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error, whether it be the error of regarding Church authority as supreme, or the error of making personal intuitions the test of truth. Insistence on the supremacy of Scripture is the one way of preserving the deposit of Christian truth, uncorrupted by traditional excess or unmutilated by rationalistic defect. The Protestant doctrine of the Atonement is the central feature of the New Testament Gospel, and is that which makes it a Gospel as contrasted with a mysticism which occupies itself either with a glorified humanity in Sacraments or with an ideal Christ evolved out of human consciousness.

Bishop Gore, in the address referred to, went on to state what he believed to be the position of the Church of England in relation to the New Theology. This, however, needs separate consideration, which must be deferred until next month.



"The Manufacture of Paupers."¹

BY THE REV. W. E. CHADWICK, B.D., B.Sc.

THIS is a most useful little book, one to be warmly commended to those who work among the poor. It is full of warning and instruction greatly needed at the present time, and its teaching is based upon thoroughly adequate knowledge. Most of the chapters appeared as articles anonymously in the *Spectator* last summer. They attracted considerable attention, for it was easy to see they were the work of experts in the subjects with which they dealt. Now the various contributions are signed, and when we find that they are by such well-known authorities as Sir Arthur Clay, Sir William Chance, Sir Edward Brabrook, Mr. Bailward, and Mr. Thomas Mackay, we are not in the least surprised.

The chief object of the book is to explain and counteract certain tendencies in Poor Law administration which during the last few years have been growing rapidly stronger. In itself the law of 1834—the one in force to-day—is generally admirable, and where, and so long as it has been administered strictly according to the spirit of those who framed it, pauperism has rapidly diminished. But, unfortunately, certain of the recommendations of some members of the Commission which preceded it were not adopted—that is, so far as provisions for its administration were concerned. The final

¹ "The Manufacture of Paupers." A Protest and a Policy. With an Introduction by J. St. Loe Strachey, Editor of the *Spectator*. London: John Murray, 1907.

recommendation in Sir Edwin Chadwick's report ran thus: "It is essential to the working of every one of these improvements that the administration of the Poor Laws should be entrusted, as to their general superintendence, to one central authority with extensive powers, and as to their details, to *paid officers*, acting under the consciousness of constant superintendence and strict responsibility." Speaking long afterwards, Sir Edwin Chadwick said: "I failed in getting the administrative principle as set forth acted upon . . . I failed also in being able to take from the unpaid officers the responsibility of the executive details, those being left to be disposed of by the unpaid guardians at their weekly meetings—often in crowds of cases in large towns—perfunctorily and most objectionably. . . . Among other evils, there has been that of generally putting the paid officers under the necessity of having to work down to ignorance instead of up to science. . . . Little progress will be made until this dereliction of administrative principle is repaired, and the paid officers placed in their proper position for effective service."¹

There is no doubt that the want of provision for a strict, intelligent, uniform, and impartial administration of the law has been the chief source of the evils which seem to be growing in magnitude at the present time, and it is rather to reform in administration than to alteration of the law itself that I hope the efforts of the Poor Law Commission now sitting may be directed. I believe that, at any rate in all populous urban unions, the appointment of an expert *stipendiary guardian*, with a position like that of a stipendiary magistrate, who would administer the law absolutely uninfluenced by political, local, and personal influences, who would be appointed by, responsible to, and removable by the Local Government Board alone, would prove not only a most economical reform to the ratepayers, but it would also be an immense benefit to the poor themselves.

No one who is intimately acquainted with the present evil effects of the Poor Law will deny that these effects are mainly due to wrong administration. To-day all guardians are popularly elected; they are rarely experts; the majority of them until the day of their election know practically nothing either of the provisions or of the administration of the Poor Law. Further, they are elected by those who, as a rule, are inclined to take "short" views. For naturally, unless they have been carefully taught the evils attendant upon it, a policy of "liberal" outdoor relief, and of an increase in the comforts of the workhouse, is popular with the majority of working-class electors. So long as there were at least some *ex-officio* guardians, there were generally on all boards a few independent thinkers—men who from education and leisure were able to take a wider view and to give more time to the work than the average guardian of to-day, who is often a much-occupied man of business, who finds with difficulty the time to attend even on "board" days.

Then, another factor has to be taken into consideration when we consider the alterations which have recently taken place. Unfortunately, the view which the poor themselves are taking of the Poor Law is changing in a wrong direction. I have worked now for twenty-five years in large parishes, in each of which there has been at least a considerable number of very poor.

¹ Mackay, "History of the Poor Law," vol. iii., pp. 93-95.

During the last few years I have noticed that there is among these a growing readiness to claim both outdoor and indoor relief, which, instead of being regarded as somewhat of a disgrace, or at least as a confession of failure, is now looked upon rather as a *right*. "I've paid rates long enough; I don't see why I shouldn't get the benefit of them," expresses a point of view that is rapidly growing in popularity.

These three causes—fear of losing popularity on the part of the popularly elected guardian, general slackness of administration, and a changed point of view on the part of the poor themselves—are all contributing to check the process of dispauperization which from 1834 until within the last few years had been gradually proceeding.

But not only has the number of paupers shown a tendency to grow: the cost of their maintenance has also enormously increased. On this point some very instructive figures are given on pp. 88, 89. From these we find that in London during the last twenty years the cost per head of maintenance of the indoor pauper has increased 84 per cent., while the "debt" or "debt charges" of Poor Law institutions have increased respectively 142 per cent. and 199 per cent. ! The increase of cost has also affected the provinces, but not to the same extent as in London. Unfortunately, few of the poor realize that increased expenditure means higher rates, which too often mean the checking and the driving away of industries, and in consequence a serious loss of wages.

In considering the "Manufacture of Paupers" we must, of course, remember the strong wave of Socialistic or Collectivist sentiment, or feeling, which has during the last few years swept over, not only this country, but other countries also. This subject of Socialism is one which should be approached with great care, without prejudice, and in the spirit which desires to know more before it unreservedly condemns. The words "Socialism" and "Socialistic" may have very different connotations—to one they may mean something quite different to what they imply to another. In one sense there seems to be little difference between Socialism and voluntary co-operation. In another sense the words may mean a state or condition in which all income will be swallowed up by a universal rate, in lieu of which every one will receive an allowance of out-relief. On the other hand, we must remember that the post-office (including the parcels post and the telegraph), free libraries, public baths—indeed, the police, and even the most rigid system of Poor Law administration, are Socialistic institutions.

The book we are considering is written from the strongly individualistic point of view. It unreservedly condemns all feeding of school-children by the State, all giving of out-relief (unless under the most exceptional circumstances), and the granting of old-age pensions. Self-effort is by every possible means to be encouraged—indeed, to be demanded.

In an excellent introductory chapter, specially written for this reissue, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of the *Spectator*, rightly urges that the problem, however great economically, is at bottom a moral one. In his striking phrases, "In manufacturing paupers we are unmaking men—we are taking the best human qualities out of men and women, the qualities of

independence, self-reliance, responsibility, self-control, self-sacrifice”; and, again, “You cannot relieve men of the responsibility of leading their own lives without taking from them that something which in the last resort renders a man self-respecting and so worthy of respect”; and, once more, “If the State does for a man the work that he ought to do for himself, his moral fibre is certain to be destroyed.”

I will not attempt to describe the contents of the several chapters, because I am most anxious to induce my readers to procure the book. I would rather point out what I can easily conceive might be one result of studying it. I can well imagine its being said: “All this is far too negative. If this and that scheme for helping the poor are wrong and likely to do harm, what are we to do? Are we to be driven to a policy of simple *laissez faire*? And will there not be some terrible suffering during this process?” The answer to this objection would, I believe, by the writers of this book be that personal effort must be called out and encouraged by individual treatment of each case; private charity, where absolutely necessary, must be given, but it must be accompanied by personal sympathy and personal care, and these latter must be continued as long as there is need for them—often, indeed, for a long period. This is the treatment which is calculated to raise the very poor from a position of dependence and despair to one of independence and of welfare.

I am quite ready to grant all this: as I have already said, I believe it is the treatment which is calculated to be of the greatest permanent benefit, but I fear it implies a condition which it is often impossible to fulfil. That condition is a sufficient supply of trained workers who have enough skill, time, and pecuniary means for this work.

The method here indicated is, of course, the method of the Charity Organization Society, of which most, if not all, of the writers of this book are members. As a member of the same Society, I may repeat that I believe it is the right method, when and where it *can* be worked; but I know from a long personal experience how hard it is to work it, because even in a mixed parish it is so difficult, first, to find a sufficient number of workers, and, secondly, to find the time to train these. In a parish composed entirely of poor the task is wellnigh impossible. I hope that I believe in working upwards towards ideals as much as anyone, but we must also consider practical possibilities, and especially while want and suffering are actually present. I am not quite sure that the writers of this book sufficiently regard these practical possibilities, or immediate necessities, as they daily meet the clergyman in charge of a large poor town parish. This is why I think it is wise for us to bend our energies towards securing wise legislation—such legislation as will help the poor to help themselves wisely, and which will protect them from foolish treatment, even from those who *mean well*, but who from ignorance act in a way detrimental to their permanent welfare. That such legislation, not in the way of a new Poor Law, but, say, in making it more possible for the poor to live on and by the land, is much needed I am sure.

With this one qualification—that it does not seem to lay sufficient stress on the need of new legislation—I would most heartily commend this really

useful book. It will help to prove to both the clergy and their lay helpers the immense harm which may be done—indeed, is being done—by taking away from people the responsibilities they were meant to bear, and which, if bravely and conscientiously borne, will prove to be nothing less than the means ordained for their moral, as well as their economical and social salvation.



Literary Notes.

IT is obvious that a work with such a title as "The Surnames of the United Kingdom: A Concise Etymological Dictionary," is bound to find a large number of readers other than the ordinary book-buyer and book-lover. Most people have more or less interest in their surname, and if for this reason only the undertaking should find a large public awaiting it. It has been compiled by Mr. Henry Harrison, and will be issued in some twenty-five monthly parts at the price of one shilling per part. Mr. Harrison claims that he deals with a large number of names for the first time. He has made many personal investigations in Normandy into the origin of Norman-French names in our directories, which will be found to be much more numerous than has hitherto been imagined. Altogether the work will contain some 20,000 British and Irish surnames. There is to be a small appendix lexicon of the chief foreign names to be found in our directories.



Another serial publication is an edition of Boswell's "Johnson," which Messrs. Pitman are issuing in twelve monthly parts. It is being edited by Mr. Roger Ingpen, whose knowledge of the period is very great and reliable. He has already edited a life of Johnson, as well as Forster's "Goldsmith," besides a capital anthology entitled "A Thousand and One Poems for Children." The illustrations in this new Boswell will exceed 400, and will be found to be as fine a collection as it is possible to secure.



Dr. Henry Charles Lea, who is known for his volumes dealing with the history of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, has been at work for some considerable time upon a thoroughly revised edition of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church." Although this work has been published for some time in America, no English edition has heretofore been published. Here is an extract from the author's preface: "It was by no means the least of the factors in the conquering career of the Church that it required of all to whom it granted the supernatural powers conferred in Holy orders that they should surrender themselves to it unreservedly and irrevocably, that they should sunder all humanities, should have no aspirations beyond its service, no family affections to distract their loyalty, no family duties on which to waste its substance, and no ambitions save for the rewards which it alone could bestow."

