George the First, Second and Third, poaching was described as a dangerous crime. Actually, it was the most prevalent crime at that time. Finally, in 1741, the crime of poaching became punished by "death, as in the cases of felony without benefit of clergy" (1904, p.30). In Crabbe's poem 'Smugglers and Poachers', Robert meets his brother, James, for the last time as if he were his enemy in a very touching and tragic scene:

"Two lives were gone, and we no more pursued.

"Two lives of men, of valiant brothers, lost!

"Enough, my lord, do hares and pheasants cost"!

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So many thought, and there is found a heart
To dwell upon the deaths on either part;
Since this their morals have been more correct.
The cruel spirit in the place is check'd;
His lordship holds not in such sacred care.
Nor takes such dreadful vengeance for a hare;
The smugglers fear, the poacher stands in awe
Of Heaven's own act, and reverence the law;
There was, there is, a terror in the place
That operates on man's offending race[501]...;

In this deadly fighting, the two brothers kill each other. Each one has different motivation to kill the other. Robert is motivated by poaching whereas James is motivated by defending his lord's game .

As earlier stated, Smuggling and Poaching are lower-class crimes (blue-collar crimes), which informally called blue-collar crimes. According to many criminologists, low class is a factory of criminals. This is due to many factors: lack of good education, low income, and starvation. In many cases of lower-class crimes (blue-collar crimes), starvation motivates the poor to be criminals and get some money to buy food. In addition, envy and aggression against the uncharitable upper-class families can enhance this criminal behavior against wealthy people. Studies on criminal behaviour often consider low-class individuals as more criminal than high-class ones. Throughout their experiment, Hartshorne and May find that poor children are prone to lie, cheat and steal more than wealthy children. As they suffer from conduct disorders, low-class children are guiltier of misbehaviour at school according to the frequent records done by psychiatric social workers (Hartshorne and May, 1928). Low-class boys are more familiar with "argot terms or criminal slang" than boys from the middle class (Hardt

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and Bodine, 1965, p.10). Low-class boys more often use aggressive expressions directly, whereas middle-class boys tend to avoid doing so (Miller, 1967, pp. 25- 37).

Smuggling and Poaching are not only the actual lower-class crimes (blue-collar crimes) inspired Crabbe. 'Peter Grimes', which examines serial murder, was also based on an actual blue-collar crime. Pollard asserts that the poem was based on actual murder cases committed by Elizabeth Brownrigg (1995, pp. 291–305). As earlier stated, the lack of good education is one of the main factors that misleads the low class individuals and leads them to take the criminal road. Rather, illiteracy makes the parents unable to rear their children properly. Whenever the children with special needs are born, the well-educated parents are required. Not only are autism, down syndrome, dyslexia, blindness or cystic fibrosis the types of special needs of the children but also conduct disorder. Hinshaw defines conduct disorder as a mental disorder. Its symptoms can be a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the child or the adult violates "the basic rights of others" or "major age-appropriate norms". These symptoms are called "antisocial behaviors" (Beauchaine and Hinshaw, 2013, pp. 144–198). Sadism is a form of conduct disorder. In fact, it is a personality disorder "with the highest level of comorbidity". It does not often occur in adulthood but also in childhood and adolescence (Burket and Myers, 2006, pp. 61-71).

In his narrative poem entitled Peter Grimes, the Letter XXII of his volume of poetry *The Borough*, Crabbe deeply depicts the sadistic man whose name is Peter Grimes. In the opening stanza, Crabbe shows how Grimes is a sadistic child who does not get the parental ideal care, which the children with special needs urgently need:

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Old Peter Grimes made fishing his employ,
His wife he cabined with him and his boy,
And seemed that life laborious to enjoy:
To town came quiet Peter with his fish,
And had of all a civil word and wish.
He left his trade upon the Sabbath day,
And took young Peter in his hand to pray;
But soon the stubborn boy from care broke loose,
At first refused, then added his abuse,
His father's love he scorned, his power defied,
But, being drunk, wept sorely when he died[246].

The name of Peter Grimes has the same rhythm of the word crimes. Of course, Crabbe chooses this name for the main character of his poetic social drama as a sort of connotation for the multi-criminal activities, which Grimes commits .

In his criticism of Crabbe's poetry entitled *George Crabbe: A Reappraisal*, Frank S. Whitehead seems to associate the amorphousness of Peter Grimes' personality with the fact that:

We have to accept as a "given" in Crabbe's young Peter Grimes an inborn self-centered, antisocial disposition to evil. His obdurate rebelliousness against all social claims upon him is evidently neither inherited nor the result of early ill-treatment.

However, this seems rather to emphasize that Peter Grimes, "the stubborn boy", is one of the children with special needs or conduct disorder. There can be no real doubt that he is a sadistic child who enjoys hurting others.

As a poor uneducated fisherman, Peter Grimes' father knows nothing about rearing the children with special needs. As earlier shown in the above-lines, the illiterate father "Old

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Peter Grimes" has tried to force his sadistic son "to pray" but "the stubborn boy" resists performing all religious customs and prayers. Of course, it is a terrible mistake to force a sadistic child to do anything. One of the prominent symptoms of sadistic personality is that not only he refuses to obey any orders but also he considers all people to be under his control, no matter whether the other individual is elder or younger. He treats both the elder and the younger in an aggressive and harsh manner .

Peter Grimes' sadistic main goal is to exert full and unbroken control over other people at any situation (Davies and O'Meara, 2007, pp.24-30). He is a heartless criminal rejects any call for good behaviour with the other. The expected reaction of this sadistic son was "At first refused, [and] then added his abuse". In those critical moments, he felt as if he were a prisoner who "broke loose" and ran away from the guards. To make it worse, the illiterate father tried to show his love to his sadistic son who considered this love as an indicator of his father's surrender to be under his control; therefore, he began to defy his father's "power". Instead, it is advisable to help him to get rid of all negative and sadistic tendencies firstly throughout psychotherapy. Unfortunately, the sadistic child Peter Grimes did not receive any psychotherapy or even social skills training which is very necessary for this type of children with special needs. Many psychiatrists think that some people who develop sadistic behavior need such training because they do not know how to form healthy relationships with other people. Davis and Millon state that if sadists are taught "alternative styles of interacting", this will decrease their "aggression" (1996, P.501).Although social skills training is not considered a substitute for psychotherapy, it appears to be a useful supplementary treatment. As a result, the psychological status of this sadistic boy becomes worse:

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And while old Peter in amazement stood,
Gave the hot spirit to his boiling blood:
How he, with oath and furious speech, began
To prove his freedom and assert the man;
And when the parent checked his impious rage,
How he had cursed the tyranny of age—
Nay, once had dealt the sacrilegious blow
On his bare head, and laid his parent low:
The father groaned — "If thou art old," said he,
"And hast a son — thou wilt remember me;
Thy mother left me in a happy time,
Thou kill'dst not her — Heaven spares the double crime]".
[247

Not only does Grimes insult his father but also rebels against him "to prove his freedom and assert" his manhood. Then, he has "cursed" the difference of ages between him and his father because he considers this difference as a source of oppression and "tyranny" which prevents a son from treating his father as one of his peers .

In Crabbe's revelation of sadistic behavior, Grimes knocks his father down and pummels him with "sacrilegious" blows. The helpless father has "groaned" melancholy trying to remind this sadistic son with the Heavenly revenge:

Now lived the youth in freedom, but debarr'd
From constant pleasure, and he thought it hard;
Hard that he could not every wish obey,
But must awhile relinquish ale and play;
Hard! that he could not to his cards attend,
But must acquire the money he would spend[247] .

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Apparently, Grimes pretends that he repents of his cruelty and physical abuse against his father. However, this type of sadistic characters cannot feel real remorse for committing any crime even if he murders his kind father .

The unquestionable evidence emphasizing the falseness of Grime's repentance for abusing his father is the extreme happiness that replaces "his maudlin grief". In the National Review published in 1859, W.C.Roscoe insists that:

‘Peter Grimes’ portrays the influence of a savage sort of remorse on a coarse and brutal nature. It is powerful but rude drawing, and a far more vivid and terror-inspiring picture of raving alienation of intellect than that contained in ‘Sir Eustace Grey’ (Pollard, 1995, p. 408).

After a short period of time, Grime's fake repentance falls sharply and becomes happy as he gets rid of all hateful parental restraints, which his father imposed on him. From now and then, no one can deprive Peter "From constant pleasure" of drinking wine and playing cards .

Logically, gambling acquires a lot of money which no honest fisherman can own. Getting money is not a challenging problem for Peter Grimes who is ready to commit any crime to satisfy his sadistic nature:

With greedy eye he look'd on all he saw
He knew not justice, and he laughed at law
On all he marked he stretched his ready hand
He fished by water, and he filched by land.
Oft in the night has Peter dropped his oar
Fled from his boat and sought for prey on shore
Oft up the hedgerow glided, on his back
Bearing the orchard's produce in a sack
Or farmyard load, tugged fiercely from the stack

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And as these wrongs to greater numbers rose,
The more he looked on all men as his foes[247] .

His second crime is stealing money by stretching "his ready hand". During the day, he catches fish from water as much as possible. During night, he leaves his boat walking stealthily along "the hedgerows" and carrying off "in a sack" fruit, corn, or hay he steals from "the orchard" or the farms.

Possessing a lot of money can satisfy and please the greedy robbers; but for the sadist Peter Grimes the successful robberies lead him to experience a negative feeling. Starting a new career of stealing and attacking others, Grimes becomes much more aggressive against all the people to the extent he considers all people as his enemies:

And as these wrongs to greater numbers rose,
The more he looked on all men as his foes.

He built a mud-walled hovel, where he kept
His various wealth, and there he oft times slept[247] ... ‘

No crimes can satisfy Peter Grimes' sadistic evil nature whose sole aim is to get enjoyment out of causing troubles and torment of others:

He wished for one to trouble and control,
He wanted some obedient boy to stand
And bear the blow of his outrageous hand,
And hoped to find in some propitious hour
A feeling creature subject to his power[247]...

A sadist by nature, Grimes' brutality stimulates him to get a permanent victim on whom he can exercise his sadistic behavior and get his full pleasure from abusing him physically and psychologically .

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A realist poet, Crabbe criticizes the parish-apprentice system, which enables anyone to buy an orphan boy from a parish in London according to the law of 1703. The law, included in "the 4th section of 27 Henry VIII. Cap25" is a type of severe corruption contradicting all human rights:

[It] empowers any two or more justices of peace in their several divisions, and all mayors and other chief officers of cities and towns corporate, and likewise the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, with the approbation of such justices, mayors, and other chief officers, to bind and put out any boy of the age of ten years or upwards who is chargeable or whose parents are chargeable to the parish wherein they inhabit, or who shall beg for alms be apprentice to the master or owner of any English ship or vessel, until such boy shall attain the age of one-and-twenty; and such binding is declared to be as effective in law as if the boy were of full age, and by indenture had bound himself. The boy's age is to be inserted in the indenture, and the churchwardens and overseers of the parish whence the boy was bound, are to pay to the master the sum of fifty shillings to provide the boy with sea-clothing and bedding...(Nicholls and Willink, 1904)

These crimes were not sadistic Peter's responsibility; it was the parish leaders' responsibility as well. Unless the parish allows Grimes to buy orphan boys, he cannot abuse or kill these orphans .

In a very touching scene, Crabbe describes how the corrupt parish authorities turn the workhouse of orphans into a "slave shop:"

He wanted some obedient boy to stand
And bear the blow of his outrageous hand;
And hoped to find in some propitious hour

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A feeling creature subject to his power.

Peter had heard there were in London then—
Still have they being! — workhouse-clearing men,
Who, undisturb'd by feelings just or kind,
Would parish boys to needy tradesmen bind;
They in their want a trifling sum would take,
And toiling slaves of piteous orphans make.

Such Peter sought, and when a lad was found,
The sum was dealt him, and the slave was bound.
Some few in town observed in Peter's trap
A boy, with jacket blue and woolen cap[247] ...;

Not only do the corrupt parish authorities contribute to humiliating orphan boys but also the indifference of the surrounding community who do not lift a finger to help the orphan boys. Grimes' neighbors mindlessly hear the apprentice's screams:

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;
None put the question, "Peter, dost thou give
The boy his food? — What, man! the lad must

Live:

"Consider, Peter, let the child have bread,
"He'll serve thee better if he's stroked and fed[247]".

Peter Grimes' neighbors do nothing more than saying, "Grimes is at his exercise." After a miserable suffering, the poor orphan boy dies .

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His death shocks these indifferent neighbors, but Peter replies all their questions coldly, "I found him lifeless in his bed". Because of the lack of proof, his indifferent neighbors become no longer suspicious:

How he was fed, how punish'd, and how task'd?
Much they suspected, but they little proved,
And Peter pass'd untroubled and unmoved.

Another boy with equal ease was found,
The money granted, and the victim bound;
And what his fate? One night it chanced he fell
From the boat's mast and perish'd in her well.
Where fish were living kept, and where the boy
(So reason'd men) could not himself destroy—:

"Yes ! so it was," said Peter, " in his play,
("For he was idle both by night and day)
"He climb'd the main-mast and then fell be-
low[247]":

After getting a great pleasure of killing the first boy, Peter Grimes does not feel any remorse. Rather, he buys other two orphan boys individually from the "slave shop" and kills both of them after a long period of abuse .

If the character of Peter Grimes is shocking as a literary persona, its real counterpart is much more shocking. If it is unacceptable for a man to be sadistic, it will be offensive for a woman to be so. In reality, Peter Grimes is no more than an illustration of a well-known female criminal of the eighteenth century:

Peter Grimes, the subject of the twenty-second Letter, is a male Brownrigg, a ruffian who murders his three apprentices, after having dealt the sacrilegious blow.

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Elizabeth Brownrigg was executed at Tyburn on 14 September 1767 for murdering one of her apprentices, Mary Clifford. She is commemorated in an inscription, parodying Southey and written by Canning and Frere in *The Anti-Jacobin* (Pollard, 1995, pp. 291–305).

In reality, the events and accidents are more monstrous, more shocking than the human imagination can invent. Crabbe's illusions to real people evoke the readers to have queering eyes. As a physician, Crabbe tries to cure the social diseases not only the biological ones .

In the above-mentioned poem, Crabbe depicts in detail Peter's irritation as he is finally penalized by the indifferent community that discards him and by the ghosts of his victims. Crabbe shows the trial and sentence of Peter. After murdering the third orphan boy, the corrupt authorities summon Peter to appear in the presence of the town's inhabitants. Notwithstanding the mayor releases him, Peter is forbidden to adopt more orphan boys and he is disgusted and rejected by all town's inhabitants. As a result, he becomes isolated as the first aspect of his punishment. Then, "misery, grief, and fear" make him exceedingly suffer. He is similar to Macbeth who suffers a lot from the ghastly hallucination that trembles him every night. It is noteworthy that his father's ghost frightens him as the spirit of Hamlet's father. This severe psychological punishment justifies the lines, which Crabbe has borrowed from Shakespearean tragedies Richard III and Macbeth to introduce this poem:

Methought the souls of all that I had murdered
Came to my tent; and every one did threat. . .
—Shakespeare, Richard III [V iii 204-5]
the time hath been'

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That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end; but now they rise again,
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools...

—Shakespeare, Macbeth [III iv 78-83]

The last lines of this poem 'Peter Grimes' refer to the continuity of this punishment even after death. While dying, the aforementioned ghosts frighten Peter, who says, "Again they come", he murmurs as he breathes his last .

Crabbe's poetic depiction of Upper-Class Crimes

In his poem 'Smugglers and Poachers', Crabbe represents smuggling and poaching as lower-class crimes (blue-collar crimes). Similarly, in his poem 'Peter Grimes', Crabbe represents the sadistic criminal as a poor man whose illiterate father is unable to offer him any psychotherapy. Therefore, Grimes' sadistic crimes can be considered as lower-class crimes (blue-collar crimes) as well. In the following section, the researcher will show how Crabbe depicts another type of crimes in his poem 'The Election'. It is a white-collar crime or upper-class crime. In 1939, the social scientist Edwin Sutherland introduced the concept of white-collar crime for the first time throughout the American Sociological Association. Sutherland defines white-collar crime as: "a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" (Sutherland,1949, p.9) .

Many criminologists appreciate this definition a lot. Sutherland explains that crime is not restricted to the low-class. Also, he emphasizes that criminological theory needs to focus on the men with powerful positions not only on the poor men. He rejects the bias of the criminal justice system in favor of the powerful. In their criminological theory of Differential Association, Sutherland and Cressey postulate that criminal motives and techniques are learned within a

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reference group and in the case of so-called 'white collar' criminality, the legal occupation often constitutes the best learning milieu (Coleman 1985, P.112). A white-collar crime becomes a sub-division of Criminology. It has other labels such as "occupational crime" or "crime of the powerful". Fraud is one of the main offense categories of whit-collar crimes (Newburn, Williamson and Wright, 2012, pp. 426-449). There are many types of fraud, but this section will focus on election fraud that the powerful men wearing white collars often commit to purchase the parliamentary seats.

In the eighteenth century, elections were regular festivals in which the mob gathered round the political activities and speeches of the candidates. In his book *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, Sydney describes the British elections in the 18th Century as follows:

Bitterness of party spirit—Intensity of political feeling and its causes—Political societies—Elections and electioneering tactics—Hogarth's Election series—The case of New Shoreham—William Wilberforce and the Hull freemen—The Westminster election of 1784—Bribery and corruption in high places—Cowper and the visit of the candidate — Fierceness of the electoral contests for Leicester, Middlesex, and Nottingham in last century (Sydney, 1891, p. 157).

On the day of elections, the electors come to vote experiencing explicit ambivalence resulting from having two contradictory feelings. Psychologically, they are pleasant to get the bribes (such as wine, golden coins, etc...) and unpleasant to vote for unqualified candidates.

Each vote has its price. The price is evaluated according to the importance of the elector. As soon as the result of

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elections is announced, each elector receives his wage. In his volume of verse *Borough*, George Crabbe says:

Among these worthies, some at first declare
For whom they vote: he then has most to spare;
Others hang off — when coming to the post
Is spurring time, and then he'll spare the most:
While some demurring, wait, and find at last
The bidding languish, and the market past;
These will affect all bribery to condemn.
And be it Satan laughs, he laughs at them.

Some too are pious — One desired the Lord
To teach him where "to drop his little word[195] ..."
Of course, these electoral bribes cannot be received after
announcing the primary results of elections but after
announcing the committee's decision regarding "election
petitions ."

The interesting biography of William Wilberforce, written
by his two sons, shows that in 1780 "the letter of the law was
not broken, because the money was not paid until the last
day on which election petitions could be presented."
(Sydney, 1891, p. 175). George Crabbe describes this scene:

Our worthy Mayor, on the victorious part,
Cries out for peace, and cries with all his heart:
He, civil creature! ever does his best
To banish wrath from every voter's breast;
"For where," says he, with reason strong and plain,
"Where is the profit? what will anger gain[195] "?

After the end of these elections, the corrupt practices,
drunkenness, tumult, and disorder subside. The Mayor
"Daniel", who belongs to the winning party, tries to soften
people's hearts and mitigate the ill-feeling created among the

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members of the competing party and electors. He tries to heal injuries and reconcile his friends who belong to the defeated party.

The Mayor "Daniel" asks with much good sense that the anger is useless. He explains that optimism is the main factor of his prosperity. He starts to narrate his life-story since his early days:

He was a fisher from his earliest day,
And placed his nets within the Borough's bay,
Where, by his skates, his herrings, and his soles,
He lived, nor dream'd of Corporation-Doles[195] ...;

As a hero of this scene, "Daniel" smiles with pride when he remembers his early days. He was a simple fisherman who was "placing his nets within the borough's bay", living on the skates, herrings, and soles which he caught and never dreaming of "corporation doles". In the footnotes of his book *The Life and Poetical Works of George Crabbe*, Crabbe's son defines "corporation doles". Apparently, in the 18th century, some corporate bodies owned real property, which they rented. In addition, the second source of their profits came from getting illegal bribery from the individuals who pursued to be "members into their society" (1901, pp. 195-196). The corrupt politicians were trying to be integrated into community through illegal acts and agreements with members of parliament .

In December 19, 1767, the Earl of Chesterfield sent a letter to his son from Bath to elucidate the truth of what happened in the elections "to secure a seat in the new Parliament:"

In one of our conversations here this time twelvemonth (he writes), I desired him (i.e. Lord Chatham) to secure you a

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seat in the new Parliament; he assured me he would, and, I am convinced, very sincerely; he said even that he would make it his own affair, and desired I would give myself no more trouble about it Since that I have heard no more of it, which made me look out for some venal borough; and I spoke to a borough-jobber, and offered five and twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat in Parliament. But he laughed at my offer, and said that there was no such thing as a borough to be had now; for the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of three thousand pounds at least, but many at four thousand, and two or three, that he knew, at five thousand (Chesterfield and Leigh, 1937) .

In Crabbe's poem included in his poetic volume *The Borough* and entitled 'The Election', the Mayor "Daniel" proceeds to explain how he was able to purchase a Parliamentary seat in the borough through the "Corporation-Doles". After saving a large sum of money, his friend gave him a piece of advice that made his money "breed."

Because of hard working, "Daniel" manages to save "twelve-score pounds," which he carefully hid in a box. He did not know how to get an investment venture. His fear about thieves breaking in to steal his money prevents him from sleeping. Therefore, he consults a friend:

But toiling saved, and saving, never ceased
Till lie had box'd up twelvescore pounds at least:
He knew not money's power, but judged it best
Safe in his trunk to let his treasure rest;
Yet to a friend complain'd: "Sad charge, to keep
"So many pounds; and then I cannot sleep":
"Then put it out," replied the friend: —" What 's
give
"My money up? why then I could not live":
"Nay, but for interest place it in his hands[196] ...

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As shown in the last line of the above-mentioned abstract, Daniel's reply is innocent because he has never heard of interest. His objections, however, disappear one after another .

Afterwards, his eyes sparkle when he eventually discovers the fact that money, like other things, can "breed", "And you'll receive, from all deductions clear, / Five pounds for every hundred, every year,"... [196] Henceforth, Daniel exclaims, "I begin to live." Then, due to his good luck he was elected as a "burgess", which is a kind of political promotion. As a result, Daniel exceeds his peers:

Him in our Body-Corporate we chose.

And once among us, he above us rose⁶

Stepping from post to post, he reach'd the Chair⁶

And there he now reposes—that's the Mayor[196] .

After reaching "the Chair", he becomes easily the Mayor of the town. He is an example of a satisfied climber of the political community. Finally, this political corruption had a negative effect on the Britain's economic development, increased the income inequity and significantly distorted public expenditures .

To conclude, the main concern of this paper is to explore how George Crabbe creates various poetic narratives to represent the criminological aspects in England. In the eighteenth century, drinking alcohol and lack of hygienic conditions, harsh living conditions and the high rates of corruption and crimes were dominant characteristics of British society. Several criminologists agree that unprecedented legal violations were common in London at that time. Tracing similarities between real criminal discourse and Crabbe's poetic representations of crimes, the

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study examines the ways in which George Crabbe adopts and adapts particular verse forms in order to discover the nature of terrible crimes and depicts them in his poetry. Crabbe depicts the criminal justice system from the time his poems were consistent with these social crimes. Throughout these literary poems, one can understand that there are distinctive moral lessons. Crabbe mirrors the main incidents of his era. The events he presents in his poems do not contradict the real criminological records of that period. There is similarity between his poetic characters and well-known criminals .

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Notes

(1) Crabbe, George (1901). *The Life and Poetical Works of George Crabbe By His Son. A New and Complete Edition With Portrait and Engravings.* London: John Murray, Albemarle Street and William Clowes & Sons, Ltd. [All quotes from poems 'Smugglers and Poachers' in *Tales of the Hall* in addition to two poems 'Peter Grimes' and 'The election' in *The Borough Tales of the Hall* are from this edition and hereafter cited between square brackets as page numbers only.]

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