

For the Mansion House.

The refusal of outdoor relief has had certain strange results. First it has without doubt broken up many a home, & given the ^{or} best ~~to~~ many a deserving working man who might have been carried through a transient distress, living with wife & children on the brink of want; & if he had any savings, stripped of all he possessed he becomes a pauper, & perhaps for life. Once down there is little hope of rising again. The misery of wife & children drives them to beg, and desperation drives him to drink & often to crime. Though this action of the Poor Law has no effect upon Capitalists by inducing them to increase their employment of hands, it has certainly had a powerful effect upon the charity of London in stimulating a profuse giving of alms. Not far ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ the Times of for the statement ~~of~~ of Mr Hawkerly that £5,000,000 were annually given in charity, & that of this sum £2,000,000 were taken up by the agency of distributions.

No wonder the Charity Organization Society sprung up. The Poor Law had created the mischief and ~~was~~ had abdicated its office in providing for the deserving poor in times of transient distress. The Charity Organization Society rose up to prevent waste in charity, and to help the deserving poor by gifts or more wisely by loans.

It must not be forgotten that the Poor Law Commissioners in their Report in 1833 supposed that help might be afforded by way of loan & that the wages of the borrower might be attached, & the loans recovered under the 59. George III. c. 12.

1. Nichols English Poor Law. Vol. II. 269.

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Though we repudiate National Workshops we do not repudiate National works. ~~It rather~~
holds the Government responsible for the due execution of national works: should it be
^{gravely} ~~justly~~ culpable if such works are not duly fulfilled.

The Royal arsenals, & Dock yards and all that relates to the defence & safety of
are national works to be executed by the State, & under the responsibility of the Government.

The country, a Royal Commission more than forty years ago reported on the ne-
cessity of defending our ports, & coasts and ^{open} ~~of~~ commercial rivers. What has been done?
^{it is said}

Plymouth, Portsmouth, ^{it is said} a most inadequately Chatham & the open water way to
~~have been defended~~ ^{Beyond this nothing.} London. Again thirty years ago a Royal Commission reported on the necessity of

forming Harbours of Refuge along the five hundred miles of ^{seaboard} ~~coast~~ from the
~~the Thames~~ ^{North} ~~to the~~ ^{to the} north of Scotland. 6 thousand lives are lost every year. Not

^{of refuge} harbours have been formed. I have heard elaborate arguments to show that we are
safer without them. Here are works that would legitimately employ thousands
of hands in necessary & permanent ^{labour to promote our} ~~and advantage to the~~ ^{national} ~~interest~~ ^{Not one harbour} ~~of refuge has been formed.~~ ^{and yet they}

~~are not done~~. Many other works can be found which are beyond the power
of individuals or localities to do. The Government alone can do them - and if any
disaster should befall us the Government ^{or rather the suspension of political parties} will be guilty of the evil that may come.

Such national works are limited in their nature & are guarded by the vigilance of Parliament from the evils of national workshops.

Next in order come the Municipal bodies, greater & lesser throughout the country. In all of them are to be found works of public utility in which in times of severe transient distress the deserving men out of work could be employed.

Finally the whole country is subdivided into Parochial communities each of which is charged with the care of its own poor. By this great multiplication of centres ~~the~~ the dangers of centralization are precluded; and a knowledge of the kind & character of those who apply for relief is, with common care, easily possible.

By the Statutes of Elizabeth it is provided that relief shall be given to those unable to work, but to those who are "whole & lively" & able to work employment shall be given. It is expressly declared that employment shall be given not only as a test to detect the idle, but as a means of support to those who have no fixed way of gaining their bread. This class may easily be underserving by reason of idleness. But if the law provides for them so that none shall want for lack of work, how much more does it contemplate the relief of the deserving when they are reduced to want by no fault of their own but by the failure of trade, & of employers. Sir Matthew Hale words that "the Poor Law is not for the industrious poor" as simply put. He means that no help is to be given to the industrious, already at work. But apparently he did not intend to refuse help to the industrious when by no fault of their own they are deprived of work, & therefore of bread.

Moreover the Statutes of Elizabeth recognizing the danger of want passing into crime they provide

In truth the whole legislation save events except against the criminal class of beggars, thieves and impostors, breathes a spirit of compassion upon poverty worthy of the name. The acts were framed by men who knew the christian law: & embodied it in acts of Parliament. Its administration at this day is in the hands of men of another mind & spirit. This is notably shown in an article on the Workless, Walthip, and

¹. It is there stated that the administration of the Poor Law is singularly unequal in the Metropolitan District.

The influence, & persistence of a single person is enough in the long run to affect a whole Board of
Guardians.

1. Fortnightly Review for Feb 7 1868 by Francis Peck

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In certain parishes of the East of London outdoor relief has been refused absolutely. The effect has been apparently to diminish the number of outdoor paupers but it is known that many migrate to Parishes where more compassionate rules in the granting relief. Mr Fawcett asks the question whether it would be wise or just to abolish the Poor Law. The answer that it would be neither wise nor just - until the people have been raised by ^{long periods} ~~as general~~ of education & moral discipline in thrift & foresight. This is precisely the reason why the peremptory refusal of relief in periods of severe & transient distress appears to be unwise & unjust.

There is no controversy now among reasonable men as to the outlines or main principles of Political Economy. The whole contention is as to ^{its} ~~the~~ application. Some would have it applied at once in all its abstract rigour. Others contend that the Science of Political Economy, I call it a Science by courtesy, must be applied not as if men were lying in an exhausted receiver, but as they actually are in the turbulent atmosphere of human life. There are moral laws which surround, & check the application of the most peremptory abstract truths. They may be self-evident in theory, but they would be neither wise nor just in precipitate application: nor until the moral condition of the poor can bear them without accidental but inevitable evils.

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1. Manual Book V. C. V.

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