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# J u v e n i l e E m p l o y m e n t

During the War—and  
— After —



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MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION,  
2, QUEEN-ANNE'S GATE BUILDINGS,  
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

# Juv Employment

During the War  
—and After.

## THE REPORT OF AN ENQUIRY.

With a Foreword  
by the  
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(P.S.4013) Wt. 33440—46c. 6m. 11/18. Av. P. (1011).

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## FOREWORD.

In the latter half of 1917 and the early months of 1918 an extensive enquiry was undertaken by the Ministry of Labour at my request in order to ascertain the present conditions of Juvenile Employment and the probable conditions after the war. About 3,000 reports were received, either from investigators who visited the firms in person or directly from employers.

The following Report, which is based on this material, was written, at my suggestion, by a known authority on matters affecting juvenile employment, and I desire to express my thanks for the long labour he has devoted to the task and my sincere appreciation of his able and forceful Report.

The proposals which are made will need careful examination. They are published because of the need for immediate and widespread discussion of the many questions involved and in order that on the basis of a public opinion thus created a policy may be framed.

It is hoped that the statements of fact contained in the Report will be of great and immediate value, particularly to members of Juvenile Advisory Committees, Choice of Employment Committees, and the various voluntary organisations interested in the welfare of juvenile workers. The statements of opinion will serve to stimulate thought on a series of problems of vital importance to the future well-being of the nation.

C. ADDISON.

## CHAPTER I.

# THE INCREASE AND SHIFTING OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT DURING THE WAR.

### (a) *The Problem.*

When the nation proceeds to estimate the effects of the economic dislocation of the past four years and to devise a policy for mitigating them, the influence of the war upon the industrial conditions of boys and girls will not be the least of the problems to confront it. It will be obliged to take account not only of the generation from 18 to 35 which has borne the brunt of the fighting, nor of the adult men and women who have taken its place in industry, but of the children and young persons whose economic future the war has profoundly transformed, but who, when it terminates, will not be of an age to make their demand for consideration heard among the claims of more vocal classes.

Had the war produced the economic results which were anticipated, and which actually occurred in the opening months, the situation would have been serious, but it would have been different both in kind and volume from that which now faces us. In the autumn of 1914 the main economic evil anticipated was unemployment, and unemployment threatened young persons as seriously as adults. In the first few weeks of the war the prevailing uncertainty as to the future led employers largely to reduce their staffs. Juvenile Employment Exchanges were crowded with applicants.\* In the month ending September 11th, 1914, the registration at Exchanges reached the high figure of 22,000 in the case of boys and 23,000 in the case of girls, as compared with 14,500 in the case of boys and 12,700 in the case of girls in the corresponding month of 1913. Vacancies were cancelled and few new demands were notified. So serious did the growth of unemployment among young persons appear, that special steps were taken in London to cope with it. Children who had left school were advised to return to it. Recreation clubs, work-rooms and classes for young persons were established.

This wave of unemployment among young persons was of short duration. By December, 1914, the number of boys registering at the Exchanges was lower than before the war, and during the first six months of 1915 the vacancies notified were actually in excess of the number of applicants. During the last year the demand for boys in industry has somewhat contracted, but for nearly two and a half years it outran the supply, and to-day there is still a shortage of juvenile workers in certain occupations. The problem which has arisen is, in fact, precisely the opposite of that which arose when the war began. What was feared then was a shortage of employ-

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\* For a survey of the conditions of boys' Employment during the War see Appendix B.

ment. What has actually occurred has been a shortage of workers. First of all the steady enlistment of an increasing number of adult men, then the expansion of the miscellaneous host of trades summarised as "Munitions Industries," then the "combing out" of all but indispensable men, then the urgent needs of shipbuilding, have resulted in a diminution in the supply of workers, and in an increase in the demand for them, enormously greater in each case than was anticipated at the beginning of the war. The effect upon the generation which has just left school, or is just about to leave it, has been profound; for neither the demand nor the supply are what they were in the past. There has been an immense revaluation of the relative importance of different occupations, which, while it has recalled to industry those who had left it, and attracted into industry those who had never entered it, and drawn adults out of their established trades, has acted still more powerfully upon the rising generation which is not yet specialised to any particular employment. A vacuum was created which even at the present time is far from being filled. Among those who rushed into it were young persons, and even a considerable number of children.

It is clearly of the first importance to know what the effect of this economic transformation upon the prospects of the rising generation has been. What has been the nature of the redistribution of employment? What industries (if any) have young persons left and what have they entered? What have been the conditions of their employment, and the effect of those conditions upon their industrial training, their health, their character and their education? What kind of situation is likely to arise at the end of the war, and must another large dislocation of employment be anticipated? What is the best policy for the State to adopt in order to avert or mitigate such evil consequences as may have followed the recent revolution in the conditions of adolescent labour, or as may result when those conditions are again transformed, as they will be, on the return of peace? To answer these questions fully would require a more elaborate discussion than is possible within the compass of a short Memorandum. The following pages are confined, therefore, to a tentative statement of the main tendencies which have been at work. They do not enter into a detailed examination of the various forms which they have assumed in different industries.

*(b) The Increased Employment of Children out of School Hours.*

From the evidence summarised below it will appear that the economic transformation induced by the war has had a profound effect both upon the present industrial conditions of young persons and upon their future prospects. But its influence has not been confined to young persons. There is, indeed, no absolute division between the economic circumstances of boys and girls between 14 and 18, who are legally "young persons," and those of boys and girls under 14, who are legally "children." The conditions of the latter shade into those of the former by a series of gradations, ranging from the combination of full-time attendance at school with out-of-school employment, through partial exemptions granted at 11 for agriculture and 12 for the textile industries, to full-time employment at 18 in some districts and at 14 in others. For certain employments the

children in each class are interchangeable, and any changes which affect young persons who have left school altogether affect also children who are still attending school full-time.

For this reason the economic pressure of the war has reacted not only upon young persons who are full-time wage-earners, but upon children who are in full-time attendance at school. The number of such children who are employed out of school hours in normal times was estimated in 1913 at 245,000. That estimate was conjectural, even for the year to which it referred, and it is not possible to offer any reliable figures as to the present situation. What is certain, however, is that during the war the employment of school children out of school hours has become much more prevalent. This fact is proved both by the evidence contained in the Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education and by the statements of Juvenile Advisory Committees. "The number of school children employed out of school hours," says Sir George Newman, "has been estimated to be in normal circumstances about a quarter of a million. Under war conditions this figure, of course, has largely increased," and the reports which he quotes from School Medical Officers in different parts of the country bear out his conclusion both as to the increase of juvenile employment and as to its disastrous effects upon the health and education of the children. The same story is told by the Juvenile Advisory Committees. In June, 1916, twenty provincial Juvenile Advisory Committees reported an increase in the number of school children so employed, and only one a decrease. In October, 1917, out of 57 Committees in different districts in England and Scotland which supplied information on the subject, 45 reported an increase, and some a large increase, in the wage-earning employment of school children. What is true of the Provinces would appear to be true of several, and probably of most, districts of London. Partly because in certain areas schools have actually been closed for part of the school day, partly because the demand for young persons in occupations offering better wages has caused tradesmen to fall back upon school-children, partly because the rise in prices has made parents anxious to supplement the family income, school-children are at present being employed upon a larger scale than ever before. Thus, in one town 9 per cent. of the school population, in another 40 per cent., in another 19 per cent. of the boys, were stated in October, 1917, to be working for wages out of school hours. With a few exceptions, the Committees giving the evidence express the opinion that the consequences to the health and education of the children have been wholly bad. The Memorandum issued in 1918 by the Board of Education, and the annual report of Sir George Newman, reached the same conclusion. "War conditions," says the former, "have increased the demand for child labour. . . . About 10 per cent. of the children in attendance in public elementary schools in the area (investigated) are employed out of school hours, often in most unsuitable work and for inadequate pay. The effects . . . are detrimental to their progress in school."

(c) *The Increase in Exemption from School Attendance.*

While the employment of children who are attending school is more general than before the war, there has been no very large addition to the total number of young persons engaged

full-time in industry.\* The number of adult men in all occupations fell between July, 1914, and October, 1917, by 2,368,000—from 10,600,000 to 8,232,000. The gap thus left has been partly filled by the influx into employment of adult women, whose number increased by 1,426,000—from 3,287,000 to 4,713,000, or by 43.3 per cent. The total number of young persons employed rose between July, 1914, and October, 1917, only by 351,000—from 1,936,000 to 2,287,000, or by 18 per cent. The boys employed increased by 93,000 (7 per cent.), the girls by 258,000 (38 per cent.). Nor is this comparatively small increase surprising. In time of peace there was a large reserve of women not already in employment who could be drawn into it to meet the national emergency. Since nearly all working-class children enter some wage-earning employment either at 13, or at latest at 14, there was no such unoccupied reserve of young persons. Apart from the natural growth of population, the only sources available for increasing their numbers were three—first the small number of children attending school full-time beyond their fourteenth birthday; second, girls who were neither at school nor at work; third, children under 14 prematurely exempted from school attendance. There is little evidence that there has been any considerable influx into industry from the first source. Indeed, the Report of the Board of Education for 1916-17 shows that the number of pupils in secondary schools on the grant list has increased very considerably during the war—from 180,507 on October 1st, 1914, to 216,504 on October 1st, 1917—and that they have been remaining at school somewhat longer than was previously the case.

The increase in the number of girls is in part accounted for by the entry into factories or offices of those who would normally have been in domestic service. Allowing for this, however, the additional number of workers drawn from girls previously employed at home, and from the premature cessation of school attendance, has been considerable. In particular, there has been an increase in the number both of partial and of complete exemptions. Out of 12 Juvenile Advisory Committees in textile districts, 10 reported in October, 1917, an increase in the number of half-timers; at Hyde 30 per cent. and at Bolton actually 70 per cent. of the children were stated to be employed half-time. The growth in the number of partially exempted children is shown in the following figures, which are taken from the Report of the Board of Education for 1916-17. On the whole, the figures (if correct) are smaller than might have been anticipated:—

	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17
Scholars for whom partial exemption was claimed ...	71,382	69,555	72,645	73,596

\* The returns of numbers employed, which are those of the Industrial (War Enquiries) Branch of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in October, 1917, are limited to employed persons and do not cover certain occupations, notably Irish Agriculture, the Mercantile Marine and Domestic Service, and also professional men. Thus they relate to about 10,600,000 out of a total of 14,500,000 occupied males. It is probable, however, that only a small proportion of males under 18 are not covered by the returns. But girls are excluded with the one very important exception of Domestic Service, which in 1914 employed about 300,000 girls under 18. These reservations must be borne in mind whenever the Board of Trade returns are used in the Memorandum.

The growth in the number of children receiving complete exemption before 14 cannot be stated with equal precision, but evidence drawn from various sources shows that with the increase in the entrants for Labour Certificate examinations, and the general relaxation of local by-laws, it has been considerable. A return issued by the Board of Education showed that on October 16th, 1916, the number of children excused from school attendance by the Local Education Authority for employment in agriculture (apart from those exempted by reason of having satisfied the conditions of exemption prescribed in the bye-laws) was 14,915. According to the Report of the Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch of the Board of Trade for October, 1917, the boys entering employment earlier than usual, which means in most cases leaving school before 14, amounted at that time to 90,000. It has been estimated that 36 per cent. of the children leaving school in Sheffield are under 14, the majority having only just passed their thirteenth birthday, and that in Leeds about 50 per cent. of the boys between 13 and 14 are employed in industry. There appears to have been a diminution in the number of boys employed as errand-boys in connection with shops, and an increase in the number of girls. The former have entered more remunerative and heavier employment in manufacturing industry. The latter have, to some extent, taken their place. In the following Table an attempt is made to offer some indication of the increase in the number of children exempted from school attendance in England and Wales and in 11 great cities. It shows the decrease in the number of scholars of the age-groups 12-13 and 13-14, as compared with the age-groups 11-12 and 12-13 respectively in the preceding year, on the Admission Register on the 31st of January, 1917.

The figure in Column 3, which gives the difference between the number of pupils of 12-14 and the number of pupils of 11-12, represents the decline in the elementary school population after 12 years of age. That decline is not solely due to exemptions: for it includes (among others) children who pass from Elementary to Secondary schools. But it is largely the result of exemptions, and since the difference between the earlier and later age-groups 11-12, and 12-14 has risen from 196,943 in 1915 to 240,556 in 1917, there is *prima facie* evidence of an increase in the number of children prematurely exempted from school attendance.\* It will be observed that in certain individual cities the apparent increase in exemptions has been much more striking than the gross figures for England and Wales would suggest. In Birmingham the difference between the age-groups 11-12 and 12-14 was 875 in 1915 and 1,439 in 1917; in Liverpool 1,311 in 1915 and 2,117 in 1917; in Sheffield 1,617 in 1915 and actually 4,151, nearly three times as much, in 1917.

Where the policy of granting exemptions from school attendance at an earlier age than was customary before the War has been adopted, its effect has been to add an uncertain number of children to the ranks of full-time wage-earners, sometimes a few months, sometimes more than a year, before they would otherwise have entered them; to cause the community to carry for the next half century an age-group somewhat less developed in body and mind

\* These figures, however, involve an under-estimate, since allowance must be made for the normal increase in population and in the numbers attending elementary schools, between 1915 and 1917.

TABLE I.

## THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 14 CEASING TO ATTEND PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

(In columns 1 and 2 below the number of Scholars of the age groups 12-13 and 13-14 are compared with the age groups 11-12 and 12-13 respectively in the previous year. Column 3 is obtained by adding together the figures in columns 1 and 2.)

Place	1915.			1916.			1917.		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
	12-13	13-14	12-14	12-13	13-14	12-14	12-13	13-14	12-14
England and Wales ..	— 21,946	— 174,997	— 196,943	— 28,777	— 204,037	— 232,814	— 30,674	— 200,882	— 240,556
Birmingham .. ..	— 253	— 622	— 875	— 287	— 753	— 1,040	— 516	— 923	— 1,439
Bristol .. .. .	— 257	— 495	— 752	— 289	— 652	— 941	— 275	— 721	— 996
Derby .. .. .	— 16	— 270	— 254	— 118	— 314	— 432	— 78	— 277	— 355
Leeds .. .. .	— 221	— 6,405	— 6,626	— 308	— 6,773	— 7,081	— 429	— 6,838	— 7,267
Leicester .. .. .	— 110	— 306	— 416	— 92	— 230	— 322	— 215	— 187	— 402
Liverpool .. .. .	— 319	— 992	— 1,311	— 361	— 1,707	— 2,068	— 507	— 1,520	— 2,117
London .. .. .	— 1,855	— 2,462	— 4,317	— 2,032	— 3,774	— 5,806	— 2,053	— 4,455	— 6,508
Manchester .. .. .	— 394	— 1,619	— 2,013	— 464	— 1,853	— 2,317	— 439	— 1,678	— 2,117
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	— 238	— 598	— 836	— 156	— 645	— 801	— 344	— 674	— 1,018
Nottingham .. .. .	— 83	— 1,288	— 1,371	— 17	— 1,500	— 1,517	— 97	— 1,871	— 1,968
Sheffield .. .. .	— 214	— 1,403	— 1,617	— 279	— 3,089	— 3,368	— 408	— 3,743	— 4,151

than the general population, and to make slightly more unmanageable the problem of juvenile unemployment which is likely to arise at the end of the War. Demoralising as this expedient has been for the children affected by it, the number involved has not been large enough to cause any great addition to the total number of young persons employed. No very striking increase in the number of young persons occupied in industry has taken place, such as has taken place in the case of women, because there was no source from which such an increase could come. Whether in peace or in war the rising generation is fully engaged. It does not offer any considerable army of manœuvre.

TABLE II.

DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG PERSONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT EMPLOYMENTS IN JULY, 1914, AND OCTOBER, 1917.

	Total boys and girls under 18 years of age.		Total boys under 18 years of age.		Total girls under 18 years of age.	
	No. in October, 1917.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914	No. in October, 1917.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.	No. in October, 1917.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.
Industries ..	1,472,000	+166,000	337,000	+77,000	635,000	+ 89,000
Municipal gas, water, electricity ..	4,000	+ 2,500	3,000	+ 1,500	1,000	+ 1,000
Government establishments ..	32,000	+ 29,000	22,000	+19,000	10,000	+ 10,000
Agriculture ..	136,000	- 3,000	118,000	- 9,000	18,000	+ 6,000
Transport ..	101,500	+ 24,100	89,500	+13,400	12,000	+ 10,700
Finance and commerce ..	427,000	+105,000	224,000	-14,500	203,000	+ 119,500
Professional occupations ..	29,000	+ 10,000	18,000	+ 4,000	11,000	+ 6,000
Hotels, cinemas, theatres, etc.	30,000	+ 5,000	17,000	+ 4,500	13,000	+ 500
Post Offices ..	24,000	- 3,000	10,000	- 6,800	14,000	+ 3,800
Other Civil Service ..	13,500	+ 10,400	4,500	+ 1,500	9,000	+ 8,900
Local Government (including education, but excluding Municipal trams, water, gas and electricity) ..	18,000	+ 5,000	10,000	+ 2,400	8,000	+ 2,000
Total of above ..	2,287,000	+351,000	1,353,000	+93,000	934,000	+ 258,000

See also the Table in Appendix A on page 77 setting out statistics up to January, 1918.

TABLE III.  
DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG PERSONS IN TEN PRINCIPAL TRADES.

	Boys under 18 years of age.		Girls under 18 years of age.	
	No. in Oct. 1917.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.	No. in Oct. 1917.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.
Building .. .. .	44,000	- 15,000	6,000	+ 4,700
Mines and quarries .. .	164,000	- 1,000	4,000	+ 2,250
Metal trades .. .. .	298,000	+ 106,000	108,000	+ 62,800
Chemical trades .. .. .	22,000	+ 7,500	25,000	+ 13,850
Textile trades .. .. .	116,000	- 8,000	213,000	- 2,000
Clothing trades .. .. .	45,000	- 3,000	124,000	- 16,550
Food, drink, tobacco .. .	43,000	+ 3,000	53,000	+ 4,200
Paper and printing trades	30,000	- 10,000	45,000	- 750
Wood trades .. .. .	34,000	- 500	20,000	+ 9,500
Other trades .. .. .	43,000	- 2,000	37,000	+ 11,000
<b>Total industries .. .</b>	<b>837,000</b>	<b>+ 77,000</b>	<b>635,000</b>	<b>+ 89,000</b>

(OCTOBER, 1917.)

TABLE IV.

COMPARISON OF CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN TEN PRINCIPAL TRADES BETWEEN JULY 1914, AND OCTOBER 1917.

	Boys under 18. Increase or decrease since July, 1914.	Girls under 18. Increase or decrease since July, 1914.
Building .. .. .	- 15,000	+ 4,700
Mines and quarries .. .	- 1,000	+ 2,250
Metal trades .. .. .	+ 106,000	+ 62,800
Chemical trades .. .. .	+ 7,500	+ 13,850
Textiles .. .. .	- 8,000	- 2,000
Clothing .. .. .	- 3,000	- 16,550
Food, drink and tobacco .. .	+ 3,000	+ 4,200
Paper and printing .. .. .	- 10,000	- 750
Wood trades .. .. .	- 500	+ 9,500
Other trades .. .. .	- 2,000	+ 11,000
<b>Total .. .. .</b>	<b>+ 77,000</b>	<b>+ 89,000</b>

(d) *The Redistribution of Juvenile Workers.*

While, between July, 1914, and October, 1917, the number of young persons returned as in employment increased by 851,000, there has been a profound alteration in the character of their employment. From a social point of view

that alteration is of considerable importance. It is impossible to forecast the future of industry after the war, but it seems inevitable that many of the trades which have been temporarily curtailed should be resumed approximately upon their former scale, and that some of those which have been temporarily expanded, like the manufacture of munitions of war, should be largely reduced. In so far as this is the case, there will be a considerable redistribution of employment; and in so far as there is a redistribution of employment, there will, even in the absence of any trade depression, be a considerable volume of unemployment among a large body of wage-earners in certain industries, though it may not, if circumstances are favourable, be of long duration. The greater the shifting of occupations which has taken place among young persons owing to the war, the more widespread, it is plain, will be the "general post" which will occur among them upon the return of peace, and the more urgent the necessity of devising methods to prevent them being demoralised in the period of transition.

That such a transference of occupations has taken place upon a large scale is evident from the comparison of the figures of the occupations in which young persons were employed in 1914 with similar figures for October, 1917, which is set out in the accompanying tables. Later figures, for January, 1918, will be found in Appendix A on page 77. The statistics which they contain are taken from the Report on the State of Employment in all occupations in the United Kingdom, prepared by the Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch of the Board of Trade.

These statistics, though open to criticism, probably show with substantial accuracy the general nature of the redistribution of juvenile workers between different occupations which has taken place since July, 1914. The following main points emerge from a consideration of them:—

(i.) The total number of young persons employed in different occupations increased between July, 1914, and October, 1917, by 351,000, of whom 93,000 are boys and 258,000 are girls (Table II., page 10). This increase was equivalent to an advance of 18.1 per cent. on the numbers employed in July, 1914, the advance being 7.4 per cent. in the case of boys and 38.2 in the case of girls. The increase to be expected from the natural growth of population was 3.25 per cent. The net increase of all juveniles, therefore, was approximately 15 per cent.

(ii.) The movement of boys has been away from the occupations described as "finance and commerce," "agriculture," and the "Post Office," into the occupations described as "Industries," "Transport," and "Government Employment." The first three occupations lost between them 30,000 boys; the last three occupations gained between them 100,500. The increases in the number of boys employed in the other occupations in Table II. are insignificant, and together amount only to 13,500. Speaking broadly, therefore, there has been a redistribution of boys' employments as between industrial occupations and commercial or clerical occupations, and as between industrial occupations and agriculture. The boy who before

the war would have become a clerk, or remained upon the land, or entered the Post Office, has in the last three years entered some branch of industry or transport. (See Table II., page 10).

(iii.) What particular industries have attracted boys is shown in Table III., page 11 which subdivides the general heading "Industries" into 10 trades. In seven out of these trades there has been a decrease in the number of boys employed; in three there has been an increase. Building, paper and printing, and textiles have between them lost 33,000; the metal trades and the chemical trades have gained between them 113,500, and the preparation of food, drink and tobacco has gained 3,000. It is evident, therefore, that there has been a large movement of boys out of the industries which supply the needs of peace into those which supply the needs of war. The building of houses and printing of books have been postponed. The manufacture of clothing and of material used for clothing has been diminished; and if it were not for the large number employed in the manufacture of hosiery and of woollen cloth for the Army, the reduction in textiles and clothing would be far more conspicuous than it is. The industries which employ largely increased numbers of boys are the different branches of the engineering trade, the manufacture of iron and steel, ship-buildings, and the manufacture of chemicals.

(iv.) It is of some importance to determine whether boys have entered occupations which men have left, or whether they have entered occupations which men have entered, whether, in short, they have tended to be substituted for men or whether they have tended to supplement them. In the case of every industry except one (the preparation of food, drink, and tobacco) an increase in the number of boys employed has accompanied an increase in the number of men, and a diminution in the number of boys, a decline in the number of men. The movement of boys might have been into industries which men were leaving, in order to take their place; and, as will be pointed out later, the replacement of men by boys on work which men were previously doing has actually taken place in many industries. But this only accounts in part, possibly a small part, for what has happened. For though the proportion of boys to men has increased in most trades, boys, on the whole, have flowed into industries which were expanding so rapidly that they required greatly increased numbers both of men and boys, not into industries which found it necessary to replace men by boys because men had left them. The movement of boys has followed, in fact, the general expansion and contraction of different industries, though it has also been to some extent subsidiary to the movement of men.

(v.) Table II. shows that there has been an increase in the number of girls employed in all occupations, the largest taking place in the case of "Finance and Commerce," "Transport," and "Industries." The movement of the girls shows, therefore, the same influence as that of boys. They, too, as Table III. shows, have felt the pull of the metal industries, in which the number of girls employed has increased by 62,000. But

there has also been a different movement. Girls have not simply entered trades which boys were entering, and left those which boys were leaving, as boys have entered trades which men were entering and left trades which men were leaving. They have also moved in the opposite direction, into those trades which both boys and men were leaving. The most conspicuous example of such a replacement is given by the change of sexes under the heading "Finance and Commerce." Between July, 1914, and October, 1917, the number of men over 18 employed in it diminished by 496,000, and the number of boys under 18 by 14,000, while the number of girls under 18 increased by 119,500. But the same transference of girls into occupations in which the number of boys has declined appears in the case of the wood-working trades, where the number of girls increased by 9,500, in building, in mines and quarries, and in the group of miscellaneous occupations described as "other trades." While boys have, in the main, followed the call of expanding industries, large numbers of girls have felt the reaction of the economic changes caused by the war at second-hand. They have not only entered expanding industries, they have also helped to carry on those the male staff of which was depleted.

(vi.) In building, coal mining, engineering, textile, clothing, indeed in most of the important trades of the country, the proportion of boys under 18 to adult men is larger than before the war. This, however, does not hold in the case of shipbuilding. This change may have been brought about in one of two ways.

Either the number of men may have diminished, while the number of boys has diminished less in proportion (as in building), or has remained virtually stationary (as in the Birmingham Small Metal Trades); or, while the number of men has remained stationary, or even increased, the number of boys may have increased more than in proportion (as in shipbuilding and the manufacture of explosives). In either case it means that boys are now doing work which was formerly done by men, or which would have been done by men if the proportion between adults and young persons had remained what it was in 1914. The fall in the proportion of boys to men in shipbuilding is clearly a special case, and it is significant that up to April, 1917, there had actually been a rise in the proportion similar to that which has occurred in other trades. It is, therefore, probable that in the rush of men to the shipyards during the last 12 months there has been no way of obtaining a corresponding supply of boys. This, in fact, seems to have been the experience of Employment Exchanges on the Tyne and the Clyde. Moreover, it must be remembered that, unlike men, boys cannot well be brought at short notice and in large numbers from homes which may be far distant from the Shipbuilding Centres.

In many industries, therefore, in which men's work is being done by boys, and boys' work by girls, there is likely, at the end of the war, to be a process of regrading, boys and girls being reduced from the positions and wages to which they have been temporarily promoted. But when the changed proportion is due not merely to a decrease in the number of men, but to an actual increase in the number of boys, there is likely to be a more drastic change still. For

in such industries there is at present a larger number of boys than are required in normal times; and since it is unlikely that the peculiar impetus given by the war to certain trades—for example, the metal industries—will continue on the return of peace, it seems almost inevitable that in many of these industries there should be discharges of youths on a considerable scale. Some trades, no doubt—for example, shipbuilding—may continue to absorb an increasing number of boys. But most of the munition industries are likely, if not to return to their former level, at least to contract, and this contraction must result in a diminution in the number of persons employed by them.

To put the case concretely, in the building trades boys formed 10 per cent. of the men in April, 1917, as against 5.9 per cent. in July, 1914. But their numbers have diminished, not increased, though the number of men has decreased still more; and therefore, when building activity is resumed, there is no reason why both the boys now in the industry and the boys and men who have left it should not continue to be employed. In engineering, boys formed 20.8 per cent. of the men in April, 1917, as against 13.9 per cent. in July, 1914. But while the number both of boys and men have increased, the former have increased in far greater proportion than the latter. When, therefore, the trade resumes its former dimensions and re-engages those of the former staff who are available, a considerable number of the boys now employed in it are likely to be discharged. In order to employ a larger number of boys than are now in it, building has merely to resume its normal conditions. Only by remaining in something like its present abnormal conditions could engineering continue to employ all the boys whom it employs at present.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE EFFECT OF WAR EMPLOYMENT UPON TRAINING AND CHARACTER.

We have described the redistribution of adolescent workers between different occupations which has taken place during the past four years, and in a subsequent section of this Memorandum we shall discuss the problems which are likely to arise from that redistribution at the end of the war, when the causes which produced it cease to operate. But not only has there been a diversion of young persons from certain industries to others; there has also been an alteration in the conditions under which, whatever their occupations, large numbers of young persons have been working. The boys and girls of 17 or 18, the young men and women of 20 or 21, who are seeking new employment on the return of peace, will do so with an outlook, with qualifications, and with habits profoundly modified by the intervening conditions of the war. Young persons who have left their former trades have been submitted to influences differing widely from those which would have worked upon them had no such change taken place. Young persons who have remained in their former trades have found their work radically changed by the exigencies of the new economic situation. Young persons who have entered industry for the first time have stepped into an

economic environment which, in some respects, is markedly different from that which awaited those who left school five years before. There have been changes in the kind of work done by boys and girls, in the wages paid and the training for future employment offered them, in the social influences to which they have been subjected, and in the prospects which await them when they reach manhood and womanhood. The object of this section of our Memorandum is to offer some account of the new forces which have influenced the rising generation during the impressionable years of adolescence.

(a) *The Promotion of Young Persons.*

The most general result of the withdrawal of adult workers from certain industries, and of the greatly increased demand for workers of all kinds in others, has been to transfer to boys and girls a considerable volume of work which was formerly done by men. The effect of this change upon their training, character and industrial prospects has been complex, and cannot be reduced to any simple formula. In some industries, in which there has been no change in processes, it has been to hasten promotion from the ranks of young persons already in the industry, and thus to cause some of them, usually boys, to be given more responsible, and sometimes more educative, work than they would otherwise have obtained at their age. In these cases, there has, in fact, been a general upward movement, boys doing work which was previously done by men, women and girls doing work which was previously done by boys.

This change is reported to have taken place in the textile trades, in the boot and shoe industry, in the manufacture of tobacco, in iron-founding, and in some branches of the engineering trades. In the woollen industry some boys of 16 are working as spinners. In the cotton industry the little piecer has become a side-piecer, sharing with the minder part of the little piecer's work, while side-piecers have been promoted to the position of minders. In bleaching and dyeing firms youths of 16 to 17 are employed on machines which used to be in charge of men, and girls are doing in the day work which used to be done by men at night. On the railways boys of 16 and 17 have taken the place of men. In the manufacture of boots and shoes "many operations," it is stated, "are now done by young persons which were formerly done exclusively by men," and out of 12 firms in the West Midlands replying to a question on the subject, 6 report the substitution of girls for boys. Some iron-founding firms—9 out of 18 in one area—state that boys are now doing work formerly done by adults. In railway, textile, and electrical engineering the same change is stated to have taken place, and in the two first it is stated that girls are in some cases doing work previously done by boys. From a port in the South of England comes the report that "boys have been doing men's labouring work in the building and shipbuilding trades at very high rates of wages," and from Scotland the statement that in sawmilling adults have been replaced by young persons, and boys by girls. "Some engineering firms," states one observer, "push on their apprentices faster and give them wider knowledge than in ordinary times," while another remarks that "boys are gaining more experience than they other-

wise would." It is probable that a considerable proportion of the diminished number of boys employed in clerical occupations are engaged on more responsible work than they were in 1914.

This list of examples does not pretend to be exhaustive. The proportion of boys under 18 to men has increased in every industry, except one, since August, 1914, and such a change necessarily means that the former are doing work previously performed by the latter. Such upward grading will probably raise questions of some difficulty at the end of the War, when the process will come to an end, and when, in some cases, in order to make room for men returning to industry, it will be reversed. But the movement is in itself the simplest form of substitution and does not call for any special notice at this point. All that it means is that the young person, usually a boy, is promoted to the work of an adult at a somewhat earlier age than before the war. The nature of the work itself is unchanged. The promotion is usually regarded mainly as a temporary expedient. And though there is some evidence that boys and girls have suffered from the excessive strain of operations beyond their strength, neither their training—when training is required—nor their future prospects would appear to have been prejudiced by the change.

(b) *The Diminution of Opportunities of Training.*

This simple process of promotion is, however, neither the most common, nor the most fundamental, of the changes which have taken place in the position of the adolescent worker. A more general and more important effect of the reorganisation of industry has been the multiplication of occupations in which young persons earn high wages while they are employed in them, but which offer them little opportunity of obtaining qualifications for future employment, and from which they are likely to be dismissed when the temporary emergency which caused their employment comes to an end.

In normal times the occupations of young persons could be divided into two main types, which, though not completely distinct, were nevertheless distinguished from each other by parents, by employers and by young persons themselves. On the one hand, there were trades in which the boy or girl, whether formally apprenticed or not, was employed primarily as a learner, and accepted lower wages in consideration of obtaining in the course of his work the training which would qualify him for future employment. On the other hand, there were those in which, though often not wholly without opportunities of learning, the young person was employed primarily for his immediate commercial utility, earned higher wages than those paid the learner, and was in fact a kind of adolescent labourer, doing work which neither was, nor was intended to be, of an educative character. He was engaged because the work was suited to the capacities of a boy, and because boys could be obtained at a lower rate than adults; he left, or more frequently, was discharged, as soon as he required an adult's wage. During the whole of the last century the latter type of occupation had encroached upon the former. New industries had grown up in which the traditional system of learnership had never existed. Old industries had been revolutionised by machinery and

by the sub-division and specialisation of labour. Nevertheless, a certain balance was maintained between these two types of employment. Parents who could afford it were normally anxious to put their children to a trade in which, even if the initial wages were low, the boy would have an opportunity of acquiring professional qualifications which would fit him for relatively well paid employment in the future. Employers in a large number of industries still employed a certain number of learners to recruit the skilled men in the industry, and recognised some obligation to train them, however unsatisfactorily, in some cases, that obligation might be discharged.

What the economic forces let loose by the war have done is to disturb this traditional balance. They have not run counter to previously existing tendencies. But they have immensely accelerated their operation. Like the industrial revolution of a century ago, of which it is, indeed, one further development, the industrial reorganisation of the past four years has put a premium both upon output and upon the employment of juvenile labour to attain it, with the result that a larger proportion of young persons must be classified as "labourers," and a smaller proportion as "learners," than was the case before it took place. On the one hand, both the inclination and the ability of employers to make arrangements for the training of juvenile workers have been weakened. On the other hand, among young persons themselves the disposition to prefer the high earnings of the unskilled or semi-skilled repetition worker to the low earnings of the learner has been immensely strengthened. Both have been working under intense pressure, and have found it easier to live from hand to mouth than to consider the future. Nor, indeed, have they been free agents. For established traditions, anticipations and methods of organisation have been overridden by the necessity of subordinating every other consideration to that of achieving the maximum output with the minimum of delay. No doubt such a statement needs qualifications, and as we point out below, there are firms which, though anxious to recruit learners, are unable to obtain them. Such firms appear, however, to have been the exception. On the whole, opportunities for learnership have decreased, and the reluctance of youths to take advantage even of such opportunities as are forthcoming is itself an indication of the forces which have been at work to increase the number of labourers and diminish the number of learners. Nearly all the evidence brought to our notice emphasises the increasing employment of young persons upon work which offers relatively high wages, but which is non-educative in the sense of giving little opportunities of obtaining the training needed to qualify them for future employment.

This tendency appears in its simplest form in the expansion of certain branches of munition work, such as cartridge making and ammunition box making, which are almost entirely non-educative. Apart from increased standardisation, there does not appear to have been any important change in the methods of manufacture in these two trades. Boys and girls are employed in them, as they were employed in the past, with a view not to learning, but to their immediate productive capacity. But the number of boys and girls so employed has, of course, been enormously increased, and increased partly by

drawing them from other occupations in which they were receiving some kind of industrial training.

Not only, however, have such occupations expanded, but other occupations, which before the war did offer opportunities of industrial training, have been partially assimilated to them. The decay of opportunities of training, and the growth of a large body of boys and girls engaged in one kind or another of labouring work, have taken place in what previously were regarded as *par excellence* the "skilled trades," maintaining a more or less effective system of learnership. It has occurred in the wood-working industry and in almost every one of the various trades which are often grouped together under the general name of engineering. In these trades, which include many branches of munition-making, the position of young persons appears during the last 3 years to have undergone a fundamental change. The reasons which have made it difficult for employers to maintain traditional methods of learning are easily intelligible. Many of the skilled men who would naturally train learners are absent. The boys themselves may be called up for military service when they reach the age of 18, and it does not seem worth while to teach them a trade which they will abandon in the course of a year or two. Most important of all, firms have been under a constant pressure to increase their output. If output is to be increased with a depleted staff of trained workers, work must be subdivided and specialised. Once it is subdivided into numerous simple processes, it becomes a job at which a boy or girl may earn relatively high wages, but in which learning is subordinated to dexterity in the performance of a narrow routine of processes.

"Boys and girls are practically on repetition work. This branch of engineering has been affected by subdivision and specialisation to a greater degree than others, owing to the facilities for the introduction of specialised machinery. . . . There are increasing difficulties of efficient training owing to the increasing subdivision of processes. . . . Boys do not get the all-round training needed to fit them for general motor engineering or motor body building." "The operations previously performed by skilled men have been subdivided into a number of simple processes on which young persons are now employed. It is generally agreed that apprentices are not now receiving the training which they receive in normal times, owing to pressure of war-work." "Opportunities for apprentices to learn anything have been very much decreased owing to the amount of repetition work and subdivision of labour." "Apprentices do not get the same all-round training as formerly . . . there has been a growth of non-educative or less educative work"; "very few learners are taken on, owing to shortage of skilled men and to pressure." "The subdivision of work in shipbuilding and engineering entails apprentices being kept on repetition work." "An apprentice of 17 now knows less of his trade than a boy of 14 did in pre-war days." Such statements are typical of most, though not quite all, of the evidence which has come from different branches of the engineering trades.

Nor is it only the engineering trades which are affected. "Apprenticeship, previously falling into disuse, seems likely," states a firm of brass founders, "to decline still further, and subdivision and specialisation are likely to show further development, and the proportion of non-educative work a considerable increase."

"The number of learners compared with the present number of adults," reports an informant as to the manufacture of scientific instruments, "makes it extremely doubtful whether any real opportunity of learning can be given." "No special method of training or supervision," writes a firm manufacturing aeroplanes, "has been adopted. It would be difficult to arrange it, as the organisation of the shops is constantly undergoing change. The work for the most part has been reduced to a large number of very small and simple processes, so far as juveniles are concerned. While this of necessity has been done in the one interest of production, the result to the juvenile is that he or she becomes specialised in one particular operation, but is very far from what may be termed a skilled worker. The organisation of the shops does not allow of a boy or girl being moved around, so that a general knowledge of all the operations is acquired." In some trades, it is stated, employers have decided to take no more apprentices during the war, or have cancelled indentures and refunded premiums, owing to the impossibility of training learners under existing conditions. But the question of formal apprenticeship is a minor issue, the significance of which is often exaggerated. The extent and quality of the opportunities for learnership is a more important matter than its precise method; and while it is no doubt true that they have been diminished in some industries much more markedly than in others, and that even munition-making offers some facilities of obtaining knowledge and experience which may be valuable in later life, the general character of the movement is unmistakable. The exigencies of production during the war have caused a great increase in the number of young persons employed on specialised routine operations, which offer them little or no industrial training.

*(c) The Changed Outlook of Boys and Girls in Industry.*

The pressure on employers to adapt their organisation to the needs of greater output, and the difficulties caused by a depleted staff, form only one aspect of the situation. Equally important is the change in the outlook of parents, and of boys and girls themselves. Not only has there been a diminution in the opportunities of training open to learners, but there has also been a change in the attitude of the young persons, which makes them increasingly reluctant to make use even of such opportunities as are available. Those firms which desire to take learners often cannot obtain them. Our evidence shows, for example, that in several parts of the country there was recently a large number of vacancies for apprentice moulders, brass finishers, turners, fitters, rivetters and copper-smiths. The experience of the Juvenile Advisory Committees has been almost universally that boys are less willing to take positions as learners than they were before the war. "It is safe to say," states a London Juvenile Advisory Committee, "that about 85 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the children in this district are entering absolutely non-educative employment, attracted thither by the desire for higher and still higher wages." "Out of 155 boys aged 14 to 16," reports another, "only 40 are working on work likely to bring in a wage as an adult. The percentage of educative work has very greatly decreased since the outbreak of the war."

This attitude on the part of the boys is partly due to causes which have already been mentioned. The general unsettlement of conditions caused by the war has its natural consequence in an unsettlement of mind. Learnership implies an immediate sacrifice for a future gain. It is not possible at present to look far ahead. The horizon of a youth and of his parent is overshadowed by the fact that at 18 he will become liable to military service. The revolution in certain industries, with its replacement of skilled men by women and young persons, has made the future gain more dubious and the immediate loss more conspicuous. For during the war the economic scales have been heavily weighted in favour of the boy labourer against the boy learner. No statistics sufficiently general to be reliable as to the earnings of boys and girls are available. But there is no doubt that they have risen very largely and that they have risen above all in the case of young persons employed on repetition work and paid by the piece. The subdivision of processes, and the specialisation of labour introduced in order to secure a large output in the absence of adult men, have, in fact, created a new and extraordinarily profitable market for the boy who is concerned, not with acquiring any special industrial qualifications, but with obtaining the largest earnings possible. Prior to the war the boy who was an apprentice or a learner was normally paid less than the boy of the same age who was working as a labourer; and even before the war the consequences of that disparity were often harmful. At the present time the financial\* disparity has been largely increased, owing to the demand for boys to work semi-automatic machines as pieceworkers, and while the boy learner's field of employment has contracted, that of the boy labourer has enormously expanded. The truth is that the rates paid to apprentices, even with the advances given during the war, are inadequate, and unless learnership is to cease they must be largely increased. When boys of 15 and 16 can earn between 25s. and 40s. a week, sometimes between 40s. and 60s., by operating automatic machines, is it any wonder that they should prefer repetition work, with high piece-work earnings, to positions which offer some prospect, in present conditions often a precarious prospect, of training for the future? The boys suddenly find themselves able to earn a man's wage without any troublesome period of probation, and naturally they make the most of the opportunity.

The result is that there has been a rush of youths into munition making and those branches of the engineering trade which have been subject to the same influences. Once they are accustomed to the new standard of earnings they refuse, of course, to return to the old. "Up to August, 1915, A was earning 13s. per week as a butcher boy. He went to Woolwich and immediately earned 30s. He gave up that work on account of the travelling, and has been in and out of the Exchange for several months, because he would

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\* E.g., a firm of constructional engineers paid boy labourers up to 30s. per week, and apprentices from 10s. 6d. at 13 to 22s. 6d. at 20.

A firm of railway engineers paid boy labourers 22s. 6d. per week and apprentices 5s., with 2s. annual increase for 5 years.

A firm of munition makers paid boy labourers 15s.—18s., and apprentices 7s.—16s.

A firm of munition makers paid boy labourers 15s.—25s., and apprentices 10s. 6d.—20s. 6d., and, of course, these figures do not represent the high earnings up to £2 10s., which boy labourers can make on piece-work.

not work for less than he earned at Woolwich"; "B, learning a trade with good prospects, was paid 7s. 6d. : he takes to box making and earns 30s."; "C refused to take work as a learner on account of low wages, and got temporary munition work at much higher rates"; "D broke his apprenticeship after 18 months, on the ground that he was earning less than his younger brother"; "E, aged 16, declined to accept any employment offering less than £2 per week. Up to 6 months ago he was employed as a piecer in a cotton mill, earning 23s. Since then he has been employed at a motor-car works as a labourer, where his earnings, inclusive of overtime and Sunday pay, are stated to have been over £4"; "F in 4 months has been warehouse boy, film cleaner, Arsenal worker, van boy, and again warehouse boy"; "G in 3 months has been motor-van boy, typewriter repairer, on accumulator work, and in a bakehouse"; "H in 7 months has worked at the Royal Arsenal, at book-binding in an office, as electrician's mate, and as assistant cinema operator." "Boys of 14-15 refuse jobs at 10s. per week, because they say that other boys of the same age are getting 20s." "Boys at ——— flocked into the nut and bolt trade on account of the high wages, and refused less well-paid jobs with better prospects." "The rise in wages paid to juvenile workers for unskilled and casual labour has made it very difficult to fill apprenticeships." "Lads of 15-16 years of age ask 5d. to 6½d. an hour for drilling or lathe work; lads of 16-17 refuse to take less than 7d. to 9d., though most of them are quite unskilled." "The shortage of adult labour in the mills has rendered it necessary for boys to undertake men's work, the wages obtainable by a boy of 13 years of age generally amounting to 20s. per week and increasing in the case of a youth a year or two older to 30s." "Out of 200 cases of boys aged from 16 to 17, 30 had left good work at lower wages to take up positions at from 18s. to £2 per week, where there are no prospects whatever, and where they run considerable risks of instant dismissal when their abnormal services are no longer required." Such statements, derived mainly from the Reports of Juvenile Advisory Committees, give some idea of the unsettlement which has been caused by the transformation in the ordinary standards of payment of juvenile workers. The broad result has been a movement from trades offering low earnings and some training, to trades offering relatively high earning and no training. The boys tend, in fact, to become industrial nomads, and to shift from job to job with a single eye to the wages immediately obtainable.

*(d) An Intensive Study of Juvenile Earnings in a Single District.*

The evidence which is cited above, drawn as it is from various industries and from several different localities, could be almost indefinitely extended. We think, however, that the reader may be assisted better to grasp the essential features of the situation, if, instead of accumulating further facts and impressions of a similarly miscellaneous character, we offer an intensive study of the transformation in the earnings of juvenile workers induced by the war in a single industrial district. The author is a person experienced in all problems connected with the employment of boys and girls; and while his account bears some traces, no doubt, of influences peculiar to the locality of which he writes, we believe that in the main

it presents in miniature a reliable picture of the forces which have been at work in most of the great industrial centres of the country. We make no apology, therefore, for quoting it at some length, though we do not assume responsibility for the opinions expressed in it. Those who disagree with the latter will, nevertheless, we think, derive instruction from its presentation of the facts.

"The boy," writes our informant, "has always been a factor in industry. Here and there some importance beyond its economic value has been attached to his work; but in relatively few cases in the past has it been the rule of industry for him to earn subsistence wages. . . . A sort of tradition has grown up that a boy, because he is a boy and for no other reason, should work for a sum which bears no relation whatever to the cost of his subsistence. It has been assumed that the proverbial few shillings were all that he was entitled to expect. Such an attitude, with the practices which it inspired, had no justification, either moral or economic.

"During the war period, however, the boy seems to have come into his own, and sometimes into something more as well. He has secured for the present, and probably for all time, at least a living wage. He has compelled recognition of the fact that it costs something to keep him, and that he has a moral claim to a large percentage of the direct results of his own industry. His nimbleness and flexibility, his buoyant and joyous energy, are realised to be important contributions to the work of production. Given facilities to make full and unrestricted use of these qualities, he has been able to earn not only subsistence wages, but such amounts over this as have surprised himself, his parents, and his employers.

"He has been assisted, too, by a number of circumstances over which he had no control. The most prominent and important of these was, of course, the great demand for labour. In the great munition areas manufacturers were inundated with orders from the Government for all kinds of munitions. At the time that the orders were coming in, their shops were being denuded of workers of military age who enlisted in the forces. The opportunity of the boys came. They offered the first available supply of workers; and competition, fierce and unregulated, arose for their services. The immediate result was an all-round raising of the initial starting rate for boys, calculated both by the hour and by the week. In many cases the first jump was 50 per cent., while at the end of a year boys' rates had sometimes risen 75, 80, and even 100 per cent. In a very short time tools and machinery were invented or simplified, and adapted to their use. Automatic machinery, with contracts for small parts or wholes running into millions, offered further opportunities for the average boy, and, with the incentive of piece-work rates, fixed under conditions of which there was no previous experience, their earnings in a very short time draw the attention of the whole industrial world. Subsistence wages, which in the past almost everyone was prepared to condone, represented under the new social conditions only a fraction of their earnings. Many of the boys earned amounts that previously were associated with the earnings of men, while here and there cases could be found where their earnings were equivalent to, or even more than, those of the skilled foreman who supervised their work. Rumour natu-

rally exaggerated the real position. But there was plenty of evidence available to justify many of the stories that were current as to boys' earnings.

"But it soon became obvious that such conditions were not wholly to the advantage of the boys. Fearful that such large earnings would only be temporary, they apparently determined to make hay while the sun shone. They began to assume the independence which their comparatively large incomes seemed to justify. They sometimes became reckless, spendthrift, and extravagant. The gambling instinct was kindled; the longing for adventure became acute. The boys became restless and unstable in the works. Avarice begat avarice, until, in some cases, the boys set such a value on their labour as to make them appear almost ridiculous.

"The origin of the revolution in the standards of juvenile payment is to be found primarily in the circumstances of the boys who were engaged in the earlier period of the war on purely repetition work. Soon the tendency became strong in nearly all boys to get a job, either on a machine or on the bench, of a repetition character. In their feverish eagerness they spent their time wandering from shop to shop, from works to works, making short stays, frequently of only one or two weeks, in search of the new El Dorado. Indentures were thrown to the winds; places where useful trades could be learned were left behind; entreaties of employers were rejected; parents were often treated with indifference. The persistence with which the boys took up the trail to the great machine shops and to the great national factories, or to any other place where the processes were repetitive and the contracts ran into millions, can be compared almost to the rush to Klondyke. Small employers engaged on difficult work which was as essential as the manufacture of shells were in despair, while the larger first-class engineers and tool-makers found their work seriously hampered.

"A surprising feature of juvenile labour consists in the ridiculously simple operations on which bright boys have been employed, not for a day or even a week, but in many cases for months, with obvious and astonishing unconcern on the part of the management. One would much rather see old men or women on work of this character than bright boys of 15 and 16, whom it demoralises and robs of every vestige of ambition.

"Sometimes, it is true, the observer is wrong in his judgment that a woman can do the work which a boy is doing. A boy aged 17, for example, was employed on a grinding machine grinding discs for ammunition boxes. His earnings during three successive weeks were, for 52 hours, £3 8s., £3 11s. 10d., and £3 5s. Women had been tried, but after very little practice had given it up. Because they could excel women in output other boys were earning from £3—£4 a week on channelling operations. In another case acetylene-welding operations were the preserves of boys of 15 at £5 a week, for the singular reason that the factory conditions were not wholesome enough for women. Near the boy on the grinding machine mentioned above there was another working a small press, such as is operated by thousands of women. He was turning out brass discs for gas helmets. He was only 15, but in 57 hours (about his average) earned £2 8s. weekly.

“ Among elder boys there is a good deal of justification for the high wages they are earning. They are literally doing men's work, and, with irresistible logic, demand men's pay. In most cases they can be got on no other conditions, since the work is hard, dirty, and unsuitable for women—for example, that in a rolling mill or a wire mill, stamping and hammer-driving.

“ The enquiry has revealed that the methods of paying boys vary considerably. In addition to the two broad divisions of time-work and piece-work, various subordinate practices are in operation to encourage boys to produce a regular and satisfactory output. In one firm the works manager walks around periodically and makes a note of those whom he regards as industrious. Their packet on Friday night contains something extra, an indefinite amount.

“ In very few cases is there a pure premium-bonus system in operation. In one firm there was in force a merit bonus. The amount was decided by the management, on a report from the foreman. The boy was not allowed to have the amount, which was credited for him to a war loan account. In a number of cases sub-contracting was still in force. Generally it was disliked by the management, but it was said to be difficult to break down an old custom, though here and there the management had abolished it without reference to the men. In a very large number of cases a reward was given for good time-keeping, varying from 5 to 10 per cent. for a full week.

“ In one very large works the earnings were made up in a highly unusual manner. A boy, aged 15, worked 50 hours. He received 13s. 2½d. (day rate) plus 10 per cent. for good time-keeping (1s. 3½d.) plus a special output bonus (£2 17s. 3½d.) plus a war bonus of 4s. 9d. His total earnings for the week were £3 16s. 3d. A second, aged 16, received £1 plus 10 per cent. special output bonus of £2 17s. plus war bonus of 4s. 9d. His total was £4 3s. 9d. This works was engaged almost entirely on shell making, and all the work was of a repetitive character. One boy for a considerable period averaged double time. One working a capstan, and, aged 15, had in five weeks earned £10; a miller, aged 17, in six weeks earned £29; a shaper (17), in the same time, earned £29; an improver turner (16) in five weeks earned £21; whilst a turner (17) in the same time earned £35. On two occasions the week's wages of this youth exceeded £8. In another works one boy (15½), for 52 hours, got £3 9s. 10d.; another, for 59 hours, £4 18s. 5d.; while the boy whom the other boys envied most was he who in five consecutive weeks earned £4 18s. 5d. (59 hours), £4 7s. 4½d. (53 hours), £7 8s. 3d. (53 hours), £7 12s. 6½d. (63 hours), and £7 6s. 5d. (63 hours). A learner in a tool room, unsettled by the “ blind alley ” boy, who was receiving £2 11s. 10d. for 48 hours' work, in order to be retained had his wages made up to the same amount.

“ Striking instances of monotony are also numerous. Indeed, boys do not seem to mind monotonous work if they are well paid for it. A boy who for eight months had been brazing had no desire to change, whilst another who for eleven months had been punching the denomination of the shell on the shell itself resented very much, like the boy who made screws, the suggestion that he should have a change. This was, perhaps, quite natural, as he had averaged

just over £3 weekly, though only 16 years of age. In the early days of the war he was destined to become a printer. He had, in fact, been instructed in the first principles of the art, but the lure of the "big money" to be earned on repetition work was irresistible. There are probably hundreds who have acted in a similar manner. As a matter of fact, there is much evidence to show that one of the most destructive effects of the change in the level of boys' earnings has been the encouragement which it has given to many lads to throw over their apprenticeship indentures, to abandon their trade and to plunge into the great vortex of repetition work. The skill which has been lost to industry in this way is incalculable, and the ill results that must accrue to those who have so behaved are considerable. Not only have the high wages broken the bonds of apprenticeship and enticed many boys from good trades, but they have bred a contempt for, and suspicion of, apprenticeship, which it will take many years to dispel. A further ill-effect is that the boy of 16, after two years' good instruction, is tempted to move to another shop, where his facility in dealing with machines has made him most valuable in the higher skilled repetition work, but has at the same time resulted in his being lost to the skilled ranks of industry.

"Though the employment of boys beyond the statutory hours has not been general, there are a number of cases where this has taken place, owing, no doubt, to the feverish desire to make the week's total output as high as possible, by whatever means. Boys who could not legally be employed at nights or on Sundays have been so employed in spite of the law, and there are several cases of young boys who have worked more than 60 hours.

"Before proceeding to set out in greater detail the amounts which boys can and do earn, it is advisable to quote the following schedule of 'day rates' of wages usually accepted by employers as the minimum rates for the 53-hour week for boys and youths of respective ages in the district. This schedule of day work prices forms a fair basis to judge to what extent boys are earning extraordinary wages. It is drawn up under war conditions, and presumably takes account of the rise in prices, with its consequent effect upon the cost of keeping a boy at home. High wages are earned principally on piece-work jobs of a repetition character—not on day work. The higher earnings shown in the subsequent schedules are usually due either to (a) high output, (b) long hours, (c) night work, or (d) exceptional skill in the individual boy.

Age	A. 53 hours, Fitting and Machine Shop Work.				B. 53 hours, Foundry Work.	
	13	...	...	...	15/6	16/6
14	...	...	...	15/6	16/6	
15	...	...	...	16/6	17/6	
15½	...	...	...	17/6	18/6	
16	...	...	...	18 6	19/6	
16½	...	...	...	19/6	20/6	
17	...	...	...	20/6	21/6	
17½	...	...	...	21/6	22/6	

" These rates can, perhaps, be assumed to be not unfair, and to represent about the minimum for the kind of work an average boy can do. Table A represents the semi-skilled machine or bench operation, and Table B labouring work of an average character. The rates for the same classes of work in a neighbouring district are slightly higher. The above schedule is of service when considering the following particulars of wages and hours of some of the boys of 13 years of age, all of whom work in the area concerned.

## BOYS of 13.

Work.	Hours.		Amount.
	Piece	Work.	
Door puller (furnace) ... ..	62½	1 5 5	
Rivet heater ... ..	51½	0 18 9	
" ... ..	53	1 6 6	
Driller ... ..	57½	0 19 1	
" ... ..	61½	1 2 1	
Helping shearer ... ..	65	1 10 3½	
	Day Work.		
Weight boy at forge ... ..	52	0 17 0	
Office boy ... ..	56½	0 15 7	
Helping a fitter ... ..	59½	0 16 9	
Picking out (iron) ... ..	50½	1 9 5	
Core making ... ..	58½	0 18 2	

## BOYS of 14.

" The following are typical examples of hours worked by boys of 14 and of their earnings. They, as well as the figures given for the other wages, have been collected from about 30 firms in the area and are fairly representative. They justify the statement already made that boys are earning wages which in pre-war times would have been considered fair for men working on the same class of operation. But they do not altogether substantiate the stories which have been gaining currency that it is quite a regular thing for boys of 14 to earn £2, £3, £4, and even £5 a week. Such cases no doubt exist, but they are not numerous. The single case given where a boy of 14 in 56½ hours earned £2 5s. 6½d. is exceptional, and comes from a small shop, where capstan work on small brass parts is almost a staple. A glance at the list of operations given here, as well as at those given under other ages, shows great variety. They can probably be separated fairly into three well-defined classes.

- A. Semi-skilled work.
- B. Unskilled.
- C. Labouring.

" The rate for A is from 3d.—3½d. an hour, and for B and C from 4d. to 4½d. per hour. A boy on piecework is deemed to have done well if he succeeds in the course of the week in earning his day-rate plus 50 per cent. If the earnings of the boys are tested by this standard, it will be found that, generally speaking, they have earned what they were expected to earn. Doubtless many exceptions besides those in the list could be found, but they are not common. Further, when they occur, they will be found to be associated with the manufacture of a certain article the circumstances in relation to which are peculiar.

Work.	Hours.	Amount.		
		£	s.	d.
Drilling engine components ...	53	1	2	2
Turning " " ...	53	1	5	5
Pickling and assisting at rolls ...	54	1	12	0
Assembling wheel hubs ...	54	1	9	10
" " toy wheels ...	54	1	5	10
Sand riddling ...	52	1	2	2
Cutting of shell ends ...	59	2	5	2
(Night work)				
Driller ...	53	1	0	0
Stamp driver ...	53	1	2	8
Turner ...	59	1	0	0
Filing(brass) ...	53	1	1	5
Testing wire ...	60	1	0	6
Planing ...	61	1	2	6
Plater's assistant ...	53	1	10	0
Cutters of shrapnel tubes ...	52	1	3	6
Capstan work ...	56½	2	5	6½

## BOYS of 15.

"The same general remarks apply to these figures as to those for boys of 14. The rate for semi-skilled work is here 4½d., and for other kinds 5d. to 6d. an hour. The first two boys in the list worked side by side on precisely similar material and on like machines. It will be observed that one earned 6s. more than the other. Such an incident occurs often. War experience has revealed vast differences in the relative mechanical aptitude of boys. The two cases of core-making in this list illustrates the great difference in the manipulative skill of two boys. One was described as having "remarkable" fingers. He was worth much more than a man to the firm. Generally speaking, again, this list reveals that boys have earned what they were expected to earn. It contains also several cases of abnormal earnings.

Work.	Hours.	Amount.		
		£	s.	d.
Cutting off brass billets ...	52	1	12	4
" " " ...	52	1	6	5
Capstan work " ...	56½	1	3	6
" " " ...	56½	1	17	9
" " " ...	55½	2	10	6
Coremaking ...	59	0	18	7
Helping moulder ...	72	1	10	6

(The 72 hours was made up of 57½ hours plus ½ time)

Moulder ...	62½	1	17	9
Shell turning ...	54	3	5	0
Coremaking ...	65½	2	7	7
Miller ...	59	1	10	6
Slot driller ...	63	1	2	0
Shearer's help ...	53	1	2	10
Rivet heater ...	53	1	10	10
Grenade assembling... ..	49	1	5	0
Moulder (aluminium) ...	59	0	19	8
Miller ...	63½	1	19	4

Work.	Hours.	Amount.
		£ s d.
Boring revolver cyts ... ..	61	1 7 3
Filing pawls ... ..	62	3 9 10
Press work ... ..	60	3 16 3
Cutting-off shell ends ... ..	57½	2 10 4
		(Night work)
Making fuse stems ... ..	50	1 15 0
Slotting, testing and boring com- mutators ... ..	50	1 19 10
Assembling switch boxes ... ..	50	1 14 0
Sand riddler... ..	53	1 2 6
Punching rims (wheels) ... ..	54	1 14 0
Helping at rolls ... ..	54	1 9 2
Capstan work ... ..	53	2 0 0
Milling aero engine ... ..	42½	
Components ... ..	42½	2 15 3
Turning ditto ... ..	48½	1 1 7
Grinding ... ..	52½	2 1 2
Machine work (18 pdr. shrapnel) ...	52½	2 2 9
” ” ... ..	52½	2 5 0
” ” ... ..	52½	2 10 11

## BOYS of 16.

“ Assuming, as before, a rough division into three classes, the rate for the more skilled would be approximately 5d. and that for the others 6d. This last is, perhaps, open to more criticism than the others. Sixty hours' press work, it will be observed, is rewarded with £4 3s. 10d.; a boy who files foresights for revolvers gets £4 18s. 5d. for 59 hours' work, whilst a youth of 16 on the purely mechanical and repetitive operation of marking a name on a gun-stock does handsomely with £4 7s. 4d., £7 12s. 6d., and £7 6s. 5d. for three weeks, and probably for as many months, in succession. His job is certainly to be preferred to that of the die caster, who, for 66½ hours in a vastly impurer atmosphere, could earn only £2 3s. 8d. The stamp-driver gave a good account of himself, as likewise did the grinder, whose case has before been referred to.

Work.	Hours.	Amount.
		£ s d.
Capstan hand on small parts... ..	53	2 1 8
Machine hand (18 pdr. shrapnel) ...	52½	1 15 8
” ” ... ..	53½	2 13 5
Improver turner ... ..	53	4 5 0
Grinder ... ..	53	5 10 0
Turning noses for shells ... ..	54	3 7 7
Assembling fans ... ..	54	2 18 8
Machine work (shells) .. ..	54	2 18 6
Assembling 3 pdr. shells ... ..	54	2 7 8
Assisting at rolls ... ..	54	2 7 8
Cutting-off spokes (wheels) ... ..	54	1 13 10
Assembling wheels ... ..	54	1 15 10
Sand riddler ... ..	52	1 2 6
Making switch handles (moh.) ...	50	1 15 10
Press work (large shell shop) ...	60	4 3 10

Work.	Hours.	Amount.		
		£	s.	d.
Miller ... ..	57	2	19	4
Filing foresight ... ..	59	4	18	5
Marking name on gunstock	} (small boy) {	53	4	7
" " " " " " " "		63	7	12
" " " " " " " "		63	7	6
Die caster (aluminium) ... ..	66½	2	3	8
Milling (machine) ... ..	49	1	10	0
Stamp driver ... ..	49½	2	1	6
" " " " " " " "	50	4	3	2
Shell turning ... ..	54	2	12	9
Making exploder-containers ... ..	54	3	0	4
Filing (brass) ... ..	54	1	2	0
Driller ... ..	55	1	12	6
Capstan (small brass parts) ... ..	56½	2	16	0
Cutting billets (night work)	50	3	11	0
" " " " " " " "	50	3	2	0
" " " " " " " "	50	2	13	0
Tube mill ... ..	53	1	7	8
" " " " " " " "	53	1	12	5

## BOYS of 17.

" In this list the rates for the best class of work would be 6d., for the other classes 7d. The amounts again, speaking generally, are what are expected. There are, however, some extraordinary earnings in the list. A turner, for instance, working about 60 hours a week, earns £5 12s., and a grinder approaches £6. Whilst the list affords examples of excessive hours, the number of boys in it who are well paid for comparatively short hours is remarkable.

Work.	Hours.	Amount.		
		£	s.	d.
Capstan work ... ..	54	1	16	6
Turner ... ..	55	2	6	6
Tool room ... ..	48½	2	12	0
(This lad, though a turner in the tool room, had to be paid a special wage in order to be retained.)				
Turner ... ..	65	1	18	0
Driller ... ..	63	1	8	0
Shell turner ... ..	54	2	1	11
Making exploder-containers ... ..	54	2	0	4
" " " " " " " "	54	2	16	0
" " " " " " " "	54	2	4	6
Stamper ... ..	53½	1	12	5
Die Caster (aluminium) ... ..	66	2	7	2
Body turning (shells) ... ..	49	5	11	1
(Night work)				
Rolling mill (feeding) ... ..	54	1	17	2
Turning ... ..	53	2	6	6
Tool setters (3 pdr. shells) ... ..	53	2	10	1
(Special rates)				
Machine work (various) ... ..	53	3	18	1
Millers ... ..	53	4	19	0
Shapers ... ..	53	5	19	0
		(plus o.t.)		
		"		



energy of Samuel Smiles. Many of them have suffered physically from the strain of long hours and exhausting work. Many of them have left school prematurely. Some have become, in the absence of their fathers, the chief wage-earner of the family. Many are earning wages twice, or more than twice, as high as they would have obtained before the war, and some considerably more than the ordinary wage of men of twice their age. The story of a boy who met his father's attempt to assert parental authority with the retort, "Wait to talk till you have earned as much as I earn," is hardly a caricature of the immense accession both of earnings and importance which has come, sometimes for their misfortune, to lads of 16 and 17. Is it any wonder if, in such circumstances, they display some of the less estimable characteristics of the *nouveaux riches*?

"The future of the child in respect both of health and of equipment," stated the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in his Report for 1916, "is heavily mortgaged. The increase in the employment of children and young persons in 1916-17 in munition work and otherwise has demonstrated beyond all question or doubt that many boys and girls are being spoiled physically,\* mentally and morally." The statement of Sir George Newman is confirmed by the accounts of the relaxed *morale* of young persons which come from almost every Juvenile Advisory Committee.

\* There is much evidence to suggest that the strain of war-work has had disastrous effects upon the health both of boys and girls. But, as a report upon that subject has already been submitted to the Ministry of Reconstruction, we do not deal with it in this Memorandum. The following statements are extracted from Reports submitted by Juvenile Advisory Committees in 1916:—

**Bermondsey.**—"Several firms engaged on Government contracts were working 12 hours a day, and this undoubtedly has a bad effect on young girls from 14 to 15. . . . One club of considerable membership reports that several girls working overtime had nervous breakdown. . . . With regard to boys working at the Arsenal, the long hours certainly have an injurious effect on their health, as in addition to the 12 hours work there are 2 or 3 hours spent in travelling. A number of boys are doing men's work now, and are often unable to bear the strain."

**Tooting.**—"Woolwich Arsenal, 8-8, night and day, 7 days a week. Underground Railway, 10-hour shifts. Munition firms, 10-12 hours a day; night shifts, 8-10 hours. Coconut fibre works, 15 hours, 4.15 a.m. to 7.30 p.m."

**Clapham.**—"Boys.—Five firms are known to be employing boys on night-work, and very long hours are common. The following may be taken as an extreme case. A boy was employed continuously from 8 a.m. on one day to 1 p.m. the following day. This happened on three occasions, when the parent of the boy came to the Exchange to complain. Girls.—Two firms are working night work, and much overtime is done. An extreme case is a firm working 12½ hours a day as ordinary time, and only after that is work considered overtime."

**Camberwell.**—"Reasons for leaving Munition work: 76 cases.

Hours too long with journey	..	15	..
Night work	..	4	..
Health suffered generally	..	27	..
Disliked work	..	6	..
Disliked Sunday work	..	1	..
Low wages	..	20	..
Afraid of air raids	..	2	..

**Liverpool.**—"Many of the boys . . . complain of the enforced overtime, in particular of the night-work, and their parents usually bear out their statements of injurious effects on their health. In several cases the parents have made the boys leave their work (though highly paid) in mills, e.g., flour and oil-cake mills, where the heavy work and unusually long hours were affecting their health."

The language of all is almost identical. We do not think it is necessary to quote them. But that they are not mere impressionist sketches is shown by the facts as to the growth of offences among children, which were summarised down to the autumn of 1916 by Mr. Cecil Leeson, in his admirable little book, "The Child and the War." A memorandum issued by the Home Office in October, 1916, stated that, "In London the number (of juvenile offenders) had grown from 1,304 to 2,005, in Liverpool from 578 to 702, in Birmingham from 248 to 402. Taking the large towns as a whole there was an increase of nearly 50 per cent. in cases of larceny, but besides this there was an increase in charges of assault, wilful damage and gambling." Inquiries made by the Howard Association showed an increase of 56 per cent. in all classes of offences in Manchester (1,049 cases in 1915, against 673 in 1914) and in Edinburgh of 47 per cent. The following tables show the increase in the number of juvenile offenders to the latest period for which information is available. Table V., page 33, is extracted from the Judicial Statistics of England and Wales, Part I., and gives the number of children and young persons brought before Juvenile Courts for offences of different kinds during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916. Table VI., page 34, gives the number of children and young persons dealt with in Juvenile Courts in ten large cities and in the Metropolitan Police area from 1914 to 1917:—

TABLE V.

A. Indictable Offences.	1914.	1915.	1916.
Number proceeded with ...	14,845	20,418	23,74
Charges withdrawn or dismissed ...	1,407	1,681	1,84
Charges proved (but not convicted)	8,483	11,633	12,377
Convicted ...	4,917	7,084	9,514
Committed for trial ...	38	20	2
<b>B. Non-Indictable Offences.</b>			
Number proceeded against ...	22,084	23,563	23,58
Charges withdrawn or dismissed ...	3,254	3,116	2,34
Charges proved (but not convicted)	8,773	7,655	6,87
Convicted ...	10,057	12,892	14,574
Committed for trial ...	—	—	—

**Roehdale.**—"The most serious effects upon health are found among the boys of fifteen and sixteen who are given work normally done by men. The high wages paid induce the boys to try hard, but they often find the strain too heavy. Not infrequently in normal times boys and girls are unable to stand cotton mill conditions, and after a trial have to give it up, while many others struggle on to the detriment of their health. This state of things has grown worse. . . . The most grave results will be found in a few years time."

**Huddersfield.**—"The effects of overtime on boys are greatly noticed in their laxity of grasping the ideas of the tasks submitted to them, and their languid and slow way in proceeding with them. When working ordinary time they are bright and work with a great deal more diligence. A club-leader writes, 'I meet fifteen to twenty lads two or three times a week, and there is a marked difference in appearance and deportment generally in those who are working overtime. The latter are dull, heavy-eyed and listless, desiring only to loaf about.' . . ."

TABLE VI.

A. Indictable Offences.				1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Manchester	...	...	...	435	708	707	750
Liverpool	...	...	...	1,169	1,545	2,013	2,196
Leeds	...	...	...	191	250	295	385
Sheffield	...	...	...	210	255	292	327
Birmingham	...	...	...	308	423	504	625
Leicester	...	...	...	46	46	50	72
Derby	...	...	...	13	44	57	67
Nottingham	...	...	...	140	192	178	278
Bristol	...	...	...	106	207	331	279
Newcastle	...	...	...	86	177	222	234
Total	...	...	...	2,764	3,858	4,753	5,213
Metropolitan Police District	...	...	...	1,778	3,069	3,858	3,856
B. Non-Indictable Offences.				1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Manchester	...	...	...	166	341	394	376
Liverpool	...	...	...	1,299	1,096	1,257	1,392
Leeds	...	...	...	235	149	148	281
Sheffield	...	...	...	896	474	594	625
Birmingham	...	...	...	808	829	848	728
Leicester	...	...	...	160	149	99	83
Derby	...	...	...	28	19	28	52
Nottingham	...	...	...	277	231	233	316
Bristol	...	...	...	426	168	285	316
Newcastle	...	...	...	300	311	167	164
Total	...	...	...	4,585	3,767	4,053	4,389
Metropolitan Police District	...	...	...	1,849	2,240	2,626	2,825
Grand Total	...	...	...	11,176	12,929	15,320	16,283

These statistics must not be pressed too far; no very monstrous degree of criminality is revealed in stealing apples. But they suggest that there has been an increase in the influences making for the unsettlement of juvenile life and lowering the *morale* of young persons. If the causes of that unsettlement are complex, one cause is probably to be found in the industrial changes which have emancipated them from many of the customary restraints of youth. "Parental control . . . has been relaxed, largely through the absence of fathers of families from their homes. Wages (of young persons) have been exceptionally high. . . . Even the ordinary discipline of the workshop has in a varying degree given way, while the withdrawal of influences making for the social improvement of boys and girls has in many districts been followed by a noticeable deterioration in behaviour and morality. Gambling has increased. Excessive hours of strenuous labour have overtaxed the energies of young people, while many have taken advantage of the extraordinary demand for juvenile labour to change even more rapidly than usual from one blind-alley employment to another." The picture drawn in these words by the Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War is not a cheerful one. But it is substantially accurate. Output has been increased; but in many cases the increase has been bought at the cost of the

rising generation. Intelligence and character which should have been husbanded and developed have been spent in meeting the immediate emergency of the war. The community has drawn heavily on its human capital. Some of it has been impaired or destroyed in the process, and will not easily be replaced.

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### CHAPTER III.

## THE PROBABILITY OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG JUVENILE WORKERS.

In the preceding sections of this Memorandum we have examined some of the tendencies which have influenced young persons in the course of their employment during the last three years. But a further question remains for consideration. It is what effect upon them will be produced by the industrial changes which are likely to follow the conclusion of the war, and, in particular, whether there is reason to anticipate any serious problem of unemployment?

The appearance at the close of the War of widespread unemployment among young persons would be a phenomenon the gravity of which could hardly be exaggerated. Many boys and girls, as has already been pointed out, have been working for more than three years under conditions calculated to offer little opportunities of industrial training, to impair their *morale* and to prejudice their mental and physical development. If, at the end of the War, they are to be faced with some months of unemployment, if the boy of 17 who left school prematurely and has since been earning high wages for long hours of labour, without either the leisure or the inducement to qualify for work of a permanent character, is for some months to tramp the streets or to relapse into casual employment, the consequences both to the rising generation and to the whole community must be disastrous.

Nor must it be forgotten that some such consequences have been anticipated by authorities whose experience entitles them to consideration. Among those who have been brought in contact with different aspects of the problem, there is something like unanimity as to the likelihood of juvenile unemployment appearing in a more or less acute form on the return of peace. Juvenile Advisory Committees, mindful of the flood of applicants which poured into the Juvenile Employment Exchanges in the autumn of 1914, look forward with apprehension to a shifting of employment which is likely to be even more rapid and not less extensive. Mr. Bray, the Chairman of the London (Central) Advisory Committee for Juvenile Employment, has stated that, in his opinion, it is possible that out of 200,000 boys and girls between 14 and 17 in London some 60,000 may be thrown out of work in the first few weeks after the return of peace. The Report of the Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War emphasised the possibility of a period of dislocation accompanied by widespread unemployment and demoralisation. The Committee of the Conference on Abnormally Employed Juveniles summoned by the Board of Education believed that the problem of temporary un-

employment among juvenile workers would be sufficiently serious to justify the proposal to establish a system of maintenance grants for them.

(a) *The Anticipations of Employers.*

Our object in the following pages is to use the information supplied by firms engaged in different industries to throw some additional light on the question whether any extensive unemployment is likely to arise among young persons on the return of peace. The answer to this question, depending as it does to a considerable extent upon general conditions which cannot usefully be examined in the present Memorandum, must necessarily be highly conjectural, and we do not pretend to speak with confidence. Moreover, the evidence itself is inadequate in volume, and most of it is defective in quality. It consists principally of answers given to the question, "What are the numbers likely to be discharged on the termination of War Contracts?" and though some firms offer precise estimates, it cannot usually be employed to offer any reliable statistical measurement of the exact number of probable displacements. It consists at best of intelligent anticipations. It may be convenient, however, if we begin by offering in tabular form a summary of the replies as to the probable conditions in 12 industries received from those firms which supplied us with information.

The figures in the following table (Table VII.) are open to several criticisms, and must be read with caution. (i.) They are merely a statement of expectations entertained by the firms giving information. Those expectations may often prove to be mistaken. It is highly probable, for example, that the number of firms in the engineering and munitions industries likely to discharge boys is seriously understated, owing to the fact that many of those which replied gave special prominence to the girls whom they were certain to discharge, and felt less confident in speaking about boys, although, nevertheless, boys, as well as girls, are likely to be displaced. Moreover, as the large number of entries opposite the heading "uncertain" shows, many firms cannot form any anticipations as to the future of the young persons in their employment. (ii.) The table merely shows the number of firms expecting to retain juvenile workers or to discharge them, or who are uncertain as to their future. It does not show the number of young persons in either of these categories, which is, of course, a more important question. (iii.) The figures cover only a small proportion of the firms in each industry. (iv.) The industries to which they refer are, on the whole, those in which discharges are likely to be most numerous.

Unsatisfactory, however, as these figures are, they may, nevertheless, be used to suggest considerations which, if capable of confirmation, are not without importance.

*First.*—They indicate that the probability of the displacement of juvenile workers is much greater in certain industries than in others. Thus in boot and shoe making 43 out of 50 firms answering, in cotton 16 out of 19, in woollen and worsted 35 out of 40, anticipate no discharges, while the number of firms in those industries who state that they are uncertain as to whether any juvenile workers will be discharged is also insignificant. In the manufacture of munitions, on the other hand, 83 out of 70, in the manufacture of aeroplanes 24 out of 74, in engineering 63 out of 224, in furnishing 29 out of 120, and

TABLE VII.

	Munitions (General).		Munitions (Acropplanes).		Engineering (all Branches).		Furnishing, Cabinet- making, etc.		Sawmilling.						
	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.					
Firms giving information ...	70	11,829	9,341	73	6,968	2,639	224	24,758	5,114	120	2,142	2,006	58	1,010	315
"  expecting no discharges ...	7			22			106			79			40		
"  not certain ...	30			27			55			12			4		
"  expecting discharges ...	33			24			63			29			14		
Viz. :—Of boys and girls ...	26			12			15			11			6		
"  only ...	1			4			5			5			4		
Of girls only ...	6			8			43			13			4		
		Iron Founding.		Scientific Instruments.		Birmingham (Small Metal Trades).		Brass Founding.		Boot and Shoe Making.					
		Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.				
Firms giving information ...	18	1,604	437	45	906	419	31	694	1,103	17	609	461	50	2,089	2,340
"  expecting no discharges ...	11			31			20			10			43		
"  uncertain ...	3			9			9			6			4		
"  expecting discharges ...	4			5			2			1			3		
Viz. :—Of boys and girls ...	1			2			1			—			2		
"  only ...	—			—			1			—			1		
Of girls only ...	3			3			—			1			—		
		Cotton.		Woollen and Worsted.											
		Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.	Employing Boys.	Employing Girls.										
Firms giving information ...	19	2,118	3,124	40	1,410	2,492									
"  expecting no discharges ...	16			35											
"  uncertain ...	2			4											
"  expecting discharges ...	1			1											
Viz. :—Of boys and girls ...	1			—											
"  only ...	—			1											
Of girls only ...	—			—											

in saw-milling 14 out of 58, expect discharges. Further, the number of firms in several of these industries who, without being prepared to state for certain that discharges will take place, regard the future position of young persons as uncertain, is considerable.

*Second.*—It will be observed that the industries in which relatively few firms anticipate discharges are those which have been depleted during the war, while the industries in which a large displacement of young persons is thought to be probable are those into which young persons have flowed in large numbers. That fact is what would have been expected. If there is a problem of juvenile unemployment after the war, it is naturally in the industries which have temporarily expanded that the problem will be most acute. If conditions in, for example, the textile trades are *abnormal*, there may be juvenile unemployment in those industries. If the conditions in engineering and munition making becomes *normal*, there must be juvenile unemployment.

*Third.*—The table indicates that the future situation of girls will be considerably more precarious than that of boys. The firms anticipating discharges of boys and not of girls are insignificant in number; those anticipating discharges of both boys and girls, and of girls but not of boys, are far more numerous.

These figures suggest, then, that there is likely to be a considerable displacement of young persons from the munitions, engineering, and woodworking industries, and that girls will be affected more than boys. But since they relate only to the number of firms likely to discharge, not to the number of young persons likely to be discharged, they do not give any indication of the scale upon which displacement will take place. Upon this point, which is, of course, of crucial importance, it is extremely difficult to offer any statistical evidence of a reliable character, since most employers were naturally reluctant to commit themselves to any precise estimate. The figures in the first of the two following tables are a summary of the estimates of discharges supplied by the firms represented in Table VII., which did offer exact calculations upon this point.

TABLE VIII.

	Number of firms giving figures.	Number of young persons employed.	Number of young persons likely to be discharged.
Munitions (general)—			
Boys ... ..	24	2,107	1,603
Girls ... ..	21	1,807	1,391
Munitions Aeroplanes—			
Boys ... ..	14	529	391
Girls ... ..	15	558	414
Engineering (all Branches)—			
Boys ... ..	13	2,767	536
Girls ... ..	37	1,613	1,081
Furnishing, Cabinet Making, etc.—			
Boys ... ..	15	403	184
Girls ... ..	23	306	273
Saw-Milling—			
Boys ... ..	9	373	340
Girls ... ..	10	107	98

These figures are, of course, valueless so far as any general estimate of the scale upon which discharges will take place is concerned. They do not represent the position for all the metal and wood-working trades, still less for all trades. They are given here in order to call attention to one fact, which is of considerable importance. That fact is the large *proportion* likely to be discharged among those young persons with regard to whom information is forthcoming. The firms making munitions who have offered an estimate of the number to be affected by discharges calculate that it will amount to about three-quarters both of boys and girls, 1,603 out of 2,107 boys, and 1,391 out of 1,809 girls; the aeroplane firms supplying information expect to discharge nearly three-quarters of their boys (391 out of 529) and of their girls (414 out of 558); the engineering firms more than one-sixth of their boys (536 out of 2,967) and about two-thirds of their girls (1,081 out of 1,613); the furnishing and cabinet-making firms nearly one-half of their boys (184 out of 403) and more than two-thirds of their girls (273 out of 396); the

TABLE IX.

Number of reports examined.	Number of young persons employed in 1917.	Number of young persons whose retention is certain.	Number of young persons who will be discharged or whose retention is uncertain.*	
(i)				
Munitions (General)				
50	Boys ...	10,543	2,272	8,271
	Girls ...	4,479	258	4,221
(ii)				
Munitions (Aeroplanes).				
56	Boys ...	2,965	967	1,998
	Girls ...	978	247	731
(iii)				
Engineering (all branches).				
206	Boys ...	12,912	5,436	7,476
	Girls ...	4,802	816	3,986
(iv)				
Woodworking Trades.				
82	Boys ...	1,525	678	847
	Girls ...	1,099	154	945
(v)				
Scientific Instruments.				
45	Boys ...	721	494	227
	Girls ...	373	276	97
(vi)				
Tobacco.				
8	Boys ...	225	129	96
	Girls ...	1,549	1,175	374
(vii)				
Total.				
447	Boys ...	28,891	9,976	18,915
	Girls ...	13,280	2,926	10,354

\* Owing to the difficulty of discriminating between young persons likely to be discharged and those whose retention is uncertain, it appeared best to group these two classes together.

saw-milling firms almost all, both of boys (340 out of 373) and of girls (98 out of 107).

These figures, small as they are, are significant, for they indicate that after the war there will not merely be a drift out of employment of a few juvenile workers here and a few juvenile workers there. In the case of the firms as to whom we have information, there will be a displacement of juvenile workers varying from half to more than three-quarters of the total number employed. It is impossible to say whether the firms likely to discharge who supplied these estimates are representative of the large number of firms likely to discharge, as to whom no information is available. Probably they are not, for the firms who will be most affected by the cessation of the war are naturally those who find it easiest to give figures. But if other firms are similarly affected even on a smaller scale, there will clearly be a large problem. It may be a question of finding employment for something between a sixth and a third of the juvenile workers leaving certain industries, and of finding it at a time when other industries are still embarrassed by the transition from war to peace.

These figures can be supplemented by those obtained for a single area, that of the London and South-Eastern Division of the Employment Exchanges. The figures derived from the latter source are the fullest which have been obtained, and represent a summary of all the firms making returns in six industries in that area (Table IX.).

These figures, as has already been stated, must be received with caution. But without pressing them unduly, it may be suggested that they indicate conclusions of some importance.

*First*, they tend to confirm what has already been said, and what will be repeated later, as to the precarious position of boys in the munition-making and wood-working industries. Only about one-fifth of the former, and between one-half and one-third of the latter, are regarded by the firms as to whom information is available—of course, only a very small proportion of all firms—as certain of employment after the war. The boys employed in engineering, which often means munition-making, are also insecure.

*Second*, they tend to confirm what has been said above as to the special insecurity of the position of girls. That fact is conspicuous in all the industries represented.

*Third*, though comparison with other parts of the country is difficult, it is probably true that there will be more unemployment among young persons in London and its environs than in most other parts of the country. The reason for this is simple. In the north and midlands numerous firms now making munitions of war were engaged in civil engineering prior to August, 1914, and will return to it when the war ends. London is not a great engineering centre. Many of the London firms now making munitions have come into existence during the war and will close when it is over, or will turn to some entirely different branch of production. Hence the probability of all, or nearly all, their juvenile workers being displaced is greater than it is in districts where the industrial transformation has not been of so radical a character.

*Fourth*.—These figures indicate that there is a possibility, at least in the area represented in them, of juvenile unemployment on a very serious scale. Of all the boys together about two-thirds, and

of all the girls nearly five-sixths, are stated to be uncertain of future employment. Even if these estimates are (as they may be) excessive, the crisis is likely, when the war ends, to be acute.

(b) *The Contraction of War Industries.*

Such a forecast may appear exaggerated, and it must be admitted at once that our evidence is not sufficient to offer any convincing statistical proof of it. If, however, we turn from these scanty figures, and consider from another point of view the way in which the termination of the war is likely to affect industry, and the boys and girls dependent upon it, we reach a conclusion which is not inconsistent with them. Quite apart from the larger question of the state of trade on the return of peace, as to which we offer no opinion, there will be several causes at work which are likely between them to contribute to a considerable displacement of juvenile workers, both boys and girls.

In the first place, there is the fact that the end of the war will put an end to a large part of the existing public expenditure, or will divert it into other channels. Of the daily national expenditure of seven million pounds probably not less than half is devoted to the purchase from industry of goods and services which are necessary to carrying on the war. Of that sum a considerable proportion will, on the return of peace, cease to be spent in the same way as at present, with the result that wages will no longer be available for workers while they remain in their present occupations. The first to feel the effect of this combined reduction and transference of public expenditure will, of course, be the firms engaged in supplying munitions of war, guns, rifles, shells, small arms, ammunitions, torpedoes, bombs, aeroplanes and a host of other articles. Most of these firms employ large numbers of young persons, and it may be anticipated, therefore, that, as indicated in the tables, large numbers of these will be discharged.

Munition firms are well aware, of course, of the uncertainty of their future position, and have called attention to the probability that numerous young persons will be displaced when their contracts cease. Thus, to give a few examples, four munition works in Scotland anticipate that they will discharge 235 out of 336 boys and 95 out of 103 girls; the Government factories at Woolwich (other than the Arsenal) and Parkhead, which before the war employed 224 boys and no girls, were in September, 1917, employing 836 boys and 44 girls, a large number of whom, when Government orders are curtailed, they will probably be obliged to discharge. A considerable number of factories have been established since the beginning of the war, exclusively for supplying war needs, and will be closed down as soon as the war is over. Thus, out of 36 establishments employed in the manufacture of general munitions, from whom we have received information on this point, 18, employing 1,527 boys and 574 girls, were not in existence before the war, and expect to close when it ends. Nine out of 30 aeroplane factories in the London and South-Eastern and South-Western divisions, employing 618 boys and 377 girls, are similarly circumstanced. They were brought into existence for the purpose of the war, and will not continue to exist when it is over. Nor must it be forgotten that, in addition to the factories whose discontinuance is certain, there are a larger number

the future of which is uncertain. They may continue to find work for the workers whom they now employ, or they may not. In most cases it is improbable that they will continue to find work for them all.

Nor is it only the workers in munition firms who will be affected by the curtailment or transference of public expenditure. The words "munitions of war" are indeed almost as much an anachronism as the words "regular army." The time when munition-making formed a clearly defined category of production, which was easily distinguished from civilian work, has disappeared. Almost all industries, from scientific instrument making to agriculture, have been sucked into the vortex, and have found the articles which they produce, their output, and the number and kind of workers whom they employ, determined by the conditions which the war has created. The woollen and worsted, hosiery, and boot and shoe making industries are largely employed on Government contracts. Many branches of engineering are virtually indistinguishable from the munitions industry. Agricultural engineers are making shells, bridge-builders and girder-makers steel-work for dug-outs, parts of tanks, machine-gun shields, mines, mine-sweepers and buoys for the Admiralty; firms making boot and shoe machinery are supplying gun-mountings and shells; firms making locomotive fittings are now making submarine parts, bombs, and gun-mountings; electrical engineers are making field telephones, wireless apparatus for aeroplanes, mine-horns, rifle and hand grenades. Makers of surveying instruments and microscopes are supplying the War Office with range-finders and gun-sights, and the Admiralty with torpedo-directors. In the Birmingham small metal trades a firm which was doing ecclesiastical metal work is now making munitions. A firm of art metal workers is doing sheet metal work; a firm which was previously making railway lamps and carriage fittings is now making rifle components and sheet-metal. In the wood-working trades, shop fitters are making ammunition boxes, cabinet-makers stretchers and aeroplane propellers, packing-case makers cases for shells and for rations; while makers of school furniture are supplying furniture to the Admiralty and War Office.

The effects on employment of the cessation of a large part of the present expenditure will be mitigated by the fact that certain firms executing Government contracts will continue to employ their existing staffs when they resume civilian trade. Some firms making aeroplanes for war will continue making them for peace, or will make something needing much the same kinds of workers. Firms making shells will resume the manufacture of motor-cars or of agricultural machinery. Firms making ammunition boxes will supply packing-cases to the ordinary trader. Further, a considerable number of firms have orders on their books which they have been unable to carry out during the war, and others will be occupied in replacing depleted stocks.

On the other hand, the re-conversion to ordinary industry will not always be easy; nor will it be instantaneous; nor will it necessarily employ the same number, or even the same type, of workers as are being employed now. For one thing, a considerable number of firms have introduced special machinery, which only after considerable alteration can be applied to civilian

uses; torpedo-making plant, for example, can be used only to make torpedoes. More important, there is necessarily extreme uncertainty as to future prospects. Many firms have dropped their ordinary trade altogether and devoted themselves exclusively to war contracts. When these contracts come to an end they will not be able to divert production suddenly to civilian purposes. There will be an interval in which orders must be obtained and preparations made to carry them out. In that interval skilled workers and apprentices may be kept together; the unskilled workers and the numerous boys employed as labourers will usually be discharged. Some firms, indeed, even among those who express the hope that after three or four months they may be as busy as, or busier than, before, avow their intention of discharging part, sometimes the larger part, of their staffs as soon as their war contracts are completed. Nor, finally, even if there were no uncertainty as to the demand, would it necessarily follow that the same staff of juvenile workers as have been employed during the war would continue to be employed for civilian work. A firm making bayonets expects to discharge 200 juveniles and to re-engage them when it reverts to its original trade of tool production. But in several other cases it is stated that such a transference is impossible, either because the work to be done is too different from that which boys and girls have been doing during the war, or because they have not obtained the training needed to qualify them for future employment. Thus, it is anticipated that boys employed in munition-box making will be discharged at the end of the war, since they are not fitted for the skilled work of cabinet-making. Employers in the iron-founding trade state that while most boys will probably be kept on, virtually all girls will be dismissed, as they are not suitable for some of the commercial work. In several different branches of the engineering trade firms state that they will dismiss most of the girls employed, and a considerable proportion of the boys, as soon as they resume their ordinary work. "The re-adjustment of the trade," states a witness with regard to the Birmingham small metals industry, "will not necessarily provide for the present workers. The firms are now employed on totally different work and are employing a different class of labour. Firms that revert to their old trade will be faced with the necessity both of discharging present workers and of seeking new men from returning soldiers and munitions workers."

*(c) The Redistribution of Juvenile Employment during the War.\**

The displacement of workers likely to arise as industry ceases to work predominantly for the Government, shades, without any sharp distinction, into that which will be caused by the mere conversion of social life, of demand, production and expenditure, from a basis of war to a basis of peace. As a result of the revolution which has taken place in the industrial activity and the economic organisation of the country during the past three years, there has been a striking redistribution of young persons among different employments.

The movement of boys and girls out of some industries and into others which has taken place during the war has already been

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\* For a more elaborate analysis of the probable effects of this redistribution upon the future employment of young persons, see Appendix C.

described, and we need not at this point do more than remind our readers of its main features. The general result of it, it will be remembered, is that finance and commerce, agriculture and the Post Office, have between them lost some 30,000 boys, while the boys employed in "industry" have increased by about 77,000, and that, while the numbers of girls has increased in every branch of employment, it has increased in "finance and commerce" by as many as 119,500. The metal trades, the chemical trades, the manufacture of foods, drinks and tobacco, between them employed in October, 1917, 116,500 more boys than in 1914, while building had lost 15,000, the textile trades 8,000, and the printing trades 10,000. 62,800 additional girls have entered the metal trades, while the clothing trades and textile trades between them employ 18,550 less than in 1914. Nor must it be forgotten that the shifting of employment which has taken place during the war is even more complex and far-reaching than figures representing these large industrial divisions suggest. Within these divisions there are sub-divisions, between which, as well as between the main departments of industry, there has been a movement of juvenile workers. While, for example, the number of young persons employed in the "metal industries" has largely increased, they have increased in certain branches of those industries much more than in others, and in agricultural and constructional engineering seem actually to have diminished. The young persons employed in textiles as a whole have diminished, but in dyeing and hosiery they have increased. In the wood-working trades the number of boys has diminished, while the number of girls has increased, but in the small section of the trade engaged in making wooden boxes the number of boys has increased from 4,900 to 5,700.

There has been, in fact, something like a migration, and when industry returns to channels resembling more nearly those which it followed in 1914, there will be a counter-movement on a not much less extensive scale. In some industries young persons who were first engaged in large numbers owing to the exigencies of the war may continue to be employed when it is over, and some industries, for example shipbuilding, may continue to expand. But the mere necessities of the nation will compel an extensive transference of young persons from one occupation to another. Building, cloth-manufacturing, the making of clothes, the printing of books and a hundred other industries which have been curtailed during the war, will be resuming their activities, while munitions and engineering factories, chemicals and explosives, will be curtailing or abandoning production. It is inevitable, therefore, that among large numbers of juvenile workers the return of peace, like the outbreak of war, should involve a change of occupation; and when scores of thousands, perhaps over a hundred thousand, young persons are seeking new employment simultaneously, a change of employment is only too likely to involve some of them in more or less acute unemployment.

#### *(d) Causes of Displacement Peculiar to Boys and Girls.*

The shifting of employment caused by the change from the condition of war to those of peace will affect all workers, and adults hardly less than young persons. But, in addition to these general causes of unemployment, there are others of a more special and

detailed character, the incidence of which will be felt peculiarly by boys and girls. A great majority of the firms with regard to whom we have information have undertaken to reinstate employees who are now serving with the colours, and in several branches of engineering, in the textile industries, in the wood-working trades, and in boot and shoe making, several firms have stated that this will lead to the displacement of boys and girls, or of both. Others, for example in boot and shoe making and the textile trades, do not anticipate discharges, but state that young persons who have been "up-graded" during the war will return to work more suited to them as soon as a sufficient number of adult men can be engaged. Other firms, for example in engineering, cabinet-making, and the Birmingham small metal trades, state that they will discharge a large proportion of the young persons engaged during the war, sometimes because they have found them unsatisfactory workers, sometimes because, though they have been suitable for war work, they will not be fit for employment when civilian work, which is not so highly specialised and sub-divided, is resumed. Others, for example in general engineering, state that boys will be discharged because they are not worth the relatively high wages which at present they are earning. Others, for example in scientific instrument making, state that arrangements with the trade unions concerned will prevent them from employing as many young persons as at present. The fact that firms will be reinstating discharged soldiers indicates that a certain amount of juvenile labour will be dispensed with after the war. "The probability is that the young persons employed in the mill warehouse and as cop-packers will be displaced on the termination of the war, provided that sufficient adult labour is forthcoming." "Owing to the reinstatement of men now in the Army there will not be much demand for additional juvenile labour." "Some discharges will be consequent on the discontinuance of war work, such as the making of small parts of aeroplane engines." "The high wages paid to unskilled young persons will automatically throw them out of work, especially when more skilled labour is available." "It appears probable that boys of 16 to 17 who are earning high wages will be discharged." "One-third of the boys now in work usually done by adults will not remain, as they show inaptitude." "Unless some agreement is arrived at with the trade unions the probability is that most of the girls will be dismissed, though a certain number might be retained on the lighter processes if a satisfactory agreement could be reached." Such opinions, expressed in one form or another, occur repeatedly in our evidence. While they do not give any indication of the probable extent of the displacement of juvenile workers, they show the kinds of consideration in the minds of different firms.

Nor must it be forgotten that these motives will operate just at the moment when, even if no industrial changes had been caused by the war, many of the boys and girls, especially the boys, would be reaching the most precarious point in their industrial career. It is well known that even before the war there were many "blind-alley" employments, from which young persons were habitually discharged at 17 or 18 to make room for a fresh relay of juvenile workers, who were discharged in turn when they reached young manhood and

young womanhood. "Though it is unlikely," states an informant, in reference to the brass-founding trade, "that any large number of young persons will be dismissed owing to the end of the war, that fact does not prevent the industry from being to a large extent a blind alley one. Many of the boys and girls now employed in the trade will probably be displaced as soon as they are 18, and they will be replaced by younger labour." The generation of juvenile workers who entered industry early in 1915 are now between 16 and 18. They are approaching what, from an industrial point of view, is one of the critical periods of their lives. Some of them, indeed, have reached it, and have already felt its effects. As we point out below, while the number of young persons employed in industry increased steadily from December, 1914, to August, 1916, at the latter date boys began to be dismissed, and in 1917 there was, in many parts of the country, a not inconsiderable problem of juvenile unemployment. If this displacement is partly to be explained by causes of another kind, it can hardly be doubted that it was in part also due to the fact that they had reached the age when the industrial position of the adolescent is most insecure, and when, even before the war, he was liable to be replaced by a younger generation of workers drawn fresh from the schools. Whenever the war ends, some hundreds of thousands of the 2½ millions of young persons between 14 and 18 will be at that peculiarly precarious stage in their careers. Given the continuance of existing industrial customs and methods of organisation, the surprising thing will not be if they are dismissed. It will be if they are retained.

#### (c) *The Special Difficulties of Girls.*

What has been said above applies equally to boys and girls. But the evidence before us leaves no doubt that the position of the latter will be even more precarious than that of the former. It is very rarely that a firm which employs both boys and girls anticipates retaining the girls and dismissing the boys. It is common for it to state that it will discharge girls only. For this special insecurity among girls there are several reasons. For one thing, a larger number of girls than of boys are new-comers to industry, and are engaged on work which will be discontinued altogether. For another thing, they are rarely, if ever, protected by the apprenticeship which may cause an employer to keep on some of his boys, even if at the moment he has no work for them. In the third place, the purely temporary character of their employment has been recognised and emphasised in a considerable number of industries by agreements with the trade unions. Thus many agreements have been made between employers and workpeople as to the substitution of female for male labour in industries other than the manufacture of munitions. Of those reported to the Ministry of Labour up to the end of 1917 more than half contain definite provisions for the reinstatement of men after the war, and nearly all the others definite provisions for a return to pre-war conditions. Again, in nearly all branches of engineering, in the manufacture of munitions, in the woodworking trade, in the manufacture of scientific instruments, and in bleaching and dyeing, employers state that they are under an obligation to dis-

charge girls who are temporarily engaged upon the work of men. Our general impression, in fact, which is confirmed by such figures as it has been possible to obtain, is that, though in certain industries the number of boys discharged will be large, the number of girls discharged will be larger still. Apart from the influence of the general industrial changes of the period of transition described above, the number of boys dismissed will be influenced largely by the number of men taking their place. The number of girls dismissed will be influenced both by the number of men and by the number of boys. The boy may be taken off a man's job and still keep his employment. The girl, when no longer doing a boy's job, will lose it altogether.

(f) *Existing Signs of Dislocation.*

The evidence summarised in the preceding pages, imperfect as it is, suggests that the return of peace is likely to be accompanied by the displacement of a considerable number of young persons from their present occupations. Such a displacement took place in August, 1914, and created for three or four months a serious problem. It is expected to take place, both by employers and by social workers, on a far larger scale at the end of the war. Indeed, it has begun to take place already. The actual course of events in the past eighteen months has offered, in advance, an experimental demonstration, a kind of miniature rehearsal, of the crisis which is likely to arise in the future. In August, 1916, through causes which need not be examined, the demand for boys in industry, which had grown in so sensational a fashion for nearly two years, underwent a sudden diminution.\* In August, 1916, the number of boys registering at Labour Exchanges was 60 per cent. greater than it had been eighteen months before. Between April and October, 1917, the number of boys employed in the principal branches of industry fell by over 9,000. On November 9th, 1917, the number of boys on the Employment Exchange registers of 65 industrial towns was actually larger than it had been in the critical month of November, 1914.

The result was a situation which, though nothing like so acute as is to be anticipated at the end of the war, was, on its own comparatively small scale, a serious enough premonition of it. Boys who had been engaged two years before, when they were between 14 and 15 years of age, were being discharged now that they had reached 16 or 17, to be replaced either by a new generation of boys or by girls. The demand for their services had been curtailed, and after two years of comparatively high earnings they were little disposed to accept situations which offered them less. Labour Exchanges could not place them, and Juvenile Advisory Committees were confronted with a problem which is still unsolved. The problem will be far more serious at the return of peace, when the numbers of young persons in industry may temporarily be reduced, not by 10,000, but by 150,000 to 250,000, and when the number of those changing their occupations will, of course, be larger still.

It may be argued, indeed, that to take this view is to exaggerate the problem. The discharge of workers does not necessarily, it may

\* See Appendix B.

be urged, involve a serious volume of unemployment. Even at the best, even if there were no further casualties, an increased number of young persons would be needed to take the places of those who have fallen or who have been crippled too severely to return to their former occupations, and whose number together can hardly be less than a million. If trade is active and workers scarce, employers are likely to engage the older boys to do men's work, because boys, even though their training has been neglected during the war, will be temporarily indispensable. If discharged, therefore, they will stand a good chance, it may be thought, of being immediately re-engaged. If they cannot find work in the district where they are now, they may find it by migrating to another. They may pass from one firm to another. They may even pass from one department within a firm to another department; and a considerable number of those who offered information, while admitting that large numbers of juvenile workers will be dismissed from their present situations, appear to discount the effects of such a movement by suggesting that all those who lose their work will be speedily absorbed in other occupations. Thus a Scottish informant, after stating that "there will be a general pay-off of all classes of workpeople" employed in munitions work, estimated, apparently, to affect as many as 12,000 out of 13,400 workers of all ages and both sexes, states that "the boys will be readily absorbed in the Clyde shipbuilding and engineering shops, while the girls will probably return to their normal employment in the print works." "Demobilisation," says another, from Yorkshire, "may mean the displacement of a certain number of youths who are engaged on men's work, and, as is still more possible, the dismissal of women and girls employed on processes formerly done by males only. But the permanent shortage of juvenile labour in the woollen and worsted areas, especially in the worsted-spinning, may prevent any displaced boys and girls from remaining long unabsorbed." "As the majority of firms," writes one of our informants, with reference to the cotton trade, "are short of boys, the small number discharged should have no difficulty in finding employment."

While it is no doubt true, as has already been pointed out, that there will be an expansion of certain industries which have contracted during the war, this anticipation that juvenile unemployment will be reduced to insignificant proportions by the almost instantaneous absorption of young persons appears to be unduly optimistic. It is not merely a question of boys gradually drifting in small numbers from one firm to another. In certain industries—for example munition-making—large numbers will be discharged together, and, by temporarily congesting the Employment Exchanges, will impede each other's re-engagement. Not only so, but they will be discharged at a moment when the market is weighted against them, and when the causes which make some firms anxious to reduce their staff are likely to make others reluctant to expand theirs. Whatever the economic situation and the temper of industry, there can hardly fail to be the widespread uncertainty about the future which is emphasised by the firms who have supplied us with information. Firms which have been doing war work will be preparing to turn to their previous branch of production or to undertake some new one. They will in many cases require time in order to overhaul their

organisation and to re-establish relations with their customers. Not only young persons will be changing their occupations. Adult men and women will be moving also. There will be a regrading of workers within industry and a migration from one industry to another. And all the time the men who have been out of industry altogether for four years or more will be returning to resume their previous positions. Clearly, in such circumstances, there will be no question of frictionless mobility. Discharges of young persons will not be deferred till some other opening is available for them. They will take place on a large scale and almost simultaneously, and young persons will be left to find another opening as best they can. If the predictions of the more sanguine prophets are realised, there may be no contraction of production. But, even if there is an expansion, there will be a dislocation of employment, for the expansion will not take place in those industries into which boys and girls have flocked most generally during the four years. For a large number of boys and girls it will not be easy to find fresh employment. In the interval of enforced idleness they are only too likely to be demoralised.

*(g) The loss of Industrial Qualifications.*

It will be the less easy for them to find fresh employment because, as a result of the experience of the past four years, not only their environment, but they themselves, will, in many cases, have undergone a subtle change. Difficulties caused by the loss or lack of industrial qualifications, and by the growth of new economic standards, will not be the least part of the problem of juvenile employment after the war. For one thing, there is the undoubted fact that the exigencies of the war, with its demand for a constantly increasing output and its offer of higher earnings for specialised operations, has resulted in many youths, who would normally have received an industrial training, being deprived of it. We have already mentioned this point in describing some of the industrial tendencies which have influenced adolescent workers, and we need not here repeat our observations. But it should be realised that the dislocation caused by the industrial situation at the conclusion of hostilities will be aggravated by personal factors which have developed during the war. Our evidence shows that, in the opinion of employers, a good many boys, who are now doing some branch of munitions work or engineering, will not be employed by the firms for whom they now work, because they are thought, owing to lack of training, not to be competent for the civilian trade. "Some firms," writes one of our correspondents of the munitions industry in the South-East of England, "do not think that any except the few skilled hands will be suitable for future employment . . . unskilled workers, boys, girls, and women, will be the first discharged." "Boys who have been taken on for more or less unskilled work," states one of our informants with regard to the wood-working trades, "will not be fitted at the end of the war for the skilled work of cabinet-making, and in all probability will be discharged without any qualifications for useful work." "The termination of contracts," states an engineering firm producing gun munitions and aeroplanes, "will necessitate the dismissal of 500 women and about 500 juveniles. Repetition and the splitting of major operations into anything like the same number

of small operations is only possible on war work. . . . If juveniles are to be employed in engineering work after the war, someone—the State or the employer—must give them the necessary additional training." "The organisation of the shops," states an aeroplane manufacturer, "does not allow of a boy or girl being moved round so that a general knowledge of all the operations is acquired. In the case of girls this may not have any serious result. But the case of boys is far different. They have entered upon an industry the future of which can only be regarded with uncertainty, and while the firm expects to retain all juveniles at the end of the war, such questions as the type, or types, of machines in demand . . . will determine the possibility of this, or even of their obtaining further employment elsewhere in the industry. . . . The boy who has been for a number of years in the aircraft trade would not, by reason of his lack of knowledge of the principles of construction proper to those other trades, be able readily to obtain employment as a skilled worker. . . . In the competition for employment in the other woodworking trades the aircraft-trained boy would be crowded out by the more generally trained boy." "Some of the recruits to the trade," states a firm of builders, "will almost necessarily be boys who are already at work, and it is these boys who are likely to constitute one of the most urgent national problems after the war. These boys are not all engaged at the moment on non-educative work. With a great number this is undoubtedly the case; but an equal, if not a larger, number will not allow their work to be educative. They shift from place to place in search of higher and yet higher wages, their engagements being interspersed with periods of odd jobs in the streets."

The last sentence is important. For if lack or loss of industrial qualifications will make it more difficult than it otherwise would have been for some proportion of boys who are displaced to find fresh employment, lower earnings are likely to make them less willing to accept the employments which are open to them. During the war boys of 15 or 16 have often been earning the wages of men. But these high earnings will not continue. Much of the work for which they have been obtained will come to an end, and in some industries the return of men will cause boys who have been "up-graded" to be "down-graded." Hence, after the war, boys of 17 are likely to return to something resembling more nearly the previous earnings of boys. A boy who has been earning 30s. a week or more, sometimes much more, for two or three years, will naturally be reluctant to accept any offer of work at half the wages to which he is accustomed. He will be inclined to think that if he was worth 30s. during the war, he is worth it after the war; he will refuse the positions offered him through the Employment Exchanges; he will wait on the chance of something better turning up; he will move from firm to firm, and will in the process deteriorate both in character and physique.

This is no fancy picture. What the result of the decline in the demand for juvenile labour, with its consequent reduction in juvenile earnings, is likely to be, has already been shown by the experience of the Exchanges in dealing with the boys who have come before them during the war as a consequence of the discharges of juvenile workers from munition works, which took place in 1918

and 1917. Large numbers of boys registered at the Exchanges. It might have been supposed that at a time when workers were scarce, and when the supply of men was being depleted by the war, it would have been comparatively easy to place them. In fact, however, the greatest difficulty was experienced in many places in securing fresh employment for boys who had been engaged in making munitions. Of this difficulty there was, no doubt, more than one explanation. But an important cause, and one which is emphasised repeatedly by Juvenile Advisory Committees, was the fact that boys refused all offers of work which did not offer them as high wages as they had been earning while making munitions. On this point the evidence of the Juvenile Advisory Committees is almost unanimous, and leaves no room for doubt. "More than one-third of the boys on the Live Register have worked in the Woolwich Arsenal, and are now demanding the same high rate of wages as they earned there. It is very difficult to place these boys; some have been on the register for weeks and refuse all work offered to them." "There is a fairly large class of low-grade workers from 15 to 17 years of age who refuse any offer of employment unless the wage is abnormally high. In many cases these boys have left their jobs for quite trivial reasons, and, having too high an estimate of their money value, prefer to remain out of work rather than accept a more normal wage. There are several boys of this type on the register now who have been out of employment for from two weeks to two months, and in whom signs of economic deterioration are quite visible." "There are on the books of the Exchange on an average 100 youths out of employment, not because work is scarce, but through their own action. The youths demand men's wages and the conditions of men's labour." "Immediately a boy appears at the Exchange the question is, 'What money shall I get?' and invariably he expects approximately the same as he earned at munitions." Such evidence, from West Ham, Preston, Bristol, and Ealing could be paralleled from a score of other places.

The truth is that the nation, having insisted that during the war boys shall do the work in industry of men, will find it difficult, when the war is over, to induce them to accept the payment of boys. In arduousness of labour, in earnings, in character and outlook upon life a generation of young persons has been forced into precocious maturity. Their *morale*, as much as their physique and industrial training, has undergone, if not deterioration—and often it has deteriorated—at least an unnatural and premature development. When the artificial conditions of war are removed, habits will require to be changed, standards to be revised, expectations to be written down. The change from a high to a low economic temperature, from a world in which they are important to one in which they may temporarily be superfluous, will in any case be immense. Only measures carefully designed to break the shock of transition can prevent it from being disastrous.

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## CHAPTER IV.

## PROPOSALS FOR A POLICY.

Though opinions may vary as to the gravity of the situation which will arise after the war, it is generally admitted that some special measures will be required in order to prevent it from producing widespread distress and demoralisation among boys and girls under 18. There are certain grave evils, indeed, which it is already too late to prevent. It is useless to lament the excessive employment of children out of school hours, which has undermined their health and hindered their education, the relaxation of bye-laws, which has thrown into industry children who should have been at school, the overwork of young persons in munition factories, the failure to stipulate that boys and girls employed in non-educative occupations should be allowed time to attend day continuation classes, the discharges which in the last two years have condemned thousands of them to unemployment with the same thoughtless levity as they were previously condemned to excessive labour. Three years ago these things might, perhaps, have been prevented, if the public had been sufficiently interested to prevent them. No measures which are taken in the future can do more than a little to repair them. Unless those most competent to judge are mistaken, in the generation which entered industry between 1914 and 1918 vitality has been lowered, *morale* undermined, and training neglected. Our task now is to arrest the process of deterioration, and to ensure that the mischief which has been done in the stress of re-organisation for war shall not be perpetuated or aggravated in the stress of re-organisation for peace.

The centre of the problem is the period of economic transition which will accompany the conclusion of hostilities. It will be at once a peril and an opportunity. On the one hand, for the reasons given above, large numbers of young persons are likely to be discharged, and to be confronted by a longer or shorter period of unemployment. On the other hand, the fact that they are out of work and in need of assistance to find it will offer an opportunity of using that period to strengthen their physique, to improve their training, and to prepare them for a return to normal industry. It is necessary to take measures at once to prevent unemployment, in so far as it is preventable, and to provide for it, when it occurs, in such a way that the boys and girls may be improved and not degraded by it. The problem is thus in essence a very old one, scored with the comments of the countless scholiasts who have written on the prevention of unemployment and of provision for the unemployed. All that is attempted in this section is to apply considerations which are now commonplace to the special case, the peculiarly critical and tragic case, of boys and girls. Suggestions as to the lines upon which action should be taken have been made from several different sources, and appear to fall into four broad categories:—

- (a) Proposals for regulating the displacement of young persons and for facilitating their entry into new employments.
- (b) Proposals for facilitating the employment of young per-

sons already in industry by restricting the entry of fresh competitors.

(c) Administrative measures which might be taken in connection with the re-employment of juveniles.

(d) Proposals for providing maintenance and training for young persons who are unemployed.

They are considered in order in the following pages.

(4) *Proposals for Regulating the Displacement of young Persons and for Facilitating their Entry into New Employments.*

The proposals grouped under this heading start from the fact that, for the reasons explained above, the conclusion of the war is likely to be followed by a striking growth of unemployment among young persons. Their aim is to hasten the transition from war employment to peace employment by retarding, if possible, discharges of boys and girls, and by ensuring that openings which are available shall be brought immediately to their notice. Their scope is, therefore, strictly limited, and too much must not be expected of them. To regulate or systematise the entry into employment is neither to prevent unemployment nor to prevent its evil results. But, provided that the mistake is avoided of supposing that such measures can do more than deal partially with the problem, they deserve consideration. For they will at least help to indicate its extent and thus facilitate the adoption of measures for dealing with it, and by expediting the re-engagement of boys and girls they will reduce both the numbers unemployed and the period of their unemployment.

The essential fact of the situation at the conclusion of war will be that the demand for the services of young persons in war industries will end suddenly, while the demand for their services in peace industries will revive only gradually. The ideal arrangement would be, of course, that they should be discharged from the former only as the latter became ready to absorb them. This object, though only partially attainable, should be kept in view as a standard by which to judge the actual procedure of industrial demobilisation. Thus:—

(i.) As long warning as possible should be given of the termination of war contracts, in order that the workers affected may have a reasonable period in which to take steps to obtain fresh employment.

(ii.) Through Public Departments and national establishments at Woolwich, Enfield, Gretna Green, in the Admiralty shipyards, in the national factories, in the Post Office, and other public offices the Government is now the direct employer of many thousand boys and girls. If they are discharged simultaneously in large numbers, they will help to congest the Employment Exchanges, and will make the problem of preventing unemployment appreciably more unmanageable. The State is under an obligation to them, and in demobilising them it should show the same consideration for their future as for that of men demobilised from the army. All Government establishments employing young persons, therefore, should be instructed now,

First, to co-operate with the Juvenile Employment Exchanges in the manner indicated below.

Second, to hold back the discharge of young persons until such time as they are notified by the Exchanges that openings are available for them.

Third, when they discharge young persons, to discharge them, not simultaneously in large numbers, but in small groups.

Fourth, to establish now, in co-operation with the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities, a system of part time day continued education for all young persons under the age of 18. The conduct of such education would, of course, be in the hands of the Local Education Authority. The duty of the State as employer would be to give the young persons time off in working hours to attend classes. This course should, no doubt, have been adopted four years ago. But if it is followed now, it will do something to neutralise the effect of the harmful influences to which many young persons have been exposed, and to prepare them for a return to ordinary employment.

(iii.) It is not equally easy for the State to discharge its responsibilities towards the young persons of whom it is not itself the direct employer. But through the Ministry of Munitions it employs an even larger number of boys and girls indirectly upon various kinds of war work. It is these boys and girls who both have been exposed to the gravest risks of physical and mental deterioration during the war, and who are most likely to be unemployed when it ceases. The Ministry of Munitions should, therefore, circularise all controlled firms, pointing out the gravity of the situation, and urging the adoption of the policy suggested above for national factories and public offices.

(iv.) The pivot upon which all plans for supervising Juvenile Employment during the period of demobilisation must turn is the Juvenile Employment Committee, working in co-operation with the Juvenile Employment Exchange. As at present constituted Juvenile Employment Committees are composed of representatives of the Local Education Authority, of Employers, of Trade Unionists and of persons specially interested in the social welfare of juveniles under 17 years of age. Since 1916 the number of these Committees has been considerably increased, and it is understood that over 200 areas, chiefly of an industrial character, are now either already provided with Committees or likely to be so provided in the near future. Rather more than half of these Committees are Juvenile Advisory Committees established under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, while the remainder are Committees established under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, or the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908. There are, however, still a number of towns in which no Committee has yet been set up, and it is of the utmost importance that provision should be made in all those areas in which considerable numbers of juveniles are employed.

In dealing with employment questions it is always difficult to draw any hard and fast line between adults and juveniles, and, during the period of transition after the war, there are certain to be demarcation and other problems with which it will be difficult for a Juvenile Employment Committee alone to deal. It will accordingly be essential that the closest co-operation should be established between Juvenile Employment Committees and the Local Advisory

Committees which will be responsible for demobilisation questions affecting adults.

Other changes will also be needed. An Amendment to the Education (Choice of Employment) Act has recently been made by Parliament whereby the provisions of the Act are to be extended to boys and girls under the age of 18, and it seems inevitable that there should be a general change in the juvenile age limit to 18 in the administrative work of the Ministry of Labour and of its Juvenile Advisory Committees. This will in turn have the effect of still further increasing the volume of work to be undertaken by the Juvenile Employment Exchanges at the close of the war, and steps will have to be taken to provide them with adequate staff and accommodation if they are to be prepared for the emergency period. These Committees, working in conjunction with the Employment Exchanges on the one hand and with the Local Education Authority on the other, should become the Authority through which supervision is kept over the development of the industrial situation in so far as it affects young persons, and by which plans are proposed for controlling it. If they are to perform this function successfully they must be in the closest contact with all sections of industry, so as to enlist the co-operation both of employers and of workers, and it will probably prove desirable to expand their personnel by adding to them an increased number of representatives of the two latter, as well as of organisations experienced in dealing with young persons. Thus strengthened, they should take the following steps:—

First, they should immediately form an estimate of the number of young persons in their areas likely to be discharged at the end of the war and of the probable demand for their services in other occupations.

Second, they should use this information to prepare plans for the transference to other occupations of young persons likely to be discharged, and to form an estimate of those for whom no employment is likely to be available, and for whom, therefore, other provision must be made.

Third, they should approach all firms in their area with the request to notify in advance to the Employment Exchanges the names of all young persons likely to be discharged, to spread their discharges over as long a period as possible, instead of paying off juvenile workers simultaneously, and to engage juvenile workers only through the Employment Exchanges.

Were these steps taken, the influx of discharged boys and girls might be somewhat more gradual: and it would be easier to arrange, what in some respects is the most urgent thing of all, their absorption and re-engagement in whatever work is available. Not less important, full information would be obtained of the magnitude and development of the problem, and it would be possible to prepare in advance the plans for providing for unemployed young persons of the kind which are indicated below.

*(b) Proposals for Restricting the Competition of New Entrants into Industry.*

Whatever attempts may be made to postpone discharges or to spread them over a considerable period, however earnestly the Juvenile Committees and Employment Exchanges may endeavour

to find openings in industry for the boys and girls displaced from their present occupations, the total results of such measures will, it must be confessed, be small. Individuals, no doubt, will be assisted to find work more quickly than they otherwise would have done, and some supervision will be kept over the development of the situation. But, if the community is to protect the young persons who have served it during the war from grave deterioration, some much bolder and more comprehensive policy must be adopted.

Nor can there be any doubt as to the object at which such a policy should aim, though it may be difficult to give practical effect to it. The essential feature in the situation will be a large, though, it may be hoped, a temporary, diminution in the demand for juvenile workers, caused by the fact that war industries will contract immediately, while peace industries will only gradually expand. What is needed is to effect a corresponding reduction in the supply, or, if an actual reduction is impossible, at least to retard the rate at which it increases. In the absence of special measures, however, this limitation of the increase in the number competing for employment is precisely what will not happen. On the contrary there is every probability that at the end of the war the avenues into industry will be congested. Not only boys and girls, but men and women, will be flowing into the Employment Exchanges from a hundred different occupations. The Army will be in process of demobilisation. There must almost inevitably be confusion: there may be something like chaos. And all the time the 600,000 boys and girls who leave school every year will be adding to the numbers seeking employment.

When a reservoir is full, the simplest way to prevent an overflow is to dam some of the streams which feed it; and when more persons are looking for jobs than can be absorbed in industry the course of wisdom is to check, when possible, additions to their number until those already seeking for employment have found it. The analogy is not complete, for it is, of course, true that the expediency and possibility of restricting the entrance into industry is qualified by other considerations—in particular, by the need of parents for the earnings of their children. But there are ways in which that need can be met, and to the extent to which restriction is practicable it should be applied. Nearly ten years ago the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commissioners proposed that, in order to offer greater security of employment to men, there should be a drastic reduction in the employment of young persons. Now that not only adults, but also large numbers of boys and girls are threatened with unemployment, that recommendation has redoubled weight.

Nor is it one to which objection need be taken upon economic grounds. The argument usually advanced to justify the reliance of industry upon juvenile labour is that without it production cannot be carried on. Whether that argument is or is not valid in normal times, it is, unless almost all observers are mistaken, singularly irrelevant to the circumstances which are likely to arise on the conclusion of peace. To diminish the number of young persons competing for employment will not hamper industry, for industry will not be in a position fully to employ them. But it will free the period of transition from some of the grave social dangers which would otherwise attend it, and will benefit both those who are now employed and those who are not. The latter will be restrained from

entering the industrial system at a moment when its organisation is unsettled and its future uncertain. The former will be protected from the competition of a fresh generation of juvenile workers, who, precisely because they have not been exposed to the industrial stress of the past three years, are likely to be given a preference by employers in search of cheap and docile workers. Nor must it be forgotten that such a restriction upon the entrance of young persons into industry will be as much in the interests of the soldiers who are demobilised as of the young persons themselves. At all times, indeed, there is something of irony in the spectacle of unemployment among men occurring at the very moment when boys and girls are being overworked. When the men are discharged soldiers, that unnatural combination will be little less than a tragedy. The simplest way to facilitate, at least, the solution of the difficult problem of making room in industry for adults will be to reduce the employment in industry of young persons, who, in any case, ought to be working neither in such large numbers, nor for such long hours, as at present.

Such considerations lend weight to the proposal, already advanced by more than one authority upon juvenile employment, that, with a view to giving juvenile workers already engaged in industry the opportunity of settling into fresh employment, a deliberate attempt should be made to hold back from industry as many as possible of the rising generation. If applied immediately, such a policy would facilitate the absorption into industry of the youths who, as is pointed out above, are already being deteriorated by unemployment, and at the same time would reduce the magnitude of the problem with which it will be necessary to cope on the return of peace. If a temporary excess of work is a valid argument for lowering the school age, a temporary excess of workers is a valid argument for raising it. At the beginning of the War the age at which children left school was very generally lowered in order to meet the alleged necessity for the increased employment of juvenile labour. The time has now come to reverse the process and to raise the school age in order to protect juvenile workers against unemployment. The first step should be to suspend immediately the operation of bye-laws which allow children to be exempted from attendance at school below the age of 14; the second to put into force at the earliest possible moment the new Education Act, in particular clause 8, clause 10, and clause 13. The latter imposes certain further restrictions upon the employment out of school of children attending school full-time; and since children over 14 and children under 14 are for certain kinds of occupations interchangeable, it would to a small extent facilitate the replacement of the latter by the former. The second provides for the establishment of compulsory continuation schools for young persons between 14 and 18, though so far as those between 16 and 18 are concerned this provision is not to come into immediate operation; the first for the abolition of all exemptions from school attendance under 14 years of age. Since, according to the Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the war, about one-half the children between 13 and 14 are exempted from school attendance before their fourteenth birthday, the application of clause 8 would keep some 300,000 children for some months longer out of industry. Clause 10 would not diminish

the number of young persons employed, except to the slight extent that it made their employment less eligible to employers than that of adults. But by causing the hours during which each young person is employed to be diminished by a number which cannot be less than seven, and which may be ten (eight hours continued education plus two hours during which employment may be suspended before or after attendance at school), it would presumably necessitate, at any rate in certain industries, the employment of a somewhat larger number. To fix the appointed day at which each and all clauses of the Act come into operation rests with the Board, and no doubt some time must elapse before arrangements can be made for carrying out clause 10. But there do not appear to be similar reasons for delaying the application of clauses 8 and 13, and it is eminently desirable that they should be brought into operation at the earliest possible moment.

The application of clause 8 of the Education Act would at best, however, do no more than extend by a few months the school life of about 300,000 children. The reform would be industrially as well as educationally advantageous. But to have any considerable effect in preventing congestion among juvenile workers, there is need of a measure holding back a larger number and holding them back for a longer time. Such a measure can only consist in deferring the school-leaving age to 15. The general case for and against lengthening the period of full-time school attendance has been debated too recently to make a recapitulation of the arguments other than otiose. But, as a temporary measure for meeting the peculiar crisis of the period of demobilisation, it has even yet hardly been given the consideration which it deserves. Granted the validity of the objections made to its introduction as a permanent feature of the national system of Education, the fact remains that no other policy would be so effective as a security against juvenile unemployment—that no other policy, indeed, of anything like the same compass has even been suggested.

As a temporary measure, again, it escapes some of the criticisms directed against it on the ground of principle. No doubt there would be a difficulty in providing teachers and accommodation. But it need not be put into operation in all parts of the country simultaneously. It is in the large towns that the crisis will be most acute, and it is in the large towns that it will be least difficult to discover buildings and teachers. Moreover, the value of the education given must be judged not merely by the strict standards properly emphasised by educationalists, but by the value of retaining young persons in contact with educational influences, even though imperfectly organised, at a time of acute dislocation. If it is said that the teachers and accommodation are actually unavailable, it may be answered that, in view of the extreme urgency of the situation, it would be better to retain boys and girls at school from 14 to 15, even if to do so involved the temporary exclusion of children between 5 and 6.

But this last step, though preferable to allowing young persons to drift into an overstocked labour market at a time of severe industrial dislocation, would probably not be necessary. After all, the thing most needed is not the rigour of formal education. As far as the boys of 14 are concerned, residential camp-schools in spring or summer

would be at once more beneficial and less difficult to improvise than would ordinary schools, and they might well be used as a supplement to, though not, of course, as a substitute for, the latter. At a subsequent point in this Report, in speaking of the provision to be made for boys displaced from industry, we suggest that it might be desirable to offer some of them the opportunity of entering a residential camp during their period of unemployment. As far as the older boys are concerned, that proposal is attended with difficulties which it would be foolish to ignore, though we think that, nevertheless, the experiment should be made. In the case of the younger boys, who are just of an age to cease attendance at the Elementary School, and of whom we are now speaking, many of those difficulties do not exist. These boys have not yet plunged into the world of industry or become habituated to earning high wages. They are accustomed to the common life of a school, with its restraints and its stimulus. Some of them have been to camp in the holidays during their school career. The cost of maintaining them would be smaller than in the case of older boys, and the benefit would be greater. A residential camp-school for a period of three months after the age of 14, in addition to deferring their entrance into industry, would offer them what they most require—healthy outdoor activities, the social discipline of a corporate life, and the continuance, though in informal ways, of their education. Accommodation of the kind required will be available in several different parts of the country, and to staff them it would be possible, and indeed desirable, to draw upon men who are not necessarily trained teachers, but who are interested in the welfare of boys and accustomed to working among them. We do not, of course, imply that such camps would be an alternative to the provision of places in school, nor would they be of service at any time of year except spring and summer. But they would be a valuable supplement to other provision, and would soften the transition, at present so abrupt as often to be harmful, between the school life of boys and their full-time employment in industry. If placed under the control of a person of insight and experience, such as—to give one outstanding example—the late Mr. C. E. B. Russell, their influence for good might be considerable. We think that in every large town the Education Authority should consider whether, in combination with voluntary agencies, it is not desirable to establish one or more of such residential camp-schools at the close of the war.

Under the new Act Local Education Authorities will have power to raise the age of full-time attendance to 15 by bye-law. If they are to raise it to 15 universally for a limited period after the conclusion of hostilities special legislation would be necessary. Such legislation would presumably not be obtainable, and it remains for the Board to induce Authorities to use their new powers by calling their attention to the peculiar gravity of the crisis. At the same time, if such a policy is adopted, it will, of course, be necessary in many cases for the Local Education Authorities to utilise their powers to provide maintenance allowances. It might be argued, no doubt, that, as in any case many of the young persons concerned would, if not in attendance at school, be unemployed, there is no case for assisting their parents. But it is as important to prevent the family's standard of life being dragged down through loss of the children's

earnings as it is to keep the children themselves from deterioration in a fruitless search for employment. If that end is to be attained, still more if young persons are to forgo the chance, even though, in the circumstances, it may be a remote chance, of earning wages, maintenance allowances are essential.

Local Education Authorities should, therefore, be urged by the Board of Education to adopt as a temporary measure the raising of the age of full-time attendance to 15, and should make use of the power to provide maintenance allowances for children over 12 attending the Elementary Schools which they possess under clause 24 of the recent Education Act. Further, the shortage of employment which is to be anticipated offers an opportune occasion for taking steps to provide far larger opportunities for specially capable children of continuing their studies for a longer period at Secondary Schools, trade schools, and other places of higher education. In the years immediately preceding the war about 4 per cent. of all elementary school children in the country entered Secondary Schools, of whom the majority left before the age of 16, and the total sum spent by Local Education Authorities on scholarships to such schools was about £400,000. The number of pupils in Secondary Schools, and the period during which they remain in them, could be largely increased by an addition to that sum. What is required, it may be suggested, is that the Government should announce its intention of applying a substantial sum to the establishment of a really generous system of scholarships and maintenance allowances for children attending places of higher education, and that the next Education estimates should include provision for the necessary expenditure.

Such a policy, apart from its obvious educational advantages, would have the effect of withdrawing a considerable number of young persons from competition in industry. But the Education Acts are not the only instrument for limiting the supply of juvenile labour. Equally important are the Factory and Workshops Acts, which, while they do not affect the number of young persons in industry, produce a similar result by limiting the number of hours during which young persons may be employed. Under the Factory and Workshops Acts the maximum week for young persons is 55½ in textile factories and 60 in non-textile factories and workshops. Under the Mines Regulation Act of 1911 it is 48 for boys employed below ground in coal mines, and 54 for boys employed above ground. Under the Shops Act it is 70 for young persons employed in shops.

If boys in coal mines and young persons in textile factories be put on one side, the legal working week for young persons under the Factory and Workshops Acts is 60 hours. It is based not upon any scientific consideration of their capacity for labour, but upon—it is hardly too much to say—a series of historical accidents. It is the same for boys and girls of 14 as for women of 30. It remains what it was 50 years ago, and that in spite of the facts that the increased intensity of production imposes upon the worker a strain considerably greater to-day than that of the middle of the 19th century, and that the progress of invention has made it easier for industry to accommodate itself to shorter hours. Nor is this the only, or the most serious, fact to be considered. A large number of young persons, who do not fall within either of the above categories, are

without any legal limitation of hours at all. The transport industries, for example, have grown enormously in the past 30 years, and in the transport trades boys may work for what hours their employers choose. The result is that some boys of 14 and 15 are working, in the words of the Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War, "anything from 48 to 90 hours per week." During the war even these hours have, in some cases, been exceeded. "Cases have been brought to light," states the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1917, "where grossly excessive hours have been worked. Thus, at Woolwich, a firm of pepper-grinders was prosecuted for employing a boy of 16 for illegal hours amounting to 108 per week. He began work at 8 a.m. on Monday and worked up to 8.30 p.m. on Tuesday, then went home to bed; he began again at 6 a.m. on Wednesday and continued up to 8.30 p.m. on Thursday, when he again went home to bed; he commenced again at 6 a.m. on Friday and worked on till 1 p.m. on Saturday. . . . In another case in the South-Western Division, boys had been worked from 25 to 29 hours consecutively, except for intervals of four or five hours. . . . Again, in Scotland, women and young girls were employed, with short intervals for meals and rest, for continuous periods of 35 hours in a bleach and dye works."

The effect of these excessive hours upon the health and condition of young persons is a subject which falls outside the scope of this memorandum. But it is relevant to point out that, if it is desired to hasten the absorption into industry of boys and girls discharged from their present positions, one simple way of doing so is to effect by law the reduction in the working day of young persons which on other grounds is eminently desirable. The inexpediency—to use no stronger word—of allowing boys and girls of 15 to be exhausted by employment for 60 hours, when other boys and girls are being demoralised because they cannot obtain any employment at all, is, indeed, too obvious to need emphasis. The present working week of young persons under the Factory and Workshops Acts, though it has a historical explanation going far back into the 19th century, neither has, nor in fact was designed to have, any special suitability to the needs or powers of young persons, whom it treats, with certain trifling exceptions with regard to overtime, as industrially equivalent to adult women. The exclusion from legal protection of a large number of young persons not employed in factories and workshops, mines, or shops, is not based on the fact that they do not require it, but is due to the peculiar historical development of industrial legislation in Great Britain. The present crisis, with its effect in making a large number of boys and girls temporarily superfluous, offers, it may be suggested, a favourable opportunity for the removal of these anomalies. What is needed is an amendment of the Factory and Workshops Acts, which should (1) establish a normal working week for young persons not exceeding in any case 48 hours; and (2) extend the protection of the law to those classes of young persons who at present fall outside the scope of industrial regulation. Such a reform would at once remove conditions highly deleterious to the health and *morale* of the rising generation and facilitate the absorption into industry of young persons who would otherwise be unemployed.

(c) *Administrative measures in connection with the Re-employment of Juveniles.*

If the proposals suggested above are carried out, something will have been done to mitigate the effects of the inevitable period of dislocation upon juvenile workers. But these measures are almost wholly of an educational and social nature, and they do not to any considerable extent take account of the new employments into which boys and girls will be absorbed in the industrial system which will be re-created after the war. There is, indeed, a serious difficulty in dealing adequately with this side of the problem, since, if Reconstruction is to be a reality, we ought to be satisfied with nothing less than a complete re-modelling of the conditions of juvenile employment and training in almost every industry. Side by side with the advances made in our national system of education there should be a parallel advance in the industrial field, and it is obvious that the conclusion of the war will offer a unique opportunity to bring it about. While to attempt the drafting of such a programme is beyond the scope of this enquiry, there are, nevertheless, a number of industrial questions which will arise as soon as demobilisation commences, and it is of urgent importance that, so far as possible, Government Departments and the industries concerned should have thought out their solution beforehand, in order that they may act with promptitude and foresight the moment that action becomes practicable.

Reference has already been made to the need of an industrial survey in each employment area by the Juvenile Committees, or since the problems of juvenile and adult employment overlap, by Juvenile and Local Advisory Committees acting in co-operation with each other. Information must be obtained as to the various prospective demands for juvenile labour and as to the date on which the demands will become effective. So far as may be reasonable, employers who are faced with the need of reducing their juvenile staff should be persuaded to regulate the rate of discharges accordingly, and employers who are increasing it to expedite their rate of engagement. Compulsory notification of vacancies and discharges, though undesirable in principle, may become essential in practice, if the Employment Exchanges and the Juvenile Employment Committees are to prevent needless unemployment and are to effect the best possible re-allocation of juveniles in accordance with individual needs and capacities.

But it will not be sufficient to collect and distribute applicants and vacancies according to the usual methods. The work of placing children, always a matter involving nice discrimination, will be rendered doubly difficult after the war by special factors. The first of these factors will be a large crop of demarcation questions, which, unless they are handled with the utmost care and forethought, are likely to lead to disorganisation and disputes. As has been pointed out in Chapter I. of this Report, not only has there been a revolution in the processes of many manufactures, but the old and new jobs have necessarily been re-shuffled among men, women, boys and girls without much regard to the considerations which would determine their allocation in times of peace. The prospect must certainly be faced that there will be many jobs in many industries for which men, women, boys and girls will all consider themselves eligible or

will be considered eligible by employers. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the restoration of trade customs and trade-union rights. Where any clear rulings are laid down by trade agreements, boys and girls should be placed by Exchanges only in accordance with such rulings. The difficulty in most cases will be to secure any clear lines of demarcation, and even to ascertain what allocation of jobs is most to be desired in the re-formed industries after the war.

Trade-union customs will, it is feared, cover only a relatively small field, and the existing competition between boys and girls in the less skilled ranges of employment is likely to be left largely unrestricted, and, indeed, to be fiercely accentuated after the war. So far as well organised industries are concerned, it should not be difficult to secure that the broad lines of the allocation of jobs to boys and girls are decided on a national basis for the industry as a whole. In other occupations where the question arises action should be taken to secure local agreements between all parties concerned. If necessary, it would be appropriate for the Juvenile Employment Committees to co-operate with Local Advisory Committees to bring about the conferences and discussions which might lead to such a settlement, and to advise as to the best course to be adopted in the light of the experience of their after-care visitors and of the officers of the Exchange. Considerations of physique and the prospects of future promotion must necessarily be taken into account.

Another factor in the re-employment of young persons will be that the relative amount of employment in one area and another is likely to undergo a considerable change when production is transformed to a peace basis. The mobility of adult labour is normally sufficient to enable men, at any rate, to cope with changes in the localisation of industry. But boys and girls cannot be moved from their homes with the same facility and safety. A certain amount of juvenile migration in search of employment is always going on, but this has in normal times been chiefly confined to agricultural or farm vacancies. During the war, however, there have been striking instances of a highly localised demand for apprentices in skilled trades, such as engineering and shipbuilding, and some success has attended the efforts of Exchanges to bring suitable boys from very remote places to the towns in question. Hostel accommodation or specially selected lodgings have to be found for such boys, and usually a Welfare Supervisor has been available to look after them. Possibly there will be a considerable increase after the war in these unsatisfied local demands for boys to learn a skilled trade, and it will be only right to ensure that no such opportunities of training are thrown away. Separation from home, though highly undesirable in itself, is the only method by which boys in many parts of the country can hope to achieve their ambition of acquiring a craftsman's skill by working on modern machinery in an up-to-date factory.

So far as industrial policy is concerned, probably the most important of all the steps to be taken, when normal conditions again prevail, will be to investigate the prospective demands of all the skilled trades for new recruits to the ranks of their journeymen. Not only must firms be persuaded, or even compelled, to take their full complement of apprentices and learners, but in some cases it

may well prove necessary to arrange with the trade unions for an increase in the proportion of apprentices to men in order to avert a prospective shortage of skilled workmen in a few years time. What is wanted is a kind of stocktaking by each industry of its various methods of training new recruits. The nature of the training, its duration, and the wages to be paid will all need reconsideration, and this will apply not merely to the highly skilled branches of engineering, but also to the semi-skilled work which is becoming increasingly necessary in almost every line of manufacture. Already the Building Trade is becoming aware that it will be unable to cope with the revived demands upon it unless the training of a new generation of skilled and semi-skilled workmen is taken in hand, and the trade of carpenters and joiners is in a like position.

The Building Trades Organisations in London have, in conjunction with the London Juvenile Advisory Committee, adopted a scheme of apprenticeship which will provide for the thorough training of entrants to the various branches of the building trade, and they have also recommended the adoption of the scheme in the provinces. The idea has already been taken up in several places, and schemes are being arranged on the lines of the London scheme. New ideas are also at work in the Engineering Industry, and a representative Association has been formed to deal with questions relating to the technical education of the engineering apprentice. In the case of many trades it would appear very desirable for any new conditions of training to be determined from the national point of view rather than locally, and a Joint Industrial Council, when constituted, would be the most appropriate body for dealing with the matter. In any case, it is, of course, essential that the settlement should be the result of a policy determined in common by representatives of employers, of trade unions, and of the State.

It will be essential that every possible opportunity of training skilled workers should be utilised in order that the lee-way lost during the war should be made up. On the one hand, the generation of boys who have commenced their industrial careers during the war has been deprived of its legitimate opportunities of acquiring a craft; on the other hand, there are important industries which have failed to train sufficient new recruits to supply their requirements in the future. In this connection the opportunity of utilising the well-equipped national factories and national shipyards for purposes of training should be kept in mind, though no encouragement should be given to any wholesale schemes of apprenticeship which would ignore trade union restrictions and would bear no well thought-out relation to the future demands for the services of the juveniles so trained.

A special plea must be put in for those boys who, at 16½ or 17 years of age, find themselves too old to take advantage of any new schemes which may be created for enabling younger boys to enter a skilled or semi-skilled trade. Just as provision must be made for the demobilised apprentices whose training has been interrupted by service with the colours, so consideration should be given to the claims of those boys who have been compelled to spend the first years of their industrial lives in turning out war material by repetition processes. Their work, though of

national importance, has given them no skill possessing a market value after the war, and if they are then willing and suitable to learn a trade, either by a full apprenticeship course or by a shorter course aiming at semi-skilled status, they should be given facilities for doing so. These are matters which will naturally be brought before whatever appropriate committees of employers and employed exist in the different trades and localities to handle demobilisation questions.

The industrial problem is, therefore, a large one, and it is essential that it should receive special consideration in the interval in which economic conditions are still fluid, and in which it will be possible, if we please, to prepare the way for a new and saner treatment of the juvenile worker. Hitherto the question of industrial training, in so far as it relates to the workshop, not to the school, has been regarded as a private matter in which the public had no concern, and has been left to the discretion of individual employers, qualified, in some industries, by the regulations of trade unions with regard to apprenticeship. Some have taken their responsibilities seriously; others have treated juvenile workers as simply a cheaper kind of adult labour; nearly all have considered only the exigencies of their own particular businesses, regardless of the fact that youths require industrial training whether they remain with them or not. What is required in the future is a frank recognition that the status and prospects of the adolescent is not a matter which the employer can be allowed to determine at his own convenience, and that the number of young persons employed, the proportion of young persons to adults, and the opportunities of training afforded them concern the public as vitally as the hours of their employment or the sanitation and safety of the factories in which they work. In industries in which Trade Boards have been established under the Trade Boards Act they ought, as some have already done, to prescribe the proportion between learners and adults, and to satisfy themselves that juvenile workers are not merely employed, because they are cheap, on specialised routine operations, but that they progress from one job to another within the factory, and are offered genuine opportunities of an all-round training. In other industries the same function should be discharged by the Industrial Councils, acting, for that purpose, in close connection with Juvenile Employment Committees. Nor will it be sufficient to stop here. The State is interested as intimately in the adequate training of the rising generation as in its health and safety, and, when the much-needed revision of our Factory and Workshops Code takes place, one item in it should be a provision that employers commit a legal offence when they employ young persons in numbers or under conditions which impede their training, and that inspectors must scrutinise the facilities offered to learners as jealously as their hours of labour or their protection against accidents. In the days when apprenticeship was a reality the public (through the Guild or the Justices of the Peace) was a party to every contract between apprentice and master. If industrial training in the workshop is to become a reality in the future, public authorities must resume their function of enforcing on employers the obligation to provide adequate opportunities of obtaining it.

(d) *The Provision of Maintenance and Training for Boys and Girls during Unemployment.*

Such measures would do something, and might do much, to hasten and regulate the absorption into industry of boys and girls who are discharged from their present occupations on the return of peace. But it will not be enough to rely upon them. All experience shows that, however carefully preventive measures may be organised, it is, nevertheless, necessary to make provision for the individuals who slip through the meshes of the best devised system. It is essential, in short, not only to check as far as possible the growth of unemployment among young persons, but to prepare plans for meeting the needs of those who, in spite of such measures, become unemployed. The first condition of effective action is to recognise the magnitude of the problem. Quite apart from the special influences described in an earlier section, the mere redistribution of employment, the mere migration of some hundreds of thousands of young persons from the occupations which they have followed during the past three years, must inevitably involve many of them in a period of more or less prolonged unemployment. Whether the effect is to prepare them for a return to ordinary industry, or to hasten their deterioration by adding the demoralisation of idleness to the demoralisation of overwork, will depend upon the measures which are adopted during the period of transition. If none are prepared now and put in force when occasion arises, there is, unfortunately, no reasonable doubt of what will happen. Boys and girls will register at the Juvenile Employment Exchanges. But if, after two or three visits, they find that no employment is offered them, they will cease registering and will tramp the streets in order to find work for themselves. Their search for employment will often be prolonged, sometimes fruitless, and always demoralising. After a vain attempt to insist on the wages which they have earned during the war they will end by taking any job which is offered, however unsuitable, only to throw it up when its unsuitability is revealed by practical experience. Degrading in the case of men, this tramp in search of work is doubly degrading for boys and girls. Yet that, in the failure of the State to provide an alternative, is the prospect which will confront large numbers of the two and a quarter million young persons between 14 and 18 on the return of peace. For several thousands it is already not a prospect, but a present reality. The boys who during the past two years have been discharged from munition work have undergone, on a small scale, the deterioration which, in the absence of preventive measures, will be the lot of many young persons when the war ends.

What is required is to recognise frankly, what has never been adequately recognised hitherto in any legislative or administrative provisions relating to unemployment, that unemployment is a problem which affects young persons as well as adults, and affects them in some ways with even more disastrous consequences. A policy must, in short, be worked out for dealing with the unemployed boy and girl, just as from 1905 onwards a policy was tardily worked out for dealing with the unemployed man, and it must be held in reserve both for the immediate crisis and for the juvenile unemployment which is a normal, though unnoticed, feature of every trade depression.

Such a policy, it is suggested, must satisfy three conditions:—

First, it must prevent the actual distress which, without its adoption, is likely to be caused in many working class families if the income brought in by boys and girls over 14 comes suddenly to an end.

Second, it must ensure that boys and girls are kept continuously in touch with the Juvenile Employment Exchanges and Juvenile Advisory Committees from the moment they cease work to the moment they obtain suitable employment.

Third, it must not merely prevent the period of compulsory idleness from causing demoralisation, but must ensure that it is made, as it quite possibly can be made, of positive advantage, by using it to improve the physique and health of the boys and girls concerned, to offer them some part of the social and industrial training which they have missed owing to the conditions under which industry has been carried on during the war, and to prepare them for the return to normal industry.

If these objects are to be attained, it will not be sufficient merely to establish classes without offering young persons any inducement to attend them, and without relating them closely to the machinery for finding employment. No doubt the exceptional boy or girl might realise the benefits to be derived from further education. But the main pre-occupation of the vast majority will be to find work and to find it at once, and in practice they will not put off looking for it in order to attend school.

Nor, again, will it be sufficient to adopt the proposal which has been advanced in certain quarters for an extension of the system of unemployment insurance. At the present time about 416,500 young persons between 16 and 18 years of age are covered by the system. The premium is at the rate of 1d. per week from the boy and 1d. per week from the employer, and the benefit, which is not payable until the seventeenth birthday, is at the rate of 3s. 6d. per week. It has been suggested that the Act should be extended to include all young persons from 14 to 16 as well as from 16 to 18 upon the same terms. If that were done the State would presumably be obliged to credit the funds with an additional contribution; benefits would be payable, perhaps, after the lapse of six months; and the total number of young persons entitled to draw 3s. 6d. when unemployed would be approximately 2,400,000 instead of 416,500.

This proposal is open to certain objections of detail. A benefit payable after six months would not meet the needs of girls and boys displaced on the termination of hostilities, nor would 3s. 6d. be of much service to parents confronted with a diminution of anything from 15s. to £3 in the weekly income of the family. If the scheme were amended to make benefit payable immediately and on a larger scale a graver objection would still remain. It is that merely to give some small income during the period of unemployment is not really to meet the needs of these young persons. They and their families will undoubtedly need money to tide them over the period of unemployment. What the boys and girls themselves need more than money is some system which will provide for their maintenance, while at the same time relieving them of the necessity or temptation to tramp the streets in search of employment, and keeping them in

touch with influences which are, in the broadest sense of the word, educative. What they require, in fact, is some system of "maintenance under training." Some attempts to establish the beginning of such a system were made in London to meet the acute juvenile unemployment which arose during the earlier month of the war, and since then steps have been taken in Birmingham which have the same object in view. What is needed now is to arrange to meet the much more serious crisis which will arise by preparing a scheme capable of general application throughout the country.

The general purpose of such a scheme would be to ensure that all boys and girls who are thrown out of work on the return of peace should be maintained under conditions which will prevent them from being demoralised by unemployment, will improve their physique, their character and their industrial qualifications, and will prepare them to return to industry as soon as there are suitable openings for them. While, therefore, the methods followed may vary from district to district it must, in general, contain the following elements:—

(i.) Centres for unemployed boys and girls should be established in all towns with a population of more than 20,000. They should be managed by Committees composed of representatives of the Local Education Authorities, of the Juvenile Employment Committees, of Trade Unions and Employers, and of other organisations concerned with the welfare of young persons, and should be financed, not out of the education rate, but from national sources. They should be open during the day, and should be expanded or contracted according to the evidence of the growth or decline of juvenile unemployment provided by the record of registrations and placings obtained at the Local Employment Exchange.

(ii.) The object of these centres would be (a) to hold boys and girls together during the period of unemployment in close contact with the Employment Exchanges, and thus to act as a reservoir from which juvenile workers could be drawn, so that they would know that, while attending the centres, they would hear of all available openings in industry, instead of being obliged to tramp the streets in search of work (b) to use the interval during which they are unemployed to offer them opportunities of further education, including physical training, organised games, and such industrial training as can conveniently be offered with the teachers and apparatus available; and (c) to classify the boys and girls according to their educational attainments, with a view to providing, as far as possible, for their varying needs in the manner suggested below.

(iii.) The centres thus established should be treated as Registration Centres of the Employment Exchanges for the purpose of selecting boys and girls for employment in industry. All young persons registering at the Exchanges should be given a card admitting them to the nearest centre, and should be informed that the selection of applicants for openings in industry will be made from among those attending the centres.

(iv.) Maintenance allowances should be paid to the parents of all young persons for whom work is not immediately available, on condition that they attend the centres for the hours fixed by the authority controlling them. The necessity for such maintenance allowances is proved by the experience of the attempts made in

London to provide for unemployed boys and girls in the early months of the war. It is, indeed, obvious that, unless paid maintenance allowances, young persons cannot afford to forgo the search for work, even if the chances of obtaining it are small. Once the principle of maintenance allowances for all who attend the centres is established, the responsible Committee will be able to use them to induce boys and girls to attend regularly and to follow the training offered. It will have on its side the support of the parents, instead of being faced with their complaint that the children ought to be looking for work instead of attending school. The allowances should not be treated as a charge upon the education rate, but should be defrayed from a central fund for dealing with unemployment. They should be paid to the parents or guardian of all children in attendance, and should not be conditioned by a preliminary enquiry into the needs of the recipients. The object is not to deter young persons from attending, for deterrence must produce the very evils which it is necessary to avert. It is to ensure that all shall attend until such time as suitable employment is available for them.

(v.) The Committees managing the centres, while using them to keep all unemployed young persons in touch with educative influences, should endeavour to discriminate between (a) those who have educational attainments qualifying them for more advanced work in a trade school or similar institution; (b) those who do not possess such qualifications but may reasonably be expected to obtain regular employment when the period of industrial dislocation or readjustment is over; (c) those who, either owing to ill-health, or to lack of industrial qualifications, or to the demoralisation caused by the condition of their employment and social life during the past three years, require some more continuous education than can be given by part-time attendance at a centre.

Class (b) require, perhaps, no further provision than is offered by the centres themselves, provided that they are adequately staffed and succeed in attracting the great majority of boys and girls who are unemployed. Nor should it be difficult to meet the needs of Class (a). If the State would aid the Local Education Authorities to increase their provision of scholarships to Trade Schools and to other places of higher education, the result would be both to catch ability which has been neglected or misused during the recent period of intense economic pressure, and to diminish the number of young persons competing for immediate employment. The crux of the problem is class (c). It will not, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, be a small one. And it will not be easy to handle. For three years numbers of young persons have been exposed to almost every influence which could impair health, undermine character, and unfit them, both in body and mind, for regular industry or intelligent citizenship. What is needed here is a process of nothing less than re-education.

(vi.) To meet the needs of these boys it might be desirable, it may be suggested, to adopt the proposal already advanced in certain quarters, and suggested in another connection on a preceding page of this Memorandum, of establishing residential camps. The Committees, the formation of which is suggested above, might combine for their establishment and management, and full use would, of course, be made of the experience and co-operation of voluntary organisa-

tions, such as Lads' Clubs, by which such camps have been conducted in the past. In several parts of the country accommodation for several hundred boys already exists in the huts erected for soldiers, which will be vacant on the conclusion of the war, and which, though they are not worth the cost of transferring from their present sites, would be well suited for the purpose to which it is suggested they should be applied. Boys attending the day centres should be admitted to these camps for periods of not less than six weeks or two months, and in the meantime an allowance should be paid to their parents in the same way as an allowance has, in the past, been paid to the wives of unemployed men who have been offered work away from home under the Unemployed Workman Act, for example, at Hadleigh, Osea Island, and Hollesley Bay. The object of the residential camps would be to counteract, by healthy outdoor life, by the training offered through membership of a society, and by direct education, the influences productive of physical, moral, and intellectual training to which many boys have been subjected during the past three years. As the demand for juvenile labour revived, the Employment Exchanges, after placing in industry the young persons attending the day centres, would be able to draft boys back into employment from the camps. In the meantime, the boys, instead of being exposed to the grave dangers of unemployment, would have received a period of training under healthy and invigorating conditions.

(vii.) If effect is to be given to such a deliberate policy for coping with the problem of juvenile unemployment, it will not be enough to rely upon the initiative of Local Authorities. Schemes must, indeed, be administered locally. But the impulse to formulate them must come from the centre. Nor can they be undertaken successfully unless careful preparations are made for obtaining buildings, teachers, and equipment a considerable period before the need for them becomes urgent. It is necessary, therefore, that the Central Departments concerned should survey the ground, should prepare plans, and should discuss them fully with the local bodies by whom they must be administered. Had such action been taken in the past, some of the grave evils which have accompanied the recent discharges of boys from munitions works might have been averted. The failure to anticipate the minor crisis, which has arisen in that particular instance, makes it the more urgent that there should be no similar omission to prepare plans for meeting the far more serious situation which will arise at the end of the war.

Certain steps can be taken without delay. Thus the Ministry of Labour should forthwith instruct the Juvenile Advisory Committees to report upon the probable extent of unemployment among the young persons in their different areas, in order that the magnitude of the problem may be more accurately known, and to prepare a scheme of co-operation with the Local Education Authorities in the conduct of the centres suggested above. The Board of Education should warn Local Education Authorities that it will be necessary for them to find teachers and, in some areas, buildings for such centres after the war, and that they should at once make what preparations are possible for so doing; and should enlist the support of voluntary organisations. The War Office should be approached with a view to securing that priority of discharge shall be given

to teachers in the period of demobilisation, and, since the problem of providing for unemployed juveniles has already arisen, to obtaining the immediate release of teachers in low military categories.

Something more, however, than action by separate departments is needed. What is really required is the formation of some central body which would survey the whole problem of Juvenile Unemployment, prepare plans now for dealing with it, and supervise the administration of the schemes adopted when the time comes for giving effect to them. Such a body should contain representatives of the Juvenile Advisory Committees, of Trade Unions and employers, and of voluntary organisations interested in the welfare of young persons, together with representatives of the Board of Education, of the Ministry of Labour, and the Welfare Section of the Ministry of Munitions. Its duties would not merely be to conduct one more investigation, but to prepare a policy and to supervise its administration. All experience shows that all merely local schemes for dealing with unemployment are doomed to failure; and there is no reason to suppose that what in the past has been true of schemes intended for men will be less true in the future of schemes intended for young persons.

To these proposals it may be objected that such a system of training as could be given in the day-centres proposed above would be at best a makeshift and would have little educational value. Many of the boys and girls will be able to attend only for short periods of time. The teaching staff will be insufficient in number and unaccustomed to handle a new and difficult problem. The most suitable curriculum will be difficult to discover, and, by the time that it has been worked out, the number of boys and girls in attendance may have fallen by one-half or two-thirds. These criticisms contain much truth. Too much must not be expected from a new departure improvised to meet an exceptional crisis. But if it is true that, in the words of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War, "Children on tenterhooks not to miss the chance of a job are not likely to be in a state of mind for systematic study," that "progressive instruction will hardly be possible with a class which is in a state of flux," and that "the advantage would be a disciplinary rather than a strictly educational one," it is also true that such a "disciplinary" advantage would be great. After all, education is perhaps interpreted too narrowly when its value is measured by the "progressive instruction" which is offered in some special subject or subjects. To strengthen physique and character, to aid the formation of habits of industry and application, to counteract the temptation of the streets, if it is not education, is a benefit not less real. The advantages of the system must be judged by the evils of that to which it is an alternative. The alternative for many children will be idleness, casual labour, the tramp for employment. Compared with what otherwise awaits them, attendance at a centre, even temporary attendance at an ill-equipped centre, would be a humanising influence.

It may be urged, again, that the system suggested will cost money, and that it is not worth establishing it to meet a crisis which, however grave while it lasts, will, it is hoped, be of short duration. That such a policy will involve expenditure is, of course, true. How much expenditure it will involve it is impossible to say,

since the number of young persons who will be unemployed, the period during which they will need maintenance and training, and the cost per head of providing for them are all uncertain. It may be suggested, however, that to dismiss the proposal made above on the ground of expense is analogous to the policy, now admittedly a mistaken one, of refusing, for the same reason, to make provision for unemployed workers of other kinds. The problem of juvenile unemployment is, in fact, a particular case of the general problem of unemployment. Since the passage of the Unemployed Workman Act of 1905, and still more since the Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1909, it has been recognised that, from the point of view of national well-being, the most prodigal course is to decline to make provision for men who, through no fault of their own, are without work, and thus to condemn them either to semi-starvation or to reliance upon precarious and often degrading assistance from voluntary sources.

In the case of young persons, such a course is doubly uneconomical. The cost of providing maintenance and training will be less, and the benefits to be derived will be greater. For while many adult workers are too old to respond, in more than a slight degree, to any system of training, however well designed, the boys and girls, who are the subject of this Report, are still plastic and malleable. Their character can still be given a bias in this direction or that: their energies and aptitudes can still be strengthened and cultivated, or undermined and wasted. It is not merely a question of preventing them from falling into distress, but of preparing them for a life of self-respecting industry and citizenship. Expenditure devoted to such a purpose is, in the truest sense, remunerative. It adds to the capital wealth of the nation. Nor would the adoption of the policy outlined above be of merely temporary value. Though the dislocation caused by the termination of the war is likely to be exceptionally acute, unemployment among young persons is a regular phenomenon, and the provision made for it should be equally regular. The maintenance of centres to which young persons who do not at once find work through the Exchange are referred, and in which they are offered training, ought to be as permanent a part of the machinery for dealing with Unemployment as the Exchanges themselves.

(c) *Conclusion.*

To say that the adoption of such a policy would prevent the grave evils which are likely to appear during the period of demobilisation would be an exaggeration. But it would at least mitigate them. The alternative is the further deterioration of many thousand young persons, and it is by contrast with that alternative that the proposals advanced above must be judged. If the mischievous effects upon the rising generation of the past four years cannot be effaced, they need not be intensified. The nation is under some obligation to the boys and girls whose health, education, and industrial training have suffered in the stress of an unprecedented emergency. In discharging that obligation it will do something to conserve the energies of mind and character which are the foundation of good citizenship and the true source of national wealth.

It may, indeed, do more. By facing boldly the problem presented by the immediate crisis, it may gain the experience required to carry out more fundamental and more difficult reforms. It is

impossible in these pages to enter upon a consideration of the larger issues which are suggested by any examination, however perfunctory, of the problems surrounding the employment of juvenile workers in Great Britain. They have been concerned with two questions and two only—the present influence upon them of the economic transformation induced by the war, and the future influence of the second transformation which may be expected to accompany the return of peace. But conditions which are abnormal sometimes throw light upon those which are normal, and the crisis in the lives of juvenile workers, with which these pages deal, has lessons applicable to their position in the ordinary routine of industry. For the problems which have arisen in the course of the last four years are not novelties. They attract attention not because they are new, but because the concentration of industrial changes within a comparatively short period has caused evils, which normally are unnoticed because normally they are familiar, to appear upon a more sensational scale.

“Upon this educational and industrial chaos has come the war, to aggravate conditions which could hardly be made graver and to emphasise a problem that needed no emphasis.” The Committee upon Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War, from whose Report these words are taken, has put the problem of the juvenile worker in its true perspective. Conditions would not have been so grave to-day had they not been grave five years ago. Now that their lesson is written in the large letters of a national crisis it can not be forgotten when that crisis is over, when the boys and girls who have stood in the places vacated by men have drifted unnoticed into humbler employments, and sometimes, it is to be feared, into unemployment. The immediate difficulties will be great, and an attempt has been made to indicate some of the methods by which they may be met. But they would not have arisen in so acute a form unless the national attitude towards the employment of boys and girls in industry had been, in some respects, profoundly mistaken. They will not be removed, though they may be thrust again into a decent obscurity, unless that attitude is changed.

What is needed, in fact, is not the mere application of the expedients outlined in the preceding pages, but something like a conversion of the public mind to a new conception of the significance of the adolescent worker, and, therefore, of the treatment appropriate to him. It is the recognition that the conditions of juvenile employment, if they are to be judged wisely, must be judged with reference, not to the immediate exigencies of industry, but to their effect upon the future development of the boys and girls affected by them. If the community would make the most intelligent use of the human energies which are the ultimate source of all wealth, it must take a dynamic, not a static, view of adolescent labour. To the educationalist such a statement is, of course, a platitude. But on purely economic grounds it is equally incontestable. The economic considerations applicable to the work of boys and girls are radically different from those applicable to adults. It is the difference between capital and income, between the orchard just planted and the grown trees which yield fruit year by year. In the case of the adult the most important economic question is, for the individual, the obtaining of the best remuneration, and, for society, the obtain-

ing of the best service, in the immediate present. In the case of the adolescent such questions are as inappropriate as would be the attempt to harvest crops in spring. On the one hand, the years between 14 and 21 must not only pay for the maintenance of the boy during that period, but must prepare him for maintaining himself in independence in manhood. On the other hand, from the point of view of the community, the adolescent worker is a potential parent and potential citizen, and its future well-being will depend upon his obtaining in youth the economic qualifications needed to enable him to lead a life of self-respecting independence in manhood.

Such considerations are so obvious that the distinction in status and function between the learner and the journeyman or master, which is one practical application of them, is among the most ancient industrial institutions of the country. In so far as they are observed, the position of the juvenile worker tends to be good, since he is protected against the rigours of economic exploitation by consideration for his future and for the future of the industry in which he works. In so far as they are not observed—and the industries in which they are effectively observed, if they exist at all, are to-day a small minority—his position tends to be bad, and he is employed for his immediate commercial utility as an instrument of production, without regard to the effect of his employment upon his future prospects. When that happens; when the health of boys and girls is undermined by the excessive hours of labour which, though aggravated by the war, are common in time of peace; when, again, a firm or an industry gets its work done by relays of young persons, who are taken on when they leave the elementary school, offered no opportunities of training, and discharged when they ask for an adult's wage, the community is in the position of a man who is living on his capital. It is not the case, therefore, that, as sometimes alleged, that proposals for limiting the employment of young persons for the sake of their education spring from a sentimental indifference to the commercial interests of the nation. Whether, indeed, economic considerations are the final criterion, whether there is not a certain absurdity in applying the rigours of the economic calculus to boys and girls of 14 and 15, need not here be enquired. But there is no doubt whatever what course of action would be prescribed by a consideration for the economic interests of the nation. It would be to subordinate the employment of young persons for their immediate utility to their preparation for more effective work as men and women, and to impose such restrictions, by way of half-time continued education, the drastic reduction of hours, and the revival, when possible, of a genuine system of apprenticeship, as may be needed to make that subordination effective. The danger is not that there may in the present be too few adolescent "labourers," but that there may be too many, and that as a result there may in the future be too few healthy and well-trained adult workers and intelligent citizens. The war has revealed that danger. But, as all who have followed the discussion of the problem in recent years know only too well, the war did not create it. If it is to be averted, there must, when peace returns, be a fundamental alteration in the status of juvenile workers, and in the conditions of their employment.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

I. As long warning as possible should be given of the termination of all war contracts, in order that the workers affected may have a reasonable period in which to obtain fresh employment.

II. All Government factories and other establishments should be instructed—

(a) to hold back the discharge of young persons until notified by the Employment Exchanges that vacancies are available;

(b) when they discharge young persons, to discharge them in small groups at a time;

(c) to set up, in co-operation with the Local Education Authorities, a system of part-time day continued education.

III. The Ministry of Munitions should circularise all controlled firms requiring them to adopt a similar procedure.

IV. Provision should be made forthwith for setting up Juvenile Employment Committees in those areas where no Committee exists and where a considerable number of juveniles are employed.

V. The closest co-operation should be established between the Juvenile Employment Committees and the Local Advisory Committees.

VI. The staff of the Juvenile Department of the Employment Exchanges should be strengthened and its premises should be extended in order to cope with the increased volume of work consequent on the raising to 18 of the age of the juveniles with whom they deal.

VII. The Juvenile Employment Committees should be recognised as the authority for supervising the development of the industrial situation and for evolving plans for its control. To this end they should immediately form an estimate of:—

(a) the number of young persons likely to be discharged;

(b) the probable demand for juvenile labour;

(c) the number of those for whom no alternative employment will be available.

VIII. With a view to checking the competition of boys and girls leaving school with those already in industry, and to securing, as far as possible, that the latter shall find employment:—

(a) All bye-laws permitting exemption from school attendance below the age of 14 should be immediately suspended.

(b) Clauses 8, 10, and 13 of the Education Act, 1918, should be put into operation at the earliest possible moment.

(c) The Board of Education should urge on all Local Education Authorities, as a temporary measure, to use the power conferred by the Education Act, 1918, to raise the age of full-time attendance to 15, to provide maintenance allowances under Clause 24 of the Act.

IX. With a view to withdrawing from industry young persons now engaged in it, and to providing for their higher education, the Government should announce forthwith its intention of establishing a generous system of scholarships and maintenance allowances.

X. The number of hours permitted to be worked by young persons should be revised by an amendment of the Factory Acts.

XI. Maintenance grants should be provided for all young persons thrown out of employment, and provision made for the setting up of:—

(a) Centres for instruction and recreation of all unemployed young persons.

(b) Residential camps.

XII. The Board of Education should warn Local Education Authorities that it will be necessary for them to provide teachers, and in some areas, buildings, for the purpose of the Unemployment Centres.

XIII. The War Office should secure priority of discharge for teachers.

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## APPENDIX A.

Distribution of young persons between different employments in July, 1914, and January, 1918.\*

	Total Boys and Girls under 18 years of age.		Total Boys under 18 years of age.		Total Girls under 18 years of age.	
	Estimated numbers employed in Jan., 1918.	Increase or Decrease since July, 1914.	Estimated numbers employed in Jan., 1918.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.	Estimated numbers employed in Jan., 1918.	Increase or decrease since July, 1914.
Building .. ..	48,000	- 12,300	42,000	- 17,000	6,000	+ 4,700
Mines and Quarries ..	178,000	+ 11,300	174,000	+ 9,000	4,000	+ 2,250
Metal trades .. ..	409,000	+173,800	303,000	+113,000	106,000	+ 60,800
Chemical trades .. ..	48,000	+ 22,300	22,000	+ 7,500	26,000	+ 14,850
Textile trades .. ..	324,000	- 15,000	114,000	- 10,000	210,000	- 5,000
Clothing trades .. ..	169,000	- 19,600	45,000	- 3,000	124,000	- 16,550
Food, drink and tobacco .. ..	96,000	+ 7,200	43,000	+ 3,000	53,000	+ 4,200
Paper and printing ..	74,000	- 11,700	30,000	- 10,000	44,000	- 1,750
Wood trades .. ..	55,000	+ 10,000	34,000	- 500	21,000	+ 10,500
Other industries .. ..	81,000	+ 10,000	44,000	- 1,000	37,000	+ 11,000
<b>Industries Total ..</b>	<b>1,482,000</b>	<b>+176,000</b>	<b>851,000</b>	<b>+ 91,000</b>	<b>631,000</b>	<b>+ 85,000</b>
Municipal gas, water, electricity .. ..	3,500	+ 2,000	3,000	+ 1,500	500	+ 500
Government establishments .. ..	30,000	+ 27,000	21,000	+ 18,000	9,000	+ 9,000
Agriculture .. ..	130,000	- 9,000	113,000	- 14,000	17,000	+ 5,000
Transport .. ..	102,500	+ 25,100	90,500	+ 14,400	12,000	+ 10,700
Finance and commerce ..	416,000	+ 94,000	216,000	- 22,500	200,000	+116,500
Professional occupations .. ..	27,000	+ 8,000	17,000	+ 3,000	10,000	+ 5,000
Hotels, cinemas, theatres .. ..	32,000	+ 7,000	19,000	+ 6,500	13,000	+ 500
Post Office .. ..	23,000	- 4,000	9,000	- 7,800	14,000	+ 3,800
Other Civil service .. ..	14,500	+ 11,400	4,500	+ 1,500	10,000	+ 9,900
Local Government (including education but excluding Municipal trams, water, gas, electricity .. ..)	17,500	+ 4,500	10,000	+ 2,400	7,500	+ 2,100
<b>Total of above, ..</b>	<b>2,111,000</b>	<b>+342,000</b>	<b>1,354,000</b>	<b>+ 94,000</b>	<b>924,000</b>	<b>+248,000</b>

\* These figures for January, 1918, were not available until the greater portion of the Report and Appendices had been written. They do not appear to involve the contradiction of any of the statements made in the Report on the basis of the figures for the period ending October, 1917, but they are included here as giving a more recent picture of the distribution of employment among boys and girls. Allowance must be made for the seasonal decline in agriculture, and possibly in one or two other cases between July and January.

## APPENDIX B.

## NOTE ON THE STATE OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG BOYS FROM THE OUTBREAK OF WAR TO MAY, 1918.

I. *General Survey:*

(1) The outbreak of war caused a severe dislocation of industry, and for the first month or six weeks the number of boys discharged from pre-war employment and seeking fresh jobs steadily increased. So serious was the danger of demoralisation among the unemployed boys and girls that in London 20 or more special centres had to be opened in club premises for the use of the juveniles during the day. During the month ending September 11th, 1914, the registrations at Exchanges for the whole country reached the high figure of 22,000 in the case of boys and 23,000 in the case of girls. After the first two months, however, the tide turned, and the surplus of boys between 14 and 17 years of age began to be absorbed, partly as the result of the re-opening of factories and partly owing to the shortage of men consequent upon enlistment. By December, 1914, the number of boys registering at Exchanges was lower than before the war, and during the first six months of 1915 the vacancies notified were actually in excess of the number of applicants. It is, therefore, safe to assume that in 1915 no boy who desired a job had any difficulty in finding one. This boom in employment served to emphasise, particularly in the case of boys, the general upward tendency of wages which took place in the labour market, and it is known that large numbers of boys gave up their less remunerative pre-war employment in order to secure the higher pay that was offered in connection with urgent war-contract work. Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that in the overwhelming majority of cases this boom in employment and in wages attracted the boys to jobs which offered no sort of prospects for the future and no training that carried any market value except in the firm where they picked it up. There was a marked disinclination to accept apprenticeship conditions and the low wages incidental thereto, and many firms, more especially in the North of England and Scotland, have been unable to secure their full complement of learners for shipbuilding and engineering trades. In some industries, however, such as joinery and carpentry, the war has reduced the facilities which enabled apprentices to be taken in normal times. The shortage of skilled men, crowding of the benches and shops, and the general necessity of working at high pressure have made some employers unwilling or unable to take on the full number of new recruits for their trades.

(2) The statistical evidence (see Tables on page 11) obtained by the Board of Trade Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch confirms the evidence of the Juvenile Employment Exchanges as to the great concentration of boy labour during the war in the munitions industry and the metal industries in general.

Before the war it is estimated that 190,000 boys were employed in the metal industries. By July, 1916, this figure had been increased by more than 80,000, and by October, 1917, by 100,000, or about 50 per cent. This figure would be nearer 60 per cent. if it included the boys employed on munition work in Government arsenals and dockyards, and it would fully account for the whole of the increase of boys' employment in this country during the war. All the other

principal branches of industry and commerce show during these three years a net reduction in the number of boys amounting to about 33 per cent.

(3) In 1916, a somewhat sudden reaction set in. The number of boys applying to the Exchanges rapidly increased, and the number of vacancies notified fell by about 20 per cent. as compared with 1915. By August, 1916, the daily average number of boys registering at Exchanges was as much as 60 per cent. higher than it had been 18 months previously, and with certain fluctuations the registrations have been increasing ever since.

The Table on pages 80 and 81 shows the average live register in the Boys' Department of certain Employment Exchanges in corresponding periods of the years 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, and in the first months of 1918. As the problem is almost wholly an industrial one only the large towns have been taken, and it will be seen that for these areas there is a marked similarity in the figures given. With few exceptions they follow the course indicated in the preceding paragraphs, and it may be pointed out that, for the 66 towns, the totals for the six months ending November 9th, 1917, were actually higher than for the corresponding period of 1914, when the amount of unemployment constituted a grave national problem. There was a still further increase in the figures during the six-monthly period ending May 10th, 1918. It should be explained that the live register is here taken as the number of applicants on the register who desire employment, but who at the end of each week have not been placed. It should also be added that the average number of vacancies notified during the last two years covered by the table has remained fairly constant.

The same fact is brought out by Board of Trade Statistics which show that the rate of increase of boys' employment in the metal trades has fallen rapidly during the last year, and, taking all the principal branches of industry together, there was a net reduction of 9,000 in the number of boys employed between April and October, 1917.

(4) Reports received from Juvenile Employment Committees, officials, etc., show that very serious difficulties have for some time been experienced in dealing with boys, and that the problem has become most acute as regards unemployed boys between the ages of 15 and 17½. Not only is the demand for boys of this age strictly limited, but the boys themselves refuse to accept many of the vacancies even at a rate of wages which would have been regarded as attractive in 1914. It is noticeable that the great majority of these boys apply for some form of engineering or munitions work and are prepared to wait for long periods until they can get it.

The chief causes appear to be as follows:—

(a) The work on which the boys have been engaged is usually war work and is highly paid. Boys of 15½, who would have earned 15s. before the war, have been able to earn from 25s. per week to £3 per week, though the latter sum has, of course, been exceptional.

(b) The conditions of employment have not been favourable and have had a bad effect on the boy both morally and physically. He has become intractable, and prone to throw up his job on slight provocation. Often the heavy nature of the work or

TABLE SHOWING THE AVERAGE LIVE REGISTER IN THE BOYS' DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT: EXCHANGES OVER CERTAIN PERIODS SINCE 1914 IN RESPECT OF 66 TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Over a six months' period ending—				
	Nov 13, 1914.	Nov. 12, 1915.	Nov. 10 1916.	Nov. 9, 1917.	May 10, 1918.
<b>(a) LARGE TOWNS.</b>					
1. London (all metropolitan E.E.'s taken together) ..	2,096	1,222	1,624	1,895	2,085
2. Birmingham (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	430	153	197	326	464
3. Glasgow (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	156	111	132	128	140
4. Leeds (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	73	31	64	96	121
5. Manchester (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	104	29	46	61	78
6. Bristol (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	71	108	155	182	203
7. Hull .. ..	93	51	80	88	99
8. Newcastle-on-Tyne and Gateshead (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	65	48	110	141	125
9. Aberdeen .. ..	22	9	7	11	65
10. Dundee .. ..	12	5	4	16	105
11. Belfast (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	88	76	95	106	160
12. Dublin .. ..	111	95	140	121	132
13. Southampton .. ..	44	21	59	44	36
14. Cardiff (including sub-exchanges) .. ..	64	57	84	125	110
15. Norwich .. ..	18	5	11	19	32
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>3,537</b>	<b>2,021</b>	<b>2,808</b>	<b>3,359</b>	<b>3,955</b>
<b>(b) OTHER TOWNS.</b>					
Brighton and Hove .. ..	37	24	44	44	59
Chatham .. ..	131	83	75	116	146
Erith .. ..	8	5	15	20	18
Gravesend .. ..	10	6	17	14	20
Ipewich .. ..	19	14	23	28	39
Kingston-on-Thames .. ..	28	20	58	64	58
Lowestoft .. ..	6	15	46	37	39
Oxford .. ..	10	7	23	27	41
Reading .. ..	22	41	66	84	86
Sheerness .. ..	8	8	9	17	18
Basingstoke .. ..	—	1	6	7	14
Bath .. ..	9	12	21	16	19
Bournemouth .. ..	15	6	11	12	41
Cheltenham .. ..	9	12	13	25	36
Gloucester .. ..	4	7	31	26	38
Gosport .. ..	12	15	16	43	65

	Over a six-months' period ending—				
	Nov. 13, 1914.	Nov. 12, 1915.	Nov. 10, 1916.	Nov. 9, 1917.	May 10, 1918.
<b>(b) OTHER TOWNS—continued.</b>					
Plymouth (including Devon- port and Keyham) .. ..	79	69	57	68	71
Portsmouth* .. .. .	121	104	158	175	312
Weymouth .. .. .	9	15	34	34	25
Burton .. .. .	25	14	24	28	17
Coventry .. .. .	69	48	61	72	115
Hereford .. .. .	11	18	149	15	7
Stafford (including sub-ex- changes) .. .. .	96	67	42	66	50
Walsall .. .. .	17	8	17	45	36
Wolverhampton .. .. .	20	11	9	15	31
Derby .. .. .	37	12	15	26	34
Grimsby .. .. .	28	43	30	28	22
Northallerton .. .. .	111	1	1	15	12
Nottingham .. .. .	53	16	52	36	37
Rotherham .. .. .	21	9	33	27	34
Sheffield and Attercliffe	55	29	58	43	42
Ashton-under-Lyne .. ..	26	12	11	26	33
Birkenhead and Wallasey	60	24	34	34	47
Blackburn .. .. .	13	14	7	25	57
Bolton .. .. .	25	13	19	32	66
Burnley .. .. .	46	11	11	16	27
Lancaster .. .. .	9	7	13	16	18
Liverpool .. .. .	49	34	49	69	58
Bootle .. .. .	19	7	39	44	37
Oldham (including sub-ex- changes) .. .. .	12	8	16	26	46
Preston .. .. .	15	25	23	47	50
Salford and Eccles .. ..	67	18	34	37	34
Stockport .. .. .	44	14	18	40	35
Sunderland and Pallion (in- cluding sub-exchanges) ..	37	45	36	23	35
West Hartlepool .. .. .	20	16	20	17	16
Edinburgh .. .. .	102	56	78	118	88
Leith .. .. .	88	85	49	53	63
Paisley .. .. .	8	12	13	53	16
Wishaw .. .. .	6	1	5	10	5
Newport .. .. .	43	38	47	57	57
Swansea .. .. .	25	16	35	47	29
<b>Total .. .. .</b>	<b>1,684</b>	<b>1,196</b>	<b>1,771</b>	<b>2,063</b>	<b>2,420</b>
<b>Grand total :</b> .. .. .	<b>5,221</b>	<b>3,217</b>	<b>4,579</b>	<b>5,422</b>	<b>6,375</b>

\*The Portsmouth and Chatham registers include a number of boys on the waiting list for employment in the Dockyards.

the long hours of overtime have caused an undue strain on his health.

(c) About October, 1916, the practice of substituting female for male labour became fairly general, and has been steadily increasing ever since. This policy, though not originally intended to displace boys below military age, has undoubtedly been responsible for the discharge of thousands of boys from munitions and other war work. In the case of controlled establishments the substitution has taken place in conformity with the general policy of the Ministry of Munitions, but the practice has also been widely adopted among independent firms in all kinds of industries.

(d) In the case of the blind-alloy employment of boys, the usual sequence of events has occurred and boys on reaching the age of 16 or 17 have been replaced by a new generation of children leaving school at 14. The latter are less expensive, and they are usually considered by employers to be better behaved in the works. Moreover, the practice has become easier, owing to the large number of children under 14 exempted from school subsequent to 1914.

(e) Boys who have been discharged or have thrown up their jobs have found it difficult to obtain other work at the same high rate of pay, and they have shown great persistence in refusing to accept a reduction of even one or two shillings a week. The course favoured by many boys was to apply for a man's job, but, having acquired no marketable skill or experience in the first two years of their employment, they could only apply for jobs performed by unskilled adults. Here again the demand for boys was limited, since the average boy of 16 years has insufficient bodily strength to do the labouring work of a full-grown man. In any case, employers have shown reluctance to take on boys of 16-17 years, in view of their liability for military service at the age of 18.

## II.—Action taken to meet the Difficulty.

(1) Juvenile Employment Committees and the After-Care Visitors attached to them have exercised considerable influence on the boys coming within their notice. Efforts have been made to encourage a greater steadiness amongst the boys; they have been persuaded to save, and, where possible, to accept employment offering good prospects. Exchange officials have made special efforts to obtain vacancies suitable for the older boys, and a careful watch has been kept upon the vacancies notified to the Men's Department of Employment Exchanges, with a view to utilising any which might be suitable for the older and stronger boys.

(2) *Arrangements in connection with the dilution policy of the Ministry of Munitions.*—In March, 1917, a special arrangement was made with the Ministry of Munitions which provided that, when a Dilution Officer found, on inspecting a firm, that any considerable number of boys should be discharged, he should, if possible, consult the Secretary of the Local Juvenile Employment Committee in order that some arrangement might be made for dealing with these boys. An additional instruction issued to Dilution Officers in July, 1917, was to the effect that boys should be kept off work on which

they were likely to earn such high piece rates as would discourage them from undergoing any period of training; otherwise they should be left on machine processes from which they might gain some experience and training that would be of value to them.

The value of these arrangements has varied considerably in different parts of the country, but on the whole they appear to have been of use. In Wales and at Birmingham, where the Employment Exchange Officers and the Dilution Officers have established close co-operation, they have undoubtedly been very successful. The scheme of co-operation at Birmingham was as follows:—

The Dilution Officer before recommending the discharge of any boys first informed the Organising Officer for Welfare Work in Birmingham (an official of the Ministry of Munitions), who immediately visited the works in question and reviewed each case from the point of view of the factory as a whole and not merely the individual job on which the boy is engaged. As a result, in the majority of cases, an arrangement is made for a system of transfer from one machine or job, or from one Department to another. Where dilution is necessary, the firm prepare a list of the names, ages, addresses, wages and nature of job of all boys affected for the Juvenile Exchange, where arrangements are made for the gradual withdrawal of the boys. Weekly conferences are held between the Dilution Officer, the Welfare Officer and the officer of the Juvenile Exchange, at which all these cases are discussed, together with any other matters which may arise.

(3) *The appointment of Welfare Supervisors.*—The appointment of Welfare Officers by firms has, of course, done much to improve the conditions of boy labour and to neutralise the effects of heavy employment and long hours. Juvenile Employment Committees very early interested themselves in this matter, and did much to bring to light the unsatisfactory state of affairs which existed in the early days of the war. At their instigation numerous employers, including at least one Government Establishment, have adopted a welfare system for their boys. A wider success and publicity has attended this development since the establishment of a special boys' section under the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions.

(4) *Munitions of War Act (Leaving Certificates).*—Judging from the numerous cases which came before Munitions Tribunals in 1915 and 1916, the institution of Leaving Certificates seems to have had the effect of retarding the movement of juvenile labour. The Manager of the Greenock Employment Exchange reported in June, 1916, that, "since the Clearance Certificates regulations came into force, the number of boy applicants eligible for employment has considerably diminished. . . . There is no doubt that this method has proved most effective in keeping boys at their work and has lessened the inconvenience to which employers were put through the juveniles leaving their situations." This matter has not, however, been referred to in reports from other parts of the country, nor has the abolition of the certificates, in so far as they concern this particular side of the question, given rise to any comment.

It should be mentioned that under the Munitions of War Act (1917) new Regulations were issued preventing workpeople engaged in munitions work from transferring to non-munitions work without the permission of the Minister of Munitions. This restriction

pressed hardly on the case of boys, and was strongly objected to by J.E.C.s, who were already finding the greatest difficulty in placing boys who had been engaged in highly-paid non-educative munitions work. At the request of the Ministry of Labour, therefore, the Regulations have been waived by the Ministry of Munitions as regards boys placed through the Employment Exchanges.

(5) *Enlistment of Boys for the Royal Air Force.*—A minor factor in relieving the situation has been the enlistment of about 5,000 boys for the R.A.F. The R.A.F. since October, 1917, have been enrolling lads of from 15½-17 for training as air artificers and the type of boy required was often to be found amongst the boys displaced from munitions work.

(6) *Birmingham Scheme for dealing with unemployed boys.*—The scheme of co-operation described in Appendix D has been arranged between the Y.M.C.A. and the J.E.C. It is interesting to note, however, that, although it was begun very successfully, the success of the dilution scheme referred to above has, for the time being, rendered it unnecessary.

(7) *General notification of discharges by employers.*—A number of J.E.C.s have strongly recommended that all employers should be asked to notify impending discharges of juveniles to the Employment Exchanges. It is felt that if committees have this information in time it may often be possible by special efforts to place the juveniles thus discharged elsewhere, or if this is not immediately possible, it will at any rate enable committees to keep in touch with them and prevent as far as possible the deteriorating effects which accompany periods of unemployment. All committees are, therefore, being supplied with special forms on which employers may be asked to notify impending discharges.

#### *Extracts from Reports.*

III.—The following are Extracts from reports, minutes of meetings of J.E.C.'s, etc., showing the difficulties experienced in connection with the employment of boys of 15½-17 :—

*Oldham J.E.C. Annual Report, Year ended 31/7/16.*—" Since the dilution of labour, the demand for youths, both as apprentices and labourers, has been more normal and, during the last few months, it has been most difficult to find employment for youths of 15 and 16 years of age in engineering works. . . .

" The shortage of adult labour in the mills has rendered it necessary for boys to undertake men's work, the wages obtainable by a boy of 13 years of age quickly amounting to 20s. per week and increasing in the case of a youth a year or two older to about 30s. a week. Unfortunately, these high wages, in many cases have a detrimental effect upon the boys both morally and physically."

*Newcastle-on-Tyne J.E.C. Report, dated 15/12/16.*—" The wages demanded by boys is most excessive, many being paid 28s. to 35s. weekly as drivers and cart men. It is no unusual thing for a boy of 14 or 15 years of age to leave a job where he is earning 12s. to 13s. because he wants ' more money. ' "

*Ealing J.E.C. Report, Year ended 31/12/16.*—" The development of large munition factories has brought with it an unusual demand for juvenile labour, and many of our young people have found employment in factories at Hayes, Acton, and other centres.

In many cases boys of 15 and 16 have been allowed to work for very long periods in both day and night shifts, and their wages in certain cases have been up to and above 30s. a week. This is continued for perhaps a few months and then, whether through illness or removal, the boy has appeared at the Bureau for assistance *re* further employment. Immediately the question arises, 'What money shall I get?' and invariably he expects approximately the same as he earned at munitions.'

*Bristol J.A.C. Minutes of Meeting held 6/3/17.*—"The Secretary read the following paragraph which had been included in a letter from the Bristol National Service Committee to the National Service Department:—"In dealing with the question of the utilisation of labour below the age of 18, the experience of the Juvenile Employment Committee of the Bristol Labour Exchange points to the fact that there is a considerable amount of this class of labour at present unemployed. It appears that there are on the books of the Exchange on an average 100 youths out of employment, not because work is scarce, but through their own action. The youths demand men's wages and the conditions of man labour, and many of them are undisciplined. This experience is, doubtless, not peculiar to Bristol, and I am to suggest that, in the interest of National Service, some steps should be taken in the matter.' "

*Brighton J.E.C. Minutes of Meeting held 7/5/17.*—"Boys are asking exorbitantly high wages. One boy of 15 has given up a place at ——— because he considered 15s. a week not enough; he has been out of work for three weeks. A lad of fourteen has given up a place on a farm because he wanted more than 12s. a week. A lad of thirteen refuses to go to the Post Office as a messenger as he thinks 6s. too small a wage. A boy named ——— asked for any kind of employment if the wages were high. This same boy was dismissed from three places for theft within a fortnight."

*Preston J.A.C. Minutes of Meeting held 12/7/17.*—"Two types of worker are most difficult to place at the present time:—

"(a) Apprentices. This applies not only to the engineering trades, but also in other trades where the proportion of apprentices is strictly limited and where the number of journeymen employed is now at a minimum.

"(b) A fairly large class of lower-grade workers of from 15 to 17 years of age who refuse any offer of employment unless the wage is abnormally high. In many cases these boys have left their jobs for quite trivial reasons and having too high an estimate of their money value, prefer to remain out of work rather than accept a more normal wage. There are several boys of this type on the Register now who have been out of employment for from two weeks to two months, and in whom signs of economic deterioration are quite visible."

*West Ham J.E.C. Report for the four weeks ended 9/11/17.*—"Boys Live Register equals 107. . . . More than one-third of the boys on the Live Register have worked in the Woolwich Arsenal, and are now demanding the same high rate of wages as they earned there. It is very difficult to place these boys; some have been on the Register for weeks, and refuse all work offered to them."

*Extract from Report by the Divisional Officer, North-Western*

*Division, Feb., 1918.*—"A boy aged 16 applied at the Ashton-under-Lyne Exchange and declined to entertain any employment offering less than £2 a week. Up to six months ago he was employed as a piecer in a cotton mill, earning 23s. a week, and since then he has been employed at a motor car works as a labourer, where his earnings, inclusive of overtime and Sunday pay, are stated to have been over £4 a week. He has declined an offer of employment at his old occupation at a local cotton mill."

*Leeds J.A.C. Report submitted to Meeting held 10/1/18.*—"There is a very marked increase in the number of applicants left on the 'Live Register' in the Boys' Department. Twelve months ago the boys available for jobs were 48. The present figures show 168—an increase of 120 in the year and of nine on the month. There are more than twice as many girls as there were a year ago, i.e., 70, as compared with 30, on the Live Register. There are slightly more vacancies available than there were last month and considerably more than twelve months ago. 319 vacancies were notified; these had to be shared among the 542 boys registered. If it were considered that each of the 319 vacancies was suitable for one of the 542 boys, there would still be 223 boys without work. It is estimated that at least half of this remainder were quite suitable to be placed. Work could easily have been found for some of them in the wholesale clothing trade, but this was not the class of work desired, engineering, munitions or driving jobs being the aim of the applicants."

*The Holloway J.A.C. reported in February, 1918, as follows:—*"The Holloway Advisory Committee are desirous of drawing the Central (London) Committee's attention to the serious condition of unemployment existing among youths (15-17 years) in North London to-day. The slackness in the engineering trade and the absence of any kind of munition work, together with the exorbitant wages demanded by juveniles, make the work of the boys' counter increasingly difficult.

"Lads 15-16 years of age ask 5d. to 6½d. an hour for drilling or lathe work; lads 16-17 years of age refuse to take less than 7d.-9d. per hour, although most of them are quite unskilled hands. They visit the Exchange in gangs, and their behaviour in the Juvenile Department is a very bad example to the younger boys.

"A fight took place some weeks ago, and became so serious that the Acting Secretary was obliged to interfere at the risk of being knocked down. One of the lads was badly hurt in the face and very upset. Later, when leaving the Exchange, he was set upon outside and rescued by officers from the Men's Department. On another occasion a gang of five young 'roughs' about 17 years of age entered the Department at closing-time, and, hearing there was no work for them, threw chairs across the room and upset the fire pails over one another.

"Smoking is prevalent among the younger boys, who become insolent when told to put their cigarettes out.

"Much difficulty is experienced in filling orders ranging from 12s. 6d. to 17s. 6d., even when they are from local employers. Every effort is made to find employment for these lads, although their laziness and lack of enterprise will not take them in many cases to the borders of this district.

*Edgware Road J.A.C.* state that there seems to be a great shortage of work for boys, particularly for the big lads of 16 and over. There is practically no engineering or munition work, and 70 per cent. of the boys ask for this work. There are not as many openings for beginners.

*Note by the Divisional Officer (London and S.E. Area.*—"The Registers are considerably higher all over London, and there is undoubtedly a lack of openings offering the wages demanded by the boys. There is now distinctly less work in engineering shops than there has been for many months. This applies not only to openings for older lads, but also to those for school leavers.")

#### IV.—*Probable effects at the end of the war.*

(1) It is obvious that the facts set out in the previous sections of this Note have a close bearing on the problem of resettling juvenile labour in employment during the period of transition after the war. It is probably safe to assume that the existing difficulties in dealing with boys between 16 and 17 referred to above are typical of the difficulties which will arise during demobilisation. If this is so, there will still be a relatively good demand in industry for boys leaving school at the age of 14, and the chief difficulty will centre round the boys in the age period of 15½ to 17½.

(2) There will, however, be certain important differences in the position if, as it is hoped, the Education Act is put into operation at or before the time when industrial conditions are dislocated, and if the measures advocated in Chapter IV. of the main report are adopted.

(3) Another factor which should be taken into account is that the large majority of the boys who were absorbed on work of an unskilled character during 1914 and 1915 will in 1918 have reached the age of military service. The demobilisation and employment of such youths will no doubt raise many difficult questions, but it will be a different problem from that which it is the business of this report to consider.

(4) There are also signs that there has been a revival of interest in the apprenticeship of boys, both on the part of some employers, and on the part of parents during the last twelve months. Boys who have been apprenticed should be fairly secure in their employment at the end of the war, providing that there is no undue failure in the supply of the raw materials of industry and no complete stoppage due to industrial disputes.

(5) It may further be said that from the point of view of post-war problems the present reaction against the wholesale employment of boys on unskilled processes in the munitions industry is not in itself to be regretted, since it will diminish the number of boys who will be discharged on the termination of this branch of war contracts. With this in mind, the Ministry of Labour approached the Ministry of Munitions in 1917 with a view to reducing the large number of boys employed on repetition work at Woolwich Arsenal.

The arrangements which have now been made at Woolwich involve a reduction of about two thousand in the number of boys employed at the Arsenal. The scheme of replacement by female labour provided that boys should be drafted to other departments

as opportunity occurred, but none would necessarily be discharged unless they so desired.

(6) As regards the immediate problem of dealing with the considerable groups of unemployed boys in the various industrial centres it is very difficult to suggest any readjustment of conditions in factories and works that would be possible during the continuance of the war. Moreover, it is not safe to predict that the present falling off in the demand for boys will persist during the coming months when the general shortage of male labour becomes even more pronounced than it is now. But, should the problem continue to grow worse, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the proper remedy for this state of unemployment among boys will be to raise, even during the war, the school age for boys to 14½ or 15 years. By thus curtailing the supply of school leavers, a renewed demand for older boys would be stimulated and a smaller number of individual boys would be absorbed into the war industries only to be discharged on the termination of contracts. Not only would the immediate difficulty be disposed of by such action, but also the problem of demobilisation would be considerably diminished.

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## APPENDIX C.

BOY AND GIRL LABOUR AT, AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER,  
THE END OF THE WAR.

The Tables in this Appendix, based on the Report of the Industrial (War Enquires) Branch of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in October, 1917, summarise the position in July, 1914, and October, 1917 (Table I.), and also contain more detailed figures (Tables II. and III.). The table for boys covers occupations employing in July, 1914, about 10,600,000 males of all ages out of 14,500,000 occupied. They cover indeed, nearly the whole number of boys in employment, since boys comprise a very small proportion of the remaining 3,900,000, except perhaps in the case of Domestic Service and Irish Agriculture. The figures for girls exclude Domestic Service, which appears to have employed 300,000 under 18 in 1914, but apart from this the number excluded is small. In the tables occupations are divided into four classes.

The third class includes trades in which, in spite of a large relative increase, the number of juveniles is still small, or in place of which alternative employments are readily available, so that little or no displacement need be feared. The composition of the classes is not the same in the case of girls as in that of boys (as appears from Tables II. and III.).

The gross increase is thus 351,500 (18 per cent.)—93,000 boys (7 per cent.) and 258,000 girls (38 per cent.); but if an increase of 3 per cent. is allowed for the normal growth of population between 1914 and 1917, the net increases are 245,000 girls and only 55,000 boys. Before the end of the war some decline in the number of juveniles employed, and especially of girls, is possible, and there are already signs of this.\*

There were ampler sources to tap in the case of girls than of boys, and the surplus will probably be greater. The position should be relieved, however, by re-absorption in domestic service, which has declined heavily during the war, by the return of some girls to domestic life or training, and by places vacated by older women and not filled by soldiers.

On the other hand, a temporary surplus, both of boys and girls, is probable. For some trades—*e.g.*, munitions, aircraft—will contract very speedily, and some—*e.g.*, building—will expand slowly and absorb boys only very gradually. Some of the occupations which require additional juveniles will neither suit, nor be suited by, the surplus labour of others. There will probably be temporary unemployment during re-adaptations of plant or machinery, or by reason of shortage of materials. The combined results of these causes may be considerable at first. The surplus of boys, however, should diminish rapidly as openings in expanding trades multiply, especially if the supply of new entrants is cut off (see Chapter 4). The surplus of girls may be larger and

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\* *E.g.*, between July, 1917, and January, 1918, the totals of boys and girls each decreased by 4,000.

TABLE I.

Occupations showing	Boys.			Girls.		
	Number in		Increase (+) or Decrease (-) to Oct., 1917.	Number in		Increase (+) or Decrease (-) to Oct., 1917.
	July, 1914.	October, 1917.		July, 1914.	October, 1917.	
1. Decrease in numbers	888,000	814,000	- 74,000	401,000	382,000	- 19,000
2. Small increase	90,000	98,500	+ 8,500	61,500	66,000	+ 4,500
3. Large increase, but no serious problem ...	40,000	56,500	+ 16,500	33,500	57,000	+ 23,500
4. Very large increase ...	242,000	384,000	+142,000	178,500	420,000	+250,500
<b>Total† ...</b>	<b>1,280,000</b>	<b>1,353,000</b>	<b>+ 93,000</b>	<b>676,000</b>	<b>934,000</b>	<b>+258,000</b>

† Any discrepancies between the totals and the sum of the separate items are the result of calculating the totals for individual trades to the nearest 500.

Some allowance must be made for the normal seasonal decline between October and July—agriculture, building, etc.

TABLE II.

## BOYS AND YOUTHS UNDER 18.

Detailed Table showing Changes between July, 1914, and October, 1917, in numbers employed in various occupations. (N.B. The Net Increases and Decreases in this and the following Table are obtained by allowing an average addition of 3 per cent. for the increase in population between 1914 and 1917.

Occupation showing	Numbers in		Gross		Net.	
	July, 1914.	Oct., 1917.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
<b>I. DECREASE IN NUMBERS.</b>						
Building and construction ..	59,000	44,000		15,000		1,0 00
Mines and quarries ..	165,000	104,000		1,000		0 0
Textiles ..	124,000	116,000		8,000		11.5 0
Clothing trades ..	48,000	45,000		3,000		4,500
Paper, printing, etc.	40,000	30,000		10,000		11,000
Woodworking trades	34,500	34,000		500		1,500
Other trades ..	45,000	43,000		2,000		3, 00
<b>Total in industry</b>	<b>515,500</b>	<b>476,000</b>		<b>39,500</b>		<b>55,000</b>

Occupation showing	Number in		Gross.		Net.	
	July, 1914.	Oct. 1917.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
Agriculture in Great Britain (permanent labour only) ..	127,000	118,000		9,000		13,000
Commerce ..	228,500	210,000		18,500		25,500
Postal Service ..	17,000	10,000		7,000		7,500
<b>Total in Class 1 ..</b>	<b>888,000</b>	<b>814,000</b>		<b>74,000</b>		<b>101,000</b>
<b>2. SMALL INCREASE.</b>						
Food, drink and tobacco trades ..	40,000	43,000	3,000		2,000	
Railway service ..	50,000	55,500	5,500		4,000	
<b>Total in Class 2 ..</b>	<b>90,000</b>	<b>98,500</b>	<b>8,500</b>		<b>6,000</b>	
<b>3. LARGER INCREASE BUT NO SERIOUS PROBLEM.</b>						
Docks, wharves, etc.	2,500	4,500	2,000		2,000	
Banking and finance	9,500	14,000	4,500		4,000	
Professional employments. . . . .	14,000	18,000	4,000		3,500	
Civil (except postal service.) ..	3,000	4,500	1,500		1,500	
Municipal gas, water	1,500	3,000	1,500		1,500	
Electricity						
Municipal tramways.	1,500	2,500	1,000		1,000	
Other Local Govt. service .. . . .	8,000	10,000	2,000		2,000	
<b>Total in Class 3 ..</b>	<b>40,000</b>	<b>56,500</b>	<b>16,500</b>		<b>15,500</b>	
<b>4. VERY LARGE INCREASE.</b>						
Metal trades ..	190,000	206,000	106,000		100,500	
Chemical trades ..	14,500	22,000	7,500		7,000	
Govt. establishments	3,000	22,000	19,000		19,000	
Transport in private ownership (except railways, docks, etc.) .. . . .	22,000	27,000	5,000		4,500	
Hotels, theatres, cinemas, etc. . . . .	12,500	17,000	4,500		4,000	
<b>Total in Class 4 ..</b>	<b>242,000</b>	<b>384,000</b>	<b>142,000</b>		<b>135,000</b>	
<b>GRAND TOTALS ..</b>	<b>1,260,000</b>	<b>1,353,000</b>	<b>167,000</b>	<b>74,000</b>	<b>156,500</b>	<b>101,000</b>
			93,000		■ 55,500	

TABLE III.

GIRLS AND WOMEN UNDER 18.

Detailed Table showing Changes between July, 1914, and October, 1917, in Numbers Employed in Various Occupations.

Occupations showing :	Numbers in		Gross		Net.	
	July, 1914.	Oct., 1918.	In-crease.	De-crease.	In-crease.	De-crease.
<b>1. DECREASE IN NUMBERS—</b>						
Textile .. ..	215,000	213,000		2,000		8,500
Clothing trades .. ..	140,500	124,000		16,500		20,500
Paper, printing trades	45,500	45,000		500		2,000
Total in Class 1 ..	401,000	382,000		19,000		31,000
<b>2. SMALL INCREASE.</b>						
Food, drink and tobacco trades .. ..	49,000	53,000	4,000		2,500	
Hotels, theatres, cinemas, etc. .. ..	12,500	13,000	500			
Total in Class 2 ..	61,500	66,000	4,500		2,500	
<b>3. LARGE INCREASES BUT NO SERIOUS PROBLEM.</b>						
Mines and quarries ..	1,500	4,000	2,500		2,500	
Agriculture in Great Britain (permanent Labour only) .. ..	12,000	18,000	6,000		5,500	
Professional occupations .. ..	5,000	11,000	6,000		6,000	
Postal service .. ..	10,000	14,000	4,000		3,500	
Municipal gas, water, electricity .. ..	—	1,000	1,000		1,000	
Municipal tramways ..	—	1,000	1,000		1,000	
Other Local Government service ..	5,000	8,000	3,000		3,000	
Total in Class 3 ..	33,500	57,000	23,500		22,500	
<b>4. VERY LARGE INCREASE.</b>						
Building and construction .. ..	1,500	6,000	4,500		4,500	
Metal trades .. ..	45,000	108,000	63,000		61,500	
Chemical trades .. ..	11,000	25,000	14,000		13,500	
Woodworking trades ..	10,500	20,000	9,500		9,000	
Other trades .. ..	26,000	37,000	11,000		10,000	
Total in industry ..	94,000	196,000	102,000		98,500	

Occupations showing :	Number in		Gross.		Net.	
	July, 1914.	Oct., 1918.	In-crease.	De-crease.	De-crease.	In-crease.
<b>4. VERY LARGE INCREASE—cont.</b>						
Government establishments .. ..	—	10,000	10,000		10,000	
Railway service .. ..	500	7,500	7,000		7,000	
Transport in private ownership (except railways, etc.) ..	500	3,500	3,000		3,000	
Banking and finance .. ..	1,000	7,000	6,000		6,000	
Commerce .. ..	82,000	196,000	113,500		111,000	
Civil (except postal service) .. ..	—	9,000	9,000		9,000	
<b>Total in Class 4 ..</b>	<b>178,500</b>	<b>429,000</b>	<b>250,500</b>		<b>244,000</b>	
<b>Grand totals..</b>	<b>676,000</b>	<b>934,000</b>	<b>277,000</b>	<b>19,000</b>	<b>269,000</b>	<b>31,000</b>
			258,000		238,000	

last longer, since it is mainly due to the more permanent influence of a large increase in numbers, and much less than with boys to more temporary causes.

The tables illustrate the fact that the problem will affect a limited number of trades and affect them severely. Nearly three-quarters of the boys and more than half of the girls are employed in occupations (classes 1, 2, 3) in which, with certain reservations, they can continue to be employed if they desire to stay, and in which long delay for re-adaptation is not likely. A few may have to seek fresh engagements, but they are a small proportion of the whole number. The figures given here and in the next paragraph support the views of those employers who hold that far more girls than boys will be discharged.

Unemployment is likely to be most acute, therefore, in occupations employing about three-tenths of the boys and one-half of the girls. In them boys have increased by 140,000 and girls by about 250,000 gross, or by 59 and 139 per cent. respectively. Certain additions must be made from the other classes. Thus the wood-working trades show a small decrease of boys, but certain branches, like ammunition boxes and aircraft work, will have a large surplus of them which may not at once find other jobs; others may be discharged owing to shortage of materials—e.g., in the textiles—and the figures quoted above do not make any allowance for unemployment during re-adaptation; and others, again, may be dismissed to make room for discharged soldiers. On the other hand, some of the expanded occupations may require to retain the whole, and others part, of their increased staffs, and a limited number should be absorbed in other trades almost at once. On the balance, therefore, and after allowance for all causes, the temporary surplus should be smaller, possibly considerably smaller, than the total increases referred to above.

Finally, apart from any actual shortage of employment, there will be considerable re-distribution of boys and girls between trade and trade, firm and firm, and one kind of work and another. Many others, therefore, will have to change their jobs, and usually there is an interval, if only of a few days, while such change is being made. Consequent additions to the number unemployed may be considerable, though the duration of their unemployment may be short.

To sum up, therefore, the problem consists partly of a temporary shortage of employment and partly of a redistribution of juveniles between different occupations. Girls, as is anticipated by the employers referred to above, are likely to be affected far more than boys. The assumption that all dismissals will take place within a short time makes the position appear worse than it really is. In fact, though many are likely to take place simultaneously, some of them may be spread over a considerable period, which will reduce the number unemployed at any one moment, relieve the pressure on the Exchanges when at its height, and give other trades time to expand. Above all, whether discharges are simultaneous or gradual, an efficient organisation of the kind outlined in the foregoing Report will do much to reduce the amount and duration of unemployment.

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## APPENDIX D.

NOTE ON DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE WELFARE OF  
JUVENILE WORKERS, BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE  
THE FACTORY.

The following special developments affecting the Employment and general welfare of juvenile workers have taken place since the outbreak of war :—

## WELFARE OUTSIDE THE FACTORY.

(1) *Juvenile Organisations Committee appointed by the Home Secretary.*—In consequence of the serious increase in the number of children and young persons charged with offences during the war (see Table on pages 33 and 34), the Home Secretary towards the end of the year 1916 consulted with representatives of the leading organisations of Boys' and Girls' Clubs and Brigades, with a view to the preparation of a scheme for special co-operation and improved organisation in the various towns and districts.

The general opinion was expressed that a Committee, which might meet from time to time at the Home Office, would be of use in assisting the various organisations to extend their work of providing healthy recreation for young people. A Standing Committee was accordingly appointed representative of the leading voluntary organisations and Government Departments dealing with children and young persons.

This Committee is considering, among other things, (a) what steps can be taken to attract boys and girls to become members of Brigades or Clubs, etc.; (b) the possibility of transferring a boy or girl from one organisation to another, when this seems desirable; (c) the steps to be taken to prevent overlapping of work; (d) the strengthening of weaker units; (e) the difficulty in obtaining officers; and (f) the difficulty in securing the use of school premises as club rooms or play centres.

They have been impressed with the desirability of forming, in the larger towns throughout the country, local committees which will be representative of organisations concerned with the welfare of boys and girls, including any Juvenile Employment Committees which may exist, for the purpose of strengthening existing activities and of dealing with the numerous important proposals now being made with regard, not only to children of school age, but also to those between the critical ages of fourteen and eighteen years. The Committee have, therefore, approached some prominent worker among boys and girls in every town with a population of 50,000 or over with the suggestion that a conference should be called with a view to the formation of a local committee. As a result, a considerable number of Local Juvenile Organisation Committees have already been set up in the large towns, and steps have been taken to follow the same procedure in the case of towns with a population of from 20,000 to 50,000.

(2) *The Use of School Buildings.*—In December, 1916, the Board of Education issued Circular 975, expressing their approval of a suggestion made in a letter from the Home Secretary that Local

Education Authorities should be invited to assist the principal organisations of Boys' and Girls' Brigades or Clubs by allowing them the use of any school premises which might be unoccupied in the evening. By this means the various organisations would be able to extend their work. The Home Secretary further suggested that in some places the Clubs did not appear to be in touch with the Education Authority and the teachers, and that it would be a great advantage if the loan of school buildings resulted in a closer working between the various agencies concerned with the education of young persons and their training to be good citizens.

(3) *Play Centres.*—In August, 1917, the Board of Education issued Regulations for Evening Play Centres. Under these Regulations the Board will make grants during each financial year in aid of Evening Play Centres, which provide after school hours and on Saturdays for the recreation and physical welfare, under adequate supervision, of children attending the Public Elementary Schools.

(4) *Co-operation Between Juvenile Employment Committee and Y.M.C.A.*—As a result of the large number of boys unemployed in Birmingham during 1917, and in view of the fact that this number is likely to increase considerably during the period following the cessation of hostilities, the Y.M.C.A. drew up a scheme for dealing with boys for whom employment cannot immediately be found. The scheme, which involved co-operation with the Employment Exchanges, was in operation during the early months of 1918, but has since become unnecessary. The Y.M.C.A. opened rooms in different districts in the city, as conveniently situated as possible in regard to the various Exchanges. Boys who applied to the Exchanges for work and could not immediately be placed were given a card entitling them to membership of the nearest or most convenient of these Y.M.C.A. Centres. At these Centres it was proposed to hold classes, provide indoor recreation, and also to arrange for outdoor games, physical training, etc. The Club Centres were open daily from 10 to 12.30 and 2.30 to 5. Boys and youths from 14-17 years of age only were admitted. Applicants might attend for either morning or afternoon sessions, but not both. All boys are told to present themselves at the Employment Exchange each morning to see if suitable employment had been found, and to have their membership card initialled by the Exchange Officer. If a likely situation is notified whilst the Club Centre was open due notice was sent to the Club.

#### WELFARE INSIDE THE FACTORY.

In firms employing a considerable number of juvenile workers, the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions have encouraged the appointment of Welfare Supervisors whose duty it is to keep in touch with the innumerable factors affecting the welfare and efficiency of the boys and girls employed, and with which, under modern industrial conditions, it is difficult for the management themselves to deal. The suggested functions of the Supervisors are set out in detail in various documents issued by the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions, viz., M.M.46, M.M.13 (B), Welfare (B) 4 and the Memorandum to Welfare Supervisors of Boys.

## APPENDIX E.

## NOTE ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF ERRAND BOYS AND GIRLS.

In December, 1917, and January, 1918, an investigation into the conditions of employment of boys and girls engaged on errand work in small shops was carried out by officers of the Ministry of Labour, Employment Dept., in London, Leeds, and Nottingham. A syllabus of questions was drawn up for the use of each investigating officer with a view to ensuring as much uniformity as possible.

As a result of the inquiry, three material facts are apparent:—

1. The decrease in the total number of boys employed.
2. The increase in wages, varying between 50 per cent. and 100 per cent.
3. The shortening in the number of hours worked.

*Nature of the Work.—Boys.*—It is pointed out that "shop boy work is unsatisfactory, not so much because no prospects are offered, as because the conditions under which the errand boy is employed tend to make him restless and idle." The almost entire lack of supervision and training, and the general conditions inseparable from this kind of work, although attractive to boys, tend to make them resentful of discipline in later occupations. The prospects of adult employment arising out of errand work are not encouraging, although it occasionally happens that, given a good employer, a

Number of Shops Visited	Town.	1914. Number Employed	1918. Number Employed.	Increased or decreased Employment
113	London—Boys	237	207	- 13%
	Girls	22	48	+ 118%
59	Leeds—Boys	119	76	- 36%
	Girls	5	10	+ 100%
61	Nottingham—Boys	150	105	- 30%
	Girls	12	3	- 75%
233	Totals—Boys	506	388	- 23%
	Girls	39	61	+ 56%

willing and satisfactory boy does well, and becomes a shop assistant. But in London there is a general complaint amongst shopkeepers that "the type of boy now employed not only demands higher wages, but is of an inferior character."

In Nottingham it is said that "full-time errand work is chiefly being done by children of 18, who have received an exemption certificate from school owing to special home circumstances, and who are not allowed to work under the Factory Acts until 14, through not having made the required attendances." And in Leeds it is reported that "about 7,000 of these exempted children crowd into the labour market each year."

*Girls.*—Except on milk "rounds" the employment of girls solely as errand girls seems to be rare. In the majority of shops they appear to be assistants first, to which the rôle of errand girl is merely subordinated.

*Numbers Employed.*—It will be seen from the preceding table that in the shops visited the number of boys employed has decreased by 23 per cent., whilst that of girls has increased by 56 per cent. But the number of girls employed even now is inconsiderable.

There is a slight increase in the number of part-time workers, said to be due to the half-time system of education which is in force in some of the Leeds and Nottingham schools, as well as to the decrease in the volume of work caused by the practice of customers carrying home their own parcels. In some cases it has been found that two part-time boys are now sharing one job.

The increase in the number of girls has been even greater in commercial businesses where large numbers of errand girls are now employed.

*Wages and Hours.*—As will be seen from the following table, there has been a marked increase in wages. An analysis of the

	Nature of Business.	Average weekly wage		Average No. of hours worked.	
		1914.	1918.	1914.	1918.
London—Clapham Junction Camden Town ...	Food ...	9/-	16/0	No information.	No information.
	Clothing ...	6/6	10/-		
	Food ...	11/2	18/-		
	Clothing ...	3/-	10/-		
		(live in)	(live in)		
Lewisham ..	Food ...	10/0	19/-	No information.	No information.
	Clothing ...	10/6	14/0		
Walham Green...	Food ...	12/2	19/3		
	Chemists...	9/3	14/1		
Leeds ... ..	Food ...	6/10	20/-	59	53½
	Chemists...	7/0	10/4	54	48
Nottingham ...	Food	7/5	10/7	No information.	No information.
	Clothing	5/7	11/6		
	Chemists...	6/-	11/6		

reports of the different employers has revealed the fact that there is considerable variation in the average rate of wages paid as between one kind of shop and another, and in the London area between one district and another. The shops visited were mainly engaged in the distribution of foodstuffs, grocers, bakers, etc., and in the sale of millinery and clothing.

*Conclusion.*—In the majority of cases a desire to return to pre-war conditions has been expressed by employers, and it is evident that a plentiful supply of boys is anticipated when more remunerative occupation is no longer obtainable. In a few cases only is it proposed to substitute the small motor delivery van.

With a view to lessening the evils and improving the conditions of errand-boy work an experiment was made in 1914 at Lewisham. A co-operative scheme of errand work was inaugurated by members of the Lewisham Juvenile Advisory Committee for the purpose of shortening the hours of work and of idleness, and of providing supervision and training for the boys, at the same time supplying efficient service for the shopkeepers. But after ten months' trial it had to be abandoned its failure being attributed to the difficulty of procuring adequate supervising staff, as well as to the financial loss.

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## APPENDIX F.

## NOTE ON JUVENILE LABOUR IN DISTRIBUTIVE BUSINESSES.

**EMPLOYMENT ON VANS AND IN WAREHOUSES.**—The general conditions of employment of van boys and warehouse boys in pre-war times have been fully set out in the Report of the Departmental Committee which investigated this subject in 1913. In writing the Report of the present enquiry an attempt has therefore been made to avoid so far as possible the repetition of information given in the earlier Report, and to deal only with the immediate results of the war and its probable future effects on the juveniles engaged in the industry.

Information for the purpose of this enquiry has been obtained by officers of the Ministry of Labour from the Goods Departments of the large railway companies in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool; from the parcel carrying companies with headquarters in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh; from tramways parcel delivery companies in Birmingham and Manchester; from certain large retail shops in London, Manchester and Liverpool; from wholesale warehouses in Liverpool and Manchester; and also from trade-union officials in Liverpool and Manchester.

*Numbers Employed.*—The statistical table on page 101 below must not be regarded as a complete statement of the numbers employed by the firms visited, since some of them have been unable, and others unwilling, to make such returns. It will be noticed that since 1914 there has been a decrease of 12,746 males and an increase of 4,308 females employed by the firms in question. The numbers of boys has decreased by 880, or 13 per cent., whilst that of girls has increased by 566 or 450 per cent.

It should be mentioned, however, that of the total number of girls employed fully 75 per cent. are engaged on clerical work. The proportion of boys to men, which was 19 per cent. in 1914, has risen to 24 per cent. at the present time.

*A. Van Boys.*—It is evident that there has been considerable disorganisation in the work of the distributive agencies throughout the country, due mainly to—

1. Shortage of suitable men and boys.
2. Shortage of horses.
3. Restricted use of motor vans.
4. Reduction in the volume of work.

The outstanding features have been a decrease in the number of van boys employed, the use of boys as drivers of horse vehicles, the raising of wages, and the shortening of the number of hours worked. These are common to all branches of the industry in each of the centres visited. In many cases it has been found necessary to send vans out without a guard, the driver being paid at a slightly increased rate.

The employment of van boys may be divided into three distinct sections:—

1. Railways.
2. Parcels delivery.
3. Shops.

*Table Showing Numbers Employed on the Vans and in the Warehouses of the Firms  
by whom Returns were made.*

Division.	No. of Re-ports.	1914.					1918.				
		Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
LONDON .. .. .	8	18,961	4,056	295	46	23,358	10,592	3,172	2,741	440	16,945
WEST MIDLANDS (Birming- ham) .. .. .	6	5,122	919	83	1	6,125	4,018	592	783	95	5,488
NORTH WESTERN (Man- chester, Liverpool) ..	20	9,444	1,389	337	79	11,249	7,607	1,643	1,424	148	10,912
SCOTLAND .. .. .	14	2,130	343	4	0	2,477	1,493	411	79	9	1,992
TOTALS .. .. .	48	35,657	6,707	719	126	43,209	23,800	5,818	5,029	692	35,337

INCREASE OR DECREASE SINCE 1914:—Women, +4,308; Girls, +566: (+450 per cent.)  
Men, -11,857; Boys, -889 (-13 per cent.)

1. *Railways*.—The number of boys employed by the railway companies is below the pre-war standard. For instance, one of the London companies which in 1914 employed 90 van boys now has only 12. But this shortage of boys is equally noticeable in Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. It is quite clear that all the boys now employed could easily be absorbed as adults, and that in fact considerably larger numbers will be required to make good the present shortage. There is general agreement that it is never necessary to discharge boys because of lack of openings. "All the companies state definitely that no boys will be discharged except for misbehaviour or on medical grounds." Notwithstanding these statements, it is admitted by the representatives of the companies that in practice a comparatively small number of boys stay long enough to become permanent railwaymen. In some cases "they throw up the work during the first six months of their service," in others it is said that quite "two-thirds drift away after a year or so." It must also be borne in mind that it is possible that many of the boys are not of sufficiently good physique to pass the severe medical test to which the railway staff is subjected.

Previous to the war overtime was fairly general, but nowadays the vans are brought into the yard at an early hour, and very little overtime is worked.

The reduction in the number of hours of work does not, however, apply to every branch of transport work in Liverpool, and although the normal hours of work are limited by the Carters' Union to 67 per week, inclusive of meal time, there is a considerable amount of overtime. This overtime is chiefly connected with work at the Docks, and owing to restrictions in shipping and a greater irregularity in the arrival of boats the hours are more irregular and frequently later than in normal times.

The commencing weekly wage of the railway van boy is approximately 18s. 6d., as compared with 9s., the pre-war rate. On the railway vans, where "regular hours are the general rule," there has been little or no change in the hours worked since 1914.

With one exception there is no evidence of any formulated system of supervision or training. The usual practice appears to be that of making the carman responsible for the boy. But the Midland Railway Company has a welfare scheme for its van boys, their welfare supervisor being an old railway servant, chosen because of his special interest in boy welfare. "A club-house has been secured, but for the moment is in military occupation. It is hoped later to establish in various parts of London rest-rooms for carmen and boys, with accommodation for leaving the vans in safety while food, rest and recreation are obtained. Special visits have been made by the supervisor to discover what proportion of the wages is taken home. Van boys receive, besides their actual wages, 10s. 6d. war wage, and a percentage of the tonnage bonus paid to carmen. This brings their earnings up to a high figure, often 30s. to 35s., and it was felt that in the boys' interests their parents should know their actual earnings. It was found that what the boys regarded as a 'reasonable amount' (about 15s.) was usually given to the mother, and the balance was kept, no indication being given that such division was being made.

"As a result of the welfare scheme a considerably better type of applicant is being recruited, and the rate of wastage from the service

is decidedly less than formerly. It is computed that more than 50 per cent. of the boys recruited pass to the adult service. Opportunities of passing to other branches of the service are given to boys who have graduated on vans, but they rarely avail themselves of the opportunity or settle to anything but van work. It should, however, be stated that there has been, and is, opposition from the men's union."

2. *Parcels Delivery Companies.*—Before the war there were certain prominent features of employment with parcels delivery companies; the boys and youths were of a very uncertain type, wages were high, discipline was poor, hours were long and irregular, and the prospects of permanent employment were not bright. A marked improvement in the conditions of employment is evident. The war has had good effect in creating a shortage of juveniles in the labour market, and so compelling such firms to make their working conditions more attractive. Moreover, on account of the earlier closing of shops and the decrease in the volume of work—due in part to the fact that customers now carry away their own parcels—the hours have been considerably reduced and proper meal-times are allowed.

A Trade Union Secretary says that now "it is unusual to see a boy working on vans and lorries in Manchester after 7 p.m., whereas in 1912, when giving evidence before the Departmental Committee, he stated that "it was the usual thing to see them going home at 11 or 12 at night."

Although no exact figures are obtainable, it is evident that the number of boys who have left this branch of the industry is very considerable; for example, in London it is said that "in the larger carrying companies the employment of boys has decreased enormously, in the case of two companies the number employed having sunk from 1,150 in 1914 to 427 at the present time."

It is generally asserted by the representatives of the companies that the juveniles now in their employ could easily be absorbed as adults, although it is acknowledged that in normal times such absorption is not possible. It is further pointed out, however, that the type of boy who becomes a "nipper" is usually of a migratory character, and that the prospect of permanent occupation would not be sufficient to counteract his desire for change.

It is difficult to state an average weekly wage for the van boy employed by the parcels delivery companies. The war bonus paid by different companies is variously given as 3s., 5s. 3d., and 10s. 6d., and in some cases just an indefinite statement that a war bonus is paid. But it is clear that there has been a substantial advance on the pre-war starting wage, which was approximately 9s. per week. The number of hours worked is roughly about 10 a day.

*Tramways Parcels Delivery.*—Here again there is a noticeable shortage of boys. The conditions of employment under the tramway companies, however, appear to be at least as satisfactory as railway service. There exist so many channels of employment into which juveniles can be absorbed and at the same time the period of service as messengers should be a useful training ground for adult work. The late hours formerly worked by the tramway delivery companies have been considerably reduced owing to the earlier closing of shops, and the conditions of work at the moment are on the whole good; the hours are regular and little or no over-

time is worked. The tramway companies state that they can readily absorb all their juvenile employees, and that in normal times only a small proportion of boys leave their employment.

The average weekly wage of a boy of 14 is now 11s. 6d. a week, as compared with the pre-war rate of 7s. In some companies an additional 6d. per week good conduct money is paid, and uniform provided, as well as free travelling facilities. The number of hours worked are approximately 9½ per day, "and considerably less late time is worked now than was the practice before the war."

3. *Shops.*—The result of the investigation into the distributive work of the large London shops has shown that little or no vanguard labour is now utilised in the delivery of goods. "The despatch and delivery side of the work is usually exceptionally well organised, and every advantage is taken of labour-saving devices. Deliveries are executed by motor vans manned by men and women over 18 years of age. By this means delivery vehicles are reduced to a minimum and the need for juvenile guards practically eliminated."

In Manchester and Liverpool the hours worked by van boys have been considerably reduced, although there are some firms whose hours of work are still long. "One firm of grocers stated that on busy nights of the week its juveniles were employed as late as 10 or 11 p.m., but began work on such days at a rather later hour than usual." The Secretary of the Trade Union stated that "some private firms of this class had so organised their deliveries that their van men and boys need not work after 5 or 6 p.m., and he considered that all firms of this class could with little difficulty adopt a similar system."

On the whole the prospects of the absorption of the shop van boy into other branches of the business are not particularly good, at any rate outside London, although there are of course exceptions. It is pointed out that these boys are often of a "rough type" unsuitable for shop work.

*Conclusions.*—A certain amount of substitution of van girls for van boys has taken place. On the whole it has not been successful. In the Birmingham district it is said to have proved "neither successful nor desirable." It is, therefore, most unlikely that it will be either extended at the present time or continued after the war.

The promotion of the van boy to the position of driver has been pretty general throughout the country, the trade unions having relaxed their rules in order to allow boys under 16 to become drivers.

It must be regarded, however, mainly as a war time expedient, and is not likely to be continued after the war. The majority of adult drivers have been promised reinstatement; and the control of horses and the management of heavy lorries has proved to be beyond the capacity of the average boy.

In many instances valuable horses have been mishandled, and cases of injury and cruelty have not been uncommon. The situation is fairly summed up in this extract from the North-Western report:—"In the majority of cases the firms interviewed have promised reinstatement of their men. In any case, it is unlikely that boys could be retained. Where they are now doing men's work they are receiving men's wages, and as they are not giving entire satisfaction employers will be likely to dispense with their services when suitable men are available."

In the opinion of a Trade Union Secretary there will be an ample supply of men drivers at the end of the war.

The effect of the war on the problem of van boy labour has been satisfactory in so far as it has reduced the actual number of boys employed, and has created an abnormal demand for boys in other more attractive occupations, thus necessitating an improvement in the general conditions for vanguards. In order that the advantages of shortened and more regular hours may not be lost after the war, it seems desirable to seize the present opportunity to enforce the recommendations made in 1913 by the Departmental Committee. This may, however, become superfluous, since, according to the views of the representatives of some of the largest employers of van boy labour—i.e., the chief railway and parcels delivery companies—the passing into law of the Education Bill would almost entirely eliminate the van boy. These employers considered that it would be impossible to arrange for boys in this occupation to attend day continuation classes, the only solution of the difficulty being to dispense with their services altogether."

*B. Warehouse Boys and Girls.*—It is pointed out in the Report of the Departmental Committee that the expression "warehouse" is a comprehensive term and may be applied to establishments of three distinct and different types. But in this instance enquiries have been mainly confined to the conditions of juvenile employment prevailing in the railway warehouses in the centres under review.

Although the consideration of clerical work belongs more properly to another branch of the enquiry, it has not been possible entirely to dissociate it from this part, since so many of the firms submitting information under this head employ juveniles both on clerical and on manual work in their warehouses. On the whole, the tendency has been to substitute men by women rather than by juveniles; but, owing to a shortage of boys, girls have taken their places pretty generally on clerical and messenger work. On account of the heavy nature of much of the work in the warehouses of the railway and parcel carrying companies comparatively few juveniles are employed.

Boys are normally employed as junior porters, as crane and jigger boys, as weighbridge youths, as well as on clerical and messenger work.

Boys have been substituted for men to a very limited extent as porters and on despatching, tracing and enquiry work. Generally speaking, enlisted men have been promised reinstatement, and in any event it is unlikely that adult work done by boys will continue to be done by them after the war. But there is not the least doubt that all the boys employed could be absorbed as adults. In the railway warehouses they are sometimes given the opportunity of transferring to the clerical staff.

The employment of girls, which under normal circumstances is confined almost exclusively to elementary clerical work, has been considerably increased. They have replaced boys on messenger as well as on clerical work. It is pretty certain that any who wish to continue will be retained on clerical work. In Birmingham it is said that the girls under 18 are mainly employed as messengers. There is no definite arrangement made yet regarding the post-war employment of girls, but the experiment has proved so successful that there is reason to believe that none will be discharged.

The average commencing weekly wage of boy messengers and lad porters on railways is 9s., to which a war bonus of 10s. 6d. is now added. In certain cases they receive in addition clothing, one free railway pass each year, and the privilege of travelling at a quarter fare at all times.

Girl messengers are paid at the same rate as boys, but only receive a 5s. 3d. war bonus.

Boy clerks begin at 14 with approximately £25 per annum, with 10s. 6d. weekly war bonus.

Girl clerks begin at 15 with approximately 10s. per week, with 5s. 3d. war bonus.

The average number of hours worked on manual and clerical work are 10 and 8 a day respectively.

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## APPENDIX G.

## NOTE ON COMMERCIAL (CLERICAL) OCCUPATIONS.

1. Included in this part of the enquiry as being large employer of boy and girl clerks are the banks, and the offices of insurance companies, railway and shipping companies, agents, foreign and colonial merchants, co-operative societies, and manufacturers. The investigation was carried out by officers of the Ministry of Labour Employment Dept. in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow during the month of January, 1918. The statistical table below shows the total number of clerical employees in 1914 and at the present time in the 91 establishments for which complete statistics are available. From this table it will be seen that,

			Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.
BANKING	1914	..	17,707	1,524	205	—
	1918	..	13,362	2,562	10,850	483
INSURANCE	1914	..	5,316	1,193	591	144
	1918	..	2,296	498	3,845	1,103
SHIPPING	1914	..	1,909	266	30	1
	1918	..	1,017	300	402	66
RAILWAY	1914	..	9,144	1,337	117	36
	1918	..	6,263	709	2,261	782
MISCELLANEOUS	1914	..	9,904	2,618	1,576	555
	1918	..	7,371	1,826	4,385	1,522
TOTAL	1914	..	43,980	6,938	2,519	736
	1918	..	30,309	5,895	21,743	3,956

although the number of men and boys employed has decreased by 13,671 and 1,043 respectively, yet there has been a total net increase of 7,730 employees. The proportion of boys to men, which was 16 per cent. in 1914, has risen to 19 per cent. at the present time.

2. Although the enormously increased employment of women and girls and certain other features are common to all branches of clerical work, yet it is evident that there are certain dissimilarities in conditions of employment, rates of pay, and prospects of adult occupation which would render any statements of a general character inconsistent with fact.

It may, however, be said that in most branches the prospects of absorption are excellent so far as boys are concerned. Except in Banking, where they have increased by 68 per cent., there has been

a substantial decrease in the employment of boys. It is therefore anticipated that no discharges will be necessary, and, so far as can be ascertained at present, considerably more boys will be required.

With regard to girls, the question is a serious one. In certain classes of work, notably as shorthand typists, it is clear that they have come to stay. But on other classes of work their retention in large numbers depends mainly on the number of men who are fit and willing to be reinstated. The possibility must be faced, however, that very many may have to be discharged, and, since those possessing the greatest ability will be retained, this is likely to result in large numbers being thrown on the labour market with indifferent qualifications.

The extent to which girls have entered and boys have left commercial occupations, may be seen from the following table in which are set out the figures showing the total number employed in the United Kingdom in July, 1914, and January, 1918, respectively:—

				Boys.	Girls.
Banking and Finance—	1914	...	...	9,500	750
	1918	...	...	14,000	7,000
Commerce—	1914	...	...	228,500	82,750
	1918	...	...	203,000	193,000
Total—	1914	...	...	238,000	83,500
	1918	...	...	217,000	200,000

## APPENDIX H.

## TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT OF GIRLS (UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE) IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN LONDON.

1. *General Conditions.*—Except in the Post Office, the war has given rise to no important developments affecting the employment of boys in Government Offices, and this inquiry has therefore been concentrated on the larger question of the temporary employment of girls under eighteen. From the table below it will be seen that as many as 8,400 girls under eighteen have been engaged on a temporary basis for clerical or messenger work in Government Offices in the London area. This development is almost wholly due to war conditions, and is likely to be greatly modified when these conditions cease to exist.

The Departments offer these girls no prospects of permanent employment and no privileges as regards competing for the few permanent posts which occur. It must be assumed that the system of temporary appointments will be brought to an end as soon as possible after the war, and that most, if not all, of these girls will be dismissed.

Three distinct grades are recognised in the recruiting of the temporary clerks:—

- (1) Temporary women clerks from 17 years of age upwards.
- (2) Temporary junior clerks from 15½ to 17 years of age.
- (3) Temporary messenger girls from 14 to 17 years of age.

2. *Numbers Employed.*—In order to secure definite information as to the number of girls thus employed by Government Departments and as to the hours of work, attendance at classes, etc., an Inquiry was made in December, 1917, on behalf of the Ministry of Labour by the Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch of the Board of Trade.

A full summary of the returns is shown in the following table:—

## TEMPORARY GIRL CLERKS AND MESSENGERS [UNDER 18] IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

	Number Employed.
Air Ministry ... ..	245
Board of Agriculture and Fisheries ... ..	18
"    "    "    Food Production Department ... ..	58
Board of Education ... ..	37
"    "    "    Museum Staffs ... ..	1
"    "    "    Customs and Excise ... ..	60
Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) ... ..	5
Charity Commission ... ..	15
Colonial Office ... ..	1
Foreign Office ... ..	30
"    "    War Trade Intelligence Department ... ..	65
"    "    "    Statistical Department ... ..	2
General Post Office ... ..	1,655
General Register Office ... ..	22
Home Office ... ..	22
House of Commons ... ..	3
India Office ... ..	10
Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch, Board of Trade ... ..	9

	9	Number Employed.
Inland Revenue ... ..		228
" " ... ..		68
Local Government Board ... ..		25
Meteorological Office ... ..		3
Metropolitan Police Commissioner's Office ... ..		1
Ministry of Labour (Employment Department) ... ..		53
" " " (Headquarters) ... ..		7
" " " (Trade Boards) ... ..		3
" " " (Labour Statistics) ... ..		8
" " " (Chief Industrial Commissioner) ... ..		9
Ministry of Munitions ... ..		1,642
" " National Service ... ..		111
" " " " " London Recruiting Region ... ..		3
" " Pensions ... ..		406
" " Reconstruction ... ..		10
" " Shipping ... ..		50
National Debt Office ... ..		10
National Health Insurance Commission ... ..		167
National Insurance Audit Department ... ..		3
Office of Works ... ..		64
Paymaster-General ... ..		3
Procurator-General and Treasury Solicitor ... ..		4
Public Trustee ... ..		59
Registry of Friendly Societies (Central Office) ... ..		2
Road Board ... ..		3
Royal Commission on Sugar Supplies ... ..		13
Scotch Education Department ... ..		4
H.M. Stationery Office ... ..		122
Supreme Court Pay Office ... ..		2
Treasury ... ..		10
War Office ... ..		642
War Trade Department ... ..		86
Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies ... ..		12
Army Pay Offices :—Total number employed, 1,302.		
Command Pay Office, Eastern Command ... ..		16
" " " London District ... ..		79
Regimental Pay Office, R.D.C. ... ..		47
" " " D.C. and R. ... ..		47
" " " A.S.C. (H.S. and L.) ... ..		285
" " " M.G.C. ... ..		156
" " " R.H. and R.F.A. ... ..		296
Royal Hospital, Chelsea ... ..		1
Ministry of Food ... ..		561
Admiralty ... ..		329
Regimental Pay Office, A.S.C. (M.T.) ... ..		375
Totals ... ..		8,412

The following figures, arranged according to age groups, show the total number of typists, clerks and messengers [under 18 years of age] employed temporarily in the above Departments in the London area :—

Occupation.	Aged 17 but under 18.	Aged 16 but under 17.	Under 16.	Totals.
Typists .. ..	445	362	213	1,020
Clerks .. ..	1,550	1,230	1,101	3,881
Messengers .. ..	137	423	2,814	3,374
Others .. ..	137	—	—	137
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>2,269</b>	<b>2,015</b>	<b>4,128</b>	<b>8,412</b>

Taking all the Departments together nearly 4,000 of the girls are engaged as clerks on various kinds of routine work giving little or no training for permanent employment in future and over 3,000 of the girls are employed as messengers. From the point of view of the training and future prospects of the girls there is very little to recommend these vacancies.

It will be seen from the above table that the Ministry of Munitions, the General Post Office, the Ministry of Pensions, the War Office, the Army Pay Office and the Ministry of Food have all engaged large numbers of girls under eighteen, each Department being responsible for over 500 girls.

As regards the conditions of employment, most of the Departments report very little overtime, but in certain cases the amount of overtime is considerable, notably in the War Office. The attendance at classes is small, but on the somewhat scanty information which could be obtained, it appears that about one-quarter of the girls are continuing their education.

3. *Attendance at Classes.*—The following are extracts from the returns:—

*Ministry of Pensions.*—74 girls (typists and messengers) are attending classes, out of a total of 406.

*Inland Revenue.*—In the Clerical Department of the Office of Inland Revenue 72 girls, out of a total of 228, are known to be attending classes; and it is stated that in the Department dealing with warehouse work, stamping, telling duties, etc., 7 out of 68 girls are attending classes, and that this number will be increased early in the new year to 151 by reason of attendance at special educational classes for girls which had been instituted by the Department.

*Home Office.*—It is a condition of employment of girl messengers that they should attend evening or continuation classes. The hours of work in this Department are from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., with an average weekly total of 12 hours' overtime.

*Post Office.*—The girl messengers in the Post Office work 6 hours a day, but their hours of work may be between 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., and attendance at classes is therefore very difficult. Apparently 855 girls, out of a total of 1,655, are attending classes.

*Food Production Department of the Board of Agriculture.*—About 20 girls are now attending classes, out of a total of 58. In the other offices of the Board of Agriculture 13 out of 18 girls are attending classes, and it is stated that facilities for leaving the office before 5.30 p.m. are conferred on girl messengers who attend

the classes at the Board of Education: 10 out of 37 girls are attending classes.

*Customs and Excise Office.*—Twenty-six out of 60 girls are attending classes.

4. *Hours of Labour.*—The following record showing the hours worked by girls under 18 years of age employed in December, 1917, is given:—

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries	Clerks, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Messengers, 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.
Board Food Production Department	Work is done between 8.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; hours vary according to rank and class.
Board of Customs and Excise	Clerks and Typists work 42 hours. Messengers, 51 hours, with occasional Saturday afternoons.
Foreign Office ... ..	Foreign Office, 39 and 42 hours per week alternatively; Foreign Trade Department, 39 hours. 11 messengers do no overtime at all.
Ministry of Munitions ...	Girls under 16 must not work more than 42 hours per week. Others are required to work a minimum of 48 hours, the average actual attendance being about 50 hours.
Ministry of Shipping ...	Clerks and typists work 42 hours per week, plus 4 hours overtime. Messengers, 48 hours, plus 2½ hours overtime.

5. *Army Pay Office.*—Arrangements have been made for all girls employed to fill in a form showing their present employment, their educational attainments, their employment previous to entering the Army Pay Office, and their desires as to future employment. These forms will be forwarded to the London Juvenile Advisory Committee, who will then be in a position to estimate the extent of the problem as regards the re-employment of these particular girls.

6. *Continued Education of Messengers.*—The following extract from a recent report by the London J.A.C. may be quoted:—

“The London Central Juvenile Advisory Committee has on many occasions urged on various Departments the desirability of their arranging the hours of work so as to permit of attendance at Continuation Classes. They have always felt that such attendance should be made a condition of employment. They are of this opinion, because their experience shows that few girls attend Evening Classes voluntarily, and that for practically all the girls some continued training is of vital importance for their future careers. Most of the offices interviewed on behalf of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee, including the War Office, the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions, had not seen their way to alter existing arrangements, though some of the smaller ones, as noted in previous statements, have, in co-operation with the Education Authority, made the necessary adjustments.

“The Committee would point out that definite action on the part of Government Offices is the only method of securing

the continued education of the girls. It must be remembered that the hours of work, coupled with the fact that many of the girls have a considerable journey home, renders regular attendance at Evening Classes difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, unless hours are limited and employment conditional on attendance at classes, the messengers are not likely to employ their leisure in continued education. They do not realise the need for it; they believe firmly that they will quite easily find other clerical work or office work if and when they are required to leave Government Messenger Service. They are credulous enough to believe that as they grow older they will earn satisfactory wages and lead comfortable and genteel lives in the ranks of lady clerks.

Secretaries of Juvenile Advisory Committees can give countless examples of this attitude from among the girls placed in Government Offices by the Employment Exchanges. In their interviews with girls and parents, Advisory Committees have had for years past a constant struggle to prevent partly-educated girls entering so-called clerical work under the delusion that they will ultimately rise to become clerks and secretaries; more often than not their efforts have been useless, and girls who appeared to have realised the absurdity of their entering clerical work have thrown up the chance of work offering good prospects because 'a friend got me into an office.'

Since the outbreak of war and the consequent great demand for girl messengers and girl sorters, etc., the opportunities for obtaining non-industrial work have increased and girls have flocked into messenger work, junior office work, letter sorting and other occupations of a purely routine nature. They are quite prepared to compete at 16 or 17 years of age with girls who have been educated up to that age, and they have no knowledge of the vast problem which will have to be faced in the demobilisation of temporary clerical workers.

The Committee are of opinion that some alleviation of the difficulty would be obtained if the girls were all brought under educational influence during their period of messenger service. Not only would it be possible to improve their general education, but it could also be continually brought to their minds that a future outside clerical work must be in store for most of them. Some could be given, in addition to general education, definite training for a future vocation. These are points on which the Education Authority would advise in detail, but it is safe to say that only by allowing for the continuance of education can the interests of temporarily-employed girl messengers and clerks be guarded."

7. *Ministry of Food, Registration Clearing House.*—Special reference should be made to the system introduced by the Ministry of Food when they started the Registration Clearing House in connection with the rationing scheme. In October, 1917, this Department put forward a demand for 600 girls under eighteen for clerical work for the period of the war. After consultation with the Ministry of Labour Employment Department, the Ministry of Food agreed to provide continued education for these girls in working hours. It should be added that the wages offered were in no way made less

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~~attractive course~~ the reduction of working hours involved by the classes, and the wage offered was 20s. to 21s. per week.

No difficulty was experienced by Employment Exchanges in filling these vacancies, and as many as 800 girls were secured for work at the Registration Clearing House. In March, 1918, classes were started by the London County Council in adjacent buildings provided by the Ministry of Food. The curriculum included Arithmetic, English, Geography, the theory of commerce, book-keeping, accountancy, shorthand, typewriting and languages.

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