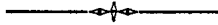


East," that vast undertaking of which he was the originator, will always remain a monument of his learning and diligence. His memory will always be cherished by those who knew him as that of a singularly high-minded, affectionate, and laborious student. But his religious views, as distinguished from his religious character, will not, we think, be found to stand the test of time, or to have any value, such as he might have wished them to have, as an *eirenicon* between the ancient faith and modern knowledge.

CARLETON GREENE.

P.S.—Since the above was written a book has appeared, called "The Silesian Horseherd," in which Max Müller's religious tenets are fully set forth. We cannot now enter into a discussion of this work, but it may be safely said that it confirms the view taken above.



ART. V.—THE GROWTH OF PAUPERISM.

I.

THE review of the conditions of pauperism in London, now published annually in the *Times* on December 26, was for last year even more painful reading than usual. As the writer says: "In London to-day the mass of pauperism with which the guardians are dealing has no parallel, in some of its aspects, in the history of the Poor Law." What makes the matter worse is that the increase is, beyond doubt, neither a fluctuating one nor one due to exceptional circumstances. It is, as the figures show, the result of a steady growth. Taking the last five years, the figures for each December, showing the number of persons in receipt of relief in the Metropolitan area, have risen steadily from 103,184 in 1900 to 114,575 in 1903. And with increased number has gone increased cost; which in London (excluding the expenditure of the Asylums Board) rose last year to £3,414,669, being an increase upon the previous year of £214,402. And what is true of London is, we fear, to some extent—at any rate, as far as large centres of population are concerned—true of the rest of the country.

Had we been passing through a period of general and prolonged commercial depression, or had the last few winters been unusually severe, there might have been some valid excuse for this great increase of pauperism. But the actual conditions for some years past have been just the opposite of

these. Since the outbreak of the Transvaal War food and fuel may have been slightly dearer, and taxation—which is, however, only very indirectly felt by the poorest classes—may have been somewhat higher, but there has certainly been no abnormal depression in trade. No; as the writer of the review states, the steady, and in some cases rapid, increase, both in the number of paupers and in the cost per head of pauperism, must be attributed to other causes than these. And the chief value of the article in the *Times* consists, I believe, in its enabling us to see very clearly what these other causes are, and even to trace the gradual increase in their strength.

The chief causes are stated as follows: (1) "The altered feeling of the poor towards relief in the workhouses, into which they are crowding in large numbers"; this, while still a "cause," is the result of a previous or underlying cause, viz., a feeling due, at any rate in part, to "the increased comforts of the workhouses"; (2) "slack administration"; (3) "false views of the Poor Law, which have tended to popularise pauper relief"; and (4) "a want of uniformity and of strictness in the operations of the various Boards of Guardians."

But if the writer points out present evils, and what he believes to be the chief causes of these evils, he does not rest there. He also gives suggestions whereby these evils may be remedied, and it is in these suggestions which he makes that the most valuable part of the article consists.

The present administrators of the Poor Law—the guardians—are a popularly elected and constantly changing body; and, like too many other similarly elected bodies, they are not always, or we fear even generally, elected because of their expert knowledge either of the particular law which they have to administer, or of the still higher laws of sociology which govern inevitably the conditions of social welfare.

An appeal has lately been issued for funds to establish a "School" of Sociology, a teaching institution in which those called upon, or anxious, to deal with social questions—and of these poverty is one of the commonest and most difficult—may obtain the best possible instruction in this most important science.

If all would-be guardians before election had to produce evidence before a competent tribunal that they possessed knowledge adequate to enable them to fulfil their office wisely, then, in all probability, the present Poor Law would not be found altogether inadequate to deal with existing conditions. But let anyone with even a very moderate acquaintance with Poor Law guardians and with guardians' elections reflect upon his experience of these, and he will be forced to confess that he cannot be surprised at the present evil state of affairs.

I could cite two recent elections of guardians, the first in one of our largest cities, the second in a very extensive country union. In both cases before the election the chairmen were exceptionally enlightened and able Poor Law administrators. Both men had induced their Boards to pursue a careful, though by no means a harsh, policy. In the first case the old chairman failed to obtain re-election at all; in the second case, though the old chairman was re-elected a guardian, the new Board was so constituted that a new chairman was chosen, and a new, ignorant, and lax policy adopted.

Among the most painful features of present-day social problems must be placed the apparently growing reluctance of men of education and position—men who from these advantages are capable of forming wide and far-sighted views—to take part in the administration of local or municipal affairs. It is not difficult to account for this reluctance, however much we may deplore it. *Expertus metuit* says he who has had experience of local contested elections and of local administration. Nothing less than a high sense of duty to the present and the future interests of the community enables a man or woman of education or position to undergo the consequences either of candidature or election.

Some time ago I thought of becoming a candidate for election to a certain Board of Guardians. I mentioned this to an old and very able Poor Law administrator, whose advice to me was: "If you value your peace of mind, don't dream of such a thing; from the moment you enter that board-room you will be at constant enmity with the great majority of your colleagues. By compelling them to listen to what you have to say you may prolong the meetings, but you will not affect their methods."

To the present system of administration the writer of the *Times* article sees two alternatives, viz.: (1) A more precise and definite Poor Law, which even the most ill-advised administrator cannot pervert; or (2) more careful local administration.

Both these alternatives open the door to a number of suggestions and criticisms. With regard to the first, can the law be named which ignorant and ill-advised, and especially "amateur," administration has not perverted? Recent experiences of attempts to work the new Education Act are not hopeful towards improvements in this direction. That the present Poor Law is incapable of improvement I certainly do not believe, or that changes in the direction of somewhat greater stringency might not well be made. In certain directions the limits of the power of individual Boards might certainly with advantage be curtailed.

The opinion of the *Times* writer is strongly in favour of a better and more intelligent administration of the *present* Poor Law: "If we could always be sure of a good proportion of each Board of Guardians being men and women trained in the work of relief, the existing law would be quite sufficient to carry out the main objects of the Poor Law—adequacy and promptitude of relief for the destitute, and dispauperization." This is certainly high praise, but I doubt whether even a majority of experts on the subject would go quite so far.

Against a more stringent law, as everyone who has had to administer relief knows, there are many objections. The circumstances, not only of particular cases, but of particular localities and particular times, often demand at least the possibility of the exercise of a wide discretion. It is, then, to the second alternative—that of better administration—to which evidence seems to point as the more hopeful of the two. The question then arises, How is this most likely to be obtained or effected?

With the new Education Act so much in evidence, we naturally turn to it for analogies, and many of our readers, who by this time have had experience of the way in which it is being worked by various local authorities or committees, must already have often longed for the presence of an experienced "Inspector of Schools," who could, with authority, have made clear to its amateur and inexperienced administrators what the law is, and how it was meant to be administered. And those who have read the recently published accounts of the visit of the "Mosely" Commission to the United States will not have failed to notice how in that country, usually regarded as one most democratically governed and inspired, what is termed "popular" education is largely administered, not by popularly elected local amateurs, but by definitely chosen local "experts."

That the state of pauperism in any locality does depend in great measure upon the local administration is abundantly proved by the writer of the *Times* article. One of the most glaring instances of this is found in a comparison between the pauperism in the unions of St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. George's-in-the-East. The writer's own words and figures must here be given: "St. George's, Hanover Square, with its immensely rich inhabitants, has a population of 120,256, or about 66 per acre. St. George's-in-the-East, an extremely poor parish, has a population of 49,087, the density of which is 201 per acre. At the beginning of the year the proportion of paupers to population in the western union was 31 per 1,000, while in the eastern it was 22·5. The pauperism of St. George's, Hanover Square, increased by over

31 per cent. between 1891 and 1903; that of St. George's-in-the-East decreased by over 34 per cent. By what processes have these changes been brought about? In this connection it may be noted that, whereas the western union increased its outdoor relief by about 74 per cent., that of the eastern union was decreased by over 70 per cent. Thus, once more the rule as to an increase of outdoor pauperism resulting in an increase of total pauperism has obtained. St. George's, Hanover Square, with its wealth and intellect, has become highly pauperized, because it has chosen to scatter outdoor relief broadcast; St. George's-in-the-East, with its working-class mind and poor population, is freeing itself largely from pauper bonds by adopting the opposite policy. If we make a comparison with another East End union, it appears that St. George's, Hanover Square, with a smaller population than Bethnal Green, has over 1,000 more paupers than that union."

And this is not an isolated instance even in London, for the writer shows that what is true of St. George's, Hanover Square, in comparison with St. George's-in-the-East, is equally true of either Chelsea or Marylebone in comparison with either Whitechapel or Bethnal Green. And the writer pushes his contention yet a step farther. It is generally regarded that a strict administration—and in some few cases an absolute refusal—of outdoor relief results in an increase of indoor pauperism, and, in consequence, in a much greater expense to the ratepayers. But an examination into the facts shows that the exact opposite is the result.

II.

The question of pauperism is no doubt usually treated as a purely economic one, and far too often simply from the point of view of present conditions and present effects. But the question is really a far higher and wider one than this, and we must regard it from the moral standpoint, and must ask ourselves: What, as far as we can see, will be the effect of this growth of pauperism, if unchecked, upon the moral character, not only of individuals, but of the nation?

The discipline of poverty is doubtless hard, and often extremely painful, but who will say that it may not be salutary? To encourage people to weaken or to give up self-effort is not only dangerous, it is to commit a serious wrong, not only with regard to them, but to their families and to society generally. A Poor Law of some kind may, at the present time, and under the circumstances existing in this country, be a necessity. Yet, however well administered, it must be

regarded as an element of national weakness, rather than of national strength. The present Poor Law is rapidly becoming—especially in badly administered unions—a very serious common burden. But it is not as a national burden, but, rather, as a mere palliative to a growing national disease, that the true danger of the Poor Law consists. And there are moral and economical drugs and soporifics as well as chemical or physical ones.

It may be difficult to frame a Poor Law which shall not act as a deterrent to thrift and self-effort; and it does seem all too easy to administer the existing Poor Law as a premium upon idleness, extravagance, inefficiency, and weakness of will, as a refuge for “those who object to work between meals.” What possible inducement is there to self-effort when outdoor relief is freely and carelessly administered, or when “life” within “the House” is made far more attractive than much of the life outside it? To quote again the writer of the *Times* article: “Want of method and principle in the work of relief . . . has a demoralizing effect upon the people because it enables those who make noisy demands, and who are often not destitute, to succeed in obtaining it.”

“A consideration of the situation all round seems to justify the conclusion that the old hostility of the poor towards the workhouse is being abandoned, and that the increased comforts of ‘indoor’ life have had a great deal to do with this change of attitude.”

The principal need at the present time is admirably expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his New Year’s Message, where he says that this need “may be a more deliberate output of the best our mind can give,” and where he utters his fear lest “we have got into the way of drifting along with no real personal grip upon the facts and their issues with which we as citizens have to do.”

Take the inhabitants of any union (or Poor Law area), and, apart from those who are, from the nature of their profession, brought almost daily into connection with the various problems of poverty, how many, I ask, of the average citizens—except, perhaps, during the few days previous to a contested election of guardians, and how many not even then—take any interest in, or give any thought whatever, to these problems?

But the actual state of affairs is even worse than this, and we are obliged to ask, How many, even of those who by their profession (*e.g.*, the clergy), or who, simply from a real, however uninformed, “desire to do good” (*e.g.*, district visitors), are brought face to face with these problems, are capable, from careful study, either of dealing wisely with these problems themselves, or of explaining to the average citizen the vital

importance of a careful choice of those to whom they commit the administration of the Poor Law ?

If the present increase of pauperism and the consequent demoralization of a constantly growing mass of poor is to be checked, this check will have to be effected by the ordinary citizen being brought to see his or her responsibility in this matter. And towards the bringing of these to see this responsibility the clergy must be able to exercise, and must constantly exercise, every means which a knowledge—at once scientific and gained by practical experience—of the various aspects of this question can give them for this purpose.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.



ART. VI.—THE MARTYRDOM OF HEINE.

“THE only true knowledge of our fellow-men,” says George Eliot in one of her finest passages, “is that which enables us to feel with him—which gives us a fine ear for the heart-pulses that are beating under the mere clothes of circumstance and opinion. Our subtlest analysis of schools and sects must miss the essential truth unless it be lit up by the love that sees in all forms of human thought and work the life and death struggles of separate human beings.”

To the majority of people Heinrich Heine is only a name; to some he is an embodiment of dissipated living and atheistical opinion; while to a few he is a fellow-being suffering, striving, falling, rising, in the life and death struggle that constitutes our earthly existence.

That there is much in Heine's writings that his admirers would wish away is not to be denied by anyone who has read them; but many of those who condemn him are utterly ignorant of the circumstances of his life, and have never read the passage in his will in which he asks pardon of God and man for his unguarded words: “I die believing in one God, single and eternal, creator of the world, of whom I implore mercy for my immortal soul. I regret having spoken in my writings of holy things without the respect which is due to them; but in doing this I was rather led away by the spirit of the age than by my own inclinations. If I have unconsciously offended good manners and morals, I beg pardon for it of God and man.”

Heinrich Heine was born in the town of Düsseldorf in or about the year 1800. It was a time when the Jews were still subject to galling persecutions and to still more galling