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THE NOMAD POOR OF LONDON.

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THE mildness of the past winter and the excitement of battle news, almost daily provided for the public, have combined to prevent this year the upheaval of the periodic wave of opinion with regard to the condition of the English poor. The time is therefore, I think, opportune for discussing their condition, for there is less danger of writing under the influence of emotion, and more chance of attracting the serious attention of the country to the fact, that we have inherited from past generations a national debt of misery and degradation hitherto regarded as permanent, that we are in process of adding to this national debt, and that as things are marching at present, we shall hand on to our successors a debt of greater proportions, and one consequently more beyond control, than that received by us from the last generation.

To get at once to the facts, let me say at the outset that, in referring to this national debt of misery and degradation, I am not referring to crime or wilful pauperism. The present facts, with regard to what is technically described as pauperism and crime, are probably known to few. It is generally held that want is invariably the parent of crime. In England this is no longer the case. Formerly—that is, for the thirty years previous to 1877—criminal statistics bore a remarkable relation to the statistics of pauperism. When crimes were numerous, paupers flooded the poorhouses; and when crime from any cause diminished, the poor-law returns in like manner revealed a corresponding reduction in the number of able-bodied paupers in receipt of relief. Ten years after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867, and eight years after the Education of the People Bill became law, a remarkable change took place in the intimate relations between pauperism and crime. As the pauperism of able-bodied adults increased, a remarkable decrease in crime became apparent. England and Wales, with a population of 26,000,000,

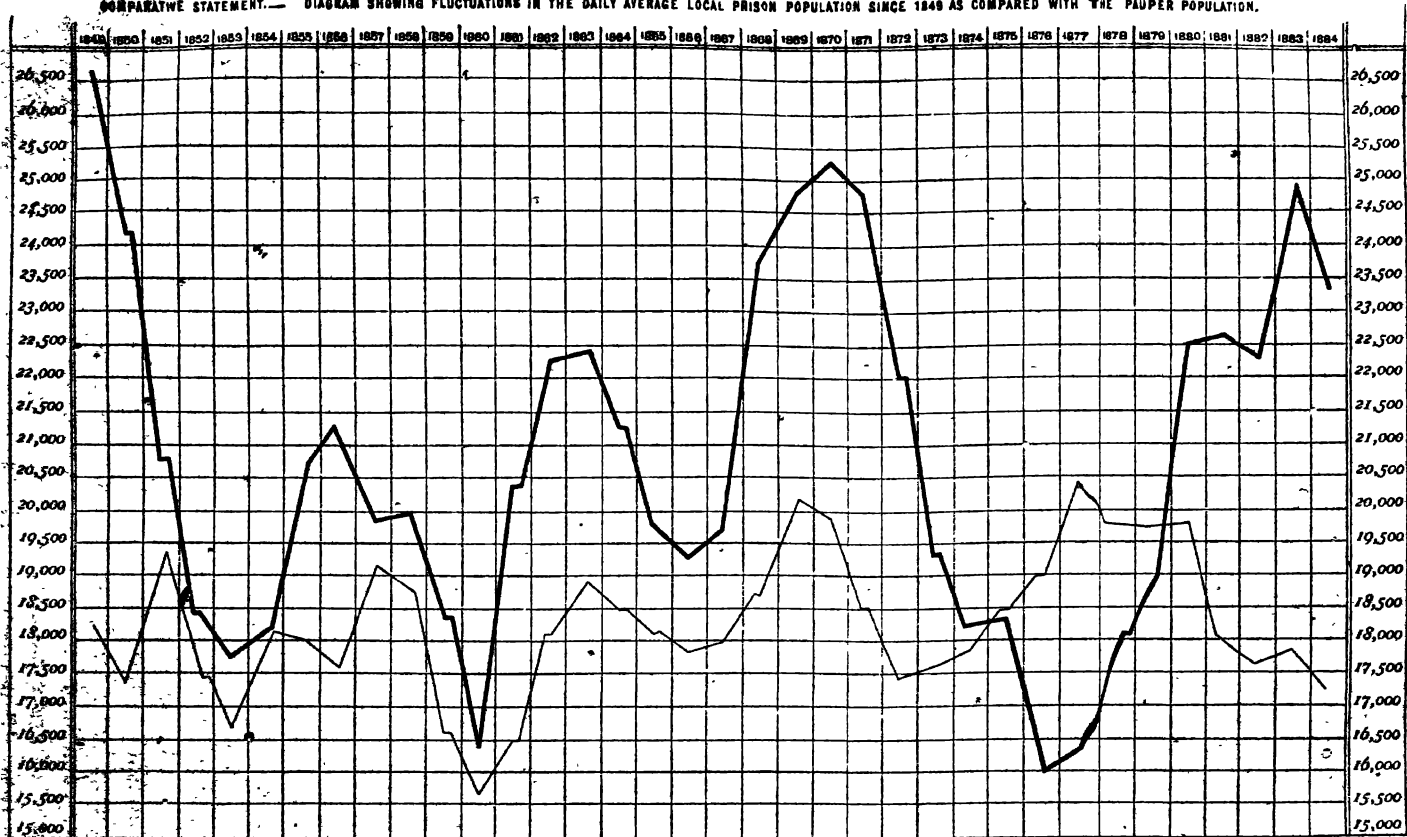
are at this moment freer from crime than when the population was only 19,000,000—that is, in 1859. I am allowed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to make use of a diagram, from which the comparative statement given on the following page is prepared. Sir William Harcourt has, both in his public and private capacity, given proof of his keen interest in the welfare of the Nomads of London, and in the unemployed generally.

The increasing density of population in our great cities brings many evils in its train, but it is clear, not only that neither an actual nor a relative increase of punishable offences can be numbered among them, but also that there has been, from whatever cause, a solid improvement in the moral texture of the population, and that this moral uplifting of the people has enabled them to endure the pressure of want without succumbing to the temptations of crime. This divorce between the poorer population and that of the prisons has been accompanied by an equally remarkable diminution of pauperism. Taken together, there is colourable ground for assuming that these facts disprove the existence of serious want among the poor of London. Let us once more look at the facts. The population of Greater London is now about 5,200,000, while the number of paupers is (April, 1885) but 94,000, including about 600 vagrants relieved nightly in the casual wards.

It is my practice to spend every Saturday night wandering about the streets of London for the purpose of picking up the nomads who, from fault or misfortune, have failed to find shelter. The facts elicited from personal contact with, and examination of, some thousands of these night wanderers, embolden me to advance the opinion that, amongst even these nomads, there is a large and growing class of temperate and would-be industrious folk, whose woes are not touched by any charitable or philanthropic association, still less by the iron hand of the Poor-law Board. Visits to some of the principal workhouses have further revealed the fact, that the inmates of the casual cells differ from the class just referred to almost as much as a predatory beast differs from a human being.

The class of which I speak does not form the bulk of the vagrant population of London, which, on rainy or frosty nights, is fain to walk the streets, because it has nowhere else to go. Forty per cent. of these night vagrants are men from whom the grace of humanity has almost disappeared. Physically, mentally, and morally unfit, there is nothing that the nation can do for these men, except to let them die out by leaving them alone. To enable them by unwise compassion to propagate their kind, is to hand on to posterity a legacy of pure and unmixed evil. The next forty per cent. are poor, weakly, feckless creatures, many of them prematurely aged, capable of three or four hours' work a day, but unfit for the stress of competition, and incapable of earning a fair livelihood where the efforts

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT.— DIAGRAM SHOWING FLUCTUATIONS IN THE DAILY AVERAGE LOCAL PRISON POPULATION SINCE 1849 AS COMPARED WITH THE PAUPER POPULATION.



of thews and sinews are required. The remainder of these night wanderers are men capable of work—in fact, their one cry is for work—and among them I have found, as I have said, many fine characters, men whose dignity under dire misfortune, whose repugnance to the degradation of a dole, is only one degree less than their loathing of workhouse relief. Their frames are attenuated by want, and such food as they do obtain is adulterated by men who are not always unconnected with East-end vestries, and whose trade it is to sell the poor man an article which pretends to be what it is not.

Some investigation into the conditions of this virtuous twenty per cent. revealed the fact that they were specially unfortunate members of the far larger class, whom I have estimated at 200,000, who exist under conditions of casual employment, and who are remunerated at a price which removes them but one degree from absolute want. The average weekly wages of 160 of these men for four weeks was found to be but four shillings and tenpence a week, while twenty of them, taken at random, earned but three shillings and one farthing each a week during a like period. Wages such as this involve periodical recourse to “dossing out”—i.e., walking the streets—while it is obviously impossible to maintain physical fitness under conditions of life so opposed to the teachings of the laws of Nature. The whole wardrobe of these men is often on their backs, and if they want to wash them they have to go to bed. The lodging-houses in which they congregate are not temples of luxury and ease, while the air they breathe, and the sanitary neglect of indolent local authorities, add to the squalor in which they live and move and have their being. With regard to the number of those casually employed, it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics. From all the sources from which I can gather information, I should think that about 40,000, with a corresponding proportion of women and children, making in all 200,000, may be set down as the probable number now in London.

As these labourers gravitate to the river-side, it has been a matter of comparative ease to get into more or less direct communication with some thousands of them, and to make at least a rough analysis of constituent parts of the unemployed. One of the first points which forces itself on the attention is the number of men who, in some form or another, have served the Queen. A large majority of these have been in the army—many of them men after ten years' service, turned off without a pension, trade, capital, or means of earning a livelihood. A large number are “reserve” men, to whom a career in another country is made impossible, and whose opportunities in England are gravely prejudiced by the continual calls to which they have been subjected whenever a local *éméute* has constituted an occasion “of grave emergency” under the Act. These men form not less than 15 per cent. of the whole, of which 15 per cent., perhaps one-seventh, are either in the first or second class army reserve.

The next class, large in numbers but not remarkable for intelligence, are the agricultural labourers. The various causes that have produced agricultural depression—machinery, want of capital, failure of crops, American competition, dulness of the country, and improved education—have united with the natural credulity of Hodge to send him to London. Once there, he finds out his mistake; but it is too late, and unless he has the brains and physique to enlist, he is absorbed into the army of the unemployed. It is probable that these labourers constitute no less than 30 per cent. of the unemployed. They have within the last few years come up from the country to the metropolis, and in so doing have exchanged a hard lot for one that is hopeless.

The next in order are the artisans who have dropped their subscriptions to their unions and societies through want, who have sold their tools for bread, and who have thus been driven down the ladder of life from the exercise of skill to the exertion of brute force. Some of these poor fellows have sought in drink a talisman to conjure away their pain of mind; but, so far as can be gathered, they are not profligate as a class, and have for the most part fallen behind in the race of life from sheer misfortune.

The remainder of these men are London born and bred, acquainted with every device that such a training can give them, and are what in California would be termed a "hard" crowd. Some of the 60,252 foreigners of all nationalities living within the area of inner London occasionally sink into the ranks of the unemployed.

According to the census returns of 1881 the number of unoccupied persons in London, not having any specified employment, was 1,608,539. Of these it is estimated that 200,000 men, women, and children form the submerged social stratum of London, whose case is under examination. As the population of London is increased by an addition of 446 persons per diem, of which only 363 are births, it follows that the metropolitan absorption of rural population is proceeding at the rate of 83 per diem.

It will be clear at the outset of an inquiry into the remedies for the existing state of things, that those proposed may be broadly-divided into two classes—viz., those which are applicable at once or within the next few years, and those the advantages of which will necessarily be enjoyed by posterity. We will first consider the former division.

Emigration is considered by many excellent persons a sovereign remedy for all the evils of a superabundant population. The facts which have been set forth with regard to the physical unfitness of the unemployed for strenuous labour render it clear that in emigration there is no panacea. This physical unfitness, it is to be feared, is not the increase. Medical science during the last fifty years has saved incalculable misery, but the whole fabric of society has been tainted by the preservation of unfit lives, whose offspring succumb

more readily and in greater numbers to the eleven great zymotic diseases than was the case with past generations. This physical unfitness of the unemployed is a powerful argument against emigration as a remedy. Add to this moral unfitness the limits and restrictions of age imposed by each colony, and the fact that, with the exception of New South Wales, Canada, and Queensland, not one is offering "assisted" passages. Nor must the growing disinclination of the working classes to emigrate be left out of account.

Socialistic propaganda are greatly on the increase, and hatred of "transportation," as it is called, is a solid plank in the Hyndman platform. Indiscriminate and badly managed organizations of every sort and kind, created to deport the artisan class, have, by transferring misery from one portion of the earth's surface to another, increased the cry now current among the working classes, that emigration is not only no panacea, but is a fell device of the capitalist.

The serious falling-off in the emigration returns is matter for grave consideration. In 1883 the emigration from the United Kingdom was 320,116; in 1884, 240,000; while the nominal annual increase to the population is over 360,000.

Still, much may be done. At present the English Government is idle in the matter. With the exception of very questionable money grants to Ireland, the Liberal party has done nothing to foster or facilitate emigration. Nor are they entirely to blame. A score of emigration agencies exist in England, every one of which has its own private "row to hoe." The Government cannot favour with the advantage of prestige and of State aid any one of these societies to the exclusion of the others. The obvious course, therefore, is so far to federate every emigration society in England as to present to the Government a single point of contact at which they may be connected with the machinery of the State. The delegation of a liberal-minded member of each emigration society to a central Board, together with the united aid of the Agents-General for this purpose, would go far to aid the mother-country in a much greater and more permanent domestic trouble than she is encountering in the Soudan.

It appears to me that the function of the Imperial Government in this matter is not so much the provision of pecuniary means as the constitution of pressure, or influence on the Colonial Governments, for it is unfortunately true that the rate of emigration from England is determined, not by the desire of the mother-country to deport her superfluous population, nor by the willingness of that population to depart. The absorptive power of the colonies absolutely regulates the amount of healthy emigration possible, and the jealousy of colonial trades unions, and the harshness of their protective laws, are matters which more effectually prevent successful colonization than any lack of means, or the physical unfitness of would-be emigrants

from the mother-country. We English have our rights as well as our duties in the colonies. At least £400,000,000 of our national debt was incurred in acquiring them. We have defended them gratis for the last century, and now, forsooth, we have handed the fee-simple of those estates in their entirety to the first white settlers. Next to Lord North's fatuous loss of the United States, the crowning folly of party government has always seemed to be the surrender of the whole soil of the temperate places of the earth to a few colonists. Now that England needs these estates to plant out new colonies, the right to do so can only be obtained by negotiation. This negotiation is rendered easier by the fine spirit of loyalty our Egyptian troubles have evoked.

To sum up: a federation of existing agencies for national purposes, a weekly telegram from every town in every colony, showing what labour was required, with the loyal support of the Home Government and the Agents-General and of the wealthy public, would go far to give emigration a new impetus; for the elder method of plantations could then be re-introduced. A company of colonists, self-contained and self-efficient, would leave the mother-country complete in every function. As Saturn has thrown off into space, whilst in a state of flux, his mysterious rings, so would England, now rent with the difficulty of this question of population, throw off rings from her own stuff and texture.

Charities.—The money annually given away in London is estimated to exceed £4,000,000: £20 each for 200,000 people, well laid out, and supplemented by the poor-law expenditure, would appear, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, adequate to deal with nominal metropolitan distress. Subdivided into every form of organization, the four millions perceptibly lose energy before they finally reach their destination.

Multiplication of identical machinery for carrying out similar objects covering the same ground, not only involves overlapping, but creates expenditure in the form of paid agents, secretaries, and rent. Much of the most excellent charitable work in London is done by paid agents, whose labours are far in excess of any remuneration received by them. But while this fact is duly recorded it must not be forgotten that philanthropy is now as distinctly a trade as bootmaking. The art of drawing up an appeal for aid for this hospital or that society is as much a profession, as that of the promoters of joint-stock companies. The trick of composing a prospectus which shall draw capital from investors while it does not entangle the directors in the meshes of the law, finds an almost exact parallel in the competitive word-paintings of able secretaries to charitable institutions. To get money from the public is far easier than to spend it with wisdom, and with permanent and solid advantage to the community.

It seems to me that a healthy public opinion must be created with regard to two points before the stream of charity can effectually cleanse the Augean stable in the East-end. The first point is, that organization of charity must be carried out with some approach to universality; and the second is, that individual effort, not to be delegated to societies or paid agents, should largely replace hired and mechanical assistance.

It cannot be denied that the administration of charity, speaking broadly, has attracted the co-operation of sympathetic and emotional natures, rather than those with the sterner qualities which secure success in other branches of life. To deal effectively with the evils of poverty there is no reason to suppose that inferior brains, reinforced by luxuriance of emotion, will get to hand-grips with the solution of the problem. One of the hardest trials to a humane man is not to give, when giving will relieve the necessities of the moment. But when giving enables the recipient to hand down to posterity a replica of his own vices and unfitness, then giving becomes a cruelty to others and a vice in itself. Segregate your vicious, but do nothing to perpetuate the vice-producers.

The organization of charity on a national or even a metropolitan scale can hardly be mentioned without reference to the Society for the Organization of Charitable Relief. Hopeless confusion exists in the public mind as to the aims and objects of that Society, and for this confusion of ideas the Society is responsible. The union of two irrelevant functions, relief and the organization of relief agencies, without any ostensible ear-mark to indicate the line of demarcation between the two, not unnaturally causes the twilight that exists in the public mind on the subject. Charity organization in the vigorous hands of a statesman, say like Lord Rosebery, would assume new proportions. No society among other societies can ever grapple with the problem as a whole. Federation in politics and in ecclesiastical matters is in the air.

Union, for common purposes, of the charities of London would go far to lay a foundation for the erection of a stable structure, and would obviate the need of an alien or a bureaucratic administration. It may be that the Charity Organization Society contains within its boundaries minds and energies capable of such a task as this.

Some at least of the charity now given away in London has reproduced the very evils which were supposed to have disappeared with the old poor-law system. The administration of two of the Mansion House funds created more distress than it relieved. Nor is the cause remote. The administration of charity requires a union of warmth of heart and strength of head which is rare, and the inevitable consequences of emotional impulses, unchecked by intellectual perceptions, appeared in the results of these Mansion House bounties.

To sum up: firstly, federate your charities; secondly, sterilize

the vicious by refusing aid to the unthrifty and the idle; and thirdly, reinforce paid agencies by private and individual effort.

Local Government.—That the local business of great cities should be exclusively directed by the representatives of the inhabitants is in theory an unobjectionable system. It is no doubt, moreover, an admirable one, where the wisdom and common-sense of experienced and honest men are at the service of the ratepayers. In the poorer neighbourhoods, however, there is difficulty in obtaining the services of capable and unselfish vestrymen, and the consequent maladministration of local affairs bears heavily upon those who are powerless to remedy the evils inflicted upon them under a system of representation in which public spirit has no place.

The Adulteration Acts of 1860 and 1872 leave little to be desired in the way of legislation, if they were but rigidly enforced. Local authorities are bound to appoint analysts with competent medical, chemical, and microscopical knowledge. Provision is made for the due analysis of food, drink, and drugs, and for conviction of offenders against the law. In the West-end, gross and habitual adulteration is unknown; in the East-end, not only are food and drink persistently debased by foreign and spurious additions, but quality is counterfeited, bulk is increased, appearance is improved, and valuable constituents are taken away with comparative impunity. Mr. Bright's *dictum*, that "adulteration is a form of competition," has lulled to rest the consciences of many wavering middlemen, and the consequences of this ill-omened pronouncement may be traced in the laxity of the administration of the Adulteration Acts. To take but a few instances: legalizing the sale of a mixture of coffee and chicory has not reduced adulteration of these commodities, for the coffee is half-ripe or insect-eaten, "tails" blended with "finings," and the chicory is fortified with beans, lupin seeds, acorns, "Hambro' powder," mangel-wurzel, and spent tan; and the most obvious proof of adulteration is, that the coffee is sold retail in London at a price at which it cannot be produced on his estate by the coffee-planter. A penny-worth of tea, as purchased by the poor in many small East-end shops, does not contain one tea-leaf. It consists of floor-dust, the sweepings of inferior teas, China clay, fine sand, and spurious leaves of "Ma-loo" mixture. Bread in the East-end has some peculiar characteristic well worth the notice of a philanthropist.

In practice 100 lbs. of flour will make 133 to 137 lbs. of bread, so that a sack of 280 lbs. should yield 95 four-pound loaves. The guile of the baker is shown by increasing the number, and this is most commonly effected by the addition of a gummy mass of boiled rice, which enables him to increase his out-turn by five per cent. Such bread quickly gets mouldy, and on a warm day will not keep sweet twelve hours. The smell of adulterated bread is sour and nauseating, particularly when the butter is equally bad, and the tea,

milk, and sugar are also the results of competitive efforts in the retail trade. Flour, oatmeal, and arrowroot are all adulterated with inferior starches. Sugar is blended with insoluble ingredients. Milk is watered, and thickened with lime and calves' brains; while beer is salted and drugged so as to induce a permanent and unquenchable thirst.

With regard to meat, I have been furnished by a competent authority with a return showing the amount of foreign mutton imported into this country during the year 1884. It amounts to no less than 524,098 carcases of sheep, or over 25,000,000 pounds of meat. These have for the most part been sold retail as English mutton, and that is as truly adulteration under the meaning of the Act as though the increased price obtained by a suppression of the facts had been obtained by more obviously fraudulent methods. The absorption by middlemen of the profits of the frozen-meat trade under the circumstances which I have set forth, forms perhaps one exception to the contention that rigid administration of existing Acts rather than fresh legislation is what is needed.

The stationary filth and dirt of the East-end streets, and the indifference of those who are responsible, contrast with the alacrity shown by the local authorities after rain or snow in fashionable neighbourhoods. Sanitary matters, water supply, the suppression of nuisances, and the general exercise of those powers entrusted to the parish authorities by the Legislature, need a more resolute grip by more powerful hands. The truth must be told, and it is incapable of refutation. Men devoid of public spirit, and intent mainly on profit to themselves or their friends, swarm upon the vestries and batten on the ratepayers, and the efforts of capable and humane officials are as often as not checked and neutralized by the action of the men who are elected to guard the interests they persistently betray. It is my object to avoid as far as possible the introduction of party politics. In the face, however, of facts such as those briefly described, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion that the present government of East London is corrupt, inefficient, and must be swept away. Whether the present Home Secretary's Bill will or will not become law, I am convinced that the principle of undiluted local representation in East-end parishes, even under the Local Government Board, is a comedy in action and a tragedy in results.

There are men of leisure and public spirit in plenty who would undertake the administration of local affairs, though they may not happen to live within the confines of the parish. Unless the Governments of both parties are prepared to give effect to their constant assertions of care for the people, it is hopeless to look for any real improvement in the food and dwelling of the poor man under the present system of sham representation.

Housing of the Poor.—Until a few years ago the title of landlord was in the country a title of honour. The great landowners were venerated as the natural leaders of the people, and especially of their tenantry, and the feeling of feudalism and mutual attachment existed between property-owners and their country neighbours and dependants. To a great extent this state of things has passed away. The term landlord is a term of reproach, not only in Ireland, but in other parts of the United Kingdom, particularly in the North of Scotland, and in the Radical press of the metropolis and other large towns. Without stopping to analyse the cause of this decay of good feeling between the great landowners and their tenantry, the fact cannot be ignored that streams of disestablished men are constantly flowing into the towns, and that these immigrants are irritated with those whose necessities have involved retrenchment of labour force, and with those whose employment of labour-saving appliances has necessarily ended the connection of the labourers with the soil, and driven them into the towns to seek occupation there. Many of these immigrants find employment, and become tenants of landlords whose investments in house property are more remunerative to them than any possible investment of capital in rural districts, and whose relations with their tenantry are of the hardest pecuniary nature.

Were twenty of the great landowners, whose means enabled them to do so, to buy property and build houses in the East-end of London, and other great cities, and thus provide new houses for their disestablished country tenantry, it is not merely a dream to hope that the old and more kindly relations might be partly re-established. Four per cent. is a good rate of interest on large investments. Sir S. Waterlow has shown an intimate relation to exist between philanthropy and four per cent., and his experience and example may be followed with advantage to landlord and tenantry. The great landlords might place resident stewards or bailiffs on the urban properties acquired, to whom complaints and communications might be directly addressed; and territorial magnates might themselves come down once or twice a year and make speeches and give audit entertainments in the same way as they have been wont to do in country parts these four hundred years past. In the substitution of good for bad landlords I look for a sensible amelioration of the condition of the people, and any one with a few thousand pounds may at any time obtain four per cent. with perfect safety, and the addition of as much human interest to his investment as will enable him to get into close contact with some of the facts of this difficult problem.

Employment of ex-Servants of the State.—The number of men, who, having served the Queen, either in the army or navy, are left in middle age face to face with want, is surprising to those who come in contact with the lower stratum of society for the first time. It cannot be denied that in many cases drink

is the immediate cause of the trouble; but a very large proportion are men against whom there is nothing special to be urged, except that they have not obtained in life the touchstone of desert—success. The more obvious remedy for the national disgrace involved in honest men, who have given the best part of their lives to their Queen and country, being forced to fight like wild beasts at the dock-gates for a casual job, is to give to discharged soldiers and sailors of good character the right to appointments in the lower grades of the civil services, post-office, police, customs and inland revenue, royal parks and gardens, and to the care of public offices, national buildings, and other property controlled by the State. Private patronage of Ministers should be waived in the face of facts like these. And I do not believe that there is a Minister or ex-Minister who would not gladly waive his patronage in order to remove a scandal which is nothing if it be not a national scandal. I have so constantly met in the course of night wanderings and at the dock-gates ex-soldiers of good character, whose distress and hunger are pitiful comments on the value of public newspaper applause for the deeds in which they have shared, that the reform here suggested seems to be too obvious to need more sustained argument. The one objection that with any show of reason can be urged against providing in the public service for capable men of good character, who have served the Queen in the army or navy, is, that a corresponding number of worthy people would be left without employment. The answer to this objection is, that training and education for emigration should be made very much more a matter of course for young people than it is at present; though the consideration of this subject will come later on, when examining those means of bettering the condition of the poor the advantage of which will be reaped by the next generation.

Liberation of Able-bodied Casual Poor.—There is a small matter of administration which I have for some time without success urged upon the Local Government Board. Since the above was in type the Local Government Board have addressed a circular to the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians on the subject. It is that the able-bodied casuals who wish to do so shall be permitted to perform their task of work on the afternoon or evening of their admittance, so as to leave the workhouse betimes in the morning, and thus be enabled to obtain such work as is going. Under the present system a casual is not admitted earlier than 4 p.m. in the winter, or earlier than 6 p.m. between April and September. The direct consequence is, that the performance of the task of work imposed as a set-off against the food supplied to the casual consumes just those few hours during which work is likely to be found, and freedom is only obtained when it is too late in the day to get work at all. The present system stunts thrift, leaves the casual neither

better nor worse for his dole of bread and water, and does not give him that impulse to help himself which a moderate revisal of existing regulations would at once afford.

Drink.—I have left until nearly the end of this division of the subject the discussion of the great drink question, for although it is now unfashionable to say so, legislation against drink appears to me to be beginning at the wrong end of the scale. Acts of Congress certainly do not make men sober, and I regard with equal doubt the efficacy of Acts of Parliament. Whenever the restrictions of legislation compel the people to have recourse to the machinery of virtue to indulge their drinking propensities, to devise ingenious methods of defeating the Acts, to exercise thrift, and to drink in secret—then I believe that legislation has simply whited another wall, and has perpetuated one more of the moral shams so very dear to the Pharisees of civilization. Were I dictator I would regard drunkenness as not only no palliation, but as an aggravation of crime. I would insist on the drink sold being pure of its kind and what it purported to be, and I should spend force and money rather in providing music and amusements for the people, than in providing enactments which are sure to be evaded, and which give colourable ground to the assertion that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor.

The want of a good popular drink is a pressing one, and I believe that it exists in the mild and non-alcoholic German beer, which is consumed in vast quantities in all the German *Thiergärten* and *Bierhallen*, and throughout the German States of America. Nothing has inflicted more harm on temperance than the intemperance of teetotallers. Working men are disgusted with the obvious inaccuracies in the teetotaller's wonted description of a pint of beer.

Thousands of working men are as temperate as the middle classes. The temperance of the middle classes is entirely the result of moral and intellectual causes. No legislation was needed to bring about this result, and I see no reason to suppose, from a temperance point of view, that legislation will create sobriety among those who are determined to drink. The Salvation and Church Armies, the Blue Ribbon Army, and the numerous spiritual and moral agencies at work among the poor, are effecting more permanent good than is possible to the wisest senate, because they are cutting off the desire at the root, and not merely trying to interpose resistance between the craving and its gratification. Music and flowers liberally bestowed supply just that vibration of the chords of the imagination for which recourse is had to drink. Music and flowers can never form a function of Government; hence the need of individual effort on the part of the more fortunate to share their enjoyments with those who are cut off from everything of the kind.

ARNOLD WHITE.