SOCIAL QUESTIONS IN SCOTLAND

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PREFACE.

IN THE following pages are discussed some of the principal elements in the present discontents in Scotland, subjects which deeply concern the lives of the citizens (and especially the poorest) and the future of the Scottish people.

Some of the basic elements of the discontents cannot be mistaken; on the one hand, enormous aggregation of wealth, great beyond the dreams of avarice, magnified beyond all precedent, are gathered into the hands of a few people (two wills proved in London in November reached a total of nineteen million pounds); on the other, the enormous depressive and destructive influence of much of industrial toil in the greatest cities — joint features of the huge industrial development; and, in the second place, the great extension throughout the very

poorest classes in the land, by means of compulsory free education and otherwise, a cheap press, the instruction provided gratuitously in the multitudes of Sunday schools and the thousands of Christian and social agencies, of new desires and aspirations, and the spread of the ideals of social justice—and particularly those associated with Christianity and the Sermon on the Mount; opening the minds of the citizens who were born even in the depths of the city slums to visions of better things, teaching them the Christian ideas of the essential equality of men and the perfect justice which every person ought to do to his neighbour; their secular education inspiring in them, too, wants and desires which can only be satisfied by some measure of a refined and cultured life, obtainable only, in so many cases, by a larger endowment of economic resources than the individuals at present possess; so that, though the average levels of wages and earnings have risen (as they undoubtedly have) the average of legitimate wants and implanted desires have increased (and almost necessarily increased) in greater proportion.

These are the central features at the heart of the social discontents to-day; and it is no

recrudesence of ancient grumblings, no sighing over

"Old unhappy far-off things, and battles long ago,"

but a position of what is almost a lack of social equilibrium which the present conditions of life do much to create and very much less to satisfy; so that the evidence points to a time of greater toil and trouble, of increasing social bitterness and industrial strife, unless there is sympathetic understanding of the newer conditions, and a continuous series of adjustments to satisfy what is legitimate in them. There is need of some measure of humanity as well as of sterner justice in dealing with them; for, sometimes, from the smallest beginnings the most bitter consequences ensue, and when once the souls of men are aflame (however trivial the inciting cause may seem to be) the most ordered rules of a collected philosophy or an even commonsense may be reduced to ashes. The people of to-day are more insistent on achieving changes than ever their ancestors were, and they are sometimes impatient — not without reason, perhaps.

In these circumstances, with the masses of the people subject to the influence of new forces and increased desires, with keener perceptions

of the wants and decencies of civilised life, it is useful to go to the sources of some of the discontents, to the daily lives of the people, and to seek to discover, however imperfectly, what are some of the things of benefit which are specially desirable to realise, and what things, also, are hindrances and restraints, restrictions and wrongs, which ought in justice to be removed.

In the following chapters, within reasonable compass, there is a consideration of some of the leading elements in the social questions of to-day; and, though it is necessarily far from exhaustive (for the field surveyed is wide, and multitudinous volumes of detail and endless stacks of statistics would not exhaust it), it may indicate some of the larger forces and the greater tendencies which are in operation to-day. Politics have been avoided purposely, and the advocacy of special causes; for it is the effort of the present volume to work upon the solid substratum of agreement which is common to the majority of persons, irrespective of politics and parties, who take a keen and intelligent interest in the social affairs of Scotland.

W. S.

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CHAPTER I.

THE TOWNS.

THE mineral wealth of Scotland is located in a central zone, which stretches like a belt across the middle of the country; from Ayrshire eastward through Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Stirling, Linlithgow, and on to Fife; and here it is, within this region, that most of the towns of Scotland are located—the great centres of the iron and steel, the engineering and the ship-building trades; all the occupations which depend, for their raw material, upon coal and metal; industries which draw around them great masses of the population; a locality of strenuous toil, a district of great labour, a neighbourhood of enormous industrial wealth. Beyond this midland belt, there is a string of towns—Dun-

dee, Arbroath, Aberdeen, running to the north-east, and in the south, in the valley of the Tweed, another, Hawick, Galashields, Peebles, etc., on to Dumfries, famous for the manufacture of cloths of the name. But elsewhere, the country is mainly agricultural and great portions of it as barren of inhabitants almost as a desert. The rural districts have been drained of much of the best of their labour; decline and decay have settled throughout their areas; but the towns have progressed and developed enormously in size, in population, in comfort, and in wealth; so that to-day the story of Scottish enterprise in every sphere is very much the story of the Scottish towns; hardy communities with able, healthy, and vigorous populations, a people possessed of the highest industrial qualities; communities of vigorous workers highly skilled on specialised lines; populations adaptable and ready to utilise every improvement in their arts and their industries; communities, indeed, of the very first order of urban excellence; a people who have accomplished much, and have yet many greater achievements before them.

Of Scottish towns in general, there is a marked

characteristic. In their ordinary affairs of business the citizens labour strenuously in a keenly-individualist spirit, and in the sphere of politics also they are, in many ways, less sympathetically inclined towards the modern Socialist movement than their fellows in the towns of England, France, or Germany. Mr Keir Hardie, the Socialist leader, is a Scotsman, but he sits in Parliament for a Welsh seat; Mr Ramsay Macdonald, another Scotsman, represents an English town; and, indeed, only one or two avowed Socialist members are returned to Parliament from Scottish constituencies. The proverbial Scotsman, of fact or ficton, tends very often to a type of severe individualism, a trait that is strengthened sometimes by his strong independence and his vigorous self-reliance—these virtues find as vigorous expression in Scotland as anywhere. But in spite of this, the Scottish townsmen exhibit the keenest possible interest in the conduct of the affairs of their towns, and the splendid public spirit of the Scottish municipalities is an object lesson in the conduct of local government. In Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and the

other towns, men are found from every class in the community who give willingly of the best of their services to public work, and in no other cities in the United Kingdom do the mass of the citizens follow the doings of their local representatives with so close and so critical an interest. The Corporation of Glasgow, for example, is one of the most powerful and progressive bodies in the country, and has earned a reputation that is world-wide. It owns the gas and water supplies, it has great sewage works and farms, tramways, profitable markets, and slaughter houses, lodging houses and considerable corporate property in the fund known as the "Common Good"; and many other forms of enterprise. Through its representatives on the Clyde Trust, the body which controls the destinies of the river Clyde, its docks and its navigation, it has played an active part in deepening the river and maintaining a proper channel between Glasgow and the sea. In speaking of Glasgow as a great port, it is often forgotten how much this is due to laborious toil in dredging and deepening the fifteen miles of shallow stream, originally full of shoals and

shifting sand-banks which stretched from Glasgow to the deeper water lower down the river; and on this task of deepening and improving the river the Clyde Navigation Trustees have incurred a capital expenditure of some eight million pounds. On the work of improving the city the local authority has laboured equally hard. Beginning in 1866, large areas of slums have been cleared (some ninety acres under the Improvement Act of 1866), the most densely crowded parts of the city opened up; wide streets constructed through the formerly congested areas; new dwellings erected; parks and open spaces created in many directions; an enormous work done for the improvement and the betterment of the city: a great tribute to the zeal of the citizens and their desire to obliterate from their midst the worst of the slums and plague spots; a victory for the forces of health and order in the ceaseless battle with social chaos. In the other leading towns the story is much the same, and a like struggle is engaged incessantly against the forces of urban disorder and overcrowding.

And in all these urban centres the social pro-

blem becomes more and more deserving of attention. In the great towns, just because there are great congested areas of population, the social problems are increasing yearly in number, in urgency, and in perplexity; so that to-day they are more varied, more serious, more baffling of solution than ever before. Amid so great a conglomeration of houses, in the piling up of property and of wealth, the erection of great warehouses and the building of piles of offices which rival in height the Tower of Babel itself; amid all this and much more, the ancient question continually emerges—what is the value of the life of the individual, and in the so great improvement of the material environment is there a like improvement in the human lives which it all contains, which are the heart and kernel of the city—its truest life blood—and those other things no more than the chaff which hold the grain? Excellent buildings are everywhere being erected in these Scottish cities; but one need be little enough of a cynic to ask what avail is it that strenuous townsmen raise the finest structures—finer, if you will, than any which the world has seen before—

buildings which, in extent and in ornament, may rival the efforts of Greece and Rome, and discover, at the end, that they have built nothing more than so many structures which are food for dust and ashes; nothing more than the raw material of the ruins of a future age? What, in the words of an ancient question, does it avail the nation if it gains the whole world and the wealth thereof and yet loses its own soul? for it is a commonplace that the most permament, the most enduring form of the nation's capital is not in its bricks and mortar, but in the lives of its citizens By general admission, it is a greater national service (more potent for the present and the future of Scotland) to improve these lives and enlarge their possibilities than to cover Glasgow and Edinburgh with colossal buildings in the most excellent model of the French Renaissence or the Grecian Parthenon. "What," asked Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when discussing the question of overcrowding in great cities on January 25th, 1907, "is all our wealth and learning and the finest flower of our civilisation and our Constitution? what are these and our political theories but

dust and ashes if the men and women on whose labour the whole social fabric is maintained, are doomed to live and die in darkness and misery in the areas of our great cities?" And as M. Georges Clemenceau, the ex-Premier of the French Parliament, has declared: "*Le principal fondement des societes ce n'est pas la propriete. C'est l'homme, tout simplement.*" "There is no wealth but life," says Ruskin; "That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings"—"the nobleness being not only consistent with the number but essential to it. The maximum of life can only be reached by the maximum of virtue." And as Mr Masterman asks: "Is the vitality of the race being burnt up in mine or furnace in the huddled mazes of the city? And is the future of a colonising people to be jeopardised, not by difficulties of overlordship at the extremities of its dominion, but by obscure changes in the opinion, the religion, and the energies at the heart of the Empire?" And in directing attention to the enormous increase in the material wealth of Scotland, and the existence of great poverty in

the country, the able Labour leader, Mr Robert Smillie, the President of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union, declares: "We feel that in this country of ours, where we are able to produce far more than is necessary, we should not have people housed like swine. I have been round Lanarkshire and Ayrshire," he continues, "and I have seen many of our people there living under positively brutal conditions . . . . . It is not a nice state of matters that families are being brought up in houses of one apartment, sometimes only 12 feet by 14 feet in extent, where the cooking and the cleaning and the births and the deaths take place." The greatest happiness or the maximum virtue cannot be anticipated for those whose unhappy lot it is to reside in overcrowded houses or in city slums; the springs of British colonisation will never be located there, the greatness of the Scottish race and the British Empire cannot be maintained from such sources; and, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the urban authorities in Scotland, there is still much work demanding attention; local circumstances lend importance to this. The prevailing type of house in the Scottish

towns is the high stone-built tenement consisting of three or four flats or storeys, each of these flats or storeys containing one, two, three or more separate houses of one, two, three or more separate apartments. These buildings are usually made of an excellent stone; and, many families being housed on the same area of land, the towns are compact and well built, the streets clean and well paved, so that communication between different parts of the town is easy, and the streets never acquire the appearance of shabby delapidation so frequently seen in English towns in the streets of workmen's red-brick cottages when these are becoming old and the property deteriorating. The disadvantage is that, in economising space, in lessening distance and securing the advantage of compactness, sacrifice is made of the extent of house room and breathing space, and it might be well if in this instance the Scottish towns were to consider whether they might not follow somewhat the practice of the English, and, relaxing a little from the system of the flats, develop further on the lines of small cottages, each with its own small garden. More breathing space

would be gained, a larger number of rooms provided in separate houses, and a more definite sense of home engendered. It is a commonplace that a little cottage of his own is a better fillip to a man's patriotism than the tenancy of a small flat at the top of a crowded building. The type of workman's cottage found everywhere in the neighbourhood of London is well described in Mr Masterman's words (p. 100 "The Condition of England"): "One type of dwelling, indeed, is found to be more or less prevalent through all the urban aggregation. That is the small four- or five-roomed cottage, containing on the ground floor a front parlour, a kitchen, and a scullery built as an addition to a kitchen and a scullery built as an addition to the main part of the house; and on the upper floor the bedrooms, the third bedroom in the five-roomed house being built over the scullery. And in such dwelling-places, if anywhere," he declares, "is concealed the secret of the future of the people of England." He finds in the pride and comfort of possession of these cottages a main reason for the known Conservatism of London. The workman who lives in such a

cottage has a stronger sense of home and possession, and is less desirous of social change.

The comparative figures for Glasgow and Manchester illustrate the difference (Cd. 3864, 1908):—

Number of rooms per house.	*Manchester.*	*Glasgow.*
Houses of *One* room: being a percentage of total number of houses of:	1·90	23·8
,, ,, *Two* rooms ,, ,,	6·09	47·9
,, ,, *Three* ,, ,, ,,	4·43	17·5
,, ,, *Four* ,, ,, ,,	42·15	5·8
,, ,, *Five* & upwards ,, ,,	45·44	5·0

The figures are not to be taken quite literally, as in many cases a "room" in Glasgow is not only larger but contains a bed-closet, scullery, etc., which would almost count as another room in an English house.

It is demonstrated amply that the wastage of human energy from overcrowding and factory employment in the principal Scottish towns is large. In Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Edinburgh, a heavy toll is exacted from the lives of the citizens, heavier, it is alleged, than in many

other towns of the United Kingdom. To those who have journeyed through Lancashire and observed the diminished stature and physique of factory workers there, the descendants of several generations of the same, this is difficult to credit; but there is reliable authority in its support. The well-known investigation of Dr. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain Foster regarding the physique of school children in Glasgow established the fact that there was a difference of nearly a stone in weight and several inches in height between children coming from one-roomed houses and children coming from homes of four or more apartments; also that the mental capacity of the children followed somewhat closely upon the same lines; and similar results have been obtained in Edinburgh and Dundee. Mr Wilson, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, a gentleman who has observed the city population in all the towns of the United Kingdom, declares that "Personally, the poorest specimens of humanity I have ever seen, both men and women, are working in the preparing and spinning departments of certain Dundee jute mills." (Cd. 2175, 1904, p. 22.)

But it is tolerably certain that the position of Dundee is an extreme case, and here, too, the normal social problem of Scottish towns is complicated further by a practice more general in the cotton towns of England and other countries than in Scotland, namely, the employment of married women. Elsewhere in Scotland it is uncommon, but, in Dundee, it obtains to a considerable extent. Large numbers of women are employed in the jute mills, and, of the women so employed, Miss Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, declares that as large a proportion as one-quarter are married or widowed; and, altogether, in Dundee nearly every second woman between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five, more than every third between forty-five and fifty-five, and every fourth woman over fifty-five, is a wage-earner outside her home. In no other Scottish town is there so large a mass of married women labour. In view of this, it may be noted that the birth-rate in Dundee is below the average of the principal town districts in Scotland, while the death-rate is above the average. The infantine mortality is much above the average of the principal

Scottish towns, being 152·4 per thousand for 1902-1906 as compared, for example, with 123·8 for Paisley—another town with mills where women are largely employed. But the conditions in Paisley are different; though there is a large employment of women in the mills (which offers a tolerable comparison with Dundee), the conditions are different. Miss Deane, Inspector of Factories, states them as follows: "In Paisley, I found how strikingly the conditions of women's work contrast with those of Dundee, though in both places female labour predominates. Speaking generally, a greater amount of interest is taken in the welfare of their women workers by the Paisley employers. The employment of women of marriageable age seems curiously uncommon; the number of women over eighteen or nineteen years in the mills was comparatively less than I have seen anywhere else, and married women's labour is distinctly discouraged." (Cd. 2569, 1905, p. 274.)

Listen to this official report regarding Dundee (Cd. 4690, 1909, p. 290): "Of eighty men with young families who have applied to the

district committee, thirty had wives who were working. Everyone whom we saw was agreed that marriage in the case of spinners, preparers, and the lower grade of labour, takes place upon an estimate of the combined earnings of wife and husband. The wife works; the man boils the kettle! A man looks out for a girl who works two spinning frames or two looms, and is in clover if he gets her." The employment of married women on a large scale inevitably complicates the already extensive social problem, and it is universally admitted to be bad for the State. A falling birth-rate, a high rate of infantile mortality, and a weakening of the family are a few of its most open and obvious results. But the condition of things, though bad in Dundee, is worse in some of the great cotton towns of England. To take Burnley, for example, the largest textile manufacturing town in Europe, and containing more looms than any other town in the world, there are employed in the cotton mills one-third more women than men. The rate of infantine mortality reaches the extraordinary high figure of 200 per thousand (1908), and for the period 1896-1905 it averaged as high

as 208 per thousand—(*Wastage of Child Life, by Johnson, p. 16*)—and other Lancastrian towns have results that are almost as bad and much worse, indeed, than anything to be found in Dundee.

Although the evils of overcrowding depress the whole population subject to them, it is upon the children especially that they fall most severely. "The numbers of children examined were so large," the Glasgow Report declares, "and the results so uniform, that only one conclusion was possible, viz., that the poorest child suffers most in nutrition and in growth. It cannot be an accident that boys from one-roomed houses should be 12·9 lb. lighter, on an average, than boys from four-roomed houses, and 5·0 in. smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are, on the average, 14 lb. lighter and 5·3 in. shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses." "At each age from five to eighteen," the Report declares, "the average weight of the children is uniformly below the standard of the Anthropometrical Committee." There is no similar wastage in the lives of the poorer children in the rural districts:

it is peculiarly a product of urban conditions, overcrowded houses, the want of air and light and space. The investigations of the Edinburgh Committee, for example, may be cited. They amply demonstrate this point. They found that the children of agricultural labourers and other poor country people were better (physically) than the children of fairly prosperous Edinburgh people (children attending a higher grade school), and very much better than the children attending poorer schools in Edinburgh. "It has been repeatedly noted by Dr. Chalmers and others that Scottish boys and girls are usually above the average height of their neighbours south of the border," the Edinburgh Report declares. "So it need not cause surprise that country children and well-nourished town children exceed the standard heights in a noticeable degree. It gives a sadder emphasis to the lesser heights of the children in the poorer Edinburgh schools, many of whose chances of healthy growth are apparently spoiled for life, before they begin to attend school, by bad condition of the mother's life before and after the birth of the children." Space and air and light

are needed as much for the development of children as for the growth of plants and herbs. "Of all the flowers," said Michelet, "the flower of humanity stands most in need of the sun." Yet our large urban areas are but none too well supplied with space or air, and as many as twenty-four per cent. of the total number of houses in Glasgow are houses of no more than one room each, and forty-eight per cent. of the whole have no more than two apartments; that is, that seventy-two per cent. of all the houses in Glasgow consist of two apartments each, or less. And it affords no cause for national complacency that so many as seventy-five per cent. of the families of Glasgow are living in these houses of one or two apartments; the same percentage in Greenock; and in Dundee, Paisley and Port-Glasgow seventy-one per cent. (p. 239 Cd. 4690, 1909).

"As a member of the Health Committee of the Town Council," says ex-Bailie Forsyth, of Glasgow, "I have had occasion to visit the backlands of Cowcaddens, and the conditions of life as to sanitation and sleeping spaces are such that I can scarcely describe them. These are

the spots that breed the fevers and diseases in our midst, and that make it so costly to keep up the health of the community. Can you expect good citizens and Christians," he asks, "to be trained under such conditions as these?" Consumption claims the most of its victims in the overcrowded dwellings; and the death rate is three times as high in the case of the one-roomed houses as in those of four rooms. Dealing with Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers showed that in one-room houses the death rate per thousand people was 32·7; in two-room houses it was 21·3; in three-room houses, 13·7; in four-room houses, 11·2; which shows how close the connection is between the most prodigal wastage of life and urban overcrowding.

This is no result conferring comfort on the heart of the complacent, though many causes have contributed to bring it about. The exigencies of war and of climate forced Edinburgh and early Scottish towns to develop within the barrier of protecting walls—they were walled cities; and the inhabitants of rural Scotland, also, were a healthy, vigorous people who lived out of doors very much, and did not trouble

about large or spacious dwellings; and when the towns developed rapidly with successive industrial booms, and the rural population settled therein becoming factory workers, they were satisfied, in the main, with accommodation narrow and restricted — but accommodation similar to what had seemed ample in rural surroundings. They were content in the towns with accommodation very similar in extent to that which they had enjoyed in the country—they were a hardy, strenuous, out-of-doors people. But time has shown that this is scarcely sufficient for successive generations of permanent toilers in the towns; the exigencies of urban conditions demand something more; a city dwelling has to be more than a place to sleep in, as suffices so often for the toiler on the land. There is no doubt, for example, that the physique of the average Scotsman in the principal Scottish towns to-day is superior to that of the average citizen in an English town; an additional strength which has operated to make its possessors more prodigal, perhaps, in the use which they make of their energy, more lavish in their waste of so much inherited force,

more careless of the manner in which they work and the environment in which they live. No person more than the inheritor of unusual strength can afford to dissipate his vigour in the manner of the prodigal, and there is something of this display of exuberant vitality in the story of the Scottish towns. The vigour is there; the inherited force and character; the strenuousness and patience—the inheritance of a race brought up to struggle with a strenuous soil and adverse circumstances; but, may it not be that too large a drain is being made upon them, too much wastage most freely tolerated? Little permanent harm may yet have been done, but the problem of the years immediately ahead is the provision of air and light and space in the towns, just as fifty years ago the immediate demand was for improved sanitation. If towns are to be permanent places of abode (as every indication points to) they must be as healthily developed as possible.

After long study of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, etc.—with their teeming populations, their tens of thousands of different interests, often divergent, often conflicting, their

great populations toiling and labouring, enjoying themselves to-day, and suffering sorrow and despair to-morrow, their great problems of disease, overcrowding and unemployment—it is not difficult to say that this thing is wrong here and that thing has a defect, that this third is in need of control, this fourth in purpose, and so on; it is not difficult to discover eminent authorities in support of every contention and proceeding thus to make a thousand suggestions, most of them reasoned and vigorously championed and calculated, doubtless, to make better the conditions to which they apply. It is a work which may be good and needful; one, perhaps, that is necessary of performance. Every citizen to-day is a social reformer; never was there a greater consciousness of social disorder or a greater sympathy with suffering and disease; and the remedies proposed, very often, are all-embracing, like the desires of Faust; and only too frequently it is the fate of the reformer to be answered, like Faust, with the mocking laughter of Mephistopheles and the jeering triumph of the forces of inertia which offer always the greatest resistance to change. He

may feel like a modern Tantalus labouring at a task which he can never perform, carelessly raising to his lips a cup which he can never quaff, and, sometimes, at the end of his toil, when disillusionment succeeds to weariness and bitterness to both, he realises how infinitely complex the problem is, and how much deeper the remedies must penetrate than the alteration merely of institutions and surroundings.

One of the greatest obstacles to change and improvement is (as has always been the case) the indifference of the people whom the assiduous reformer desires to reform. This is too often the despair of the hasty innovator. "The permanent difficulties that attach to the problem (overcrowding) we see in the character of the people themselves: their feebleness and indifference, the reluctance to move and the incapability of moving, and in the obstacles they present to the best-directed efforts on the part of the local authority to employ their powers," reported the Committee on Physical Deterioration; and it is an opinion which finds an echo in nearly every report of the many philanthropic and charitable agencies which set before themselves a pro-

gramme of high achievements, to be accomplished often with very human instruments. The people to be benefited, very frequently are not condescending enough to their bountiful benefactors; and even when there is no appearance of condescension the carelessness and indifference of the social victims is often a matter of wonder. And so the weary cycle is completed and revolves in its endless course.

"Farmed-out" houses in the slums, for example, are a source of much trouble in the largest cities; they are needlessly expensive to the sub-tenants, often the poorest and most miserable of the city's population, and the improvidence and thoughtlessness of these people are said to be a principal cause of their continuance. And, yet, these sub-tenants pay extremely high rents; and, when attention is directed to this, they offer frequently no better explanation than carelessness and indifference. To quote an example from Paisley: "Apartments are let furnished in Paisley on payments ranging from 5s. to 9s. per week for a single apartment," says Mr Wilson Kelso, the Sanitary Inspector of Paisley. "These sums are

paid nightly or weekly. The furniture in some of these houses consists of a solitary rough wooden box, which has to serve as seat, table, and everything else. And yet the farmer is drawing from £13 to £23 8s. od. per year for single apartments which would not bring more than £4 or £4 10s. od. per year in the ordinary way of letting. Perhaps the strangest and saddest aspect of it all," the inspector continues, "is that, when you point out to these poor souls the outrageousness of the charges they are paying, you are generally met with the answer, 'I niver thocht o't that way; but at any rate, we couldna pay't ony ither way.' It looks almost a hopeless task to try to improve the lot of this class of people," the Inspector concludes —a conclusion we have all of us heard so often. Every person who has engaged in social work in slums knows how prevalent is the conviction among such workers that much—very much—of the misery prevalent there is due to improvidence, intemperance, thoughtlessness, and hopelessness. Of the 781 families visited by the Edinburgh investigators, for example, when enquiring into the conditions of the children in

one of the poorer schools, no less than 425 were drunken; and 18 only out of the whole 781 were teetotal. And as bad often as intemperance is the black despair, the hopeless despondency, so frequently found in the slums—too often the natural result of failure after failure on the victim's part; and often, too, the result of some evil action forced upon him by other persons. Not infrequently this despair is a principal cause which drives its unhappy possessor (like a vessel ill ballasted for the storms of life) into excess of drunkenness and vice; a wide range of causes—character, heredity, environment, occupation, and others—all interacting and busy in spinning the web that binds the unhappy fallen, in its remorseless toils. "Intemperance and selfishness, the latter a masked form of improvidence, are the most potent factors making for pauperism," says Mr Penney, Inspector of the Scottish Local Government Board. "Let the times be ever so bad," he continues, "we have yet to hear of scant attendance at football matches, foot races and music halls. You can see, I have often been told," he continues, "the women waiting on

the road for the men on pay days. If they don't catch them before they reach the ground, they'll see little of their wages." And the results of the best-intended charity (whether doled out with the obsequious formalities of complacent superiority or otherwise) are often productive of evils as great almost as those they are intended to alleviate. Even when all elements of smug complacency and superior unctiousness are absent the results of the best-intentioned efforts may be very subtle, very complex. An example, well known in Scotland, may be cited. One of the methods adopted in Glasgow for the relief of overcrowding was the erection of cheap common lodging-houses, known as "models." "The relief to domestic overcrowding which the 'model' afforded, and the more ready control of infectious disease which thereby became possible, were substantial factors in the reduction of diseases of this class," says Dr. Chalmers, the Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow; but there are evils connected with them. "The inmates, more especially of the male lodging-house, constitute a class almost wholly apart from the rest of society. They

have no civic responsibility. To be known only by the number of your bed, and not by your name, must produce indifference, and the main tendency of model lodging-house life in its present form would seem to be towards social deterioration. A man is permitted to enter solely because he has the inclination so to do, and can provide the sum required for his bed." And in his report upon dock labourers, the Hon. Gerald Walsh declares (p. 29 Cd. 4391): "A large number of these labourers live in model dwelling-houses, which have been described as the curse of Glasgow and particularly of the docks." A very great difference could be observed between the type of labourer coming from these lodging-houses and the labourer coming from ordinary lodgings. "It is said that men of the former class (those from the 'models') can easily engage a bed for a week at 4d. a night, that they have no social or domestic ties, and that, except for such money as they spend on the bare necessaries of life, all that they earn is recklessly spent." Labourers married in Edinburgh or elsewhere, and falling out of work, go to Glasgow to seek it there. They lodge in

the "model" very cheaply; and, after a bit, when they discover work again, they sometimes continue to reside there. Living cheaply thus, they have plenty of money to spend on drink and pleasure, and forget all about the claims of wife and family. Many cases of desertion occur in this way. And it is an old remark that "Charity creates half the evils she relieves, but cannot relieve half the evils she creates." It is not in charity that the remedies are to be sought; and the question arises of where these are best to be found, and this leads the enquirer into a sea of doubt and hesitation, with many cross-currents and many conflicting streams. Pilots are plentiful enough. Many there are who have remedies; many who, in the best manner of the quack, are prepared to give social peace to a tortured world by pouring a little of their special oil on to its troubled waters. Many are clamant for new laws. But there are limits in every direction to what can be accomplished by laws. It is very well to make laws against overcrowding, for example, but what is the man to do who has no money to pay for better accommodation? "In my experience as

a magistrate I have always refused to convict men of overcrowding who had only 13s. a week," says ex-Bailie Forsyth of Glasgow; "I do not think it right," he says, "to convict a man for breaking a law he simply cannot keep." In the interests of working mothers the Factory Acts require the absence of the mothers from their factories for a certain period at the birth of their children, but of what avail is it to enjoin such absence on women who have no means to maintain themselves during the period of compulsory absence? The provision is broken throughout Scotland and it is broken in England, as everybody (who takes an interest in social affairs) is well aware, and the reason is the same. "It is poverty which drives the unfit mother back to work," says Miss Paterson, the Factory Inspector, who is in charge of this work (p. 151, Cd. 4664, 1909). "In only one instance did I find any other reason, and that was one in which the workshop presented unusual attractions in the way of comfort and liberty." And she made an elaborate analysis of the cases reported in Glasgow. And, out of many, one other ex-

ample of the complexities of social change may be cited. Mr Karl Pearson, the well-known authority on eugenics, points out that a direct result of the Factory Acts and legislation limiting child labour has been to diminish the birth-rate, and he cites Bradford as an example. A child in a factory town has no longer the same economic value as before, he points out. In the days prior to these Acts a child became at an early age a pecuniary asset; it contributed to the family resources when quite young, and "by the number of the children the economic prosperity of the home was, in a certain way, measured;" but this is no longer the case, and the direct result, Mr Pearson affirms, is a decline in the birth-rate in those same families, children being found to be luxuries which they cannot afford as in the older days. And a similar result is found among the middle classes, though the same cause here is not any Acts of Parliament, but the growth of public opinion and custom that children are an expensive luxury. From every part of the field of social legislation similar results could be quoted. Acts of Parliament

can accomplish much, they can achieve a great deal, but there are limits, sometimes obvious and sometimes by no means obvious, to their application. And many ardent spirits, tired of timid Acts and aflame with the sense of social wrong, indulgent to the victims of hardship and toil, regarding the fallen with a pitiful and lenient eye, are keen to demand more drastic legislation, especially legislation which diminishes the luxuries (and over-abundance) of the rich in order that out of this wealth the poorest and most suffering citizens may have assistance. "We look round this beautiful world in which there is enough and to spare to make all people happy, so far as material things can make them happy," says Mr Robert Smillie, the able miners' leader, and a Socialist, "and we see, on the one hand, persons well fed, well housed, well educated; and, on the other hand, women and children who scarcely know where to-morrow's breakfast is to come from. With conditions such as these we should not and can not be contented. Whatever we may be called, Agnostics or Freethinkers, our aims are high and noble. We endeavour to

wipe away tears from all eyes and hunger from the midst of little children. There is not a child in this country who ought to die from want. You may blame the fathers and mothers for being spendthrifts and drunkards, but these faults are not confined to the working classes; and we say that, if society has created the evil condition in which the parents now live, the children are not to blame for this." And Mr James Stewart, a Glasgow Parish Councillor and a Socialist, considers necessary the endowment of motherhood and the assumption by the State of large duties in the rearing of children; and, generally, he declares, "we Socialists say that it is futile to hope to reform the individual except by reforming the environment." And, though many affirm that a man's spirit and will are much determined by his physical environment, one knows, too, that, unless the spirit and will of the most unfortunate man be raised, his self-respect increased and his fibre strengthened, it is difficult (sometimes, perhaps, impossible) to make his condition very much better; and the most diligent efforts of redress may be efforts utterly wasted. When,

too, the most unhappy victim of an evil fate is fortunate enough to become possessed of such recuperative qualities he is likely to improve his condition without waiting for the slowly-moving assistance of other agencies, and an obvious effort on the path of reform is to inspire, where possible, such determination into the mind of the fallen as will make him resolute to put forth to the utmost all the qualities of mind and of body of which he is possessed. Any man having practical knowledge of the subject will tell you that a small section of the urban population in the slums of the Scottish cities are so deficient (so far below the average standard) in their development of the normal qualities of character, health, will, and foresight that they scarcely do anything to improve their own condition; they make slums, it is said, wherever they go. Put them into respectable buildings to-day (the experienced everywhere say) and they will turn them into wreck and ruin within a week. They are the despair of the diligent reformer everywhere. Listen to what Professor Smart has to say, and few people have studied the question so closely: "The

slums and back-lands are the homes of the well-paid but improvident, of the drunken, of those who are on the margin of crime, of those who are steeped in it. It is from this class the contamination comes;" and he continues: "Unhappily, the decent poor live there also. They are the nearest victims." And the former class, the experts declare, may have to be segregated, to be treated and confined within their own limits like a pestilence and a source of plague, in course of time, just as those suffering from scarlet fever or small-pox have had to be segregated and treated. And then, when the diligent formalist has completed his list of restraints and penalties, favours and punishments, all the artifices and rules, the many laws and regulations (which any diligent man may devise with sufficient ink and paper, some experience and a little patience) by which he will eliminate this weakness here and correct that error there, do this and do that, to his heart's content, shaping a new earth and a new heaven in his own little way, trying to stop the flow of the tide of human life with his mop, he is confronted with another problem which sweeps

down on him like a storm out of the sea, that of heredity and the propogation of the unfit. Listen to what a diligent exponent of this view has to say: "So far as our investigations have gone," says Miss Ethel M. Elderton, "they show that improvement in social conditions will not compensate for a bad hereditary influence; the problem of physical and mental degeneration cannot be solved by preventing mothers from working, by closing public houses, or by erecting model dwellings. The only way to keep a nation strong, mentally and physically, is to see to it that each new generation is derived chiefly from the better members of the generation before;" and faithful adherents to this school of stud farmers never weary of reminding us that, as in England, so in Scotland, the birth-rate is falling, the decline being greatest among the respectable middle class population, who feel most keenly the struggle to maintain "gentility" upon small resources, or who otherwise desire to have luxuries in excess of their moderate endowments. And the social remedies demanded by the vigorous eugenists are almost the most drastic of all.

And, all the time, many thousands of those who are to be so thoroughly reformed pursue their daily labours; many (perhaps most) of them indifferent to the call for change and the desire for those better things that others are so eager to foster on them; totally undesirous of any reform, careless of any action, wishing nothing better than to be left alone; this inertia being at once the despair of the social reformer and the strongest element in the stability of the State; for nothing could shake the social organism to its foundations more effectively than an active and seething discontent throughout the social underworld, something of the noise and threatenings of war and revolution. From the earliest days there have been men of the same kind, men who have known the same pain and labour; men who are born to sorrow "as the sparks fly upwards," and to the end of their time they anticipate nothing better than to be left alone to bear their daily burden of toil and weariness:

> "Marching out of the endless ages,
> Marching out of the dawn of time,
> Endless columns of unknown men,
> Endless ranks of the stars o'erarching,

Endless ranks of an army marching,
Numberless out of the numberless ages,
Men out of every race and clime,
Marching steadily now and then."

Here and there an enthusiast, some man of spirit, disturbs the normal complacency, sets a small corner of the under-world seething for a moment, with anger and passion, and looks like achieving much; but, more often than not, the natural forces of inertia easily re-assert their mastery, and little is accomplished; though his

"Feet are older than the path they tread,
His music is the morning song of man,
His stride the stride of all the valiant dead,
His youngest hopes are memories, and his eyes
Deep with the old, old dream that never dies."

Inertia and a dull unreasoning acceptance of whatever position in which he discovers himself located are among the strongest characteristics of the average man, and when he is praised for patience, it is often more true that he has lost altogether the power and the spirit to rebel. Not possessing the courage to be free, he remains in bondage; he is content to wallow in the deepest mire of a city's degeneration, not because he courageously curbs an intrepid spirit which continually urges him to

go elsewhere, but for the reason that he has no spirit of fight, no flame of rebellion, no fire of discontent in the narrowest marrow of his contemptible composition. All his natural vitality has left him; he is possessed of the spirit of the resigned. But this Bhuddist calm has its benefits; and of the labouring classes generally in the Scottish towns who form, of course, the great bulk of the population, no better description can be given than in Canon Barnett's words: "The working classes possess, he declares, "the strenuousness and modesty which come by contact with hardship, and the sympathy which comes by daily contact with suffering. They, as a class, are more unaffected, more generous, more capable of sacrifice, than members of other classes. They have solid sense and are good men of business. The working class is the hope of the nation, and their moral qualities justify the hope."

At any time it is enormously difficult to infuse a new spirit and a seasoned vitality into those who have been ground under the heel of a perverse adversity; those who have suffered the evils of grievous misfortune. A certain amount

of reserve force and natural exuberance is needed in the subject to be reformed, if he is to make much progress. It is a task that is worthy of attempt; but too much need not be expected from it. On the other hand, it is not very difficult to remove some, at least, of the most depressing causes of this misfortune, and to abolish many of the conditions which destroy so much of what is best in human life in its material and economic, as well as its spiritual, aspects. Sweated labour, for example, and all its devitalising, devastating influences and its life-destructive properties can be largely removed, perhaps abolished. A beginning already has been made, and in the chain-making trade at Cradley Heath, for example, the first trade to which the new Act was applied completely, wages have been raised sometimes 100 per cent. amongst the worst-paid employees with the unanimous consent of masters as well as workers. It has long been proved that there was no fixed and constant relation between the wage paid to the sweated worker and the ultimate cost price of the sweated article to the consumer. In this way, the conditions of life of

some of the most unfortunate labourers are made better. Labour Exchanges, again, by making it easier for men to gain employment, do something to abolish that most dis-spiriting labour of unemployed men struggling from street to street and from town to town, day after day, in aimless search for work. So, too, old age pensions and insurance against unemployment and sickness go to remove a few of the most depressing fears that harass the normal worker even in his healthy years. All these things are steps in the direction of providing him with some of the initial possbilities of a larger and fuller life; they open a freer horizon before him and provide him with greater equality of opportunities to attain to greater achievements and a larger usefulness in life. And it may be that the steady and persistent advance along this line of removing one social obstacle after another, obliterating from the social life those obvious evils which hinder its development, is the surest path for the State to follow. The steady removal of the worst influences that brutalise life, which debase and devitalise it, is a modest course productive of an enormous pre-

ponderance of good. By alleviating the lives of the humblest members of the State, it extends the bounds of social justice within the State and secures enhanced equality of opportunity to its citizens; it gives them a wider chance to make greater use, for economic, social, and national purposes, of their energies and faculties. These principles of a larger social justice and an extended range of opportunity are not desirable as conducing to idleness or a life of pleasure, but as a better means for the increased development and activity of the individuals, and, consequently, of the nation. The half-starved navvy does not dig as deep a trench as when he is full fed, though he may do as much as if he were over-fed. The object of social reform is to put him in his most productive condition. There is a normal mean which is not difficult of attainment, and, to generalise, the only healthy motive in all these schemes of social reform is not to make people more comfortable in order that they may be more idle, but to make them more healthy and vigorous, more full of life and hope, in order that they may be more enterprising and more active, more

productive and more useful. Idleness in all classes is one of the greatest moral diseases of the age, one full of misfortune for the prosperity of the State, and nothing but disaster can accrue from any gospel which teaches this as a thing to be aimed at, or identifies it as the end of the many strenuous schemes for social reform. Idleness and the life of ease is a living temptation, and it is one of the worst of mischances to associate either with the results of social improvement. The end of all the efforts of social amelioration is the very opposite. It is increased activity under better conditions in the health of the individual workers in their houses and their workshops, and in the implanting in them the certain seeds of a healthier initiative, a larger energy, and a greater usefulness. As vigorous social war is to be made on the ideals of ease and comfort as on any other forms of sloth and indolence.

A healthier manliness, a livelier hope, and a more vigorous spirit are among the most important social remedies.

CHAPTER II.

THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

A.

HERE IS the problem of rural Scotland. With large areas of land that are admirably suited for cultivation, with an agricultural population of the highest capacity on part of the soil and ready to cultivate greater portions of it, with the most profitable markets in the world at the farmer's very doors, why do the fields lie derelict and the cream of the rural population drift away to the colonies? Why is the task of providing Glasgow and Lanarkshire with dairy produce largely abandoned to the farmers of Connaught and Denmark when there are so many thrifty and diligent agriculturists in Scotland so much nearer the towns? Is the

race of the Scottish agriculturalists to be allowed to die, that source from which the nation may hope to obtain, in the future as in the past, much of the best of its bone and sinew to defend its shores or to conquer in the race of industry?

Traverse the Highlands from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Cantyre, from Ardnamurchan to Buchan Ness, and you will discover among the heather the ruins of numberless cottages where smallholders formerly lived, and the valleys which lie thick upon the land in the maze of the hills once echoed with the laughter of children, but now are silent save for the cries of the peewit and the grouse; or walk across the greener lands of the southern counties and you will discover the same thing amid surroundings that are infinitely better suited to the purposes of agriculture. It is a land with the peacefulness of the desert over a wide extent, and very often an equal barrenness of population; and yet huge portions of it are within two hundred miles of the densely populated urban areas of the Clyde, the Tyne, Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Nobody denies the gravity of the rural depopulation question, and its evils have been demon-

strated with repeated vigour by successive bands of agrarian reformers since the days of Caius Gracchus, and as true of Scotland to-day. The arithmetical total is almost the only feature that varies. As the Prime Minister stated at Earlston: "The total net falling off in twenty years of those actually engaged in the cultivation of the soil of Scotland is not less than 43,650 people; and the emigration from Scotland has risen, within recent years, for the first time on record, beyond the level of Ireland's—usually considered the high-water mark of national misfortune. Here are the figures for the last few years:—

Year.	Scottish.	Irish.
1905	41,510	50,159
1906	53,162	52,210
1907	66,355	64,096
1908	42,273	38,352

Go down the banks of the Clyde on a Saturday morning when the emigrant ships are sailing, see the people depart, and you will discover how many come from the rural shires. Here is a case in point. Three large liners left Glasgow on Saturday morning, the 31st April, 1910,

bound for Canadian and United States ports, bearing over four thousand Scottish emigrants drawn from all parts of Scotland. A special emigrant train on the Saturday morning brought from Dundee to Glasgow 160 emigrants from the Dundee district and 50 from Aberdeen. These emigrants were largely young artisans and farm servants, many of the latter being drawn from Forfarshire, and it was remarked, too, that among the four thousand emigrants generally, there were many cases of relatives (wives, etc.) going out to join friends who had already settled in Canada and the United States. Listen to this from the leading article in the "Glasgow Herald" of April 9th, 1910:—

"And to-day 1800 emigrants will leave the Clyde for Canada and America, while a fortnight hence the bookings will account for an estimated number of 4,300 people. During the present month over 20,000 Scottish emigrants will have set out for Canada; while it is calculated that during the season no fewer than 100,000 new settlers, chiefly agricultursits, will have departed from this country, and that although migration from the United States into Canada is greatly increasing in volume."

As these emigrants come in considerable numbers from the agricultural community, it might be thought that the Scottish peasant was in a hurry to forsake his native land. But the

very opposite is the truth. The Scottish peasantry are a land-loving people who cling to their native soil, who linger in their native villages, with the greatest possible tenacity. To say they are anxious to forsake their native country is to contradict the lesson of experience, is to assert what is contrary to that which everyone discovers who has gone about through the grassy lands of the lowlands or the rugged hills of the north. And it is not that these peasants desire to go abroad to change their occupation from agriculture to some other branch of industry. It is as agriculturalists that they emigrate; it is as tillers of the soil and as guardians of herds and of flocks that they toil under an Eastern or Western sun; and their virtues as such are so widely known that they are welcomed in every British Colony as the most desirable of land-cultivating immigrants. In spite of their strongest desires to remain at home—in sunny Annandale, where the memories of the Border feuds are as green as the native grass on the hillsides; in the Berwickshire villages at the base of the Lammermoors; in the hills of Banffshire, and all over Scotland—they

are driven to leave, driven by economic circumstances; and, in fact, emigrate to Athabasca to till the frozen soil of North-west Canada, or to Australia to graze their sheep or arid plains, where, at recurring periods, the rainy season fails and all the grass is dried and the sheep die off like flies. They go away from the land of their fathers to the ends of the earth, leaving their own home markets, the richest manufacturing towns of the Scottish Lowlands and the North of England to be supplied with eggs, butter, bacon, poultry, and other agricultural produce by the Danish peasant working in a climate and on a soil infinitely less propitious for agriculture than their own, and separated from these same markets by a stormy intervening sea. Thus, the imports of dairy produce into Scotland keep on increasing yearly, while larger areas of the country—both Highland and Lowland—are made into deer forests, those great stretches of land, barren and unproductive, reserved for a few weeks' sport in the year—often by aliens—and the native rural population is slowly and steadily dying. In the eighteenth century one of the Highland counties alone—

Sutherlandshire—sent forth from its young men a regiment of soldiers—the 93rd—which won for British arms some of the brightest laurels gained in that stirring time, but to-day you could scarcely raise so many men though you carried the fiery cross through every valley over the whole range of the northern shires.

And the climate and soil of Scotland are most eminently suited for agriculture. The Scottish climate appeals but little to the heart of the sybarite, but is eminently suited for the toiler. Rural Scotland has almost all the factors necessary for agricultural success. Its soil produces the richest crops in the world; but it is no land for a slothful people to seek to till. It yields little of its produce without the application of great labour and persistent skill; it gives of its fruits to the diligent, but it offers no reward to the sluggard. And nowhere in the world is there a hardier race, a more diligent and persevering people than the Scottish agriculturists. Whatever opportunities Nature has placed within their grasp they are only too ready to seize. No blame for the decline of Scottish agriculture can be laid to their door. They are the men,

indeed, who have made fertile so much of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and few persons court ridicule by seeking to blame them.

Two examples of this diligence may be noted, although it is almost needless to support a case so freely admitted. To the south of the Forth lie the famous grain-producing lands of the Lothians, where, on the "fat farms" of Haddington and its neighbourhood the growth of grain has been developed as a localised industry in a degree unsurpassed in any other district in the world. The Lothians yield a heavier crop per acre than any other soil in Great Britain. The yearly average per acre of wheat for the ten years 1898-1907 was as high as 46 bushels in Midlothian; it was 43 in Linlithgow, and 42 in Haddington; and for this same period no English county averaged more than 35 bushels, and for the whole of England the average was only 32 bushels. In a similar manner, in the cultivation of oats and barley, Linlithgow, Midlothian and Haddington had an average for the ten years in excess of forty bushels. The climate of the Lothians is well suited to the growth and ripening of wheat and oats; and the skill

and energy of her farmers turn to the best advantage whatever opportunities a bountiful Providence and a useful science have placed within their grasp. But let there be no mistaking the diligence and the labour of the farmers. It is curious to notice, in passing, how little one hears of the excellent quality of this Lothian farming. The praises of the dairy farming of Denmark are sung by many political pedants and parchment agriculturists, and the decadence of the quality of British agriculture asserted with an equal vehemence. But where will you find, in Denmark or in any other country in Europe, better and more highly skilled farming of grain lands than in the Scottish Lothians?

And the second example will be taken from the lands lying south of the Clyde—that area of industry and enterprise. Here you have the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire dairyman who has made a name and a reputation that have been carried far over Britain, even over the clay lands of Essex. Driving his cows before him, he has migrated from his native shire to districts all over the south and the midlands of Scotland, and not content with confining his energies

within his native country, he has followed the best manner of his belligerant forefathers, set his face across the border marches, and made invasion of the Saxon domain. In considerable numbers he has settled in Essex, and turned to a profitable use much Saxon land that was falling into a derelict condition. He has demonstrated his adaptability, his perseverance, and his success where the best of English agriculturists had failed.

These examples sufficiently indicate the high quality, the perseverance and diligence, the success of the Scottish agriculturists. Wherever they get the reasonable opportunity they make the best of their surroundings; this, be it noted, is a characteristic which nobody denies them, and but for their strenuous efforts the decay of rural Scotland had been infinitely worse than it is. All over the world the quality of the Scottish agriculturist is recognised; he is welcomed in every agricultural community; he has been the strenuous pioneer in every British Colony; and he has established a reputation that is world-wide.

And yet, in spite of it all, with the finest

agricultural population in the world, located on good soil, close to the richest markets in the world, rural Scotland is in a languishing condition and its people are a dying race, the best of them drifting away to other lands; for, try as they do, the doors which should open before them in their own country remain closed, and they carry their living energy elsewhere. It is the tragedy of a nation—the passing away of a vigorous people.

Two of the main factors which have encouraged this decline and decay are these: the first, the great growth of urban industrialism and the high rates of wages obtainable there. This has probably been the strongest force in the weakening of British agriculture, and those who are always quoting the experiences of the Continent in comparison with Great Britain in matters of agriculture, and making their comparison to the detriment of British effort, forget, very frequently, the enormous growth of British urban industries and of British colonies in the nineteenth century; in both respects Great Britain had no competitor in Continental Europe. When one is told that Belgium has

95 agriculturists per square mile and Britain has only 28, one of the correlative facts of no little importance is that wages in the principal urban industries in Belgium are not much more than one-half of those obtainable in Great Britain. The poverty of the Belgian peasant would follow him into the towns, so he may as well remain in the country. And the second great factor in the decay of British agriculture is that land is held in too small a number of hands — it is not distributed anything like so widely as is the agricultural centres of the Continent. An increase in the number of the occupiers of the soil is needed.

REDRESS.

A.

"I am the land of their fathers,
In me the virtue stays;
I will bring back my children
After certain days."

"Under their feet in the grasses
My clinging magic runs.
They shall return as strangers,
They shall remain as sons."

THERE are, then, great undeveloped resources in rural Scotland. The land is not developed agriculturally; fisheries are not developed as much as they might be, especially on the north-west coast; the planting of woods is an industry almost forgotten, but indications are not wanting that the future will see an improvement. The consciousness of all this waste and squandering of the national heritage is

widespread, and people have become alive to the undeveloped possibilities of their rural districts, and on no other social question of the first magnitude is there to-day so great unanimity regarding the remedies to be adopted. Agriculture, as a national industry, has been allowed to decline in this country so far below the level maintained elsewhere in Europe that the experience of these and the known wants of Scotland have long ago directed attention to the proper path of reform. So clear has this pathway become that one may speak with much clearness without any fear of becoming doctrinaire, for the general concensus of opinion among practical men has long ago made it clear what things are most needed in this newer movement of reform, and what obstacles are required to be removed. There is unanimity, now, as to most of the earliest steps. The two things to be attained beyond all others are: (1) To secure a freer access of willing agricultural labour to suitable land; and (2) To organise the various operations of agriculture (by co-operative action and otherwise) so as to secure the maximum results from the minimum cost; and, of these two objects,

the first is the more difficult, and probably much the more important. But the two are essential to ultimate success.

SMALL HOLDINGS.

How is this freer access to the land to be gained which is admittedly of such great importance in the regeneration of rural Scotland? There is a general unanimity of opinion that the development of a successful policy of creating new small holdings offer the readiest access to agricultural land. The peasant is everywhere among the most diligent of cultivators, especially in the case of intensive farming—the mode of agriculture commonly believed to be the most profitable in the future development of the country; and the multiplication of his numbers is a principal step in the regeneration of rural Scotland, for the small-holders are not only the most considerable section of the farming community at present, but they are the bone and sinew of the other rural occupations, and from this class is provided the more robust of the town population; they are the source of supply of the best of its labourers. The rural Scotsman

has always been regarded as a principal asset of the British race, and a principal object of rural regeneration is to re-inforce the strength of this class.

The small-holdings in Scotland are found, at present, distributed generally throughout the country, but in largest numbers in the Highlands, in Aberdeenshire, and in Banffshire; and, in studying this question, it is interesting to notice that the conditions of the small-holdings' question differ considerably in Scotland and in England. This is illustrated well in the differences resulting from the legislation commonly applied to the two countries. Under the Small Holdings Act of 1892, for example, some county councils in England supplied more than 800 acres for small holdings, whereas in Scotland one county council only in the whole country made any small holdings, namely, the Rossshire County Council, and that no more than 25 holdings of the small total of 85 acres. This is the sole achievement of the Act.

Under the Allotments Acts, too, the experience of the two countries has, in similar fashion, been very different. In England the Act has

had a wide application. The receipts of parish councils alone from this source (allotments) amounting yearly to £30,000, and some 50,000 tenancies have been created. But in Scotland almost nothing has been accomplished, and less than 200 people have received allotments. Among other things, the following are reasons for this difference. These Acts have not been suited to the conditions of Scotland; they were based on the agricultural conditions and requirements of England, which happen to differ essentially from those of Scotland. In Scotland the farm servant, for example, is a half-yearly or a yearly servant, who gives the whole of his time to the farm, residing in a cottage on the farm and having grazing for a cow; or, if unmarried, frequently living in a bothy on the farm. In England, on the other hand, the agricultural labourer usually lives in a village and is hired by the month, week, or day by a neighbouring farmer, the servant not giving the whole of his time to his master, and endeavouring frequently to earn additional money from his own garden allotment or small holding. It is to the conditions of such men that the Small

Holdings and Allotments Acts are specially suited, and the really essential equivalent to the similar man in Scotland is probably the completely equipped small holding with house and farm buildings where he can live and work. He needs a holding of anything up to a hundred acres. He seldom wants a small piece of land in a field of allotments. What he requires, in general, is a larger area which will serve as a definite habitation and a home. He does not want to be a "half-timer," but a "whole-timer," and for this reason desires a holding of some seventy to one hundred acres in extent.

How is it to be done? Many doctrinaires and statesmen, embryonic and otherwise, propound their various schemes, which are calculated, like many an advertiser's pills, to cure every ill that flesh is heir to, but chief among the well-considered schemes are two which far outdistance the others in authority of statement and in the volume of the support which they command. They are, the land purchase scheme propounded by Mr Balfour, and the tenancy scheme of the Liberal Government of 1906-1910. The method of the former is for the Government to purchase

large estates from their present owners where there is a demand for small holdings, and to re-sell them to the small-holders, allowing, as in the case of Ireland, some 68 years for the repayment of the purchase money; the principal merit of the system being that it transfers the fee simple to the small-holder, and the principal drawback that it is enormously expensive and provides little guarantee for the maintenance of the small-holdings as such in the future. But in spite of these disadvantages and of the experience of Ireland and the Continent, the system of peasant proprietorship has vigorous adherents and has suffered no lack of supporters ever since the days of Arthur Young. The alternative land policy advanced by the Government of 1906-10 aims at making the new small-holders no more than the tenants of the existing owners, but giving them security of tenure, fair rents, and compensation for improvements; and, to judge from the evidence of elections, the voters, and particularly those in rural areas, are tolerably satisfied with this policy. Its various details, which are of no great interest, can be read in the text of the bill, which can be pur-

chased from the Parliamentary printers (or through any bookseller) at a cost of 1½d.

B.

All parties to-day are agreed on the need of active assistance from the State to forward the rural regeneration. No better proof can be cited than the reception of the Government's Development Bill of 1909, all parties in both Houses of Parliament uniting in its progress and its praise. To show how great a departure it marks from the older doctrines, the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in introducing it, had better be quoted: "It is no part of the function of a Government to create work, but it is an essential part of its business to see that the people are equipped to make the best of their own country, are permitted to make the best of their own country, and, if necessary, are helped to make the best of their own country," and, when he went on to remark on the necessary lines of action, to the purposes of which he was providing the moneys of the Development Fund, he said (and it shows how far the breach with the

older theory has gone): "We are not getting out of the land anything like what it is capable of endowing us with," and the schemes to be fostered by the Development Fund will include, he said, "such objects as the institution of schools of forestry, the purchase and preparation of land for afforestation, the setting up of a number of experimental forests on a large scale, expenditure upon scientific research in the interests of agriculture, experimental farms, the improvement of stock—as to which there have been a great many demands from people engaged in agriculture—the equipment of agencies for disseminating agricultural instruction, the encouragement and promotion of co-operation, the improvement of rural transport so as to make markets more accessible, the facilitation of all well-considered schemes and measures for attracting labour back to the land by small holdings or reclamation of wastes."

It is a comprehensive programme, and gives adequate expression to the newer movement for improving the rural districts. These varied schemes and the improvement of main roads in the neighbourhood of large towns so as to have

a speedier motor traffic, adding, among other things, the speedier transit of agricultural produce, mark this Development Act as one of the most important of the early steps for re-creating rural effort, and, as remarked already, the policy of the Act was admitted freely in every quarter of Parliament and in both Houses—a sign that opinion is everywhere agreed as to the needs of agriculture. For Ireland and for the Highlands of Scotland there has already been the acceptance by the State of the doctrine that Government aid is necessary to quicken rural processes of development which are indispensable for national efficiency, developments which cannot adequately be financed and worked by unaided local effort. It is the principle underlying the setting up of the Congested Districts Boards. But it had been treated as an exceptional thing and not as normal. Now it is accepted as normal and is applied to the whole of the country. It is certain that the Development Act will be followed by others of the same sort, for, as Lord Milner says, "The resuscitation of agriculture is a big job, all the bigger because it has been so long neglected"; and

this new policy of Government assistance is likely to be fruitful for British agricuture and, not least, for Scotland.

As the recognition of this principle is important, it is worth noting how far this "parental" system has been recognised already in the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act of 1897.

Under this measure a Board was established with a yearly income of £35,000 to be expended within congested districts in the Highlands for the following purposes:—

(*a*) To aid and develop agriculture, fishing, and other industries; and to provide seeds, implements and dairying appliances.

(*b*) To provide land for sub-division or for enlargement of crofter's holdings; to aid migration from congested districts to other parts of Scotland, and to settle migrants under favourable circumstances in the places to which they first migrate.

(*c*) To provide or improve light-houses, public roads and bridges; and to provide guarantees for telegraph and other postal facilities.

This special measure was applied to the Highlands of Scotland on the ground that their weaker economic condition justified exceptional treatment, but it has been recognised since long that local authorities will not (and frequently cannot) afford the expenditure on many improvements and services which in themselves are very desirable; and the need of extended assistance from the central authority is admitted generally. With the continuous growth of population the intensive development of the country becomes continually of greater importance, and there is general agreement that it is an increasing necessity for the nation as a whole to undertake new works of development.

C.

On this question of rural regeneration there is even unanimity regarding much of the detail, and, next to the multiplication of small holdings, it is recognised that agricultural organisation and co-operaton, agricultural credit societies, land banks, the improvement of live stock and elimination of disease, the organisation and

equipment of agricultural education, the improvement of transit, and afforestation, are all subjects of great importance. In Mr Balfour's opinion, the success of the small holdings' movement is dependent upon the extension of co-operation.

"They must organise their small holdings; they could not leave them as isolated units," he declares; "They must work them up into some coherent and well-contrived whole, and in that way endeavour to mitigate the inevitable evils which small holdings generally carried with them. The small holder who refused to come into some organisation was, in his opinion, predestined to be squeezed out in the economic competition which was being forced upon them now and would not be less in the future"; and the benefits of organisation to the small holders are as great in buying as in selling, the society doing each on better terms than the individual; and yet in so progressive a country as Scotland agricultural organisation has made but slow progress, very much slower, it is curious to notice, than in Ireland or on the Continent. Many observers have remarked on this with

interest, and here is what Sir Horace Plunkett has said—and everybody knows how much he has done for its development in Ireland. "The progress of the agricultural movement in Scotland is unaccountably slow, when one considers that the agricultural industry of Scotland has reached the highest efficiency in the inhabited globe." In comparison with its development on the Continent and in Ireland agricultural organisation has made but little headway in Scotland, although, as a matter of fact, the movement is extending steadily, and farmers and proprietors alike are becoming more and more alive to its benefits. In the distribution and marketing of eggs, milk, butter, and other forms of farm produce, in the purchasing of manures, coals, seeds, agricultural implements, cattle, etc., individual members of co-operative societies obtain advantages which are of the first importance to them. From his local agricultural society it is easy for the poorest peasant, with whom an ordinary bank would never dream of dealing, to obtain credit to purchase a horse or cow, or whatever he requires. "In an Agricultural Credit Society, the applicant, who must

be a member of the Society, goes to the committee and tells them for what purpose he requires money. If they approve of the purpose, and are satisfied with the man's character and industry, as well as his sureties, they lend him the money." It then becomes the business of his neighbours to see that the borrower fulfils the purpose of his loan; they have a more personal interest in his welfare than ever before. "The moral effect of this concern for one another's welfare," says Sir Horace Plunkett, "cannot be exaggerated. The borrowers from the Raifeissin Bank are the proudest men in the district—their district has passed a vote of confidence in them." By receiving money deposits from its members the local agricultural society can speedily acquire sufficient money for its business, and, in addition to lending and transacting an ordinary banking business, it can undertake the work of insuring all farm risks. Under ordinary conditions the premiums on farm risks are inordinately high, and, in some districts, the risks are much greater than in others; but the local society, knowing the circumstances of its districts and of its members

can reduce the premiums to suit the precise circumstances of the case. The deposits in village banks at present are often considerable; and there is some point in the suggestion that is frequently made that it would be for the benefit of the localities if these sums were utilised in the development of the localities where they were saved, instead of being transferred to London or Glasgow for the purposes of cosmopolitan finance.

The co-operative movement in agriculture has been making headway in Scotland recently, largely through the action of the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society; there are now a fair number of such local co-operative agricultural societies at work in rural Scotland; and efforts are being made to secure the establishment of a strong central agricultural bank, to assist in the development of the local societies—a necessary step on the pathway of progress.

Various other topics of minor importance trouble the Scottish agriculturist—the question of cattle warrenties, tobacco growing in Scotland, houses for married ploughmen, the system of rating, and the Contagious Diseases

(Animals) Acts; and the most important, perhaps, from the public point of view, is the effort to reduce disease among cattle in order to reduce it among the population who are fed from the cattle. Recent efforts for doing this more effectively—milk bills, tuberculosis orders, etc.—are, perhaps, steps in the right direction; but in order that their results may be prompt and adequate, it is extremely likely that large grants will require to be made from the Development Fund for this express purpose. In every direction the newer movements in agriculture seem to call for increased assistance from the State, and it is not evident where the process is going to end.

RURAL EDUCATION.

In the chapter on Education, attention is drawn to a fact generally recognised to-day, namely, the value of not imposing on country children an ideal from without—generally the ideal of the townsman—but of educating the peasant child to an interest not only in books, but in the life of the fields, the making

of dairy produce, and the other interests of the farm.

But beyond this lies the equipment and development of more advanced rural education, and the spread of information which is of value to the most active agriculturists in the community. Experts and ordinary men of common-sense are discovered in agreement. "The ultimate value of instruction in agriculture," Lord Reay's Committee on Agricultural Education report (p. 38 Cd. 4206) "is to improve and to increase agricultural produce, and there is no doubt but that by a general adoption of scientific methods, an important development could be effected in every branch of agriculture and in the various rural industries subsidary to it. By this means, without diminishing the supply of meat and cereals grown in the country, a large proportion of the butter and cheese, the poultry, the fruit and vegetables (to say nothing of the timber) now imported from abroad could be remuneratively produced at home."

There is unanimity, too, that a first line of action should be the employment of State-paid advisory experts (a chief Danish

expedient) to go about the country and to advise and help farmers as to methods of cultivation and working, the weeding out of unprofitable stock, etc. Technical instruction in hedging, ditching, thatching, horticulture, bee-keeping, poultry-rearing, farm hygiene, and dairy work should be provided.

"As a means of reaching and influencing those engaged in farming or gardening, the itinerant instructor is of great importance," Lord Reay's Committee report; and they continue: "In every country there should be instructors in agriculture and horticulture, and systematic instruction should also be provided in farm hygiene, dairying, poultry-keeping, farriery, and certain manual processes, as well as in the methods of co-operative production and distribution." This is found to be a useful field of labour, and many profitable results are obtained from it in other countries. Even the professional work of the giving of lectures is said to be profitable. Mr James Murray's Committee on the Poultry Industry in Scotland declare (p. 14, Cd. 4616, 1909): "The value of lectures in rural districts, given by qualified ex-

perts who are acquainted with the best methods and with local opportunities and conditions, as a means of awakening interest and stimulating endeavours for improvement, has been abundantly proved in England and Ireland, and to a more limited extent in Scotland," and they recommend an extension of the system of lectures.

And, further, there is a matter insisted upon by Lord Reay's Committee. Much good may come from the prompt provision of farm institutes and winter schools in suitable centres—just as there might be rural secondary schools giving general and scientific instruction for the rural needs of Scotland. Such schools have been found very useful in Denmark, France, Canada, the United States, and elsewhere. "The type of institution which appears to be exceptionally adapted to the needs of this country is the Winter Agricultural School. This school should aim at providing courses of study during the winter months for lads from 17 to 20 who have already gained some practical acquaintance with agriculture or horticulture." And a beginning of this work can be made by

providing merely local winter classes in the ordinary village schools.

Lord Reay's Committee declared themselves as "convinced that agricultural education is of such vital importance to the United Kingdom that no effort should be spared in making the provision for it as full and complete as possible," and having regard to the serious attention paid to the subject by Denmark and other foreign rivals, this is probably not an over-statement. Various agricultural societies and colleges in Scotland are making excellent efforts in this direction. The activities of the Highland and Agricultural Society and of the larger agricultural colleges in the principal Scottish cities are well known. Much valuable work in the field of investigation and experiment, no less than in that of instruction, is performed by them. And many smaller agricultural societies also do excellent work. In view, however, of the keenness of international competition and the strenuousness of rivals, it is agreed that more is needed. These societies and colleges are not liable to bear the full burden of the national equipment of Scotland in

agricultural education. Considerable cost and organisation is necessitated, and the only alternative seems to be for greater assistance to be given by the State. All the parliamentary and departmental committees on the subject are agreed as to this.

D.

AFFORESTATION.

Much of the barren hill land in Scotland is suited admirably for the growth of timber, and speaking generally, and with very few exceptions, the land that it is suggested may with advantage be afforested is at present grazed by mountain sheep. It is land of very small pastoral value. Scotland offers splendid facilities for the growing of timber, and in ancient times was densely wooded; the roots of the old trees are still constantly dug out of the moss on the Scottish hills. But at present it is one of the most poorly wooded countries in Europe; so much so that no more than five per cent. of the whole area of Scotland is wooded. What this means may be seen in comparison with

Sweden, for example, where the percentage of wooded land is as high as fifty-two per cent. of the whole, and even in crowded industrial countries like Germany and France, it is as high as twenty-six and seventeen per cent. respectively. This, indeed, is one of the most obvious instances of the undeveloped resources of rural Scotland.

Elaborate investigations recently have been made by the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation, who have estimated that as much as six million acres of land in Scotland could, with advantage, be afforested. The ordinary interests of agriculture would not be adversely affected; they would be improved. Not only would the woods be located mainly on mountain grazing lands, but it is found in practice that the trees remove relatively little plant food from the soil, and they often thrive best where the rainfall is so heavy as to make tillage farming impossible and even pastoral farming difficult. "Not only do trees require but little plant food," says Professor Somerville, "but they have special powers of collecting even that little, inasmuch as their root range

is immensely greater than that of grass or of farm crops. Thus it comes about that one may find a crop of timber of maximum quantity and quality on land of a rental value of a few pence per acre." Another factor of importance in a rural community is that most of the work in the forests can be performed in winter when the agriculturist is least busy with his farm work. The planting of trees is confined to the period between the middle of October and the middle of March, and the Royal Commissioners on Afforestation discovered that crofters and small-holders were agreed regarding the immense importance of having woods in their neighbourhood, where they gain employment in the time when they can be spared most readily from their holdings.

A further factor of importance is that higher prices for timber may be anticipated in the future, owing to the shortage in the supply. Thus the Royal Commission on Afforestation refer in their report to "The very serious shortage of the world's supply of timber to which we must apparently look forward," and the Departmental Committee on Forestry, 1902, declared:

"It will be found in our evidence that experts of high authority have recorded the opinion already expressed, that the world is rapidly approaching a shortage, if not actual dearth, in its supply of coniferous timber, which constitutes between 80 and 90 per cent. of the total British timber imports." With the demand for timber increasing all over the world, the prospect for producers is probably more favourable than ever before.

As to the method of procedure, the most authoritative pronouncement is that of the Royal Commission already mentioned (Cd. 4460, 1909), who recommend that the administration of national forest lands should be entrusted to special Government Commissioners, and the necessary money provided by the raising of public loans. "Sylviculture in the United Kingdom," the Report says, "is an enterprise which rarely appeals to the private landowner or capitalist. The prolonged time for which capital must be locked up before any return can be expected, the loss of rent and burden of rates over the whole period, and the absence of security for continuous care and management,

act as deterrents. None of these objections apply to the State, whose corporate life and resources lend themselves in a special degree to an undertaking of this character. If the State plants, it will certainly reap, which the individual owner can rarely hope to do." It is another of the many duties which reformers are everywhere throwing upon a benevolent Government.

CHAPTER III.

THE POOR LAW.

The Present Position.

The Existing System Everywhere Condemned.

IN THE recently issued report of the Poor Law Commission certain conspicuous defects of the Poor Law have been unanimously condemned — the general poor-house, the absence of classification, the lack of curative and restorative methods of treatment; out-door relief is declared to be largely inadequate and unequal, sufficient investigation is not made into individual cases; and, in so far as few conditions are exacted, the system is defective and not nearly so beneficial, it is declared, as it ought to be; medical relief is found to be over-

lapping, and its organisation to possess real failure to render effective help; and, generally, the limitation of the existing Poor-Law system to a policy merely of deterrence is condemned, and one that is curative, one that would strike at the roots of pauperism, advocated in its place.

Majority and Minority Reports are agreed on these things—and this is a matter of note—for, short of unanimity in constructive reform, there is no greater utility than unanimity of condemnation. If things are so bad that they call forth the reasoned condemnation of responsible and capable men, of every school of thought and every type of opinion, it is certain that, before very long, the path of change, the highway of reform, will be fully explored, and the permanent way effectively laid. In the discussion on the Poor Law in the House of Commons on the 8th of April, 1910, no more notable incident occurred than the extent to which Mr Asquith and Mr Balfour were in agreement, and how they could both of them point to the very considerable body of agreement that existed between the Majority and

Minority Reports. And this agreement is a happy augury, for there is no reason why much of the reform of the Poor Law should not be accomplished amicably without any protracted discussion; for many of the existing differences are confined to nomenclature, idle matters of words, some of them full of sound and fury, but signifying little enough.

Practically all the reformers of the Poor Law have a definite view of the change that is needed. On the general question there is general agreement. The goal of the newer Poor Law, recognised alike by the leaders of every school and of every party, is that deterrence merely can no longer be the basis and foundation of the system, but that curative methods and more vigorous schemes to diminish the active sources of destitution are needed. The task is more than to succour the victims of destitution; it is to endeavour to prevent them ever becoming destitute at all. To attack prospective poverty in its sources, in advance, is the object of the newer poor law, so that the disease of destitution and poverty, like the former scourges of the plague and small-pox, may be eradicated

definitely from the social system. And to take an example, everyone sees to-day how much a more rational system of training and of educating school children, and leading them on by obvious stages towards the trades and occupations they are fitted to fill, may accomplish towards diminishing the pauperism of the future; for the present system leaves them, far too frequently, to develop, through lack of food, training, and opportunity, to a manhood of casual labour and pauperism. That is but a single example, known to everybody, and there are many more.

But much is not to be expected without many efforts, for nothing in the problem of the Poor Law is more evident than this, that the forms and causes of misfortune (and pauperism) are infinitely varied. They are no few and simple causes susceptible of short and succinct analysis, much less of short and simple reform. Numberless, like the waves of the sea, they are often as fitful in their action, and as difficult to anticipate. But, none the less, some of the most potent should be made productive of a smaller amount of evil by a reasonable application of

commonsense and foresight. The general perception of this fact is the greatest recent advance in the Poor Law problem. Everybody now perceives that such ordinary sources of pauperism, as sickness, unemployment, and casual labour, for example, are susceptible of curative treatment, if not altogether, to this extent at least, that systems of insurance against loss of wages during sickness and unemployment, some active assistance to the unemployed in helping them to gain work, the control and regulation of casual labour, the diminution of boy-labour, and the more careful control of the adolescent, the restraint of the sweater—all these things (and many more) accomplish a little towards mitigating some of the worst features of modern pauperism. And nothing is plainer than that the treatment can be carried further and the mitigating influence increased; though, at the same time, and for the reasons already indicated, these expedients are far from providing a cure for the whole of a problem so infinitely complex, so very varied; and there are no single set of remedies which can accomplish so much. If there are to be effective cures to so many

tumultuous multitudes of evils, the cures must be almost as numerous and so equally varied as the evils they are intended to remove.

It would be a churlish survey that failed to recognise the immense amount of good accomplished by the existing Poor Law system and by charitable societies (Church societies and others) working apart from the Poor Law. As to these latter, it is now a common belief that their efficiency could be carried further, by their closer co-operation the one with the other. It is interesting to note how the idea of charitable service has undergone a radical change. In the old days the idea of charity was centred in the giving away of a few pence or a pound of tea in proof of benevolent sympathy, but the modern idea is to aim at establishing the family or the individual in a better position of independence; aiding the obtaining of employment, and in other ways advancing the economic strength of the unfortunate:—a great change, fruitful of greater good to come.

And if the methods of the newer Poor Law are effectively to link together existing charitable effort, eliminating the parasites who

prey upon it, and are to be curative, regard must be had to the individuals who resist resolutely every effort at improvement, or what is commonly regarded as such. It is a commonplace of much of human nature that no one will reform while life and strength remain; and every observer of the Poor Law is aware how much that system is abused by rogues and vagabonds, and he knows, too, how there is no other way of dealing with such people than by restraint, possibly in labour colonies; so that, if the deserving are to be assisted to leave the ways of the Poor Law, those, too, who are inveterately bad have need to be prevented from abusing a system intended for better people. Penal labour colonies are, doubtless, a necessity of the newer system; and experience has shown that these are needed as an early step in the newer system—as will appear immediately.

POOR LAW AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Poor Law.

To labour in the Poor Law is to come into contact with an extraordinary variety of misfortune and human wreckage, for here is discovered the flotsam and jetsam of every walk in life—the human derelicts of all the trades and professions; the ruined devotees of vice; and, also, by a cruel chance of fortune, the innocent victims of many capricious accidents and the great mass of those on whom a luckless mischance has imposed a heavy and wayward hand —the penniless young widow with her young family equally impecunious, the orphan, the imbecile, the lame, the sick, and the halt; here they are all of them discovered, as different as possible in many respects, but united in a common misfortune—destitution; a great army of people of every description from the innocent child to the hardened tramp who has lived for years on fear and intimidation; the drunkard; the brawler; and, last but not least, the broken men of despair who have tasted better things, "but thereof came in the end despondency and

madness . . . . Solitude, pain of heart, distress, and poverty."

Under the Poor Law are embraced, then, a great variety of cases of many descriptions and varieties; and it is this diversity of individuals that presents the great difficulty of the problem. In the general poor-house, for example, there is discovered an almost horrible promiscuity. To take a single section by way of example. Among women, there is the young servant out of place, the feeble-minded woman of any age, the unmarried mother, the senile, the paralytic, the epileptic, the respectable deserted wife, the widow to whom outdoor relief has been refused —here they are, huddled indiscriminately together; and in other sections of the paupers there is a similar promiscuity. Everybody recognises that separation is desirable, and the different treatment of the various sections; and, of the many suggestions advanced for their separate treatment, none are more comprehensive than those of the Minority Report of the recent Poor Law Commission, where it is advocated that the different classes be not only treated separately, but by different authorities

—the children by the education authority, the sick by the public health authority, imbeciles by the lunacy authority, the able-bodied by an authority charged with the duty of finding them work, the aged by an authority specially constituted to deal with the aged, and so for other classes and sections; the scheme possessing the obvious logical sequence that, passing through the most obvious barrier of destitution, it endeavours to pierce more closely to the particular causes of destitution and to deal specifically with these. The obvious obstacle to the immediate carrying out of such a policy is the extent of its immediate cost. If education authorities are to undertake larger duties to the children they must need have increases of staff and enlarged buildings; if the local health authority is to assume greater duties regarding the sick, larger hospitals must be provided out of the sanitary rates; if the lunacy authorities undertake their larger duties, greater asylums must be erected; and so on. It may be that considerable savings would be effected ultimately in the cost of the Poor Law administration, but one must recognise that to make these changes will involve,

at first at least, additional expense, and always larger organisations and buildings, and, possibly, as a result, a permanently enlarged expenditure. Institutional relief is always expensive, and most of the above-mentioned reforms involve its increase. Eminent authorities, however, have no fear on this account; they are aware that the progress of social reform is inevitably expensive; that it makes increased demands upon the public purse, larger, generally, than what are originally anticipated.

For these two reasons (among others more humane and sympathetic) it is desired to discover methods of treatment other than the institutional, and, in particular, to discover curative processes which will prevent poor people from ever becoming chargeable to the Poor Law authorities. The efforts to get rid of pauperism are part of the greater battle waged continually against the whole of the forces of poverty and social disorder; and, as in battles generally, the strife has to be waged on very imperfect ground. The ultimate aims of reform may be idealistic and ambitious (and probably should be); but the immediate steps are limited

necessarily by the actual circumstances of existing conditions, and these are often enough far enough removed from the idealistic.

How, then, are the children to be dealt with? How are the aged to be treated? How the sick, the casual, and the able-bodied, having regard not only to what is ideally desirable, but to what also is immediately practicable? For here is a matter, living and vital, one of a thousand interests; no single problem, but a whole conglomeration of problems bristling with difficulties and alive with those human equations which disturb the soul of the formalist and reduce his choicest theories to chaos and something worse; no task for the pedant; no work that the fluent doctrinaire may turn an easy hand to; but a thing varied as human experience, rich as the fitful caprice of life, changeable as the waves of the sea. To take a practical example, the extent to which illness is responsible for pauperism is often a matter of amazement to the casual observer. In Glasgow, for example, forty-six per cent. of the applications for relief are estimated to be due to sickness or ill-health. Dr. Nathan Raw came

to the conclusion that in Liverpool "nearly sixty per cent. were paupers because they were consumptives, and not consumptives because they were paupers"; and the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (1909) estimated that at least one-half of the cost of pauperism was swallowed up in dealing with sickness. Casual labour, again, ranks high as a cause of pauperism, the Royal Commission placing it first and foremost as a cause productive of pauperism. And to trace the evil further back, boy labour is discovered to be a common road leading to casual labour and unemployment later in life. This economic fact, the Royal Commissioners declared to be "the gravest of all the grave facts which the Commission has laid bare." And so it is in every branch of the subject, cause and effect interacting like links in an endless chain, but susceptible, here and there, of change and improvement which diminish, to some extent at least, the sum total of the whole; and it may well be that it is along so many paths and by means of an almost numberless succession of steps that the progress of betterment should most effectively proceed.

THE ABLE-BODIED AND THE UNEMPLOYED

What is the State to do for the able-bodied unemployed who are genuine seekers of labour, and for those, also, who are sulkers and workshys, the perpetual drags upon the wheels of industry? It is a problem which looms large on the social horizon; and, now, there is this substantial ray of hope that, on certain minor lines of redress, common agreement practically has been reached; and these suggested remedies are, in no respect, either revolutionary or epoch-making; they are nothing more than practical expedients which go a little way towards relieving some of the existing distress. The chief of them are (1) the decasualisation of labour; (2) the further development of a national system of labour exchanges and the greater mobility of unemployed labour; (3) the institution of a system of insurance against unemployment and against sickness; (4) the establishment of detention colonies, as suggested by the Vagrancy Committee (Cd. 2852, 1906) for the most depraved of the tramps and vagrants; and

possibly, too, the institution of a Ministry of Labour for the purpose of dealing generally with the subject of employment; (5) the diminution of boy labour and a closer linking-up in the case of schools and local industries; (6) the proper control of the imbecile and the feeble-minded who, at present, not only lead lives of unnecessary suffering, but too frequently pass their weakness on to children (see the Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble Minded, Cd. 4202, 1908). These are all of them general remedies which are recognised commonly both in Scotland or in England, and they would have to be applied and developed simultaneously in both countries.

In approaching this question of modern unemployment, it is worthy of notice how much it differs from the conditions of 1834, when the foundations of the existing system were laid. In those days it was a problem of normal underpayment, and the agricultural labourer demoralised by "unconditional" outdoor relief. The guiding rule, enunciated in 1834, was the farmer's principle that relief should be given only in institutions, and the condition of the

relief be made no better than the ordinary life of the lowest class of labour in the neighbourhood. The destruction of the subsidising of labour from the rates was the object directly in view. But to-day there is little or no agricultural unemployment; the rural districts are dying for lack of workers; and the unemployment of the industrial city dweller is the heart of the problem. His case is the crux to-day; and it is very different from the bucolic simplicity of the problem at the beginning of the last century. As everybody knows, the linking closer of countries and of continents has introduced disturbing elements of the furthest-reaching consequence. The immediate causes of unemployment to-day are separated often by continents from the localities where the worst of their influence may operate. Thus a shortage in the cotton harvest of Alabama and the Southern States will throw thousands of cotton operatives in Lancashire out of employment, irrespective altogether of the moral and economic qualities of these Lancashire workers. A financial crisis in the United States produces a restriction of credit and of trade throughout

the world, and, among other things, leads to a shortage of orders for new vessels on the Clyde; but it is no defect, moral or physical, on the part of the Glasgow worker which produces the collapse in American trade, though the Glasgow worker is none the less thrown out of employment, and instead of being a ship's rigger on the banks of the Clyde, he may be reduced to become a Palacerigger on the heights of Cumbernauld. The story is the same in other trades and throughout the industrial world. Many of the most important of the conditions of unemployment arise from factors beyond the control of the labourer, who has neither made them nor had any responsibility for them. As everybody knows, the modern city worker is a highly-skilled machine, a unit in an enormously complicated and sensitive industrial organisation, subject to a variety of influences, national and international, and, unless he has skill and health and a reasonable expectation of continuous employment even in seasons of dull trade, like a machine that is not very properly tended and fairly evenly utilised, he cannot be maintained in a condition

of normal efficiency. So that, on this purely economic view of the unemployed, three of the principal evils at the basis of modern unemployments are the repeated occurrence of periods when, owing to national or international causes, there is shortage of employment, preventable sickness, and the neglect of childhood and adolescence (in failing to rear children properly, to teach them trades, etc.) so as to make them qualified to fill a proper place in the highly-skilled organisation of modern industry, *i.e.*, a failure to turn them out as sufficiently well-equipped industrial machines. And three of the immediate economic steps towards the removal of these defects are everywhere recognised to be the improved training of the young with an eye to their future occupations; more rational efforts, both individual and social, for the improvement of the health of city dwellers, and some action on the part of the State (*e.g.*, by the distribution of Government contracts for necessary work, so far as is reasonably practicable, during the seasons of bad unemployment) so as to tend to regularise the normal flow of the stream of employment. It is

estimated, for example, that the Government spend some £150,000,000 a year on work and services, and a portion of this sum might not unreasonably be diverted from good years to bad, *i.e.*, to the times when ordinary industrial employment is weak. No sane person would suggest the holding over of necessary work, such as a city's water supply when it is urgently needed, but very frequently such works are contemplated during many years before they are actually made, and, within limits, there are reasonable periods for adjustment as to the time when the contracts for execution should take effect. It is scarcely doubted, too, that more drastic powers might be exercised regarding casual labourers, powers which would prevent a separate reserve of this labour being maintained for every employer of it in any district and make one common reserve suffice for them all; and looking further ahead, it might not be difficult, with practically no interference with the normal conditions of industry, to do something to dovetail seasonal trades, the one into the other. Labour Exchanges are aiding workers already to regularise their employment,

and what is done for workers may, in time, be effected for trades. But at the present moment there are two measures uncontroversial in character, yet far-reaching in scope, which could be passed into law directly any Government found the necessary time to consider them:—

(*a*) The presence among the unemployed of those who will not work, those who are evil, vicious, and unsocial, who, in the recommendations of the Vagrancy Committee, must be confined in compulsory labour detention colonies.

(*b*) The feeble-minded and the imbeciles who at present are allowed to wander at large or condemned to the shelter of the mixed workhouse—these should be subject to proper supervision and more rigorous restraint, in their own interests as well as those of the community at large. This branch of the subject, also, has been worked out in the greatest detail by the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded (see Cd. 4202, 1908).

The importance of these two measures is not so much for the good they effect themselves as the preparation they make for effecting better things immediately afterwards; they are necessary first steps in the pathway of reform. A necessary preliminary of all social reform is the care and control of those whose hereditary infirmities undermine the health and efficiency of the whole community, and the segregation of these two classes is not only excellent in itself but a most necessary step in the prevention of race deterioration. It is the first practical step almost that the modern Eugenical School can demand for the future improvement of the race, and scarcely any successful reform of the Poor Law can be undertaken until these two classes are removed from its sphere, for, at present, they prey on every method of improvement, and reduce very many of them to futility.

THE EXPERIENCE OF SCOTLAND.

The conclusions are equally true of Scotland and of England, as has been demonstrated amply by the experience of both. Of the

methods adopted in Scotland, generally, for the relief of the able-bodied, the following are the principal: (1) The Poor Law; (2) Charity; (3) Municipal relief works; (4) The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. Under the first, the Poor Law, relief cannot be given, technically, to the able-bodied, but, in practice, the Poor Law authorities frequently relieve the able-bodied in the poor-houses—a method admitted to be inadequately suited to the purpose, and exercising no remedial effects over the person so relieved; and so satisfied were the Poor Law Commissioners of the uselessness of this restriction that they recommended its abolition.

As to the charitable agencies, these deal in the main with cases which might be dealt with under the Poor Law, and it is found in practice that the charitable funds are expended very largely on the casually employed, the chronically destitute, the worthless, and the dissolute. The Scottish people are extremely generous towards the unfortunate, and, in periods of misfortune or of depression in trade, large funds are readily raised and distributed in the Scottish cities by municipal effort and otherwse. But far too

frequently the largest portion of these funds is expended upon the casuals and the worthless, while the more deserving persons, temporarily out of employment, on whose behalf the funds were raised ostensibly receive no assistance, just as it was for the benefit of this same class that the Distress Committees under the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 were set up. But they, too, have to a large extent failed to benefit the class they were intended to help—the working man who is temporarily unemployed—and have become again, very largely, a permanent organisation for the relief of the casual — that terrible figure which overshadows and reduces to nullity the efforts of every agency of able-bodied relief.

This is the conclusion which emerges from it all. Before you can do much to assist the able-bodied unemployed you must first deal with the casuals, the chronically vicious, the vagrants, and the imbeciles. If you do not, then, however numerous the agencies which may be at work, however different their professed objects and their immediate aims, they are all of them reduced to a common level by the

ubiquitous casual labourer (as the experience mentioned above has so amply shown). The very multiplication of those agencies of charity and assistance at present tends to increase this casual class, this source of subsidised labour (*i.e.*, subsidised at present from charitable and philanthropic sources). Every relief fund is swallowed by the casual at present, and nearly every effort to deal with the other cases of unemployment defeated, for the casual labourers are so numerous, their condition of destitution so grievous in many cases, so many undesirables are discovered frequently in their ranks, that more respectable workmen hold aloof and receive no benefit from the legislative efforts intended to help them. It is the point above all others that the Workmen's Unemployed Act of 1905 has made clear. To go out from Glasgow, for example, in the morning train to Cumbernauld (at the time in 1909 when the colony was in full swing) with the labourers on the Distress Committee's farm colony at Palacerigg was a useful lesson. A train-full of hungry-eyed men, with the conviction writ large in the eyes of each that he was a social

pariah, they climbed the long hill from Cumbernauld Station to the colony on the high moorland like a band of outcasts, and, then, arrived up on the table-land of moss and heather, far away from their fellows, they laboured and drove great roads across the moss; cut great stacks of peat and reclaimed much derelict land—all accomplished at great expense in money—and, at night, they went down the hill again—600 of them—and returned to Glasgow by train to be swallowed up again in the deep recesses of the city. They did much work at a great cost; their health undoubtedly derived advantage; and the assistance thus afforded gave appreciable relief to the problem of Glasgow's unemployment. In spite of vehement criticism the Scottish Distress Committees did excellent work under difficult conditions, and it was no fault of theirs that their efforts attained no wider success, for the difficulties to be dealt with were greater than their machinery could bear. Before the larger reforms can be undertaken the way must be prepared by removing the casual and the worthless. It is one of the necessary preliminaries to

any larger schemes, and one on which there is general agreement.

The recommendations of the Poor Law Commission (1909) may be added:—

(1) The necessitous unemployed should be, roughly, divided into three classes:
   (*a*) Those who require temporary maintenance with work.
   (*b*) Those who require for a longer period maintenance with work and training.
   (*c*) Those who require detention and discipline.

(2) The methods of assistance available for the treatment of these classes should be:—
   (*a*) Home assistance on condition of daily work in an industrial or agricultural institution.
   (*b*) Partial home assistance, *i.e.*, home assistance for the family of an applicant, the applicant himself being maintained in an institution and given work.

(*c*) Institutional assistance, *i.e.*, continuous maintenance in an industrial or agricultural institution or colony without detention, except in so far as the applicant binds himself by a written agreement to stay for a definite period.

(*d*) Continuous maintenance under compulsory detention in a colony.

(*e*) Emigration.

(3) Certain classes of cases, *e.g.*, the "ins-and-outs," the "work-shy," and the loafer, should be committed to a detention colony for any period between six months and three years.

(4) If, during the bringing into operation of the scheme of reform now proposed, interim measures for dealing with exceptional distress be found necessary, such transitional measures should be carried out under the conditions laid down in the English report—*e.g.*, special works should be carried out on ordinary commercial lines by contract at the ordinary market wages.

OTHER PRINCIPAL SECTIONS OF THE POOR LAW.

Regarding the principal classes included under the Poor Law, some of the particular features are as follows:—

(*a*) *Out-Relief.*

The Scottish Poor Law is essentially a system of outdoor relief, and as many as 85 per cent. of those relieved under it receive out-relief. This is very different from the system in England; and the difference is illustrated well by the earlier function of the Scottish poor-house. The poor-house in Scotland was intended originally as a dwelling-house for the aged and friendless poor who could not take care of themselves or get any friends to do so; whereas, in England, the corresponding institution—the work-house—was a house in which the able-bodied destitute could be received and put to *work*, the idea being, after 1834, at any rate, that the offering to them of work was the test of the genuineness of their destitution, the conditions of the labour being made so severe

that only the destitute would accept them. The 1834 Royal Commission in England condemned the giving of out-relief, but the corresponding Royal Commission in Scotland, that of 1843, approved it there, and it has been the basis of the Scottish system ever since. The system has continued with little modification—save the substitution of Parish Councils for the Parochial Boards—since 1845, the date of the Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act, giving effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1843; before 1845, it is interesting to recall, Scotland had no poor-houses, but had a few hospitals, alms-houses, and houses of refuge.

Out-relief, then, has been the basis of the Scottish system, and it is generally admitted to-day that the existing system of out-relief in Scotland is inadequate, unequal, and non-curative, in so far as it exacts few conditions from those relieved. The Royal Commission have found that it suffers from lack of uniformity in administration; that the allowances granted are frequently inadequate to the needs of the poor; the visitation and the number of female inspectors insufficient; and the grant of out-door

relief often made without regard to surrounding conditions, so that it frequently fosters dirt, disease and immorality; but, none the less, the Commissioners are in favour of continuing out-relief in Scotland, and they make the following recommendations regarding it:—

(1) Home assistance (or out-door relief) should be adequate and conditional.

(2) Widows should have special and individual attention.

(3) There should be systematic co-operation between the burgh public assistance authorities, the parish councils, and recognised voluntary aid committees.

(4) The number of assistant inspectors should be increased, and some should be women; the case paper system should be everywhere adopted; pay stations should be abolished.

(*b*) *In-door Relief.*

The classes of persons found in a Scottish poorhouse are substantially the same as those discovered in an English workhouse, and there is the same need of a better classification and

the treatment of the different kinds of inmates in different institutions. With the exception of Glasgow, no serious attempt has been made in Scotland to classify the in-door poor by housing different classes in separate institutions, and, accordingly, the evils of the existing system are very obvious, and the following recommendations of the Royal Commission are in no way extravagant:—

(1) General poor-houses should be abolished, and in-door assistance should be given in separate institutions appropriate to the various classes for whom such assistance may be necessary.

(2) The treatment should, so far as possible, be curative and reformative, and each case should be periodically reconsidered by a responsible committee.

(3) Statutory powers are necessary (*a*) to detain certain classes of cases, especially "ins and outs"; (*b*) to compel the able-bodied classes to perform their allotted task of work.

(*c*) *Widows and Children.*

The Scottish Poor Law has always been much more a system supplying relief to widows and children than to adults, and children under 14 years form as large a proportion as 40 per cent. of the total pauperism. This is another important feature in which the pauperism of Scotland differs from the pauperism of England. Taken all over, pauperism is less in Scotland than in England by some 3·3 per 1,000; and in the Scottish figures a considerably larger proportion of the whole consists of children and a considerably smaller portion of adults. Widows with dependent children, and orphans, have always been a peculiar care of the poor-law authorities in Scotland, and the ratio of the number of widows with dependent children to the total number of adult female paupers is as high as 43·5 per cent., whereas in England it is no more than 30·1 per cent. Some 2,000 of the Scottish widows are relieved in institutions, and about ten times as many (or 20,000) are on the out-door roll. A principal change that is generally agreed about is that widows with dependent children should receive more adequate

relief that at present; and that, if the family is very young, and occupies the services of the mother altogether, this relief should be large enough to maintain them all.

The Children.

With regard to the children more particularly, the system of boarding out has been practised assiduously in Scotland, and is another of the distinguishing features of the Scottish Poor Law. Much controversy has waged regarding it, some persons condemning it, others praising it vigorously; and now the Royal Commission have examined it closely and reported in its favour. The Commission advocate its extension, but they say that it needs careful regulation by the Local Government Board. "Children should be boarded with strangers rather than with relatives," the Commission reports curiously enough. "In a country rather than in a town district, in the Colonies as well as at home, and under constant lay and medical supervision." There is no doubt that the boarding-out system, sufficiently safeguarded against abuse, is one of the very best ways of

rearing pauper children. It comes closer than any other system to the normal conditions of a home, and very often the foster parents treat these pauper children as well as they deal with their own.

There are other children, of course, under the Poor Law in Scotland, in addition to those who are boarded out, and altogether, the children under 14 years maintained by the Scottish Poor Law authorities are of three main classes (1) orphans, deserted or separated children; (2) the children of poor-house inmates, whether of the sick or of the ins-and-outs class; (3) the children of out-door paupers. There are no work-house or district schools or cottage homes in Scotland as in England, and the methods chiefly used in providing for these young children are: (1) boarding out; (2) maintenance in a poor-house; (3) maintenance in a charitable or other special institution; and (4) out-door relief. Very much the largest proportion—some three-fourths of all the poor law children—are in receipt of out-relief. Over 1,800 children under 16 are in poor-houses, and over 6,000 are boarded out. Another 30,000 are being brought up on out-

relief. It is agreed that pauper children should be removed from the poor-house as much as possible, and the boarding-out system has always offered, in Scotland, one of the simplest methods of providing orphans, etc., and has been, on the whole, very successfully applied in Scotland; but, as remarked already, some supervision is needed in order to prevent its abuse in exceptional cases.

The Royal Commission is rather strong on the need of increased inspection, though it may be that they were influenced rather much by exceptional cases which came to their notice. They urge a closer supervision of children of out-door paupers, also, and a power of control, too, which goes further than anything which has yet been given, namely, they recommend that power be given to the authorities to adopt children of undesirable parents and to retain the supervision of them until the age of 21. Since a long time the Poor Law authorities have felt acutely the need of some such restraining power as this. Too frequently they have to hand over young children, whom they have kept for years, to the care of drunken or vicious

parents who have neglected their children for years and demand the control of them only when the children are grown up and are ready to be used for some drunken or vicious purpose. In exceptional cases there is a kind of parental control which is to be avoided as much as the normal quality is encouraged, and the Poor Law authorities have ample experience of both.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on this part of the subject are summarised as follow:—

(1) Whilst strongly approving the boarding-out system and advocating its extension as far as possible, the Commissioners feel it requires very careful regulation by the Local Government Board. Children should be boarded with strangers rather than with relatives, in a country rather than a town district, in the Colonies as well as at home, and under constant lay and medical supervision. There should be lady inspectors of boarded-out children.

(2) The authorities should have power to adopt children of undesirable parents, and, where necessary, to retain the supervision of such children up to the age of 21, parental responsibility and liability for maintenance being always most strictly enforced.

(3) There should be closer supervision of children of out-door paupers; co-operation with the sanitary authority to secure healthy housing conditions; co-operation with voluntary agencies for their after-care; and the medical supervision of all children in receipt of out-relief should be generally secured.

(*d*) *Medical Relief.*

In many of the rural parts of Scotland—in the Highlands and Islands in particular — the people do not attach the importance to medical relief that is given it elsewhere. They are a stronger and more fatalistic people, living much in the sun and the rough weather, and prone to believe that they have an allotted span of

years to run, and that death will overtake them when the race is finished and not before, be the medical attendance the best or the worst in the world. In some far-off districts in the western islands, I have seen the local medical officers, packed full with the medical lore and the skill of the twentieth century, and alive with zeal for their work, and with a profound belief in the wonders it can achieve, passing their days in unwilling idleness, while the natives, in their turf-built cottages by the sea, lived and suffered and died without invoking any aid from the local apostles of science. To the medical men it seemed absurd that the local inhabitants were indifferent. Quite a number of such medical men, zealous and able, have lived through these experiences for years, to depart, at length, with the conviction indelibly imprinted on them that there is more in the practice of life than was dreamed of in their text-book philosophy. But it is different in the towns, and in these the people are as keen to take advantage of the latest inventions of medical science as they are anywhere else in the world. It is, indeed, in a measure to this

keenness that the Poor Law medical problem in these centres is due, and it is here, in these cities, that the Poor Law medical problem is acute.

Poor Law medical relief and the provision of Poor Law hospitals, apart from the general poor-house, have not been developed in Scotland as highly as in England or Ireland. Thus, pauper nursing in poor-houses (abolished in England and Ireland a dozen years ago) is still permissible in Scottish poor-houses, and with the single exception of the parish of Glasgow, no other Scottish parish has erected hospitals detached from the poor-houses. And the whole problem of hospital accommodation is becoming acute in Scotland. The voluntary hospitals are struggling with a greater volume of work than they can manage almost to bear, and the poor-house hospitals are being used (in the towns) more and more for persons who are not of the pauper class in the ordinary sense, but are in need of hospital treatment which they cannot obtain elsewhere. Nor is there any effective co-operation between the two classes of authorities. There is here a problem with many

difficulties; but no remark is more obvious than this, that there might, perhaps, be developed, through co-operation between the different classes of medical authorities and otherwise, some system by which an ordinary person treated in a charitable or local hospital would make a payment reasonable for the person concerned towards the cost of his medical treatment. In remarking on the "abuse" of the medical charities in the large towns of Scotland, the Poor Law Commissioners (1909) "think it somewhat remarkable that, notwithstanding the proverbial thriftiness of the Scottish nation, there should not exist in any of the large towns a single provident dispensary or a public medical service on a provident basis," such as they found in many towns in England.

The Royal Commission's recommendations as to medical relief are as follow:—

(1) Poor Law Medical Relief.

(*a*) The sick poor should no longer be accommodated in general poor-houses, but in detached hospitals, staffed with doctors and trained

nurses under the superintendence of a medical officer, and open for purposes of clinical instruction; and that, as far as possible, superfluous poorhouses should be converted into hospitals for the sick.

(*b*) That pauper patients should, where necessary, be received in voluntary hospitals on payment by the public assistance authority.

(*c*) The fees paid to medical officers for certain services should be revised, and medicine should not be provided by medical officers out of their salaries.

(*d*) In many parts of the Highlands and Islands additional medical officers and nurses for the out-door sick poor should be appointed, and where necessary, dwelling-houses erected.

(*e*) No disfranchisement should be attached to any form of medical assistance.

(*f*) The administration of the Vaccination Acts should be handed over to the sanitary authorities.

(2) Medical Aid to the Poorer Classes.

(*a*) A better supply of hospital accommodation should be provided, based upon the needs of each public assistance area.

(*b*) A united effort should be made to prevent the abuse of medical charities by persons in a position to pay for treatment.

(*c*) There should be systematic co-operation between the public assistance authorities, the sanitary authorities, and the voluntary medical institutions, based on a clear definition of their respective functions.

(*d*) That a joint committee, representative of these authorities and of the medical profession, should be appointed for the purpose of framing schemes of co-operation.

(*e*) That steps should be taken to organise, with the co-operation of the medical profession, a system of medical aid by some form of insurance, *e.g.*, provident dispensaries or medical clubs.

(*e*) *The Aged.*

There is not much disagreement on this part of the subject. The accommodation of the deserving aged, so far as possible, in their own homes, and, failing that, in cottage homes, is fairly well agreed upon, and the only considerable factor working against it is the physical and mental weakness of so many of the aged. On account of these deficiencies medical treatment in suitable institutions is often practically a necessity. Full particulars as to this, and of the limited number of in-door paupers whom inquiry has shown to be able to live outside on small pensions, are given in the present writer's book on "Old Age Pensions."

The recommendations of the Poor Law Commission are as follow:—

1. That the aged poor, so far as they are unsuited for, or cannot properly receive, home assistance, should be accommodated in institutions specially set apart for them, and that they should be classified according to physical condition and moral character.

2. That, for the accommodation of the respectable aged poor in institutions, the system of parish homes should be promoted and extended, and brought under the systematic control of the Local Government Board.

As regards home assistance:—

Allowances should be adequate, and the aged recipients should be periodically visited by voluntary visitors.

As regards compulsory removal:—

That in certain cases power of compulsory removal to and detention in an institution should be given to the public assistance authorities and parish councils, subject to suitable safeguards.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH.

A PROBLEM of great importance faces the Church in Scotland, as in other countries, to-day. It arises from no desire to attack the temporal power of the Church; from no jealousy of its wealth or its influence. It grants the Church as active a spiritual life as the Church desires to claim; but—and this is the point—it questions the good of teaching the life of the spirit and religious exercises to a people who are sunk in the deepest morasses of a modern city's wilderness. "I profess myself a member of the Church, and I believe in the Church," says ex-Bailie Forsyth, of Glasgow; "I was engaged in mission work in Port-Dundas and in the Townhead. I had at first the idea that the gospel of Jesus Christ

would change men, and I thought all I had to do was to offer the people the gospel, when they would immediately flock round it, be converted, begin to exert an influence on their neighbours, and so help in reconstructing society on a better basis. In the Port-Dundas district we touched one here and one there, and those lives were largely transformed. I am not going to minimise the power of God to change man, but I was forced to the conclusion that the gospel has its limitations. If the gospel is to triumph, as it will eventually do, you must give it fair conditions in which to work. It is not easy to tell of a Saviour to people whose conditions of life are such as to drive them deeper into misery and sin. In our mission work we had good speakers and earnest workers, but though we influenced one person here and another there, we never touched the mass of the people, and it was driven in upon me that if the world was to be Christianised we must have better conditions for the operation of the gospel." It is the echo of the all-pervading social problem; the clamant demand for the improvement of the social environment, the

passionate abhorrence of the terrible evils of sweating in slums, prostitution that is the result of poverty, the thousand forms of squalor and madness that rage in the debased whirlpool of lowest city life. Amid such waste and destruction of human energy, men are driven often to despair of the efficacy of spiritual methods of reform. They see in their unhappy neighbours the victims of a social system which they regard as intensely evil, and one cannot wonder at discovering people of the greatest sincerity full of passionate longing for the improvement of their fellows, growing weary of Christian work under circumstances offering such meagre results, casting it aside and calling aloud: "Let us have stronger weapons of redress and speedier methods of restitution; we preach; we preach again; we keep on preaching and achieve but little. Let us have some greater material force intervening with a heavy hand to punish the greatest social wrongdoers." The only result they see to their Christian labours is the removal of a man here and there from the vortex of the slums, consequent upon his conversion, and thereafter his place is

immediately taken by another as debased as the former at his worst, and the weary cycle repeats itself. "We endeavour to wipe away tears from all eyes, and hunger from the midst of little children," says Mr Robert Smillie, the able miners' leader, and also a Socialist. "There is not a child in this country who ought to die from want . . . We can trace the progress downwards of many of these people from being respectable churchgoers until they reach the slums where they have become drunkards, and we say that, if society has created the evil condition in which the parents now live, the children are not to blame for this. We say the Church can do a great deal in this connection. Had it followed its Founder more closely it would always have been on the side of the poor and against injustice. We appeal to the Church to help us now. It is the noblest fight that has ever been waged"; and in dealing with the problem of existence, Mr Smillie declares: "Frankly, I do not believe the Almighty created any person for a lot of misery. He has created the world and placed us in it in order that by labour

applied to natural resources there should be produced enough and to spare to procure happiness in this life"; and these are no idle words of irresponsible critics, but the demand of strenuous social workers addressed to the Church to take a leading part in the gigantic task of social regeneration. They are typical of much that is said throughout the land.

And, indeed, the different Churches in Scotland have been toiling vigorously to face the difficulties of those greatest social problems. Not only have they been among the leading agencies in exposing the evils and in calling for redress, but it is due to nothing more than their own strenuous preaching of the sanctity of the life of the individual, and of the ideals of social justice, that the present social movement has gained its greatest strength; for the leading members of the parties demanding a larger social justice draw their inspiration, in the main, from the teachings of Christ and the practices of the Christian Church. Almost without exception, it is to their membership of some of the Church communities in Scotland that the principal leaders in these newer movements

trace the source of their original inspiration; and sometimes this is a circumstance which is not remembered. The higher the code of social justice and social service that is preached by the Church in Scotland (and it has been high) the more exacting are the demands of the community on the services of the churches themselves. "The world judges the Church by the standard Jesus Christ has set up," says Dr. Henderson, the Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland. "It has learned from the Church. It notes the selfishness and worldliness of Church members, not only with justifiable severity, but too often with cynical pleasure in finding in these excuse for its own greater moral laxity. If the Church does not stand for salvation and for holiness, it has no ground on which to stand apart from the world." And, further, it is not to be forgotten that the added activities of the Church, in dealing with these newer social matters, have extended far and wide. Many elaborate enquiries have been made by the Church regarding the various social evils, and many new organisations have been started with a view to eliminate the various

discovered diseases. There has been church building on an extensive scale, so as to carry the possibility of worship into every district of the country; evangelical energising has been encouraged and developed in every direction which the able leaders of the Churches can think of, so that the Christian truths are carried into every possible quarter; most advanced and progressive thinkers are given chairs in the Church colleges (*e.g.*, Dr. A. B. Bruce, Henry Drummond, George Adam Smith, and others), and made leaders of the newer movements in the Church; evangelical preachers of eloquence and power are constantly addressing great audiences who appreciate their eloquence and their message; and in all the crowded urban areas, street-corner preaching and singing are practiced assiduously, so that on a Sunday evening in summer, you will discover frequently an astonishing number of those meetings if you traverse some of the principal thoroughfares in the leading Scottish cities, and, altogether, the Churches in Scotland show great activity in the work of social reform. And there is need of this activity, and, perhaps, of greater efforts,

for, wherever one goes in Scotland one hears of diminishing attendance at Church, and finds, too, that the falling off is worse among men than among women, and, upon enquiring further, one discovers a principal reason assigned for non-attendance among skilled artisans and others of the most industrious and respectable working classes is that the Church is not so close in touch with the questions that stir these men most deeply as to rouse any sense of enthusiasm among them, or any very keen interest in the sermons to be preached in the churches. They may go to church and hear an excellent and judicious lecture on Temperance, Piety, Gentleness, Liberality, or something of the kind, they tell you, but it does not fan their latent fires; it does not stir their deep emotions; it does not appeal to their most active thoughts, or touch their sensibilities with any electrical spark; it resembles an academic essay on something far removed from them, and it leaves them unstirred; it does not attract them, it does not fascinate, it does not even make them afraid. In the days of a generation ago their fathers attended regularly at church and listened

to grave discourses on matters of doctrine and promises of punishment, redolent of fire and brimstone, that were the assured reward of those who disbelieved the strictest letter of the narrowest doctrine. These men of an earlier day listened, perhaps, in fear and trembling; but still they listened, still they attended, and they returned again to listen to more, for it touched them to the quick. They believed in the possibilities of these punishments to come, and they wished to avoid them, but to-day the teachings of the churches have advanced to a more tolerant and intellectual level, and lost a little of the older enthusiasm and the ancient narrowness, and not a little of the antique force and directness, with the result that the forces compelling attendance at church have weakened. Many men (and these very often not the shallowest or most selfish, but diligent, hard-working men, the best in their districts) are now more deeply stirred by other questions elsewhere, and by nothing more than by the great social problems of poverty and urban misery. Speaking as an "earnest friend" of the Church, a working-man declares (p. 43, Report XVIII.

to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1909), "I would counsel it (the Church) not to hark back so much to questions of a remote past, but to deal with the living issues of the present hour, with land and capital, with work and wages, with slums and housing, with the feeding of children, with sweating, with unemployment. Some of these are ugly matters no doubt, but they are *the very matters that interest the workers and upon which they need guidance.* I am aware it is the view of some that it is not the function of the Church to give guidance on such things. Well, if it is so, the workers will go elsewhere for guidance, as they are in multitudes doing." It is typical of much that is said by others similarly situated. And that is the heart of the problem; people forsake the churches or institutions which interest them less and follow the movements which interest them more. It may be social problems and politics; it may be something less useful; it may even be a healthy pastime such as football, elevated to the misplaced position of an idol, and this is the crux of the matter—it is the root of the growing evil of non-

attendance in churches. It is a problem of much complexity and considerable difficulty, and church assemblies are engaged constantly in discussing its different bearings, though the suggested solutions appear very often to be as far removed from practical results as the dawn of the social millenium.

It must be recognised that the position of the Churches is difficult. No person could claim that it is the duty of the Church to permit the economic considerations of the country to dominate every other; and, on the other hand, no person could suggest that the Church can (or has any right to) ignore the great industrial problems and their influence on human life, for these problems occupy by far the largest part of the lives of the majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain. It is idle to ignore how enormously closely interwoven in the inmost fibre of the modern man are the industrial interests which enmesh him throughout the entire day, and for six continuous days in the week, year after year, throughout the whole of his life, these becoming, very often, the most vital part of his being—the subject, above all

others, which fascinates his mind. It is more true of the urban than of the rural dweller, but applies to both. On the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the truest religious faith transcends every interest of economics and bodily comfort, every phase of environment and the desire for material well-being. The highest religious ecstasy may be attained by the hermit in the wilderness who lives on locusts and wild honey, and whose raimant is a camel's skin; or the pilgrim in the East who travels on foot a thousand miles to the cities of the holy shrine, begging his food on the way; and no periods of our own history of the Scottish Churches were more fruitful in exalted spiritual action than the times of greatest sorrow and most crushing material reverse—the days of the martyrs, or those when the Covenanters starved in bog and morass; the heroic self-sacrifice of Scottish missionaries abroad; or the periods following disruptions and schisms in the Church at home, when, in order to achieve a greater spiritual freedom, many persons, laymen and clergy alike, have endured most grievous burdens and willingly made very heavy

sacrifice. No Churches more than those of Scotland have a right to be proud of their record in this respect, supplying "examples of self-sacrifice and faith which have drawn forth tributes of admiration from the Christian world at large," said Mr W. E. Gladstone ("Later Gleanings," Murray, p. 302), and no Churches anywhere else in the world have given more strenuous proof of self-sacrificing fervour and faith—and there is little that a Church cannot accomplish that is happily endowed with these qualities. But at the present time, everybody recognises that the Church is not distinguished to such an extent as formerly with these, and apart altogether from questions of doctrines and dogma, the Church does not at present supply so strong an attraction to social workers as it afforded a hundred years ago. Young men are proverbially in sympathy with the most gorgeous schemes of social service, but they no longer go into the Church in order to give effect to these; they go into other professions. "It was surely a very remarkable circumstance," said the Reverend Professor Martin, of Edinburgh, at the United Free Church Assembly on May the

27th, 1910, "that at a time when a wave of social enthusiasm was passing over the general mind, when a sentiment of social service was spreading more and more through the community, and when, also, the Christian movement among university men had spread—it was amid circumstances like these that there occurred a serious diminution of the number of their theological students." To meet the needs of their Church they needed an output annually of fifty students, the Professor declared, and in recent years they were only turning out some forty only, and those who have attended the universities in Scotland are well aware of the truth of the complaint.

At the same time, there is nothing more destructive of the spiritual life than to discover in a district that the whole social conscience is agreed in denouncing some man as a most oppressive citizen, as a consumer of human life, and one who wastes the existence of others, while, at the same time, he is a leading member of the church and in active alliance with it. He may be an employer of labour in some dangerous trade who takes advantage of the

weakness of his employees, pays them the scantiest wages for the longest hours, and affords them the meanest accommodation; and the peculiarity of his conduct may even be accentuated further by comparison with that of other employers who are members of no particular religious bodies, but show a larger humanity in their treatment of others, and afford a higher standard of wages and comfort to their workers. The ordinary man seizes with avidity on these distinctions, and the work of the Church is hampered not a little by them. The position is obviously difficult; but it might, perhaps, be better sometimes if the conduct of the Church could be brought, in such and similar cases, into greater harmony with the prevailing sense of social justice. And it might be well for the Church, perhaps, to do something in restraint of the violent men of trade and of war, as, in older days, the churches often restrained the unbridled violence of the feudal barons; for the Church must never forget that there is a social conscience in the community which may easily be offended, and, when offence is given, it may happen that grave injustice is

done to the spiritual cause. The bellicose utterances of certain divines in the time of the Boer War, for example, gave bitter offence to many followers of the Church and jarred very painfully on the humane feelings that animate many Christians. It is, perhaps, open to question whether the Churches are sufficiently alive at present to the need of active work in restraint of violence, whether warlike, economic, or social; and when one finds an oppressive employer living at ease, and under the protection of the Church, in a community which knows him only too well, the most casual observer cannot fail to discover that sermons and discourses on temperance, restraint, and every form of abstract justice, are received a little cynically by congregations who are most vividly alive to a keener social injustice — one which wears their daily lives away, the constant pressure of the sense of a silent social wrong, and, when the preacher exhorts his audience to be up and doing, to be active in all good works, the obvious *tu quoque* springs to the lips of the average working man only too frequently, "Are you not also, Mr Preacher, as badly in need

of the same exhortation? Is not the Church, too, as listless in doing *active* good? Are you not afraid of giving offence to the chiefest providers of your material resources just as we are?"

Then, too, churchmen are proverbially afraid lest, if the Church interferes too much in the affairs of the world, the Church will become worldly. "Is there no cause to fear lest the Church, in a mistaken desire to win the world, should go over to the world?" asks Dr. Henderson, Moderator of the United Free Church; "That, in well-meant efforts to draw men into our churches, it may fail of its appointed mission to draw them to Christ; and that, with the adoption of the methods of pushing worldly business, there may creep in the worldly spirit also." Here, indeed, is a sea of troubles and a situation very complicated; but, however the Church may strive, it cannot escape from the problem—the Churches cannot stand apart from the flowing stream of life, however turgid, however impure, that stream may be; and wherever there is the greatest sorrow and disaster, variegated poverty, and most grievous

ill-doing, *there* it is, according to the Christian creed, that the Churches should most diligently labour. And where is this field to-day if not in the slums and back-lands of crowded cities; and in rescuing the victims of these pernicious surroundings how far should the Churches endeavour to combat the causes which produce such victims—how far should they embark on social politics? Have they no duty to raise their voice in protest against the employer of sweated labour, or is their work to be confined to that of perpetually relieving the victims of every person's wrong-doing? If they rest content with administering relief to those in need, then they may be of no greater importance in the advancing march of the nation than an ambulance corps in a martial army—a body to assist the wounded but to take no part in shaping events or directing the forward progress of the host. By withdrawing from the toils of life a church may develop a greater culture, a finer form of detached spirituality and intellectual aloofness, but its influence on the actual currents of life will be largely diminished. It may make a finer appeal to the keener intellects in the

nation, but it will not stir the heart and enthusiasm of the average citizen; it will not be a directing and controlling force in his life, and in the body politic it will occupy a position of little more importance than a corps of bandagers and nurses.

Where so much can be said on both sides, it may be that Mr Peile's wise words come nearer the truth than most: "The ideal of the Church," he said, "is to become a universal society with a common rule of life binding on all men whatever. And I conceive that this ideal is vitally true and essential, inasmuch that Christianity *fails* in proportion as it tends to remain limited and exclusive, and *succeeds* in proportion as it tends to widen its influence over all classes and individuals, and all departments of life."

The churches in Scotland are, indeed, making many efforts to come into closer contact with the sources of social ills. They even instruct their divinity students in various aspects of social questions—as they do in Glasgow, for example, by taking them to social courses of instruction in various institutions, such as Whitevale Labour Home, the Springfield Home, the

prisons, the Herbert Street Home for Boys, the Watson Street Home for Girls, and many others of the various settlements and reformatory institutions to be found in the city; and in each of these institutions they have the students lectured by all the leading experts, full of knowledge and statistics, crammed with manifold solutions for the endless ills of life. The students, diligent and the reverse, listen with attention, make such notes in their heads and their note-books as they consider necessary, and go away, conscious of knowledge and diligent to repeat what has been told them. But how many have really *seen* and *understood* even the little that was placed before them, with its vast complexities, its many causes, and the great human heart which beats throughout it all, the greatest factor often in producing these results both good and evil? It may all be easier of understanding to the stupidest denizen of the slums than to the more enlightened visitor from other spheres.

Already the pressure of the social problem in the Scottish Churches has produced great effect. The outstanding feature in the organisation of

the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland at the present time is the movement towards their union, and no greater force compels in this direction than the clear perception of the magnitude of the social struggle. It was from the practical minds of the laymen that the movement drew much of its earliest support. The clergy took the matter up, a leading Scottish minister has declared, "because our influential laymen have set their hearts upon it, and, if we do not move, they will go on without us"—the urgency of social problems supplying the driving force. "I wish frankly to acknowledge," said the Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland in addressing the Assembly on the 20th May, 1909, "that it was greatly to the credit and honour of their friends of the other Church (the Established Church) that, recognising that the condition of things could no longer be met by any one of the Churches only—that, oppressed with the spiritual condition of the land, the slums of our great cities, the multitudes who were neglecting the worship of God—all changed from what they used to regard as typical of their beloved Scotland—

there was created a condition of things with which it was manifestly impossible for any one branch of the Church of Christ to feel that it was able—he would go further and say, feel that it was called upon by itself—to grapple with the condition of affairs that existed. It was that, he thought, that had moved their brethren." And the basis of the movement for reunion is the clear recognition of the duty of the Churches in Scotland to cease from wasting the smallest portion of their energy on internal strife, and to concentrate the whole of their force against the greater enemies—the social and spiritual disorder. Already the question of union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland (the two most powerful Churches in the country) has been considered seriously, and the questions of the Establishment and Endowment are almost the only serious obstacles in the path of amalgamation. In the training of the students in colleges, in the large sphere of home missions and in the field of foreign missions, there is, by general admission, ample scope for co-operation and unification of efforts. In the foreign field, for

example, where the Church of Scotland has no State connection, the question of union was simple, and the United College in Calcutta, for example, has been set up by hearty agreement between the Churches, each of the Churches appointing trustees who hold the property in the joint name of the Churches, and each Church has an equal share in the maintenance and responsibility for the College. There is a joint committee, too, for the selection of chaplains for the Indian Establishment. The missionaries of the Scottish Churches abroad have been as much alive as any person at home to the benefits to be derived from union. They know how much better it is to have one school or college properly equipped than two (in the same district), which are but poorly supplied with missionaries. "We believe our missionaries to be as desirous as any of us at home can be for co-operation, and even union where union is desirable." In the absence of the Establishment, there is found to be no divergence between the aims and the doctrines of these two great Churches; but, in Scotland, there is still this bar to a full and legal union, and, at present,

no more can, perhaps, be done than to leave the opinion of the country and of the Churches to ripen towards the necessary change. At the last assemblies, committees of the Churches were formed to confer on the subject, and smaller sub-committees have been chosen to carry on negotiations. But too much need not be expected. For a time, at least, progress is likely to be slow. The younger man may clamour at the gates, but the citadel is in the hands of the older generation, and prejudice dies hard. On the Establishment side, too, it is well recognised that there is not the same political fervour in favour of Disestablishment that existed some years ago, and the Established Church would fight hard to retain possession of her endowments. After all, it is a matter of machinery, and the work to be done by the Churches, be they united or separate, is greater than the machine, and there is the promise of the Lord, "If a man desires to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." In securing the interchange of ministers between the Churches of the different denominations, and in working steadily towards a wider

union, through the narrower paths of common action in the intensive field of missions at home, there is ample room for progress. Sooner or later the fuller union will be, doubtless, brought about, and the startling consequences of the Union of 1900 are forces working against precipitance in the matter of this larger union. It is unlikely that there will be any undue haste, for the Churches in Scotland are a constant breeding ground of great men, and great leaders of popular movements. The greatest figures in the national life of Scotland during the last hundred years have been her Churchmen. Chalmers, Norman Macleod, Candlish, Guthrie, Rainy, to name but a few, were among the most prominent and powerful personalities in Scotland throughout that period. "The Presbyterianism of Scotland," said Mr Gladstone, writing in 1876 (and after paying tribute to the greatness of Macleod and Chalmers), "which has done but little for literature or for theology, has, notwithstanding, been adorned during the last 50 years by the names of many remarkable persons, men of high and pure character, men with great gifts of government and construction,

like Candlish; of winning and moving oratory, such as Guthrie, and only a notable fertility in the production of such men," continues Mr Gladstone, "could have enabled the National Establishment of that small country to endure the fearful drain which has been brought upon it by repeated catastrophes which were almost cataclysms." Since the days when Mr Gladstone expressed this opinion, the Scottish Churches, released from the most pressing needs of Church government, have produced many brilliant men of letters and many theologians of more than European reputation; but it is still true that, in matters of Church government, the Scottish Churches retain within their ranks many men of discretion, knowledge, and understanding, men who are fitted to lead the Church in any emergency. The preaching of the newer gospel of social regeneration, and increased activity in social work has turned men's minds very largely fom the more academic questions of theological discussion. Heresy hunting is for the moment checked, and neither Established Church nor United Free Church seems inclined to renew the chase. Perhaps, too, this

quiescence has its source partly in a feeling that, while on the one hand it is as yet too early to definitely stereotype new doctrinal positions, on the other hand, the vigorous acceptance of ancient dogma in every detail is too much to expect of any man. On the whole, however, the Churches are inclined to be fairly conservative. The legal Free Church, of course, stands by the old standards in their entirety. The United Free Church has moved somewhat by her adoption of the Declaratory Act, but neither her preaching nor her teaching show any very revolutionary tendencies. That she is sufficiently broad-minded, and at the same time intellectually well equipped, is proved by the numbers of students from abroad, particularly from the United States, who come to study in her Colleges. The Church of Scotland, some years ago, obtained the acknowledgment of her right to adopt any formula approved by her Assembly to express her attitude on the Confession of Faith. But it is to be noted that, as yet, advantage has not been taken of this liberty. To fix a formula that will permit a certain softening of the Confessional doctrine

without being too lax has proved a hard task. There is, indeed, within the presbyteries discussion on the point, but outside the ecclesiastical courts it has raised very little acrimonious debate. The general body of Churchmen seem little moved either for or against innovation. Social questions are almost all-dominant.

CHAPTER V.

TEMPERANCE.

THOUGH habits of drinking in Scotland are less popular to-day than of old, the evils of drink are acknowledged throughout the country; and, outside the ranks of the bold buccaneers on the music-hall stage or in public-houses, and the gently inebriated anywhere, you will scarcely discover any vigorous defenders of the fanciful virtues of spirit drinking. In older days, poets and pirates made merry on proverbial drinks, and were alike convinced that "drink and freedom aye gang thegether." Pirates, in particular, have flourished consistently on rum, and have refused to slake their

rapacious thirst with anything so weak as water. Alcoholic song was their pleasure; plunder and slaughter their daily exercise:—

> "While earth goes round, let rum go round,
> We sailed away and sang
> Halt a hundred fanciful pirates
> When the world was young."

As the world grows older and pirates pass to the regions of forgotten luxuries, the tendency grows for spirit drinking to follow rapidly in the same direction.

To-day, at any rate, Scotland is in some ways a comparatively sober country, more so, even, than England or Ireland, and this although Ireland is so much poorer and less prosperous. Here are the figures for 1908 of the average expenditure per head of population on drink; for

Scotland,	- -	£2 18 9¾.
England,	- -	£3 15 5¼.
Ireland,	- -	£3 1 6.

But, in spite of this comparative superiority, the figure for Scotland is high, for it means that an average family of five persons spends as much as £14 14s. 0d. per annum on drink,

however poor the family may be; and it is common knowledge that it is in the slums and in the ranks of the poorest, in the midst of privation and suffering, that this expenditure has its greatest destructive effect; for it is there that drink is purchased out of small resources instead of food and other necessaries; so that the terrible evils of poverty are then accentuated a thousandfold. On the human system, enfeebled through overwork and want of proper nourishment, alcohol produces its direst results; and in the endless web which enmeshes the victims of misfortune and those who labour in circumstances of extreme severity, the over-indulgence in liquor is too frequently an operating cause producing ever-growing depression and ever-increasing want; so that the unhappy heirs of sorrow who try to find forgetfulness in drink discover too frequently that the more deeply they imbibe, the more securely they become entangled, and, in spite of every struggle to escape, these are often fruitless. Lack of will, lack of opportunity, lack of health—a thousand different causes operating to bind them more severely in the endless folds of the relentless

web; and even their occasional acts of rebellion, their most valiant efforts at freedom, result, too frequently, in binding them with the greater effect.

> "Alas! I have not hope nor health,
> Nor peace within nor calm around."

It is a tale of misfortune, a tragedy of life discovered only too frequently in the slums of the Scottish cities; and there is no question anywhere that it is a problem of government to diminish this evil by every reasonable means.

It is scarcely necessary at this time of day to labour the case of the social disorder, the human havoc that is wrought by over-indulgence in liquor. Wherever you go the burden of the evidence is the same. It is the tale of no single class, of no particular section of the community, of no one occupation or trade; it is the same in all. In the richer classes, it is the cause of immense domestic sorrow, revolting crime, and hideous vice; in the middle classes it shatters many respectable homes and destroys an immense assortment of careers of the greatest promise; in the slums and the ranks of the poorest it accentuates every normal difficulty of

poverty. Or go into the police courts and listen to the cases of drunks and disorderlies that come up for adjudication, or the prosecutions of parents under the recent Children's Prevention Acts—the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children estimates that 90 per cent. of the prosecutions for cruelty and neglect are due to the drinking habits of the parents—or go into the higher courts and follow the cases of crime, divorce, and disorder, and discover how much the story is the same. The Lord Advocate, who is responsible for the criminal administration of Scotland, stated on the 29th February, 1909, that "during the past three years, in the criminal administration of Scotland, I could count on the fingers of my hand all the cases which were not connected, either directly or indirectly, with drink." Read the reports of the chief constables of the various districts, the lunacy commissioners, the Poor Law authorities, the prison commissioners, medical officers of health, charity societies, any social agency, or any body that deals with social ills, and everywhere you will discover the same evidence of the social wreckage produced by alcohol. Go

into the prisons, the poor-houses, the asylums, the inebriates and similar institutions, and there you will find the same thing, a wreckage not only of the drunkard, but of a thousand social utilities, the extinction of many promising lives, endless waste of material and spiritual forces, and even on the lowest plane there is great squandering of social resources in repairing the manifold evil influences, and in taking care of the victims themselves in poor-houses, lunatic asylums, industrial schools and homes (where their unprovided children go), etc.—monuments disfiguring very often an otherwise pleasant landscape, evidences, too, of the frailty of mankind. If the damage wrought by drink was confined to the drunkard himself, the social evil would be still very great; but with its ramifications in a thousand other directions, its evil influence is enormously increased.

Where there is so much unanimity of evidence, it is not necessary to quote a great deal; but one or two statements are so outstanding that they may be given to supplement what has already been said. "A great weight of evidence indicates drink as the most potent and universal

factor in bringing about pauperism," reports the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Unemployment, than whom no body ever made more thorough study of the social conditions of the people. And the bulk of the crime of Scotland is traced to the same cause. The Prison Commissioners for Scotland declare (p. 5, Col. 4914, 1909) that excess in drink provides "the great bulk of the work for the constabulary and the courts. The bulk of assaults is brought about by it," the Commissioners continue, "and it is the common explanation of 589 sentences for cruelty to children. About 80 per cent. of charges for murder and culpable homicide arise from intoxication," and even in the crimes against property the Commissioners discover that in 60 per cent. of the cases the criminal was not sober at the time of the offence; and they remark that even in this class of offence (to which liquor might not be supposed to be a specially inciting cause) the teetotalers rarely exceed 8 or 9 per cent. of the whole. The Edinburgh Social Committee (1906) visited the homes of the children attending one of the poorer Edinburgh Board schools, and discovered

that out of the 781 families visited no fewer than 425 were drunken, and as small a number as 18 only were teetotal—a comment on the connection between drink and poverty.

It is easy to gain an exaggerated view of the evils produced by alcohol, but this is to be guarded against. Alcohol is not, as some assert, the greatest inciting cause to crime, insanity, and every form of misfortune, but what is true is, that under the influence of drink weak men very often become weaker, bad men worse, the better qualities are stifled under the more vicious, and large numbers of men become undoubtedly worse than when sober. "Alcohol acts upon the highest and most intellectual part of the brain by weakening initiation and loosening control of the judgment and the tongue," says Sir Victor Horsley. One need not be harsh in denouncing people who drink. Many causes conduce to the practice, some of them more easily restrainable, others not so easily. Here is the conclusion of the Select Committee on Physical Deterioration, for example (Cd. 2175, 1904): "People who have not enough food turn to drink to satisfy their cravings and to support

their enfeebled hearts by alcohol"; but as to the magnitude of the evils of drink, the Committee were under no doubt: "Next to the urbanisation of the people and intimately associated with it, as the outcome of many of the causes it creates, the question of "drink" occupies a prominent place among the causes of degeneration. The close connection between a craving for drink and bad housing, bad feeding, a polluted and depressing atmosphere, long hours of work in overheated and often ill-ventilated rooms, only relieved by the excitements of town life, is too self-evident to need demonstration, nor, unfortunately, is the extent of the evil more open to dispute"; and those who have made investigation of the slums and of poverty will recognise this truth. Labour, poverty, physical weakness, sorrow and despair, drive many, with little resistance, into the paths of the bibulous. Not strong nor wilful is the average man, but weak and yielding, and, under the influence of drink, is easily led along a demoralising course. "No man oppresses thee, O free and independent franchiser," says Carlisle, "but does not this stupid pewter pot

oppress thee? No son of Adam can bid thee come or go, but this absurd pot of heavy dew can, and does. Thou art the thrall, not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thy own brutal appetites and this accursed dish of liquor. And thou pratest of thy liberty, thou entire block-head!" Nor have the temperance advocates every reason to be satisfied with their own efforts. It has long been a common belief that no great social question has suffered more from the misguided zeal of its unhappy fanatical supporters than the question of temperance; but in spite of all exaggeration and in the face of every form of bias, there remains the solid conclusion which no commonsense can overlook, that there is a drink traffic which requires control and amendment. It is admitted even by people with the strongest personal interest in holding a contrary opinion. No less than eight members of the drink trade (among others) signed the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing, declaring: "It is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied, and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of this national

degradation. Nor is Parliament likely to rest satisfied with leaving things as they are." It is a moderate conclusion which nobody will deny; and the control of the drink traffic is a question which has to be dealt with in every country.

THE LINES OF CHANGE.

The Temperance movement is more advanced in Scotland than in England, and public opinion is more favourable to further progress. Many restrictions have been in operation for years which are yet unknown in the country south of the Tweed. Sunday closing of public-houses has been observed in Scotland for over fifty years (since the Forbes-Mackenzie Act of 1853); the ordinary hour of closing on week nights is as early as ten o'clock; and there never has been, in Scotland, any serious question (as in England) that the grant of a license gives the right to a tenure any longer than the nominal year of the grant. Every certificate for a license issued by the Licensing Courts in Scotland bearing upon it the words from the schedule of the Licensing

(Scotland) Act, 1909, namely: "This certificate to continue in force, upon the terms and conditions aforesaid, from the 28th day of May (1909) and until the 28th day of May (1910) and no longer," and the present Lord Chancellor, speaking as Sir Robert Reid in 1905, has given his opinion thus: "There never has been the pretence of fixity of tenure in regard to public-houses in Scotland; and people have frequently been dispossessed of their public-houses on the ground that they were not required in the public interest." There is greater freedom, too, in the management of particular houses in Scotland. Tied houses are not nearly so common as in England. In England they form some 90 per cent. of the whole, and in Scotland some 2 per cent. only are owned by the brewers, though it is to be remembered of Scotland, in addition, that many other publicans have received financial assistance from the leading houses in the wholesale trade. Ever since the passing of the Home-Drummond Act of 1828 there has been a steady diminution in the number of publicans' licenses in Scotland, and even within recent years this reduction has been maintained,

although the Licensing Act of 1904 did not apply to Scotland, and no system of compensation has operated in Scotland (as in England under the 1904 Act) to make the policy of reduction easier. Here are some of the recent figures (the numbers of publicans' licences in Scotland):—

1904	-	-	7,084,
1905	-	-	7,025,
1906	-	-	6,991,
1907	-	-	6,951,

which show that a steady diminution is maintained from year to year. It is due to no spread of teetotal fanaticism, but to the continuous growth of moderate opinion that excessive facilities for drinking are a public nuisance and a danger to the community, and ought to be diminished. "There is a growing sentiment that intemperance is degrading," the Church presbytery of Wigtown and Stranraer reports, "and it is becoming more and more to be regarded as a disreputable thing to be intoxicated." This opinion has grown so strong among the richer classes that in the

western suburbs and the better class residential districts of the Scottish towns you find great urban areas with scarcely a single publican's license (*e.g.*, Kelvinside district in the west-end of Glasgow, which has only one), and if it is proposed to locate a public-house in such a locality, so great is the uproar ensuing that the project generally fails. It is in the business parts of the cities and the poorest residential quarters of towns and villages that the number of licensed premises is greatest, and it is in these latter districts, in the main, that the field for further reductions are most profitably to be found. The following figures for the different wards in Glasgow sufficiently illustrate the point. In the better-class suburbs — Langside, Kelvinside, Dennistoun — the proportion of licences to population is smallest, and, apart from the Exchange and Blythswood Wards, which are business districts with a small residential population, the number of public houses is largest in the poorest districts—the Cowcaddens, Calton, etc., wards. It is another comment on the close association between drink and poverty.

Statement Showing the Number of Public-Houses, Licensed Grocers, and Hotels, in the Various Wards in Glasgow.

April (1909) Court.

	No. of Public Houses.	No. of Licensed Grocers.	No. of Hotels.	Proportion of total Licenses to Population.
1. Dalmarnock Ward	72	5	—	675
2. Calton	102	3	—	352
3. Mile End	64	7	—	641
4. Whitevale	78	9	1	369
5. Dennistoun	20	2	1	1672
6. Springburn	30	6	—	1248
7. Cowlairs	18	6	—	1237
8. Townhead	80	14	1	399
9. Blackfriars	96	6	—	195
10. Exchange	60	18	6	20
11. Blythswood	34	13	4	53
12. Broomielaw	55	13	2	92
13. Anderston	67	10	—	379
14. Sandyford	53	21	—	347
15. Park	26	19	1	545
16. Cowcaddens	103	14	1	288
17. Woodside	40	16	—	806
18. Hutchesontown	56	10	—	617
19. Gorbals	90	10	—	344
20. Kingston	91	17	—	314
21. Govanhill	13	20	—	1067
22. Langside	11	12	—	1872
23. Pollokshields	10	12	—	818
24. Kelvinside	1	14	—	1524
25. Maryhill	21	9	—	1363
26. Kinning Park	27	7	—	385
		Average		485

From much impartial recognition of the more advanced opinion of Scotland the following single quotation from the Minority Report of the Licensing Commission may be made. "In England we do not recommend the adoption of a direct popular measure," they declared; "There are many important reforms to be carried out before local veto could become an immediate practical remedy in this country. In Scotland and Wales, however, the case is different. There opinion is much more advanced on the path of temperance reform; and we are prepared to suggest that at the end of the given period (five years) a wide measure of direct popular control might be applied under proper safeguards to Scotland and Wales."

EFFECT OF RESTRICTION.

A.

As already noticed, there are more restrictions on the sale of drink in Scotland than in England, and the drink bill in Scotland is lower. It is shown very clearly in practice that restrictions

on the sale of drink effectively diminish the amount that is sold; and one of the most conclusive experiments in the field of social investigation was the Free Beer Act of 1830, which established free trade in beer, and had very decisive results. "The new Beer Bill has begun its operations," said Sidney Smith, who had supported it strongly before it became law and was now to bear witness to its results; "Everybody is drunk," he says, "those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people is in a beastly state." The warmest advocates of the measure were converted by what they saw.

Colonel McHardy, the former chairman of the Scottish Prison Commissioners, made detailed investigation of the relation between the number of drunken offences and the number of public houses in the different Scottish towns, and he found that these offences varied directly with the number of the public-houses. They were higher in the towns where the number of the licences were higher, lower in the towns where they were lower. Dividing the towns into two groups, those with the least number of licences

to the population and those with the greatest, he found:—

First Group.

11 licenses per 10,000 people.
24 drunken offences per 1,000 people.

Second Group.

24 licenses per 10,000 people.
32 drunken offences per 1,000 people.

And he also showed that in towns where the number of the public-houses was reduced, the number of the offences fell. One other outstanding comment on the same subject has been presented by recent political events. The Budget proposals of 1909 increased the duties on spirits; and, in the spring of the year, when the Budget was introduced, it was stated freely in Parliament and elsewhere that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had under-estimated the yield of the revenue from those increased duties; but the consumption of spirits declined enormously—as much as 30 per cent. in some localities, the Chancellor stated in the House of Commons on October 22nd — conclusively demonstrating how extremely sensitive is the

demand for drink to the price and conditions under which the drink is obtainable. "The Budget had raised the duty on whisky from 11/- to 14/9 per gallon, and the immediate result has been that about 30 per cent. less was consumed," said Mr J. W. Gulland at Annan, on November 12th (whose pamphlet on the Temperance question, "Scotland Sober and Free," should be read by everyone). "One beneficial result," Mr Gulland continued, "was that arrests for drunkenness had enormously decreased during the third quarter of the year. Arrests for drunkenness in Edinburgh had dropped from 1,334 in 1908 to 1,018 in 1909, and in Glasgow fom 3,733 to 2,622." When introducing his Budget in June, 1910, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that, as a result of the diminished consumption of spirits in Scotland, there was a drop of 33 per cent. in the convictions for drunkenness.

Throughout Scotland, also, many landlords, in the interests of sobriety and local well-being, refuse persistently to tolerate licences upon their property. Not only are rents better paid and a better class of tenant attracted, but the more

factious elements in the population are quieter and better behaved, and it is found that the absence of the public-houses considerably enhances the social amenities of the property. Among proprietors of this kind it is not surprising to discover many well-known men—such as the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Camperdown, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earl of Wemyss, Mr A. J. Balfour, Mr J. Parker Smith, and others, men of whom no person would say that they were fanatical temperance reformers.

THE FUTURE OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

A.—The Present Licensing Authorities.

The administration of the licensing system is entrusted to local authorities; in the larger burghs, to the magistrates, the provost, and the bailies. The burghs having licensing courts of their own number some 76, namely, 4 cities which are counties of cities, 58 burghs with populations of over 7,000 each, and 14 burghs with populations between 4,000 and 7,000 which had licensing powers in 1903. Elsewhere the

licensing district is the county, or the sub-division of the county, as the county council may determine. Where the county is thickly populated it is found convenient to make many licensing districts, but where the population is meagre the area of the county itself suffices. Thus the county of Aberdeen has eight districts, Argyll has six, Dumfries five, Fife four, Wigtown two, Sutherland one; and the other counties some figure between those limits. In all these county districts the licensing courts are committees composed of county councillors and justices of the peace.

These licensing courts meet half-yearly; they have full power to grant or refuse licenses, to determine what houses shall be licensed, whether applicants are suitable persons to hold licences, what structural alterations are necessary in licensed premises, and various other details, such as closing on holidays, etc., and in so far as these licensing courts are composed of locally-elected members, there is local control. And there is a further recognition of the power of the local inhabitants to dictate the licensing system of their neighbourhood. A person

owning or occupying property in the neighbourhood of the premises for which a new licence, or the renewal of an old licence, is asked, has power under Section 19 of the Licensing (Scotland) Amendment Act of 1903 to appear in court and oppose the grant of the licence; and, if not satisfied with his success in the first instance, he may carry his case to the appeal court, to which, also, a licence-holder deprived of his licence has the right of appeal. It is apparent, then, that the system of local control is in operation to a certain extent.

THE FUTURE LOCAL CONTROL.

It is the extension of this principle of local control that the Temperance reformers demand. In 1893 Mr Gladstone stated his opinion thus:—

> "I give my adhesion to the doctrine that it is the just right of the population to exercise, under fair conditions, that control in respect to the granting of licences for the sale of liquors by retail which has heretofore rested, without dispute, in the hands of the proprietors of the soil. I do not

understand how it is possible to contest that proposition."

And among the clamorous demands of the various schools of temperance reformers for further change, not infrequently far from unanimous among themselves, for total abolition, disinterested management, municipalisation, and the various other forms which ingenuity and activity suggest, there is, perhaps, no stronger body of opinion than that in favour of an extention of the system of local control. It is argued, too, that as licences are granted for the public convenience, the most straightforward method is to permit the people concerned to say whether they desire the licences or not. It is the public who suffer from the nuisance of drunkenness in their streets and their districts, and it is these same people who have to bear the burden of the police attendance on the drunkards. Here is a quality in which the drink trade is quite different from any other trade, for the direct consequences of the normal activity of no other trade are obtruded in the same way as in the liquor traffic. If the licensed house is for the convenience of anyone

at all it is for those who live in the neighbourhood, and it is they who would suffer any inconvenience resulting from its withdrawal. As to this, these same inhabitants are probably the best judges. This is the plea of the Local Optionists — to leave it to the people in the district to say whether they wish the licenses or not, and they are a numerous body in Scotland.

One of the latest authoritative statements of the principle in a practical form is contained in the Temperance (Scotland) Bill of 1909 (Bill No. 191, Session 1909, as amended in the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills). It provides for taking a poll in a local area on the following three resolutions:—

A no-license resolution,
A no-change ,,
A limiting ,,

and the effect is that, one of these resolutions having been carried, so long as it remains in effect, if it is the first one (the no-license resolution), no licence shall be granted in the area; or, if it is the limiting resolution, the number of licences to be granted in the area shall be reduced to the nearest integral number,

which shall not exceed three-fourths of the number existing at the date when the resolution was carried. A majority of votes is sufficient to carry the limiting or the no-change resolutions, but, for the no-license resolution to be carried, it must receive at least three-fourths of the votes recorded, and not less than thirty per cent. of the electors on the register for the area concerned, and, normally, a poll would be taken every three years. A majority of the Scottish representatives have declared themselves in favour of a measure on these lines. A bill on similar lines was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr Charles Roberts in the following year; the object of the bill being "to promote temperance in Scotland by conferring on the electors in prescribed areas control over the grant and renewal of certificates, by securing a later hour of opening for licensed premises, and by amending the law relating to clubs." The three-fold option is retained, and the poll is to be taken by ballot. Clubs (which produce so much trouble in the large towns) are subjected to closer supervision.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION.

AT THE present time there is a certain reaction against education. "Don't send us men who are over-educated," says a well-known Colonial Governor, in reference to men whom he wishes to recruit for his service; "Make your women more intellectual and you unfit them for all the tasks of womanhood and motherhood; you rear them to strive with men, you make them political personages, suffragettes," says a leading doctor at a recent medical conference; and there is widespread dissatisfaction with an educational system which results in the plentiful production of what have come to be known as "*intellectuals*," a race of

people very often weak in physique and in will (and very often in character), but packed full of cosmopolitan information collected from books and from newspapers, as ignorant often of men and things as children who have never read or written. In their robust moments, these intellectuals form cliques and sections in political and social movements, generally fussy and obstrusive, certain of themselves, and more convinced of their remedies, sure that they—and they alone — have discovered the solution of questions which vex the soul of a troubled mankind; wiseacres who touch many subjects but adorn none. The vigour of their certainty and the obvious limitations of their knowledge are often their readiest characteristic. More often they are fussy without being so active. These people are not the regular, but the abnormal products of a sound educational system, which should provide for the development of the physique, the moral qualities, the character, and the will, as much as for the enlargement of the powers of thought and the capacities of retentive memory. Education that is too largely one-sided, be it physical, mental,

or of the character or will only, is alike defective and the obvious butt for substantial criticism. But when all is said and done, the need for the provision by the State of the serious instruction, the steady discipline and development of its less matured citizens, is one of the largest public duties that have to be undertaken by the Government. It is not a case of levelling down the more robust intellects, as is so often alleged, but of speeding up the weaker and the less matured, and the education of the young and the adolescent is at present the largest part of this duty. In some countries it is undertaken willingly, *e.g.*, in Scotland and in Germany; in others, not so willingly. A great part of the reputation for efficiency gained by the Scottish people is traceable directly to this willingness. Throughout Scotland, education is held in the highest regard, and the poorest parents (especially in rural districts) regularly make the greatest sacrifices to secure the better education of their children. It is common all over rural Scotland to discover that sons of shepherds and other agriculturists, who earn but scanty wages, ascend along the educational ladder to positions

of considerable importance in the professions and in business; and there exists in Scotland, as in Germany, a general opinion that education, in the broadest sense of the term, lies at the root of national and personal prosperity. Education has often been sought in Scotland with the fanaticism of a religion, and sacrifices, relatively large, willingly made by the poorest people in its pursuit. "In the history of the University of Edinburgh, we may clearly trace the national character of Scotland," said Mr Gladstone, speaking in Edinburgh in 1860. "We find here all that hardy energy, that gift of extracting much from little, the husbanding every available provision for supplying the defects of external appliances and means from within by the augmented effort and courage of man, that power to make an ungenial climate smile, and a hungry soil teem with all the bounties of Providence, which have given to Scotland a place and a name among men so far beyond what was due to her geographical extent or to her natural resources."

As is generally known, the educational system of Scotland from top to bottom is democratic to

a degree even that is scarcely approached in England. Educational advantages from the local schools, where instruction is free, to the universities, where, through the generosity of Mr Carnegie and others, it is practically free also, the passage is an open road to the man of a moderate mental capacity and a tolerable degree of persistence. "We hold in Scotland," says Lord Pentland, the Secretary for Scotland, "that poverty must be no impediment, that education must be free and open to all, from the alphabet to the university"; and it is easy for the poorest village lad to penetrate to the universities and avail himself of what they have to offer. It is a commonplace regarding Scotland that this extended recognition of the principle of equality of opportunity in the educational sphere is a principal cause of Scottish activity in various directions; one well-known example being offered, for instance, in the large number of medical men who are trained in the Scottish colleges, larger in proportion to the population, probably, than in any other country of the world; so that you find Scottish doctors scattered thick over

England and the Colonies, due, in the main, to the greater cult of education in Scotland which leads a larger number of her sons into the paths of medicine (which may be for the advantage of the world if not for the good of Scotland). Religious difficulties, too, scarcely harass the problem of education in Scotland, so that you discover the same Parliament conferring on Scotland an excellent Education Act in 1908, at a time when England could not obtain any measure at all comparable in range or efficiency on account of acute religious differences and ancient animosities. While England could not agree about the catechisms to be taught to infants in schools, Scotland obtained provisions for extending the discipline of school life to the critical years of adolescence, linking it up, too, in better fashion, with an extension of physical drill and the existing organisation of commercial and industrial life. It is, of course, an historical accident that religious feuds are so much more alive in England, and no person can question that it is to the detriment of the purely practical side of education. In Ireland the religious question is infinitely more prominent in the

schools, and although any thoughtful person can recognise the moral advantages to be gained from this, no unbiassed observer can fail to perceive that in their elementary education the youth of Scotland enjoy some practical advantages which are of use to them in the material affairs of this world.

There never was a time, too, more than to-day when the development of higher education, especially on its technical side, was more urgently needed in Britain. In this country, at the present time, so much attention is centred on changes of institutions, on changes in the relations of the Houses of Parliament, the one to the other, and on other aspects of social questions, that it is sometimes forgotten how much may be achieved in the sphere of education; for here the basic idea is the development of the individual. When individualism was a stronger political creed in this country, the question of education filled a larger place in the national mind, for, in those days, men looked more to the good to be achieved through individual improvement than by way of statutes. It may be that the recrudescence of a sterner

individualism is overdue; in any case, there is room both for it and for the statutes. Fifty years ago Great Britain led the world in its educational provision; and this conscious superiority was well illustrated in a statement made by Mr Disraeli in Edinburgh, in 1867: "It is an absolute necessity that we should study to make every man the most effective being that education can possibly constitute him. In the old wars, there used to be a story that one Englishman could beat three members of some other nations; but I think, if we want to maintain our power, we ought to make one Englishman equal really in the business of life to three other men that any other nation can furnish." No statesman has the hardihood to ask so much to-day, for most of them who speak on the subject are diligent in claiming not an equality of one to three, but of one to one, and they are tolerably certain that they have not got it. That there has been a national falling-off, comparatively, is certain.

THE PROBLEMS TO-DAY.

In the natural impatience for reform which affects so many vigorous minds, a constant tendency arises to forget the great advances but recently achieved; and to consider only the things that have yet to be done. This is nowhere more pronounced than in the case of the child and the sphere of education. A generation ago, the provision of an efficient system of primary education and the vigorous teaching of the "Three R's" were the demands of industrious educationists; but, in that interval, enormous advances have been achieved. One thing after another has been done to benefit the child, so that to-day, in comparison with fifty years ago, he is almost pampered by an indulgent State, ever ready to provide him with benefits. Education has been made free by the Act of 1890; the School Board instruction rendered infinitely more efficient; and beyond this, an immense amount of work accomplished for the benefit of the child in other directions, such, for example, as the limitation of overtime, the prevention of employment in

dangerous trades, and other provisions secured in the various Factory Acts culminating in that of 1901; in the manner of dealing with youthful offenders, and in the whole system of the prison treatment of the young; and, more recently, the great advances made in the Children Act for the rescue of children and young persons exposed to various evils, physical and moral; through the efforts made, too, by some of the Labour Exchanges to bring the opportunities of local employment directly to the notice of the young. Altogether it represents an advance, accomplished in a short time of very considerable magnitude; and it is through so much having been done for the child, that the centre of gravity in urgent needs has moved a step in an upward direction, to the removal of the defects in educational organisation regarding the adolescent, the development of secondary and technical instruction, occupation schools, agricultural colleges, provision for the instruction of adult workers, and the improvement of the universities. It is a large field possessing great possibilities. "A university," said Disraeli, "should be a place of light, of liberty,

and of learning. It is a place for the cultivation of the intellect, for invention, for research. It is not a place where you should expect to find interdiction of studies, some of them the most interesting that can occupy the mind of man." And much the same in lesser degree can be said of the developing, secondary, and technical schools.

In this practical age where so much of the national effort in different States is directed to make its units as highly effective economically as possible, it is the utilities rather than the humanities that are in demand. For the smaller sections of the community who can look forward to a life of leisure or of study, to certain of the learned professions, to politics, or to Government service in its higher branches, the training in the humanities, which gives the mind a good gymnastic, and, at the same time, brings a man into contact with the best minds of the race and with the best thoughts that exists on the subject of men's relations to one another and the State, is the education of the greatest utility. For all these activities, requiring thorough knowledge and the habit of systematic thought,

the necessary preliminary is such a training in language, logic, and literature, as will enable a man to order and to express his thoughts and to read a book so as to extract from it whatever is in it, this kind of education, with the literary part aiming at powers of thought and expression rather than scholarship is, for these men, the most practical and the most useful. But beyond this, and from the utilitarian standpoint, the study of language, logic, and literature is possibly a luxury except for the very much smaller class who will live in and by it. For the doctor, for example, the most useful subjects of study are surgery and biology in all its branches; for the lawyer, jurisprudence and the specialised activities of the law; for the engineer, mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, and similar subjects; for the farmer, chemistry, botany, and other matters concerned with the land; and so on. And, as education must be (as in Paley's definition), a "preparation for the sequel of the scholar's life," this same distinction would operate in its elementary as in its higher branches, and from this standpoint the scholar's training would be probably a general scholastic

one in the elements of language, logic, and literature, and a more specialised one on the lines of his future occupation.

It is this second function that attracts attention at the moment. Interest is focussed on the finished product of the primary education system, the lordly child of 14 (or, possibly, 18) who is escaping from his compulsary bondage; the ripened product of so much legislative effort and the cause of no little out-pouring of the money of the State. And what is the result? Too often the restless critic discovers that this infant prodigy who has so long been the care of laborious dominies and strenuous, toilsome departments, can read and write and add up figures properly enough, but is of little value for any practical occupation to which he is likely to be put. He has no particular manual skill and the aptitude for it, with which he was endowed by an indulgent nature, has been depreciated considerably through lack of exercise during years of laboured acquisition of the various methods of dealing with arithmetic and language, which patient school-masters are in the habit of teaching—much of it, probably, a

totally useless decoration for the future activities of the child. He is no particular good (especially if he continues about the school till he is 17 or 18) for agricultural labour; and unless he advances along the educational pathway into one of the learned professions his early excellence is often so much effort totally wasted —so much natural energy thrown away; and what is much more important, it is so much the implacement upon the mind of ideals from without, and generally the ideal of the bookish townsman; an ideal opposed to that of the labouring country dweller, the rural tradesman, and the country artisan. The earlier ideals of the scholar's life are displaced by others acquired through the medium of text-books, supported not infrequently by the moral and physical persuasion of the pedagogic rod of correction and inspiration. Admiring parents have encouraged the cult of the text-book; all the surrounding circumstances have conspired to implant on receptive minds a whole forest of ideals from without, ideals which, whatever benefits they may bring, undoubtedly unsettle the youths for the life of the village and the

farm, for shopkeeping, or for trading in the small towns, or for artisan's work in the greater cities. The point of difference is perfectly clear. A laboured scholastic education may be detrimental to the pupil and to his usefulness to the State, for although it provides a key to the products of the best minds, it is a key not infrequently used for baser purposes; and, apart from this, there is the other point that it is not, by any means, the most useful key which could have been placed in the pupil's hands, so that the demand arises for the teaching of the local trades and industries in which the pupil will spend the remainder of his days.

The very virtues of the general education are among its greatest practical faults in this point of view. It opens the mind of the young to the lust of the larger life than the hewing of wood and the drawing of water within the confines of their native village; it awakens the desire for a more strenuous career than opens before the rustic agriculturist or the rural artisan. Mr Carnegie, Lord Strathcona, David Livingstone, Robert Burns, and a host of other rural Scotsmen, are not the products of a specialised

rural education directed to the best means of reclaiming derelict land or of breeding cattle. They are the products of Nature and of the more general education which fires the imagination, which drives people out of the narrower grooves in which they were born, a compelling force, which makes them cross seas and oceans to strange climates and stranger adventure. It is the high priest of cosmopolitanism and of the love of all that is best and most varied throughout the whole of the world. It destroys parochialism and the limitation of a man's desires and aspirations to the streams and the fields of his parish. The man who is highly trained on the lines of modern education is much more likely to have the multitudinous desires of Faust than a man who is unread in things that lie beyond the confines of his native village; and there is no doubt that one of the many problems of rural Scotland to-day is that the system of education is so much the broadest path leading the more energetic youths away from their homes in the fields and the hills to the toil and labour of cities, to the glamour of colonies, the conquest of the Indies and

dominion in Eastern lands. It may be good for the world as a whole; it may be advantageous to the extension of Great Britain's Empire; it may be for the benefit of Eastern and Western peoples; but it is destructive of the population of Scotland, it depletes the sources whence the best of the home population are drawn; it leaves the valleys desolate and the dwellings of the labourers deserted and in ruins; it provides able officers who lead the British troops in the frontier wars beyond Peshawar; it gives reasoning judges who mete out an even-handed justice on the plains of the Deccan; it trains men who clear away the jungle and carry roads across the mountains into Afghanistan; but heather grows on the fields where, as children, they tended their father's cattle and the sheep shelter in the broken walls which protected their infant cradles.

There is here the conflict of two ideals; the one, the older and more general, that education in itself, in the schools and colleges, the information derived from books and from men, the elevation of the character of individuals, enlarging their sympathies and their outlook,

giving them greater understanding and greater power to utilise all their natural faculties—that all these things, quite apart from the direct and immediate material results which their inculcation produces, were the end and the object of educational effort. It is a kind of cosmopolitanism, intellectual and material, not directed to fashion a man as a Port-Dundas ironworker, a Rhonas Voe fisherman, or an Aberdeenshire agriculturist, but to develop generally all his powers and aptitudes; it is the education of citizens for the benefit of the world as a whole —a sort of universalism. But over against it is a narrower and more parochial ideal, one that has been gaining expression more forcibly recently, namely, that the direct and immediate end of educational effort is to fashion the young with an immediate eye to the material needs of the trades and industries of the districts in which they reside, to direct the energies of the schools not towards some theoretically excellent system, but to one which will fashion good agriculturists if it is a rural area, good artisans in the different trades of the locality, if it is urban, efficient workmen for the various occupations that are

practised in the neighbourhood, and so on with all the local needs and wants. It is an ideal narrower and more selfish than the other, for it is due largely to the desire to prevent the depletion of the home areas, to the wish to retain within them the best of their youthful sons. Both theories recognise that the after-school life of the pupil is the all-important thing; but whereas the one looks at this from a general point of view, as a sort of world-wide affair, where the pupil is free to roam everywhere without restraint, and implants upon him an education which is so general that it is in no wise local, the other regards it as a matter of local concern and directs its efforts to link its own youth into the chain of its own industries. This latter theory has been gaining strength steadily within recent years, in the work of secondary and technical schools, in agricultural colleges, in schools of art, in the universities, and in the continuation classes developed so well in Scotland under the Act of 1908, and in the work of the local board and committees to give in those schools the precise technical instruction needed for the local industries, and

also to discover openings in these industries for the pupils of the local schools. Anyone can perceive how largely and usefully this utilitarian side of school work might be developed further with the greatest advantage to the individuals and to the State, and with how much good for employers and for pupils by providing this ladder whereby scholars showing aptitude for science or for trade are brought in touch with employers who are in need of such workers. It is a necessary step in the removal of much prevailing chaos in the education system, and its further development is likely to be of benefit to the country at large.

The Scottish Education Department is active in the development of these agencies. Regarding the formation of employment agencies under Section 3 (5) of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, "for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children on leaving school," they point out in their Circular Letter of August, 1910: "It is to be regretted that less progress has been made in this matter than might have been expected. It is just possible that the recent establishment of

Labour Exchanges under the Board of Trade, which are dealing with juvenile employment, may be to some extent responsible for inaction on the part of school boards owing to misapprehension as to the true function of the two agencies. It should be clearly understood that the primary function of the Labour Exchange is to bring employers and those seeking employment into contact with one another, and to study the conditions of employment in the districts in which they are established. The function of these agencies contemplated by Section 3 (5) is much wider, and concerns all the older pupils in the schools. Such agencies would advise pupils who are completing their elementary education and desire secondary education as to the facilities in the district and the proper course to follow. They would also inform pupils about to leave school as to the general nature of the opportunities for employment open to them, and would take steps to facilitate the further education, at continuation classes, of pupils leaving school at, or about, 14 years of age, or even later. The task of registering the demands of employers and

juveniles, and of filling actual vacancies, would normally be discharged by the Labour Exchange of the district, but the school board agency would co-operate with the exchange in this business in such manner as might be arranged to suit local convenience. Any local working arrangements of this kind should be embodied in writing and forwarded for the information of the Department."

As generally recognised, there is ample room for the expression of both ideals in the educational system, for no system of education could have a great advantage that was too local in its aims, and to endeavour to make it so would defeat its own ends; no school board in Glasgow, for example, would confine its energies to shaping its youth into blacksquadsmen for the Clyde ironworks or Bailie Nicol Jarvies for Saltmarket warehouses. Apart from other considerations, it would never satisfy the normal aspirations of Scottish parents who have an eye to some members of their families reaping the spoils of other domains and other regions, and have no consuming wish to be too severely localised. They have a practical eye to much

that is to be gained from the Colonies and from England to have any wish to be shut out from richer fields than their own. Yet, the immediate object of spending national money on education is to secure results that are directly beneficial to the locality and the nation, and (in addition to the general task of linking the adolescent into the fabric of local industry) a great work for the benefit of the localities has yet to be done, for example, in bringing the technical abilities of the Scottish schools and universities into greater use for local manufactories, to bring the trained men of science more profitably into the fighting line of the industrial battle, by encouraging research in pure and applied science, training thorough scientific and technical experts, educating properly the apprentice. Everyone knows how much the Government has done in Germany to encourage scientific research and to promote the closest connection between the professor and the manufacturer, especially in the chemical industries, by establishing research laboratories, also, devoted to special industries, the results of the work being common to all the manufacturers in that line who had

joined to support the laboratory. And, for instruction in an agricultural community and rural surroundings, listen to this very excellent opinion: "First of all, teach the children to take an interest not only in books, but in the life of the fields. Teach them gardening, and how to keep bees, the making of cheese, and the management of a dairy. Show them the reason of these things, their cause, and the possible improvements. Above all, in educating your little rustics, do not impose an ideal from without; work your reform from within. Make your scheme of education deliberately rural; be sober, just; teach them courage and the contempt of mere ease and well-being; give them a wholesome, ample way of looking at things; instil the taste for an active life, the delight in physical energy."

To the performance of new duties by the State there is scarcely any limit, and in the sphere of education, as already pointed out, this activity is specially noticeable. The feeding of school children, the care of their general health, attention to their eyes and their teeth, are a few of the newer duties; and these have been under-

taken by the State, not on any general theory that the State can perform them better than others, but for the sole reason that, by performing them while the children are young, the State is likely to be spared other burdens later on, and to find itself possessed of a healthier and stronger population. It is the aim of the State to do for children who are badly looked after by their parents some of the most necessary parental duties undertaken by all normally good guardians. It is, no doubt, a duty on the State to prosecute drunken and neglectful parents who are wilfully destructive of their children's health; but of what avail, very often, is it to the child? Very many prosecutions of this nature take place in the police courts in the largest towns; but, in spite of this activity, many thousands of school children in the cities remain badly fed and badly cared for. On the basis of individualist theories one may say they should remain so, as, by giving them State assistance, parental duties are weakened; but here is a problem that confronts the Government. Education is compulsory; the half-starved child of the widow, of neglectful parents, of sick

parents and of guardians in other degrees of responsibility and carelessness has to attend at school till the age of fourteen. During this period possibly £1,000 is spent by the State on his education, and he may be made expert in his scholastic subjects so far as they go. His health has been neglected all the time, and, breaking down at the age of 25, he has to be maintained in poor-house infirmaries and public hospitals, at great cost, for the remaining 15 years of his unhappy life. It would have been a greater economy to the State to give him a little food in his earlier years and less medicine in his later days. And it is a similar practical problem that confronts the State in other directions in the education of the young. The State is endeavouring to assist in the rearing of the children and in getting them started in trades and industries in the business of life, duties far in excess of the merely scholastic ones contemplated fifty years ago; and its aim throughout is to do for the less happily parented children some of the duties which better parents are only too ready to do for their children. The object is not to supplant the parental responsi-

bility of anyone, but to provide in a small way some part of that responsibility where it is most unhappily wanting. It is obviously an inclined plane which may lead to the undertaking of further duties, but it is one on which all the principal European Governments are entering, driven by the force of circumstances. The more the State takes the child in hand, the more incumbent on the State it becomes to do something practical for him, and giving him a chance to become an honest man and follow an honest trade. It is no question of the State doing nothing for any of the children and doing everything for all of them, but of the State doing for the children of worthless parents, of widows, and of others, some part of the duties willingly undertaken by better parents for their own children.

The provision of food, of play-centres, and other means of recreation, the teaching of physical drill, medical examination of the children, the special care of their eyes (providing them with spectacles) and their teeth, these are all parts of this extended movement. "Parliament has declared its conviction," says the

Board of Education, "that the true aim of education is something more than the mere training of the intelligence, and that attention to the health of the children is a matter which directly concerns those whose duty it is to provide for their education." And in a circular letter encouraging the teaching of physical drill in schools, the Board of Education declare that "In the case of all town children physical exercises should be employed, but their use should always be carefully adapted to the needs and capacities of the children; there should, in short, be a direct relation between the three factors of nutrition, general health, and physical training." It is generally recognised, too, that there must be ethical teaching in the schools to moralise all the work that is done there.

As important to the young as a training in special skill or general knowledge is the development of moral qualities and strength of character. Can the school so permeate all its organisations and all its work with an ethical aim as to lay the foundation of a sound character that will stand the scholar in good stead wherever his lot be cast and whatever burdens he may have to

bear? What, too, is the sort of instruction which will develop his initiative and individuality? Even on the most utilitarian basis these qualities are assets in business, and, at the very least, the scholar will some day be a citizen in exercise of many social powers. The whole of the curriculum at school and at college should be penetrated with a moral purpose so as to make for righteousness as well as for knowledge. Wealth of knowledge without stability of character and steadfastness of purpose is a poor enough endowment. The best creative work is inspired by the heart even more than by the head; and, at the present day, with knowledge so widely diffused, there is greater need than ever of insistence on the moral qualities. In the tumult of conflicting streams of information there may be a danger lest these be forgotten.

What is open to question in all this extended control of the young is, perhaps, whether greater use might not be made of voluntary agencies, supplying, in a way, the sympathetic parental control so lacking to many children. It is sometimes impossible to set too high a value on the

benefit which may result from a little counsel wisely tendered and the moderate degree of help which it is in the power of every humane man and woman to afford to impressionable boys and girls. Among other merits, voluntary effort is usually cheaper, but generally less regular and persistent, but there is a large field for it in the task of advising the children who are leaving school and their guardians in reference to employment and in keeping a sympathetic eye on the children after they have begun their service or apprenticeship. No other agency is more likely to succeed in keeping children from entering "blind-alley" occupations, from being sacrificed to the dangers of street trading (so clearly set forth in the recent report of Mr Simon's Committee) in dissuading parents and children from engaging on "half-time" system, and the many other occupations so attractive to children but so useless in later life. Sympathetic voluntary advice could accomplish more than any other agency in these directions.

And the benefits of the continually improving secondary technical and university instruction should be enjoyed more largely by people who

have passed the school age years ago. As these are developed and made more practical the number of older people whom they would benefit increases continually. In a recent circular, the Scottish Education Department point out that it is an old Scottish custom for persons beyond the school age to avail themselves of these opportunities, and they show how, under Article 29, III., of the Act of 1908, provision is made for the admission into rural schools, for supplementary courses, and for the payment of grants in respect of persons over 14 years of age who have left school. For technical instruction in topics of agriculture, such instruction during winter months (as in Denmark and other countries) might be largely enjoyed. With every advance in education there is an increase in the range of the population whom it may benefit.

CHAPTER VII.

IN CONCLUSION.

I.

NEVER more than to-day were the social questions deserving of attention, for the problem which confronts constructive effort in Scotland, as in England and elsewhere, has this distinctive quality which it never possessed before, that the average man, the artisan, the labourer, the clerk, the trader of one thousand and one varieties, is better educated, is infinitely more assertive, is more alive to the wants and needs of life, is more conscious of the ideas of social justice and the ideals of Christianity, is better disciplined by the regular hours of his daily industrial toil, is more conscious of what he can achieve through the channels of

agitation, political and otherwise; in short, not only have the seeds of a greater number of discontents been sown with diligence in the mind of the average man, but what is enormously greater political importance is his increasing desire and capacity to give expression to these discontents in action; in action, it is true, which may frequently be blind and misdirected, but which is, none the less, of enormous moment to the stability and the safety of the State; for unless it is understood and sympathetically dealt with (not on the lines of mawkish sentiment on the one hand, nor by the too crabbed letter of harsh and narrow doctrines on the other) may shake the fabric of the State even more than an armed invasion from without. The labour unrest throughout the world, the great industrial strikes in France, at home, and elsewhere, are symptoms of the working of these forces, and politically they have to be reckoned with as amongst the most momentous factors in present-day life.

It is not so much that the average man is better or worse than before, but that he is different. In the increase of his wants and desires,

his aspirations, his ideas of social justice, his education, the spread of culture and refinement, his sense of social inequalities, the powerful discipline of industrialism, the continued democratisation of public institutions, these influences and others have operated powerfully and rapidly, giving him additional qualities and attributes which make of him an individual increasingly difficult to satisfy, and increasingly dangerous to flout. It is silly to say of the mass of the people that they are decadent to-day as compared with their ancestors, that they have broken from the quiescence and the virtues of old, for the truth is, as everybody knows, that in intensity of application, in worry, and in continued pressure, day after day, the work of the average man at the present time is greater than ever it was previously, and the necessities of strenuous competition increase his industrial self-restraint and his sense of necessary discipline. And it is these very qualities which, imported into the political sphere, increase his social and political unrest and give it point and power. It appears to be the inevitable result of his training and environment.

II.

How, then, are these new forces to gain an adequate expression within not only the limits of safety to the State, but the limits of the greatest national and individual development? And how are they to be adequately satisfied? In the foregoing pages some of their principal elements have been touched upon; and it has been shown that it is a series of subjects, complex and varied, not likely to yield their secrets without much diligent searching, and least of all to the pedant, the charlatan, the doctrinaire, and the demagogue:—

> "Locquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue,
> Awed by no shame; by no respect controlled,
> In scandal busy, in reproaches bold."

(It is a laborious task that is generally shunned by these short-cut millennium egotists); but to be understood rather from sympathetic knowledge of the lives of the mass of the people, the labour, the monotonous toil, the anxieties, the fever, and the fret of daily life, its desires and opportunities, and the endless variety of a nation's life. And out of this knowledge action should spring, for, without it, the efforts of examining the existing unrest are energy wasted.

III.

And here, in the sphere of social action, a true perspective is needed. No nation can flourish on social reform alone, and, for natural and material greatness, there must be national and material prosperity. Defence may be greater than opulence, but opulence is necessary to the modern State if it is to continue as a great power, and, in every effort of social reform (and they ought to be many) to strengthen the national prosperity is an object to be kept in view. The improvement of individual citizens and the development of national industries should proceed with equal pace, and, in the whole conglomeration of what are known as social problems, the State should endeavour to secure that the adults comprising it are rendered individually capable of performing some useful service which is profitable in the economic sense, and, at the same time, it is of the utmost importance to the State to secure that the trades and industries within which these individual tasks are performed, should be developed to their greatest capacity. It is no object of social reform to make institutions better in order that

the citizens who live under them should become easeful and slothful; for its justification is the very opposite. It is by removing some of the fetters which admittedly restrain and hinder human effort, enterprise, and development, which crush the human spirit and destroy the flower of its life, in improving the health, the strength, the environment, the industrial capacity, and the moral fibre of the citizens of the State, to raise the average man, and, through him, the community, to a higher sphere of usefulness, to give him greater power as a social, economic, and moral unit. Ease and sloth are social vices as much as sweating and overcrowding, and it is no object of the policy of the State to make them more prevalent.

IV.

In this sphere of action the State can accomplish much, as is shown by nothing more clearly than the record of the last ten years. During the Victorian age, for example, the leading spirits, in action and in thought, were not unmindful of the social evils which surrounded them; they were as conscious as the

people of to-day of the immense social problems of the land, the misery, the want and the suffering which everywhere existed in the midst of an ever-growing national prosperity, a continually increasing national wealth, abundant trade, an over-sea's commerce, larger and more varied than the richest profusion of an Arabian fairy tale; they saw this contrast; they noted the extremes of poverty existing side by side with an enormously increasing national production and the constant advance in the utilities provided by science and mechanical invention; and the wonderful contrast presented by this spectacle they regarded with feelings of bewilderment and despondency; unable to do very much to remove its grossest features, for they were enormously conscious of their own comparative impotence in the face of the battalions of indifference, misfortune, and social wreckage; and the principal cause of this inaction lay not in the absence of the desire to help, but in a certain reticence, a certain inability to forge the instalments of change.

V.

But the present century has seen a difference. It has witnessed (among other changes, legislative and otherwise) an active development of civil and national organisation to remove some of the worst of these earlier evils. Old Age Pensions, for example, after being declared so long to be necessary, have been granted; labour exchanges—that long-applauded achievement of Teutonic statesmanship—established over Great Britain; the policy for dealing with vagrants, the feeble-minded, the unemployed, and other sections of the Poor Law, tolerably clearly set out; the Workmen's Unemployed Act of 1905 (a measure of Mr Balfour's ministry) provided a scheme to give organised assistance to temporarily unemployed workers on principles other than the Poor Law, and, like the Trade Boards Act, without making provision of work by the State, it provided a machinery of organisation at the service of the individual to secure him a fuller opportunity to make a better use of his powers. In similar fashion, there is a strong desire to extend co-operation over the field of public and private charity, advocated,

for example, in both reports of the Poor Law Commission, in King Edward's Hospital Funds, and in every branch of agriculture, in the new organisations bringing masters and men together for purposes of conciliation, in the new Government's schemes of insurance against unemployment, ill-health, and the like, so that it is obvious that, in the sphere of legislation, the State has not been idle, has not been without achievements in the cause of social amelioration. It is common to speak lightly of what can be achieved by the State through legislation; and, not infrequently, those who are keenest in doing so are the people who are most active in discrediting State action in general. But this should not shut anyone's eyes to the truth. There are limits in every direction to what the State can effect, but, still, it can accomplish much.

VI.

That there is an extensive field of further action continually before the State the preceding pages sufficiently indicate; and even the novice in social affairs is aware how great is the differ-

ence which often exists between the generous expectations raised by prospective legislation and the smaller achievements that are subsequently realised; and, beyond legislation, there is much to be attained. You may provide the best social system in the world, but, unless the people who live under it are diligent, strenuous, hard-working, temperate, serious, determined to put it to the best of uses, it may be an endowment that is but very imperfectly utilised; for there is need above most things of the strengthening of individual character and moral earnestness, which is more important, possibly, than many policies and calculated plans. The cult of seriousness and of serious interest in high pursuits, an interest in high ideals, a greater realisation of the possibilities of a normal life, a clearer belief by individuals of the almost endless things they can accomplish if they but try, and a keener desire to make the best of their lives—these are, all of them, matters of the highest importance.

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