

Workmen's Fare

*An Account of Herbert Richard
Haynes, the Average Working Man
and the Social and Industrial Prob-
lems arising out of his Life.*



By
KATHLEEN GIBBERD, M.A.

Betting and Gambling.

By PETER GREEN, M.A., Canon of Manchester and Chaplain to H.M. the King. Third edition. 1s.6d. net.

"One of the most powerful exposures of gambling in every form and on all its sides we have ever read. It is also a fascinating book to read because of its actual life experiences. This book should be circulated far and wide, and should certainly be in the hands of all ministers and social workers. It is sane, absolutely well-informed and entirely convincing." *Expository Times*.

Social Service.

A Survey of Opportunities. With Directory of Social Service Societies. By WILFRID J. ROWLAND. 1s.6d. net.

"A vast amount of information is packed into this short book for the guidance and inspiration of any who desire to share in the work of public bodies as councillors, guardians, magistrates, or in any of the multifarious ways in which to-day a man or woman can serve the welfare of the community." *Church Times*.

Sex and Youth.

By DR. SHERWOOD EDDY. 3s. net

"A really sane and healthy book on sex for young people. It deals in an open and clean way with the main problems, and, though one may not agree with all his views, his treatment is both scientific and spiritual." *Guardian*.

WORKMEN'S FARE

WORKMEN'S FARE

An Account of Herbert Richard Haynes, the
Average Working Man, and the Social
and Industrial Problems arising
out of his Life

BY

KATHLEEN GIBBERD

M.A.(OXON)

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT PRESS

32 RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

First published . . . January 1930

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE EDINBURGH PRESS, EDINBURGH

**TO
SOUTHLANDS SCHOOL**

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	9
I.	BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES	15
	The Poor—The Slums—Maternal Mortality— Smoke—Note on Local Government.	
II.	HIS CHILDHOOD	34
	Infant Welfare—The Nursery School—Public Playgrounds—Charity.	
III.	HIS TRADE	48
	Industrial Conditions—Effects of the War— Trade Unionism.	
IV.	HIS HOME	64
	The Housing Problem.	
V.	HIS WIFE	79
	The Consumers' Co-operative Movement—A National Minimum Wage—Prices—Family Allowances.	
VI.	HIS RECREATION AND READING	92
	Leisure—The Press—Adult Education.	

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
VII. HIS UNEMPLOYMENT	104
The Problem of Unemployment—National Health Insurance—Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation.	
VIII. HIS FUTURE: HERBERT GEORGE	117
Pensions—Elementary Education—Juvenile Employment.	

INTRODUCTION

IN setting out to write this book, I think I had in mind certain of my acquaintances who tell me that working people do not need bathrooms, as they only use them for storing coal, and do not want to work since they can get the "dole." Now that the book is finished, I find that I have entirely neglected to answer the first charge, and only indirectly explained the psychological and the verbal mistake contained in the second.

However, in the course of writing I have forsaken the high ambition of convincing the indifferent, and I have written for those who are genuinely interested in social and industrial questions, but who so far have not given them any serious study. There is probably no more effective form of social service to-day than an attempt to understand the complexities of the present situation.

The intention of the book is to relate social and industrial questions to the actualities of an ordinary working man's life, and thus bridge the gulf between descriptive accounts of the lives of the poor such as have been given us by Mrs Pember Reeves, Lady Bell, Alexander Paterson, and more recently by Mrs Eyles and Evelyn Sharp, and the economic textbooks, blue books, and reports that multiply year by year. Such

INTRODUCTION

II

is for ever settled by some deep-rooted memory of a man who refused to do a day's gardening or a maid who ran away, those who go further in their inquiries than the following few chapters will, I hope, find the necessary evidence for themselves. They will also doubtless discover that the changing fortunes of Herbert Haynes make a rosy picture when compared with the few million lives that sustain themselves below his economic level.

LONDON,

September 1929.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS book originated in a girls' school, through some sixth form lessons on Social Economics, and I am indebted to the members of that class for finding a name for the Average Working Man.

In the course of confirming or correcting my own experiences and impressions I have found it necessary to consult many more people than can conveniently be listed here, but to all of whom I would like publicly to express my thanks. As well as to many private individuals, themselves working men and women, or closely associated with industrial life, I am under an obligation to nearly every society mentioned in the references at the end of each chapter; and to these I must add the National Union of Teachers, the National Council of Social Service, and the Fabian Society. Finally, I would like especially to acknowledge the very valuable assistance given me, and given so generously, by my former colleagues and others in the National Union of General Workers.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

MOST of the books given as references at the end of each chapter are obtainable at Public Libraries, or, on application at one of these, from the Central Library for Students.

Prices only have been given when they are very low; and where, as quite often happens, a book occurs in more than one list of references, the publisher and any other particulars are not given after the first time.

The following books will be found to be of constant use to those prepared to do some more solid reading than the following pages require:—

Economics of Social Problems, H. A. SILVERMAN.
University Tutorial Press. 1928. 5s. 6d.

The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy, G. D. H. COLE. Macmillan. 1929. 15s.

and as supplying personal records of working men and women written by themselves, *Working Days*, edited by Margaret A. Pollock, J. Cape, 1926, 6s., will give a more varied picture of industrial conditions than one man's career can show.

For an attempt at defining the Christian attitude to some of the problems touched on here, the reader may be referred to the C.O.P.E.C. reports published in

1924 by Longmans. The relevant volumes are: ii, *Education*; iii, *The Home*; v, *Leisure*; ix, *Industry and Property*; and x, *Citizenship*.

In the case of every book or report to which reference is made the date of publication has been given, and the reader is urged to note this, since every year brings fresh changes. It is obviously important to get the latest information wherever possible. No doubt by the time this is in print there will be a number of new books and reports that ought to be added.

CHAPTER I

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES

The Poor—The Slums—Maternal Mortality—Smoke—Note on
Local Government.

A CRITICISM of the poor often made by the well-to-do is that they have unwholesome tastes. It is said that they prefer pickles to nourishing food, melodrama to educational films, and Sunday newspapers to good reading. It is probably as true as such generalisations can be. On the whole, working people enjoy what mild sensations come their way and are rather bored by what philanthropists call "uplift." The doubtful point is whether the generalisation is general enough and whether it ought not also to include the well-to-do.

In one instance at least there seems to be a strange similarity of taste between these two kinds of people who consider each other so different. The young working girl has a sensational interest in the rich. She likes to imagine their luxurious establishments, their expensive clothes, and their magnificent sins. Similarly, the corresponding young woman in more prosperous circles has a sensational interest in the poor and is apt to be preoccupied with reflections on families of ten housed in a hovel, of bare feet, ragged garments, and sodden drunkards. When the would-be social worker pays her first visit to the slums and

finds the dark plague spot is chiefly composed of a wide and busy thoroughfare, intersected by streets of uniform little houses, and that the wretched slum dwellers are independent young women in short skirts, harmless young men in wide trousers, and older people of sufficient tidiness and essential sobriety, she is secretly disappointed. There seems to be no scope for compassion.

The explanation of the word "slum" seems to have proved too difficult for every one who has written on the subject, and the usual recourse is to the dictionary definition which calls it "a thickly populated neighbourhood or district where the houses and the condition of life are of a squalid and wretched character." Two things, however, must be remembered if this is not to be a misleading interpretation: firstly, that squalor and wretchedness do not usually obtrude themselves so as to catch the eye of the casual visitor; and secondly, that there is no definite dividing line between slums and comparatively satisfactory housing conditions.

The pride and self-respect of poor people put up a gallant camouflage over crowded and defective housing and over insufficient income for good clothing and minor recreations. It is only the exceptions that make a display of their circumstances and beg for charity. The ordinary housewife keeps the social investigator on the doorstep and with the door open just enough to make communication possible, successfully and courteously parries all efforts at finding out exactly how she sleeps her family of six in a house of three rooms and how she provides for their requirements out of £2 10s. a week.

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 17

Sometimes you may turn down a hardly noticeable passage leading out of a main thoroughfare and find a dark row of cottages or a gloomy tenement building that from the patches of rag in the broken windows and the dishevelled look of some women standing at their doors must unquestionably be a slum. Yet those who know the place will tell you that there is an occasional clean and orderly house here just as there is an occasional disorderly and dirty one among the row of little villas with bay windows five minutes' walk away. It is generally agreed by those who ought to know that it is the slums that make the slum-dweller, and not the slum-dweller that makes the slum. The two exceptions to this rule are the few who can triumph over the most defective housing and the other few who succumb in spite of comparative good fortune.

If you were to set out to explore the residential neighbourhoods of the London poor you would not, however, be mostly concerned with the dark little corners that are hard to find. But you would have to spend day after day walking along miles of little streets where all the houses are joined in a row. Sometimes they are two stories high, sometimes three, occasionally more. Sometimes there are basements and a few steps up to the front door. Sometimes there is a diminutive piece of railed asphalt or garden separating the house from the street. Sometimes the front door opens straight from the pavement. Occasionally there is a street of bow windows, and now and then you come to a tenement block building from four to eight stories high and built round an asphalt court.

Most of these houses are overcrowded, whether measured by the number of people to a room or separate sleeping accommodation for people of different sexes. A great many of them are unsatisfactory because they have been badly constructed in the beginning, or because they are in need of repair, or because they have never been adapted for tenement use. It is unusual to find one house belonging to one family. Most of them are let in floors and single rooms are often sublet.

What, then, is the real import of the slogan, "Abolish the slums"? It is not enough to get rid of the houses that are unfit for habitation. Other houses must be reconditioned or repaired, and still others must be made to serve the purposes of more than one family by the provision of extra water supply, gas supply, larders, coal stores, sinks, and baths. Steps are gradually being taken in all these directions, but one great obstacle to progress, often forgotten, is that while the old houses are being rebuilt or repaired or readapted, temporary accommodation has to be found for the dispossessed, and if they flock into other already overcrowded houses, the consequent congestion is apt to make for worse conditions than before.

This seemingly impossible obstacle, of course, must be, and is being, surmounted, and in the meantime the work of "House Property Management" is here and there preventing the deterioration of houses that are comparatively satisfactory. This work was begun in 1865 by Octavia Hill and is the outcome of her belief that if the weekly rents of the poor that are so often collected by an indifferent agent with no competence

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 19

or responsibility were, instead, collected by a trained manager who had the authority from the landlord to order repairs and was also able to advise the tenant on the proper care of her home, landlord and tenant would both reap the benefit. The work has steadily grown, and the Management of House Property is now a recognised profession for women. Owners of a great deal of property, such as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, have begun to employ women managers, and the results seem everywhere to justify Octavia Hill's expectations. It is only, of course, big landlords and Local Authorities who can find it financially profitable to take this step, and even if eventually it becomes the rule instead of the exception for large properties, the thousands of houses that represent the small investments of humble people cannot come within its scope.

Thirty-five years ago, which is the time with which the rest of this chapter is concerned, the average working man's home was much the same as it is to-day, and it was in one of the two-storied houses in a long row stretching the whole length of a street that the imaginary child was born whose life history is to be sketched in the following pages.

His father was neither a skilled artisan who had been apprenticed in his boyhood to some work that required special training, nor a casual labourer who got what work he could and when he could. He belonged to the great mass of unskilled but regular workers of which the working population still chiefly consists. The regularity, however, was only relative,

for perhaps the dominant feature of poverty is the uncertainty of employment. His wife had worked in a factory at similarly unskilled, though lighter work, before her marriage. Now her time was full with managing a family of three children, all under twelve, and keeping things going on twenty-five shillings a week.

The Haynes occupied the two rooms on the first floor and paid a weekly rent of 6s. The downstairs rooms would have been more convenient, for they carried with them the right to the backyard and small washhouse, although there was the disadvantage of not being allowed by the police to have the front bedroom window open at night. However, it was impossible to pay the extra shilling in rent for these rooms, and Mrs Haynes had to be content to borrow the washhouse and the backyard when the downstairs tenants were not requiring them. Another advantage in the ground floor was the proper range in the kitchen. Mrs Haynes had only an open fire and a hob, and as the grate wanted repairing it burned coal rather extravagantly. However, there was fortunately a sink on the landing, so there was no necessity to fetch all water from downstairs as in the case of so many upstairs tenants. On the other hand, the only sanitary convenience was on the ground floor.

There was usually some minor repair that wanted doing. Apart from the faulty grate, a window sash was broken for months, the window consequently remaining shut; and in very wet weather a bucket ✓ had to be placed in the bedroom to catch the water that came through the ceiling. When she paid her

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 21

weekly rent Mrs Haynes always asked to have these things attended to, but the landlady was herself a poor woman depending on the rent of a few small houses for her livelihood. Naturally she was apt to postpone repairs as long as possible.

The two small rooms would have seemed overfull to a visitor from a superior dwelling, but there was no unnecessary furniture. There was a double bed and a single bed in the bedroom, and no other furniture except chairs and a chest of drawers. Clothes were mostly hung behind the doors, and washing took place at the sink. In the "living-room" the family food was cooked and the meals eaten, and here the children played when they could not go out. There was not overmuch room to move about and usually rather a noise. Mr Haynes sometimes preferred to go to the public-house at the corner of the road in the evenings, but although he stayed some time and talked considerably, he drank very little.

The coming of another child was a matter of financial anxiety for Mrs Haynes. Out of his 25s. a week her husband gave her 22s. 6d. When rent and burial insurance had been paid, this only left 15s 6d. for food, fuel, clothes, and sundries for five people, that is, 3s. 2d. per head. The allowance for Poor Law orphans at that time was about 4s. a child for food alone, so that with the greatest economy the standard of life was too low and another baby would make it still lower. However, rent and burial insurance were never allowed to get into arrears unless Mr Haynes was actually out of work. Mrs Haynes had already lost one child and its funeral had cost her 30s. It was

impossible to arrange it more cheaply—and a pauper funeral was a disgrace that never entered her calculations. As it was, the child had died before the burial benefit for which it had been insured from birth had accumulated sufficiently to cover expenses; but neighbours with characteristic generosity had collected enough to make up the difference, and the debt to them had gradually been paid off at the rate of a shilling a week.

There is a gathering force of opinion nowadays that seeks to secure the best possible conditions for childbirth among the poor. The Midwives Act of 1902, which aims at the gradual elimination of untrained women from midwifery service, and the maternity provision of the National Health Insurance Act, which now provides most working women with £2 towards the expenses of a confinement, are considered inadequate. For in spite of these provisions the rate of maternal mortality has hardly altered during the last twenty years. There are still, in England and Wales, over 2000 mothers who die in childbirth every year.

In the interest of both mother and child an increasing number of antenatal clinics (mostly in conjunction with infant welfare centres) for free consultation are being established, and the British Medical Association have recently proposed that every working woman shall be entitled to a free maternity service to provide all necessary advice and treatment both before and after, as well as at the time of a confinement. The Washington Convention of the International Labour Office in 1919 (still unratified in this country), though

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 23

concerned with the women in industry, points in the same direction.

Thirty-five years ago such public opinion as there was on the subject of maternity provision for the poor had not got as far as securing any compulsory health insurance scheme with maternity benefit, nor had it succeeded in establishing a properly trained midwifery service. Mrs Haynes made little provision for the new baby, and the midwife she called in had no qualifications beyond much previous experience. The conditions attending the birth were in defiance of the methods of modern hygiene, just as the lack of privacy was, of necessity, completely at variance with middle-class convention.

The readiness of her neighbours to help stood Mrs Haynes in good stead on this occasion, as it had done at the time of a death in the family. One came and "did" for her in the home during the few days when she was incapacitated. Another took the two elder children into her own crowded living-room for their midday meal. Others gave or lent from their own scanty possessions. All contributed their sympathy and interest. It was these things that made Mrs Haynes prefer to stay where she was when trade was bad for her husband and people said there was work to be had in other parts of the country. Most of her neighbours she had known from her childhood, and to be near them was a material as well as a moral bulwark against misfortune.

When she was about again the chief expense that the new member of the family brought with him was the fee of 15s. which had gradually to be paid off to

the midwife. Something, of course, had been saved towards this for many weeks past ; but other expenses connected with the birth had swallowed some of the savings, and a small sum had to be squeezed out of the father's earnings for many weeks to come.

Apart from this and the additional burial insurance contribution, the baby was no appreciable expense at first. He was, however, an extra charge on his mother's time. Although the other children only had their bath before the living-room fire once a week, the baby was bathed every day and its garments were frequently washed. The family laundry work, together with the cleaning of her three rooms, was for Mrs Haynes a never-ending conflict with dirt, and in this respect she was considerably at a disadvantage compared with the wife of an agricultural labourer, although the wages would have been less. The lace curtains that might have gone a year in the country were dirty in a month in London, where about 288 tons of soot still fall on each square mile in the course of each year. However clean the children were sent out in the morning, they always came back dirty. Soap was a considerable item in the family budget, and a clothes-line frequently hung over the family as they took their meals in the living-room.

It might be thought that, considering the circumstances, the baby would be an unwelcome guest. Certainly there was some slight resentment mingled with the acquiescence with which Mrs Haynes had awaited his coming. But once he was there he was the centre of interest and affection not only for his mother but for the rest of the family as well.

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 25

There was no law in those days requiring the immediate notification of a baby's birth. The only obligation on the parents was that a child should be vaccinated (provided there was no conscientious objection), and that he should be given a name and registered with the Public Registrar before he was six weeks old. The naming of the child, like marriage and burial, was an occasion when the family sought the services of the Church. The new baby was christened Herbert Richard Haynes.

Note on Local Government

Reference has already been made to "Local Authorities," and before going any further it is important to be quite clear as to what these actually are, how one kind differs from another, what work they do, and how they obtain the money to do it. Only the briefest survey of the subject can be given, but the bibliography at the end will show where further information can be obtained.

The "Local Authorities" are the councils responsible for the "Local Government" of the various units into which the country is divided. The largest unit is the *County*, and it usually corresponds with the familiar geographical county, although certain geographical counties have been divided into two "Administrative" counties with a separate County Council over each, *e.g.*, East and West Sussex. Of equal importance with the county are some large towns, known as County Boroughs. These are entirely independent of the county in which they

happen to be, and the County Borough Councils have that fraction of the county which constitutes the town and its environs in their undisputed charge. Other large towns are known as Municipal Boroughs, and are almost as important but not so completely independent of the County Council. Apart from the County and Municipal Boroughs, the county is divided into *Urban* and *Rural Districts*. The urban district, as the name suggests, centres round a town of some size, and the rural district is an area round a small country town or village. Both have councils with limited powers and are subordinate to the County Council; but an urban district council has more responsibilities than the Local Authority of a rural district, and these are considerably increased if the population of the district is comparatively large. Both, also, are divided into smaller units known as *parishes* (corresponding in boundaries with the ecclesiastical parish), but in the case of the urban district the division is purely theoretical. The rural parish, however, may have its own council if it can show a population of over 300. Where the population is less than this, a *Parish Meeting* which all the rate-payers may attend usually discharges the small duties that would otherwise be undertaken by the Parish Council.

These divisions, of course, are not static, and vary with the changing population—a parish meeting may give place to a parish council, a rural district become an urban district, an urban district become a municipal borough, and this last become a county borough.

London is unique in its Local Government. The

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 27

London County Council controls an area fixed seventy years ago when "London" had a very different meaning. Consequently many parts of Greater London are outside its jurisdiction, as is also, for most purposes, the "City," which appoints the Lord Mayor and is governed by its own Corporation. Under the L.C.C. are twenty-nine Metropolitan Borough Councils with limited independence. There are for special purposes, such as police and water supply, special authorities independent of the L.C.C.

Any ratepayer who has resided a certain time in the area may stand as a candidate for one of the councils mentioned above. The elections take place at specified times, and all ratepayers are entitled to vote. Party politics do not enter into the contest in the same way as in a parliamentary election, but candidates sometimes, call themselves by some quasi-party designation such as "Municipal Reformers," "Progressives," according to the kind of policy they uphold. Only the Labour candidates have an avowed connection with a recognised political party.

Once the council is elected it appoints its members to various committees, *e.g.*, Health Committee, Education Committee, Finance Committee. The number and nature of these will vary very much according to the responsibilities of the council. Thus a rural council, being never responsible for the provision of education in its area, will have no education committee, whereas an urban district council may or may not have this duty handed on to it from its county council. Certain non-elected people are sometimes invited to serve on committees because of their particular knowledge of

the work involved—these are known as co-opted members. All committees have to submit their plans and decisions for the approval of the full council.

In the county councils, county borough councils, and borough councils, certain of the councillors have the rank of aldermen, and usually remain in office for a longer period than the rest. Both kinds of borough councils are presided over by a *Mayor*, but all the other councils by a chairman.

The decisions of the council are carried out by a body of paid officials just as the decisions of Parliament are made effective by the work of permanent under-secretaries and other civil servants: and a county or borough council will have a great number of people in its employ, from the clerk to the council (a lawyer) and the medical officer of health to the office-boys and dustmen.

The most important duty of Local Authorities is to look after the health of the people. Among other things this involves securing a pure water supply, providing fever hospitals, inspecting food and drugs for impurities, and the disposal of sewage and refuse. They are also responsible for the provision of schools, and under the recent Local Government Act (popularly known as the De-rating Bill, because it reduces the rates on industrial property and abolishes those on agricultural concerns) the County Councils are from April 1930 to take over the responsibility of looking after the poor, or, as they would be more properly described, the utterly destitute. Hitherto the authorities for this duty have been the Boards of Guardians elected for this and no other purpose, and quite

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 29

distinct from the various councils, although the same people may serve on each, as is the practice in country districts. Each board of guardians has had to see that there was adequate workhouse and infirmary accommodation for the destitute in the group of parishes over which they presided. Where there was good reason for not compelling the pauper to enter the workhouse they also had the power to administer "out-relief" (an allowance in money or kind) through the relieving officer. Each group of parishes was known as the Union—hence the expression "going to the Union," *i.e.*, applying for help to the guardians, which is likely to persist some time after the new system comes into being. The new "Public Assistance Committees" which the County Councils will set up, will correspond somewhat to the former guardians, and it is hoped that through these some personal element in the administration of relief will be maintained. The main objects of this important change are to avoid the overlapping of two kinds of authorities and to get rid of the stigma which has always attached itself to those people who have had to apply for help to an authority existing solely for the relief of the down and out.

The cost of Local Government is chiefly borne by the *rates*. These are compulsory contributions levied on any property-holder and varying according to the value of the property. For the purpose of deciding the amount to be paid, a person's property is "assessed" as being worth so much a year, and the rates are fixed at so much in the £. Thus if rates in an urban district are 10s. in the £ and a man owns, for instance,

a cinema, assessed at £1000 per annum, his due in rates for the year will be £500.

The National Exchequer (chiefly supplied by taxes) also makes a contribution to some Local Government undertakings, especially in the case of some among the great number of "*permissive*" enterprises (as contrasted with compulsory duties) which are open to Local Authorities; the financial help given by the State in these cases is usually in the form of "grants in aid," and is intended to encourage new ventures, or help commendable, though not necessary, developments. Permissive undertakings include the provision of baths, playing fields, libraries, child welfare centres, play centres, clinics, the building of houses, municipal trading.

It cannot be said that Local Authorities considered as a whole, have shown the public spirit and enterprise which might be expected in view of their unique opportunity for promoting social welfare. The reasons probably are three: the indifference of the general public resulting often in an unsuitable personnel on the councils; expense; the delay and formalities involved in securing Government sanction for experimental undertakings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BOOTH, C. *Life and Labour of the People in London*,
17 vols. 1902.
Mrs PEMBER REEVES. *Round About a Pound a Week*.
Bell. 1913.

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 31

PATERSON, A. *Across the Bridges, or Life by the South London Riverside*. Edwin Arnold. 1911. 2s.

BELL, Lady. *At the Works*. A Study of a Manufacturing Town. Edwin Arnold. 1907.

House Property and its Management. Some Papers on the Methods of Management introduced by Miss Octavia Hill. Edited by M. M. Jeffery and E. Neville. Allen & Unwin. 1921.

Life of Octavia Hill as told in her Letters. Edited by C. E. Maurice. Macmillan. 1913.

NICHOLSON, W. *Smoke Abatement*. Chas. Griffin. 1927.

SHAW, N., and OWENS, J. S. *The Smoke Problem of Great Cities*. Constable & Co. 1925.

Local Government

COLE, M. *Local Government for Beginners*. W.E.A. Outlines. Longmans. 1927. 1s.

SAMUELS, H. *The County Councillor*. Labour Publishing Co. 1925. 2s.

ATTLEE & ROBSON. *The Town Councillor*. Labour Publishing Co. 1925. 2s.

SIMON, E. D. *A City Council from Within*. Longmans. 1926.

DAVIES, A. E. *The Story of the London County Council*. Labour Publishing Co. 1925. 2s.

THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY. *The Prevention and Relief of Distress*. P. S. King (Chapter on Local Government in London). 1922.

English Local Government, Ruskin College Study, Course I. Ruskin College, Oxford. 1927. 6d.

Fabian Tracts on *Borough Councils, Metropolitan Borough Councils, Urban District Councils, Parish and District Councils, and the County Council.* 2d. each. The Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

	<i>Suggested References</i>
The Meaning and Circumstances of Poverty.	Booth. Pember Reeves. Paterson. Bell.
Smoke.	Nicholson. Shaw & Owens. Churchill (see Ch. II). The Coal Smoke Abatement Society, 25 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. The Smoke Abatement League, 23 King Street, Manchester.
House Property Management.	Jeffery & Neville. Maurice. Association of Women House Property Managers, 3 Bedford Sq., W.C.1.
Local Government in London.	Burns, <i>Prevention and Relief of Distress.</i> Fabian Tracts.

BIRTH OF HERBERT RICHARD HAYNES 33

<i>Suggested References</i>	
The Local Government of X, ¹ and the extent to which it uses its "permissive" powers.	Cole. Fabian Tracts, etc. Supplemented by personal inquiry and local publications.
Public Utility Services of Local Authorities.	Cole. Ruskin College, etc.
The "De-rating Bill." (Local Government Act 1929.)	See Newspapers and Periodicals.

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

Meeting of the Council of X.

(All ordinary meetings are open to the public.
Notices appear in local newspapers.)

¹ Throughout this book X is to be taken to represent any town or locality in which the reader lives or is interested.

CHAPTER II

HIS CHILDHOOD

Infant Welfare—The Nursery School—Public Playgrounds—Charity.

LIKE most babies the new child in the Haynes family was born healthy. At two days old no medical examination would have found any signs of disease or physical defect. And yet his chances of survival were not very good.

According to the rate of infant mortality at the time, about 156 children out of every 1000 born succeeded in outliving the first precarious year of their existence. But this rate was for the whole country and included the children of the rich, who were surrounded by scrupulous cleanliness and received every expert attention, as well as the children of the poor, who were subject to varying degrees of dirt and inevitable neglect. As might be expected, the rate of mortality in poor districts was anything from twice to five times the rate in purely middle-class areas, and might easily be twice the average for the whole country. It would not be unfair to reckon that at the time of this child's birth and in the neighbourhood where he was born, about three out of every four babies survived the first year of infancy.

But the factors that proved too much for every fourth child—the lack of air and sun, the unsuitable clothing, the constant exposure to infection, the malnutrition and the absence of any fixed régime—naturally took some toll of the survivors. During the first year of his existence the Haynes baby lost much of his natural endowment of good health.

Herbert passed his first weeks of life in the constraint of two tight binders and under the weight of several layers of flannelette. When he cried he was fed, without any reference to the clock, and if he refused sustenance he was persuaded to accept a dummy that lay in readiness about the room and sometimes had to be retrieved from the floor. There was always noise about him, and he only went out when his mother found it convenient to take him shopping. He frequently suffered from minor digestive troubles and catarrhal discomforts as well as from sores and irritations of the skin. When he was barely one year old he developed measles, but as his mother thought he was merely suffering from a cold, no special precautions were taken until the outbreak of the rash, accompanied by high fever, frightened Mrs Haynes into sending an urgent message for the doctor. But the busy practitioner, who got a scanty livelihood out of the poor district where he worked, could not leave his dispensary until he had finished giving out bottles of medicine in response to the complaints of each patient waiting to be cured for a shilling. Consequently, pneumonia set in, and for a few days Herbert's life was in jeopardy. It took a long, hot summer spent in the streets in charge of

his brothers and sisters to restore him to something like satisfactory health.

At two years old he was small for his age, subject to colds, inclined to be rickety, and a little deaf in one ear. Also he had already two bad teeth that, in later years, had to be painfully extracted after prolonged and intense toothache.

Probably all of these physical misfortunes could have been avoided if his mother had attended an Infant Welfare Centre, or if she had followed the advice of a Health Visitor. But the fault was not hers. There were no Centres and no Health Visitors until after Herbert had outgrown his infancy and gone to school.

The Notification of Births Act in 1907, which gave Local Authorities the power (at first "permissive," afterwards compulsory) to insist that every birth should be notified to their Medical Officer within thirty-six hours, although seemingly of no special significance, marks the beginning of what is almost certainly the most important preventive health work to-day. It enabled would-be helpers to discover the birth of a child immediately after the event, and gave them the opportunity of visiting the mother and offering advice before her possibly unsuitable methods had got well under way. The first health visiting, like the first Centres which followed close in its wake, was undertaken by voluntary workers, but when the value of their work in reducing infant mortality and raising the standard of infant hygiene had been proved, the State and the Local Authorities co-operated. The Maternity and Child Welfare Act

of 1918 gave Local Authorities the power to make provision for this work out of public funds, and nowadays the whole movement concerned with the welfare of the mother and child is a combination of paid and voluntary service, of public funds and private subscription.

The usual procedure is for the local medical officer to decide whether the birth has occurred in a home where help would be acceptable and beneficial, and if he thinks it is a case for a visit to notify the Health Visitor, who is a trained woman, working under him. About ten days later she will call at the home where, having no legal right of entry like the sanitary inspector, she will try to establish friendly relations with the mother and to pass on some elementary knowledge of infant hygiene. She will repeat her calls at the rate of about six during the first year and two a year afterwards, until the child goes to school, but at the outset she will urge the mother to attend the nearest Centre. There the child can be regularly weighed and examined, and the mother be advised as to its care. While she awaits with others her private consultation with the doctor, she is subject to the suggestion of large posters illustrating the danger of leaving food unprotected from flies or exhorting the abolition of the dummy. Also there are voluntary helpers who talk to her and reinforce the doctor's advice, as well as some of her own neighbours with whom she can discuss affairs of mutual interest.

The great object of all infant welfare work is the *prevention* of disease. Most babies are born healthy, but lack of air and sunlight, malnutrition, exposure

to germs, bring about the death of many and bequeath ill health and deformity on many more.

If Herbert Haynes had been under the supervision of a Welfare Centre for the first two years of his life, his state of health at two years old might have been very different. Assuming that his mother had followed good advice as to more systematic feeding, more fresh air and more hygienic clothing, he would probably have been taller, fatter, and less liable to catch cold. If the doctor at the Centre had had the opportunity of diagnosing the first symptoms of measles, there might have been no serious complications, and his hearing might never have been impaired. If his first decayed tooth had been discovered, he would have been recommended to a dentist and thus saved pain and ill health later.¹

Preventive work, of course, does not end when the child is two, and nearly all Infant Welfare Centres to-day make provision for the periodic examination of children up to five years old when they go to school and come under the care of the School Medical Service. But, unfortunately, partly owing to the difficulty of taking several children to the Centre, and partly because further medical inspections seem to the mother unnecessary unless the child shows signs of ill health, a great many of those children who have made a good start through the Centres come under no regular medical supervision during the few years before they go to school. The Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education regularly draws attention

¹ Out of 1100 babies and children under five seen at a free dental clinic in London, over 800 needed attention.

to this period of neglect—a period which, of course, goes right back to birth in the case of the children who have not even been to the Centres. On a rough estimate, nearly half the working mothers of London still do not avail themselves of the use of the Centres, and in country districts the percentage is naturally very much lower. It is only when the child enters school at five years old that periodic medical examinations are compulsory.

If the Education Act of 1918 had not in many respects proved a dead letter through lack of funds to carry out its policies, a system of public Nursery Schools for children of two to five years old would now be established throughout the country. Assuming that the school medical service had been enlarged to serve these schools, the valuable opportunity that would have been given for discovering ailments and defects in their early stages, as well as the inestimable benefit of giving the child somewhere where it could be actively occupied without danger to itself or detriment to other people's temper, can well be imagined. The Rachel Macmillan Nursery School at Deptford, where for a shilling a week a small child can enjoy an open-air life with the requisite rest and proper food, and at the same time begin his or her education (according to a most enlightened interpretation of that word), is a piece of private pioneer work that many people hope to see followed up until all the under-fives—the children who are in the way in the home, and too young to be let loose in the streets—can enjoy some kind of similar nursery life.

But Herbert Haynes' childhood was passed in a

time before such things were dreamed of and, since they still remain unrealised, the daily round of his earliest memories is not fundamentally different from that of his own children to-day, though it began earlier in the morning and the general standard of comfort was rather lower.

At half-past five his mother rose to do the grate, make the fire, and get his father's breakfast. Then she got the children up, sent the elder ones to wash faces, hands, and necks at the sink on the landing, and attended to the younger ones herself. Breakfast consisted of bread and dripping or margarine, with tea or cocoa to drink; only the wage-earner had what fish or cold meat might be left over from the day before. At the summons of the school bell the children of school age were sent off and the others played together or quarrelled while their mother washed up, tidied the three rooms, and was busy with laundry or sewing. Sometimes they accompanied her shopping, one in her arms and one trailing at her skirts; at other times they were left in charge of a grandmother who inhabited a dark basement in a neighbouring street. The chief meal of the day was midday dinner. For this there was a joint only on Sunday. On other days there were sausages, or "pieces," or suet pudding or fried fish. Tea was bread with margarine or dripping on it (butter on Sundays), and father again had something extra. They usually sat down at the table for dinner, but breakfast was often eaten standing about, and in fine weather tea was a chunk of bread and "spread" taken into the street.

A great many of Herbert's pleasantest recollections

of childhood are associated with playing in the streets. The nearest park was some distance away, and by some convention it was never visited except on Sundays or Bank Holidays. The small asphalt playground attached to the school was shut after school hours.

The unsuitability, the dangers, the inadequacy of the streets as a playground for children are too obvious to be explained, and public opinion has been considerably roused lately by the 35,000 posters whereby generous artists have lent their power of propaganda to the National Playing Fields Association, a society launched in 1927 with the object of ultimately securing playgrounds or playing fields for all. Although there has already been a generous response to the society's appeal in gifts of money and land, and in action by Local Authorities, it is estimated by the society that there are to-day at least 4,000,000 children in England who have nowhere where they can regularly play.

Since this rather striking contrast between rich and poor has been long in evoking action, and the final accomplishment is a long way off, there is some consolation in the fact that the children of the streets are quite unaware of the disabilities under which they play—a quite evident fact to anyone who walks about a working-class neighbourhood on summer evenings.

Herbert passed from being the baby to the position of baby once removed, and from being conducted about the streets in the charge of a slightly older sister, to himself being in charge of another sister not much younger than himself. At the age of five he

went to school, and for the next nine years was a member of a succession of standards each numbering from fifty to sixty boys. He learnt to read aloud with slow and deliberate accuracy, to write a clear, round hand and to work out various definite kinds of sums. He learnt by dint of the mass drilling of his teacher to give the correct answers to a great number of familiar questions relating to history and geography and scripture. There were also physical exercises in the playground and a little class-singing and drawing. As will be seen later, the school experience of his own children to-day are a considerable improvement on this rather mechanised, though by no means unhappy, educational career.

Just as the Maternity and Infant Welfare movement came a few years too late to be of service to Herbert in his first years of life, so did the school medical service, with its compulsory examination of school-children and its clinics for treatment, come just too late to benefit him in his school years.

Preventive health work, to which so much importance is now attached, had hardly begun to show itself in the first decade of the present century, and the growing tendency of the State and the Local Authorities to become actively responsible for the health and general well-being of the people, both by preventive and remedial work, was perhaps hardly recognised until the years of war. When Herbert was a child the public authority only came in as a last resource. If your drains were seriously defective, the sanitary inspector would see that something was done; if you got scarlet fever, you were taken to the

Local Authority's isolation hospital ; if you were both sick and destitute, you could go to the infirmary ; if you were dangerously insane, you were incarcerated in the local public asylum. It was left to private charity to find treatment for the ordinary sick and holidays for the weak and convalescent, just as it was left to private charity to succour the unemployed—although there again the State provided the workhouse as a last resource.

There were, of course, as there are still, thousands of charitable societies plying in the vast ocean of poverty. But although they succeeded in finding their funds without employing the expensive methods of ballots and frothblowers so popular to-day, they were, generally speaking, haphazard and rather indiscriminating in the benefits they bestowed. According to some opinions, they very often undermined independence and helped to make beggars.

As far back as 1869 an attempt was made by the Charity Organisation Society both to co-ordinate charitable work and to make it more scientific. When a family applies to this society for help, their poverty is treated rather as ill health would be treated by a very painstaking practitioner. Minute inquiries are made into the family circumstances with a view to finding out how they can best be helped. The applicant is questioned as to his wages, his insurance policies, his savings, his rent, the members of his own family and his other relatives, his previous employment and his former residences. A home visit is then made to estimate the standard of cleanliness in the home and the general character of the family,

and further information is sought from references and employers. A committee then considers the case and decides how the needs can be most helpfully met. If money is wanted, they decide whether a loan would be less demoralising than a grant. If a convalescent holiday is asked for, they assess the amount that the applicant can pay towards the cost and arrange for his contributions to be collected weekly in small instalments. If they think that no help is needed or that it will only serve to turn the applicant into a chronic beggar, the application is turned down. By these methods the society claims to be curing poverty instead of applying palliatives.

It is easy to understand that these thorough-going methods have given the society an unpopular reputation and that the average worker would never dream of applying to it for help. In acute distress, arising, perhaps, from prolonged unemployment, he usually prefers to go to the Relieving Officer, where he feels through the payment of rates and taxes he has some rightful claim, and is not dishonouring himself so much as by asking for charity and disclosing his circumstances to private ladies and gentlemen. The importance of the C.O.S. to-day, however, lies not in its own work, but in the unquestionable influence of its methods both on other charitable agencies and on most public services. Nowadays, whether a working mother applies to a hospital to be operated upon or takes a child to have a tooth out at a dental clinic or tries to get another child away into a convalescent home, she will in all probability be asked to give particulars of her income and expenditure, and

the contribution that she can pay towards what she asks for will be assessed by the authorities concerned. The inquiries that are made, however, are by no means so searching as those of the C.O.S., and in many instances the assessment is the result of a friendly agreement between the applicant and a visitor sent to settle the matter with her.

At the beginning of the present century two well-known societies in London were working on modified C.O.S. lines—the Invalid Children's Aid Association, which seeks to provide remedial treatment for physically defective children and convalescent care for those who are ailing, and the Children's Country Holidays Fund, which explains itself.

When, after a bad attack of bronchitis, Herbert's mother was anxious for him to have a holiday, she thought of applying to the I.C.A.A., but could neither bring herself to ask for help nor persuade herself to be ready to let the child be out of her care. A little later a visitor came one day to Herbert's school and inquired as to which boys would like to go for a fortnight's holiday in the following summer. Herbert perfunctorily did what he felt was expected of him, though rather vague as to what it all meant—he put his hand up like his companions. Afterwards his teacher told him to speak to his mother about it. Mrs Haynes, not understanding the rather incoherent message, went to the school to get more particulars—with the result that one of the voluntary workers for the Fund called on Mrs Haynes, explained that the object of the society was to provide country holidays for children who could not otherwise get away, and

after a few simple inquiries as to her husband's wages and the family expenses, asked her what she thought she could pay towards the total cost of 20s. Mrs Haynes's suggestion of 5s., paid off in weekly instalments between February and June, was accepted by the committee, and one day in the following August, Herbert, aged ten, presented himself an hour before the appointed time outside the local C.C.H.F. office, with a label attached to his buttonhole and a small parcel of clothing in his hand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- LANE CLAYPON, J. E. *The Child Welfare Movement*. Bell. 1920.
- CHURCHILL, Dr STELLA. *Health Services and the Public*. Noel Douglas. 1928.
- MACMILLAN, M. *The Nursery School*. Dent. 1919.
- Report of the Medical Officer of Health for X.*
- SHARP, E. *The London Child*. John Lane. 1928.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

Suggested References

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| The Work of a Health Visitor. | Lane Claypon. |
| The Work of Infant Welfare Centres. | Lane Claypon.
Association of Infant Welfare and Maternity Centres, 117 Piccadilly, London, W.1.
(Also personal visit to any local Centre.) |

Suggested References

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| The Nursery School. | Macmillan. |
| | Sharp. |
| Streets and Playgrounds. | Sharp. |
| | The National Playing
Fields Association, 71
Eccleston Square, Lon-
don, S.W.1. |
| Charity. | Churchill. |
| | Charity Organisation So-
ciety, Denison House,
Vauxhall Bridge Road,
S.W.1. |
| | Invalid Children's Aid
Association, 117 Picca-
dilly, W.1. |
| | Children's Country Holi-
days Fund, 18 Bucking-
ham Street, W.C.2. |

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

- An Infant Welfare Centre.
A Nursery School.

CHAPTER III

HIS TRADE

Industrial Conditions—Effects of the War—Trade Unionism.

AT about the age when in different circumstances he would have been passing from preparatory to public school, Herbert left school for good. In 1908, the year of his entry into the industrial world, a boy was not required to stay until the end of a school term. He could leave on his fourteenth birthday.

There were, of course, some opportunities for further education. There were public secondary schools springing up everywhere in response to the Education Act of 1902, and there were also evening classes. A certain number of free places in the new secondary schools were open to competition among the elementary school-children, and the unsuccessful candidates could enter as fee-paying pupils if they were of average ability. The average working father, however, not only could not afford two or three guineas a term in fees, but did not feel able to forgo the wages a boy of fourteen could earn, even though the boy was smart enough to win two years more schooling with, perhaps, a maintenance grant as well. Consequently, the number of elementary schoolboys who at that time went on to secondary schools was something like one in every 1000. As for the evening

classes, they were usually only attended by the average boy under pressure from someone in authority, for at the end of a long working day he was disinclined to go back to school.

The elaborate machinery of labour exchanges, school conferences, and juvenile advisory committees to be referred to in a later chapter, had not then come into operation, but work was not hard to find at fourteen any more than it is now. The difficulty—and it still remains—was to find work that would not be merely a blind alley leading shortly to unemployment.

Herbert's father was much more concerned about this particular problem than Herbert himself. He wanted his son to have a better chance than he had had. What he would have liked most of all would have been to apprentice the boy to a skilled trade—to bricklaying or engineering, for instance. The skilled craftsman was a person to be respected, and he could count on a good wage and steady work. But for Herbert, such a proposition could not be seriously entertained, for even though the family economy had been considerably easier since the three eldest children had become wage-earners, to pay from £5 to £10 down and expect little or no earnings for perhaps seven years was out of the question.

Herbert himself had no particular ambition, which indeed was just as well, as there are not many dreams that can be realised from the home of an ordinary labourer; but machinery had a fascination for him, and the only suggestion he put forward on his own behalf was that he should go into an engineering works. He showed no desire to press this, however,

when his father pointed out that unless he was apprenticed he could never become an engineer, but must begin and end as a labourer and never be allowed to handle the tools of the skilled man.

When an ironmonger with whom his father was on friendly terms offered to take Herbert into his shop as an odd boy, promising to put him behind the counter later if he showed himself deserving of the promotion, it was agreed to accept the offer. Thus Herbert began his industrial career by running errands, undoing parcels, sorting out screws, nails, nuts, and bolts, and by labelling, tidying, sweeping, or lounging about waiting for his next task. He was employed thus from eight in the morning until nine at night, there being no regulation of shop hours in those days, and his pay was four shillings a week.

Although unambitious, he was not without a desire to enjoy himself, and by sixteen he was tired of the ironmongery environment and distinctly envious of some of his friends who were entirely occupied as cyclist errand boys. He had always wanted to ride a bicycle, but to buy a machine for himself when he gave his mother all but a shilling of his weekly earnings was obviously impossible. If you were an errand boy you combined pleasure with work and, moreover, got from five to ten shillings a week for it. After two years with the ironmonger he was only getting five and six. Discontent with his lot resulted in a certain dilatoriness in the errands he was sent to carry out on foot and a slackness in his work in the shop. His employer admonished him and threatened to sack him, until in one of the rare moments of

initiative in his life Herbert applied for a job advertised in a baker's window, and got himself appointed to a box-cycle at a wage of ten shillings. His father was angry, knowing that the job was just such a dead-end occupation as he had stood out against in the first place; but his mother smoothed matters over in her great relief at the substantial increase in wages. Her youngest child, who was still at school, was delicate and was at the moment causing expenses that could not readily be met; whereas the eldest son had just got married and withdrawn himself and his contribution from the home.

Herbert found more scope for the energy of sixteen in his new work, and he enjoyed the half-a-crown a week which he kept for himself out of his wages. But at the end of eighteen months his father's prophecy proved true. Some trifling misdemeanour was made the occasion of his dismissal and a younger boy took his place.

At seventeen and a half, therefore, Herbert had his first experience of unemployment. At first he spent his days in an energetic search for new work, beginning often at seven in the morning and continuing throughout the day. He sought the advice of his friends as to what factories wanted young hands, and queued up at the opening of the gates in the morning; he scanned the newspapers at a public library and tramped for miles in quest of situations that he saw advertised; he looked out for notices in shop windows, he offered his services to nearly all likely employers within a two-mile radius of his home. Sometimes they did want a boy, but he was too old; sometimes they

wanted experience and he had none ; usually the reply was curt and definite—no hands were wanted at all. Once or twice he actually found a job, but the wages were considerably lower than he had been getting and, in spite of his father's assurances that he would not get the same again, he could not bring himself to take what seemed to be a retrogressive step.

After a time he became dispirited. He got up later, took less trouble about his appearance, performed his daily quest in a half-hearted fashion, and lounged away his idle moments in listlessness or bad temper.

Finally a friend offered to "speak" for him at an engineering firm. Since the old fascination of machinery still remained, this evoked a flicker of interest, and when he was told that he could go in as a labourer at twelve shillings a week he went for the job, intending to leave it as soon as something better paid turned up.

Herbert's first impression of factory life was the noise. The whirring leather straps overhead, the clanking motions of the various machines, the sounds of grinding and drilling, the roaring of the furnaces, all made such an uproar that the most casual remarks had to be shouted. Had he not been accustomed to the grime attached to most kinds of manual work, he might also have been impressed with the dirt ; for the machines were all dripping with oil, and particles of metal dust were always flying about.

The firm in which he was employed was engaged in making various kinds of wrought-iron work, such as gates and balustrades. It was work involving a

good deal of craftsmanship and a great many of the workers were skilled men, forging the iron into shape, milling the parts to exact measurements and assembling the parts together. These skilled operations, however, were jealously guarded, and no man who had not gone through the required apprenticeship was allowed to attempt them. Herbert was attached to a gang of workers, half of them skilled and paid at piece-work rates, and half of them labourers or semi-skilled men working at a day rate. The whole gang was under a "piece-master" who was responsible for carrying out a complete piece of work. The unskilled men worked as mates to the skilled and were usually kept very busy. Herbert was at first attached to one of the smiths, and spent most of his time working the huge bellows by pushing a handle up and down or wielding a large hammer as ordered by his master. The smaller hammer that did the more delicate work he was not allowed to touch. Occasionally when the smith had no need of him the piece-master would rate him for standing idle and would send him to work for another craftsman who would perhaps make him drill holes in a piece of metal, or hold a tool in place. Whether his working day was pleasant or unpleasant naturally depended very largely on the men for whom he worked. In some gangs the skilled men offered to teach some of their operations to unskilled men if these last stood them drinks; sometimes the piece-master would overstrain all his gang in an attempt to get his order completed in time; at other times the work would be carried out in a spirit of friendly co-operation. But Herbert, like most of his fellow-

labourers, resented the dividing line between himself and the craftsmen and the opportunities the latter had for higher wages and more interesting work. From constant watching he was sure he could do some of the operations denied him.

In order to protect his interests he was urged by his fellows to join the labourers' trade union to which most of the unskilled men belonged. The skilled men belonged to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, now the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

When the war broke out, Herbert, after two years in the factory, had come to acquiesce in a low wage and a job with no prospects. When he found every one else was answering the call for recruits he followed suit, rather welcoming a break away which he could not have accomplished on his own initiative. And when the Government policy of separation allowances made marriage a practical proposition, he made his first leave the opportunity to marry the girl with whom he had been walking out for several years.

His period of war service, with the physical benefits of a regular outdoor life and the very mixed psychological effects of an external discipline that forced him both to keep his buttons shiny and use a bayonet with dexterity, must necessarily be passed over. He has now become so re-established in the industrial régime that the interruption is more like the recollection of a dream than a memory of actual life.

The workers went to the front with two promises from a grateful and patriotic country. Their jobs were to be given up to them when they came back, and all the trade union regulations which they had

consented to abrogate for the period of war were to be reinforced. Such regulations included the number of hours to be worked each week, the amount of overtime to be allowed, the conservation of certain jobs for the skilled worker. But the great business of munition-making so changed factory conditions that the complete fulfilment of many of these promises became a practical impossibility.

Haynes came back to find that his job had gone for ever—not to another worker, but to something that could not be ousted to make way for him. The bellows that he formerly worked by hand were now operated by electrical power. Similarly, many of the craftsmen of whom he had been so jealous in pre-war days found that the tools they had been privileged to handle and the machines over which they had exercised such exclusive rights had, in many cases, been so altered and improved that it was absurd to contend that no one could manipulate them without years of apprenticeship and experience. In order to supply the fighting forces with all the munitions that were wanted, something like a new industrial revolution had taken place. Hundreds of things, and parts of things, which before the war had been made singly by a skilled worker using machine power to serve his purpose, were now poured out in their thousands by machines that only wanted a man of all-round average ability to feed them. The skilled engineer had been fighting a losing battle for some time, and the exigencies of a real war had hastened his defeat. He was left with a very small preserve of skilled operations, while thousands of untrained men quickly

picked up the easily acquired knowledge necessary to manipulate the new machinery. Most of the factory workers to-day belong to the great army of the "semi-skilled."

Haynes, anxious to make a home for his wife and child, registered himself at a Labour Exchange for the ex-serviceman's out-of-work donation and made every effort to find a new job. Finally he got himself taken on at a gas meter factory not far from the centre of London.

The firm was not very large; it employed something over 200 workers when trade was good, as during the first two years after the war when an ill-founded optimism launched a temporary boom. All the usual departments or "shops" were there: the foundry where, in a haze of dust and smoke, molten metal is poured from plumbago crucibles into the moulds for the larger brass fittings; the stamp and press shops where the small and large metal parts of the meter are cut out by machinery; the assembly shop where the parts are fitted together; the testing room, the painting room, and the stores.

Haynes was given a job in the press shop, and he spent the first month of his return to industry manipulating the handle of a hand press. He alternatively placed metal under the great hammer and pulled the handle downwards. Each effort of his arm produced a new index door, or index frame, or leg of a gas meter, according to which press he was on. At first it tired his arm to the point of painfulness, but he got used to it and gradually worked more quickly.

After this probationary period he was put among

the larger presses that were worked by steam. Now no muscular effort was required of him beyond the lifting and carrying of finished parts. Having placed his sheet of metal in its tray, he merely touched a lever. This released the power and the great guillotine of the press came down and cut or bent the metal to the required shape. He took it from the tray and repeated the process. Thus amid the whirring and clanking of some fifty machines and the clatter of the falling metal, with the vibration of machinery penetrating his body, he made the backs, fronts, and sides of gas meters, the "drums" that were to enclose the slot mechanism, and the discs for the lungs inside. He was changed from one press to another, according to what parts he was to make, but the threefold process was always the same: placing the sheet of metal, touching the lever (sometimes once, sometimes twice) and taking out the newly made part—unless it fell automatically into a receptacle underneath. He did this from eight in the morning until half-past five in the evening, with an hour off for lunch and a ten minutes' break in the morning and afternoon, and he has been so employed for the last nine years, except for such interruptions as will be explained in the next chapter.

His wages have been variable, for he has been paid by results. For every machine there is a complicated system of wage payments, but piece-workers are supposed, if they are of average ability, to be able to earn about one-third more than the rate of a man paid by the hour. Haynes found he could accomplish this when there were no interruptions or delays.

But his wages were variable in another and much more serious way. Early in 1921 they were good, even in view of the high cost of living. He could earn at least £4 a week; but towards the end of that year his piece-work rates began to come down with a rush, and the same thing happened to those on day rates. So rapidly did one reduction follow another that it was exceedingly difficult to readjust the standard of living—during July and August 1921, for instance, his wages came down by 6s. a week, and by the following January his rates had fallen another 6s. The total reduction that Haynes has had to accept in the last ten years for exactly the same work is nearly 30s.

Human labour, when it is of the manual kind, is subject to the same fluctuations as other commodities which can be bought and sold, although it differs from all others in its inseparable connection with human personality. Like eggs or potatoes, when it is plentiful it tends to get cheaper—unless the price is artificially kept up. It does not, of course, hurt the potatoes to be sold cheaply, but if labour is sold below a certain level it deteriorates with the impoverishment of the people with whom it is associated. It is here that the trade union comes in to get the best possible price for this most valuable of all commodities. So necessary has it been found to interfere with the tendency of labour to get cheapened or sweated that, in industries that cannot be conveniently organised into trade unions, a Trade Board, to determine the minimum rates, has been set up by the Government.

Before he had been a week in the press shop Haynes was approached by a fellow-worker who called himself a collecting steward and persuaded to rejoin his old union, the National Union of General Workers. The skilled men in the works belonged to the society now known as the Amalgamated Engineering Union. In those days it was still an exclusive craft union open only to those who had gone through an apprenticeship; but it very soon had to waive this condition to let in all and sundry in the engineering trade, with the exception of the women. During the war, by reason of the numbers of untrained men and women employed on munition-making, the general unions that had hitherto had a great struggle in persuading the lowest grade of workers to organise, increased their membership enormously. Haynes therefore found himself a member of a formidable society numbering some thousands of men and women engaged in all kinds of unskilled or semi-skilled work. He paid 6d. a week to the collecting steward in return for the promise of the union to look after his professional interests, to give him legal assistance if necessary, to give him an allowance in the case of a strike or lock-out, and to contribute to his burial when he died. This weekly contribution helped to maintain a staff of local and headquarters officials, just as the annual contribution of his firm to the Engineering Employers Federation went to provide for the expenses of that society.

A dispute between Haynes and his foreman as to whether he was receiving the right payment for his work, might set in motion an elaborate organisation. He would appeal from the foreman to the shop

steward who, if he could not arrange the matter with the head foreman, would have to raise it with the works manager. A works conference representing the management and workers might then be called, and if a vital principle was at stake this might lead to a district and, finally, a central conference between representatives of the men's trade unions and the Employers Federation. Such, anyhow, are the conditions to-day after ten years of alternate struggle and compromise between employers and employees, and no stoppage of work can now take place unless the requisite steps for peaceful settlement are first laboriously made.

In times of wage reductions and unemployment, Haynes has been tempted by a passing despondency to give up his trade union membership and have an extra sixpence for tobacco. But he has never got badly in arrears with his contributions and he never fails to wear his badge. It is his opinion that workers should stand by each other in the interests of good workmanship and fair conditions, even as employers, doctors, architects, and members of most other professions are joined together to protect their standards and status.

When Brother Haynes goes to trade union meetings—his attendance is not very regular—he sometimes hears references to the past and future of trade unionism as well as to the disheartening present situation when bad trade drains financial resources and cramps the unions' efforts. He has heard his brother trade unionists talk of the long struggle of trade unionism through the nineteenth century from

its origin amid the first hardships of the new industry to its gradual recognition and legalisation. He has also heard them talk of a future when the trade unionists shall not wring alleviation of their lot from reluctant employers but themselves exercise control over industry.

The future, however, for him has no more substance than the tobacco smoke that he puffs into the close atmosphere of the Trades and Labour hall where he sits and listens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- LLOYD, C. M. *Trade Unionism* (new edition). Black. 1928. 2s. 6d.
- (i) COLE, G. D. H. *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*. Macmillan. 1929.
- (ii) COLE, G. D. H. *Organised Labour*. Allen & Unwin. 1924.
- (iii) COLE, G. D. H. *The Payment of Wages*. Allen & Unwin. 1928.
- CREECH-JONES, A. *Trade Unionism To-day*. Longmans Green. 1928. 1s.
- RAYNER, R. M. *The Story of Trade Unionism*. Longmans Green. 1929.
- SILVERMAN, H. A. *The Economics of Social Problems* (new edition). University Tutorial Press. 1928.
- TAYLOR, F. W. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. Harper: New York. 1915.
- PEASE, E. R. *Profit-sharing and Copartnership*. Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street. 2d.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

	<i>Suggested References</i>
"The Industrial Democracy" (Trade Union Organisation).	Lloyd. Creech-Jones. Cole (i) and (ii). Silverman.
Methods of "Collective Bargaining" (Trade Unions—Joint Industrial Councils—the Industrial Court—Trade Boards).	Lloyd. Creech-Jones. Silverman.
Methods of Paying Wages.	Cole (iii). Silverman.
Copartnership and Profit-sharing.	Lloyd. Silverman. Fabian Tract.
The Control of Industry.	Lloyd. Cole (i) and (ii).
History of Trade Unionism.	Rayner. Cole (ii).
Scientific Management.	Taylor. Silverman. Cole (i) and (iii).
Current Trade Union Events.	<i>Daily Herald</i> , etc.
The Value of Trade Unionism.	Silverman, etc.

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

1. An Engineering Works or other Factory.
2. A Meeting of a Local Trades Council. (This is a meeting of representatives of the various trade unions in any town. It is ordinarily private, and application would have to be made to the local secretary.)

CHAPTER IV

HIS HOME

The Housing Problem.

ONE of the various good resolutions expressed by this country in the spirit of relief and optimism that came with the end of the war was that it would immediately set about building "homes fit for heroes." Some sort of home-building certainly needed doing. The housing accommodation before the outbreak of the war has been described as a tight fit, and it is reckoned that about 100,000 new homes are wanted each year to keep pace with the requirements of the population. But during the years 1914 to 1918 hardly any new houses were built at all, and owing to the diversion of all available energy on to war work the existing houses very largely fell into disrepair. The resulting situation is well illustrated in the story of the demobilised soldier who, unable to find any better accommodation for himself, his wife, and his child than a two-roomed dwelling with a leak in the roof, holes in the floor, and broken plaster on the walls, remarked that it took a hero to live in a place like that.¹

The Government's policy of paying separation

¹ From evidence given before the Glasgow inquiry on Uninhabitable Dwellings, 1926.

allowances to the wives of servicemen and pensions for life to war widows encouraged marriages during the war, and Haynes, it will be remembered, had married during his first leave. The provision of a new home was naturally left to the uncertain future, and Mrs Haynes in the meantime lived with her own family and added to her income by working at a munition factory until the birth of her first child.

When, in 1919, Haynes was demobilised, the first thing to do was to find work, and until he was settled into a new job he lived with his wife's family under a financial arrangement that in other circles would be described as that of a paying guest. Although the young Mrs Haynes's mother, with the characteristic generosity of working women, was very willing to house this extra family of three along with her own, she could only do so with a certain amount of inconvenience all round. She and her husband rented a floor of four rooms in a large house built a century ago for a single middle-class family, but now let out in "flats" to working-class tenants. There are many such houses in London. Their outside appearance is essentially one of shabbiness and decay. There is a small front garden that wants attention, a flight of steps up to the front door that are dirty from the passage of many feet, a portico in need of repair, and a solid front door that wants repainting. The condition of the windows varies with the standard of life behind them: some are broken and stuffed with rags, others hung with well-washed lace curtains. Inside, the hall and staircase, even if clean and well

kept, seem shabby and dreary because intended for expensive decoration.

But what is of more consequence to the tenants is the lack of adaptation for the housing of several families. The sanitary arrangements have to be shared; there is often no water laid on to the top stories; the one bathroom has long fallen into disuse, and there is no kitchen range, larder, or coal store except for the inhabitants of the basement.

In a house such as this, then, Haynes's father-in-law rented a kitchen-living-room and three bedrooms. Before the marriage of the eldest daughter this had been sufficient to satisfy the parents' natural standard of propriety, and to provide moderate comfort. The father and mother had one bedroom, three sons another, and two daughters a third. When, however, extra provision had to be made for a son-in-law as well as a grandson, there had to be a reallocation of sleeping accommodation. The second largest bedroom, previously occupied by three boys, was given up to the young married couple and their child, two boys shared the third room, the third boy, as there was not room for him with his brothers, had a chair bedstead in the kitchen-living-room, and the other daughter slept in the same room as her parents.

The desire for an independent home was naturally an added incentive to Haynes in his search for work after his demobilisation.

The three small unfurnished rooms which they eventually found and rented for 11s. 7d. per week after Haynes had been taken on at the gas meter factory were, however, only regarded as suitable for

the time being. Although conveniently near his wife's home, they were a long way from his place of work, and if he was fortunate enough to keep his job for some years it would be a saving in fares if later on they could find something nearer. Moreover, since there were now two children, a boy of four and a girl of a few months, they would need three instead of two bedrooms.

In the meantime the accommodation was more than adequate. The Haynes furnished on the hire-purchase system, and for a short time sublet the second bedroom to a lodger to enable them to meet the increased expense.

The two rooms were at the top of a three-storied house which formed part of a long row extending the length of the street. It was, in fact, a house rather similar to that in which Haynes himself had lived as a child. But the property, unlike his old home, was not the investment of a poor owner who could not afford adequate repairs, nor was it, like the house in which his mother-in-law lived, in the hands of a somewhat negligent landlord. It was "well managed,"¹ that is to say, the agent who collected the rent was instructed by the landlord to report all necessary repairs, and these were carried out punctually and thoroughly. Moreover, the three floors had been adapted to some extent as flats, so that the only things to be shared among the tenants were the front door, the stairs, and the wash-house in the yard at the back.

Although inconveniently situated as regards his work, rooms were commonly known to be so difficult

¹ See *House Property Management*, Chapter I.

to get that the question of a removal was not seriously considered again by the Haynes until 1928, when the second bedroom, a very small room, was manifestly inadequate. It could not by any manner of means be made to hold more than one bed, and in this the boy of twelve had to sleep with his sister of eight. A third child, a girl of three, was growing too large for the cot, which was the only kind of extra bed that could possibly be squeezed into the parents' bedroom.

Herbert Haynes and his wife, therefore, began to look round for somewhere else to live, and spent a great deal of spare time in following up advertisements. They also paid a shilling every week for some time for an insertion under the "wanted" column of a newspaper, but without bringing in any replies. What they would have liked best of all would have been one of the new "Council" houses, such as those on the Becontree estate on the eastern outskirts of London. That, however, was out of the question. A rent of 13s. or more was impossible when an average wage of £3 a week was to supply the needs of three children, and, quite apart from this, the daily fare into London would have added another 4s. 6d. a week to his expenses.

This, even if the rent had been possible, would still have ruled out the Becontree estate, for the only means they saw of saving on a new home was in finding something close to Haynes's work, so that there would be no more daily fares. With this end in view they began to consider the possibility of a tenement flat in one of the great block buildings that house the majority of people in central London. Occasionally there was a flat to let in one of the

older blocks, but in most cases the conditions were impossible. The lower flats were stuffy and apt to be so dark that the gas had often to be lit in the day-time ; whereas the higher flats meant dragging the perambulator upstairs every time Mrs Haynes went out, as well as constant anxiety over the children. In the old Peabody buildings, the fact that you could get four rooms at 10s. a week was certainly a point to be considered, as that would mean an extra room at less rent ; but they had the main disadvantages of the other old tenement blocks, and in any case there was no likelihood of a vacancy occurring. As for the new post-war block buildings, some were certainly attractive with their central gardens, their bathrooms, their labour-saving appliances for working and washing, but the rent for a flat with three bedrooms was nearly twice as much as they were paying at present.

The only possibility seemed to lie in finding a set of unfurnished rooms such as they had been living in for the last eight years, but including a third bedroom. They hoped that in a rather poorer type of home they might find this for the same rent as they were now paying, or even for less—the rent was a heavy drag on their weekly expenses. The quest, however, only revealed what a number of uninhabitable dwellings were available at an even higher rental : basements infested with rats, rooms where bugs had ineradicably established themselves in the woodwork, attics where a leaky roof had been neglected by a landlord for years, offered at an average of five shillings the room.

Both Haynes and his wife decided that until the

Government did something further about the housing problem they had better stay where they were, put the two girls together in the small bedroom and make a bed for the boy in the sitting-room.

At the time of writing there are thousands of working people to whom the housing problem presents itself just as it has done to the Haynes—as the impossibility of getting enough bedroom accommodation at a rent which they can afford. It remains to be seen how, in spite of over ten years' active housing policy on the part of the Central and the Local Authorities, the ordinary working man finds things no better than when he returned from the war.

The demand for new houses which was so evident in 1918 was not what economists call an "effective" demand; that is to say, the great need for new houses did not provide an incentive for the building trade to step in and get busy. There was a shortage of both materials and men. Timber supplies at home had been mostly used up during the war, and it was doubtful what could be got from abroad; brick fields had in many cases fallen into disuse; many of the factories that had formerly made house fittings had been adapted to war purposes and required reorganisation. Moreover, many of the skilled craftsmen and the labourers formerly employed in the building trade either did not return from war service or returned incapacitated, while for four years there had been no apprentices in training for the skilled work that is the core of the industry. In these circumstances no building employer was likely to rush in and begin building houses for the poorer people.

The Government set to work to remedy the situation by special committees, by a Department of Building Materials Supply, and by a series of Housing Acts and by subsidies. In all this the Local Authorities were made to feel the responsibility was largely theirs. The department of building supplies bought up materials in large quantities and resold them to the Local Authorities, but the prices were for a long time so expensive that the Local Authorities found it very difficult to proceed with the housing schemes for their districts. From Government reports subsequently issued, it became evident that profiteering was going on. Indeed, during the first two years of the great national housing effort every section of the building industry and allied trades seems to have taken the opportunity of increasing its own advantage. The price of bricks, for example, went up 40 per cent. in two years, and slates and tiles, of which there was a great shortage, cost more than three times their pre-war figure. Sometimes, as in the case of the manufacturers of iron pipes, an agreement was made between all the firms concerned to maintain their prices at the same level, so that, in the words of the Government's Profiteering Committee, "The municipalities are at the mercy of the Cast-Iron Pipe Association." Similarly, the ordinary workers in the building trade used the opportunity to increase their wages. A bricklayer's wages in 1918 were about 1s. 6d. an hour and a labourer's 1s. 2d. In 1921 the respective rates were about 2s. 4d. and 2s. 1d. In fairness to every one concerned, however, it must be remembered that for the manufacturer the costs of

production were often excessive, and that for the worker the cost of living was increasing much more quickly than his wages. In fact his wages never caught up.

To meet the shortage of skilled workers in the trade the Government proposed a scheme for the "dilution" of the existing skilled workers who had been through the regular course of apprenticeship with unskilled labourers who were to undergo a brief intensive training. This was opposed by the building operatives, who had from November 1919 put forward their own proposals for an elaborate apprenticeship scheme to meet the existing deficiency. The building trade unions were afraid that, apart from the risk of inferior workmanship, the sudden and indefinite increase in their ranks as proposed by the Government would presently lead to unemployment, for there was no guarantee that the programme for building new houses was going to be steady and continuous. Their fears proved well founded, for owing to the national cry for economy in 1921, the Government, for the time being, curtailed its housing plans, and by the end of 1922 over 100,000 building operatives had been thrown out of work. It may be mentioned in passing that, on the average, the workers in the building trade have suffered more from unemployment than any others. When a building is finished, the men have to find a job elsewhere, and in the past the building industry seems to have proceeded by alternate periods of great activity and long depression. Moreover, some kinds of work can only be done in fine weather, and therefore

on wet days there is a serious loss of work and wages.¹

When it was found that all the encouragement in the world could not bring about the cheaper type of house-building, for the simple reason that even when prices came down it did not pay, it was decided that there was no alternative but for the loss to the builder to be made up out of public funds, the National Exchequer paying two-thirds and one-third being borne by the local rates. These "subsidies" are subject to revision every two years, and as things stand at present every builder who puts up a small house conforming to the standards laid down by the Ministry of Health, receives £7, 10s. per annum from the Government and about £3, 15s. from the Local Authority. Under this stimulus houses have sprung up very quickly all over the country. They are commonly known as "Council" houses and the term is appropriate, for although the chief financial burden is borne by the Government and the requirements laid down by the Ministry of Health, it is the various kinds of local councils who are called upon to put the national scheme into operation in their

¹ An interesting experiment in Manchester in 1920, called the Manchester Building Guild, tried to meet this, among other difficulties, by doing without a contractor and using the money thus saved to pay the workers their wages, whether able to work or not. It was, in fact, a society of workers who hired themselves out directly to Local Authorities. Other guilds were formed elsewhere, but although the standard of workmanship is said to be higher, the societies have suffered from lack of capital, lack of business status and experience, and the natural opposition of the ordinary building employer.

own areas. The rents (inclusive of rates), which are restricted by law, vary from ten to fifteen shillings per week, but it has been found impossible to make them lower than 10s. without incurring a loss. The result is that whereas they have met the need of the better-off workers and the small-salaried clerks, they leave the housing problem untouched for the majority of the poor—for more than half the working people of England are paying rents at 10s. a week or less. And yet the cheapest of these dwellings, whether cottages or tenements, have no luxuries and provide only the minimum accommodation necessary for an ordinary family: one living-room and three bedrooms. The most urgent need of the moment is for three-bedroom dwellings at rents of 7s. 6d. to 10s.

So far this chapter perhaps suggests that the housing problem is only concerned with the building of new houses, and in view of the appalling overcrowding everywhere it is easy to forget that it is just as important that old houses should be kept habitable and rentable as that new ones should be provided. The Government has had to intervene here also. In the first place, by means of the Rent Restriction Acts it has prevented landlords from taking advantage of the shortage and charging more than a certain percentage above pre-war rents. In the second place, it has increased the powers of the Local Authorities to insist on adequate repairs. In the proper upkeep of both the old and the new houses there seems to be a very great room for improvement and a decided need for the employment of trained managers.¹

¹ See Chapter I.

But besides the building of new houses and the upkeep of the existing ones, there is also the need to get rid of the derelict and unhealthy ones that are no longer fit to be used. Here again the Government gives help in the form of a subsidy, but not so generously as regards the new houses; for whereas it contributes two-thirds to the deficit on a new house, it only subscribes an amount equal to one-half the cost of pulling down a slum. But, as we have already seen, the difficulty in clearing a slum area is not so much in the demolition of the property as in providing alternative accommodation for the homeless tenants.¹

For the Housing Problem as for most other difficult questions, different people have different solutions. Some think that it lies in increased and permanent State subsidies; others consider that this "creates a fresh form of pauperism" and advocate a return to private enterprise and charity; others think the secret lies in higher wages or in family allowances; others again find that the essence of the trouble lies in inefficient management of property by landlords; while the most enthusiastic supporters of the garden-city movement would make a fresh start by setting up new "self-contained" towns, complete with factories to work in, houses to live in, and shops to buy from, interspersed with rural conditions.

It is possible that the future holds a compromise of all these earnest proposals. In the meantime, Herbert Haynes, junior, still has to sleep in the family living-room.

¹ See Chapter I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- SIMON, E. D. *How to Abolish the Slums*. Longmans. 1929. 2s. 6d.
A Policy for the Slums. Report of the National Housing and Town-planning Council. King & Son. 1929. 6d.
- TOWNROE, B. S. *The Slum Problem*. Longmans. 1928.
- FREEMANTLE, F. E. *The Housing of the Nation*. P. Allan. 1927.
- SAYLE, A. *The Houses of the Workers*. T. Fisher Unwin. 1924.
- REISS, R. *The New Housing Handbook*. King & Son. 1924.
- SILVERMAN. *Economics of Social Problems*.
- BARCLAY, I. T., and PERCY, E. E. *Report on and Survey of Housing Conditions in Southwark*. Wear- dale Press, 26 Gordon Street, W.C.1. 1929. 4d.
- BARNES. *Housing: The Facts and the Future*. Benn. 1923.
Report of Medical Officer of Health for X.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. *European Housing Problems since the War*. Geneva. 1924.

Apply also to :—

- National Housing and Town-planning Council,
 41 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.
- Garden Cities and Town-planning Association,
 3 Gray's Inn Place, W.C.1.
- Association of Women House Property Managers,
 3 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

- Suggested References*
- Overcrowding. *A Policy for the Slums.*
*Report on Housing Condi-
tions in Southwark.*
Simon.
*Report of Medical Officer
for X, etc.*
- Rents and Rent Restriction. *A Policy for the Slums.*
Simon, etc.
- The New Council Houses
and the Subsidies. Sayle.
Simon.
Freemantle.
Silverman.
- Housing in Tenements. Townroe.
Southwark Report.
Freemantle.
- Garden Cities, Garden
Suburbs, and Town
Planning. Freemantle.
Townroe.
Garden Cities and Town-
planning Association.
- The Powers and Duties
of Local Authorities
with regard to Housing. Freemantle.
Sayle.
- Insanitary and Unsatis-
factory Houses. *Report on Housing Condi-
tions in Southwark.*
Sayle.
Freemantle.
Report of Local Medical
Officer.

Suggested References

- | | |
|---|---|
| The Problem of Slum Clearance. | Freemantle.
Simon. |
| The Results of Bad Housing. | <i>A Policy for the Slums.</i>
Freemantle. |
| The Housing Problem in other Countries. | I.L.O. |

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

New Council House.
A Garden City.
A Slum Area.

CHAPTER V

HIS WIFE

The Consumers' Co-operative Movement—A National Minimum Wage—Prices—Family Allowances.

THE young woman whom Herbert Haynes married soon after the beginning of the war had grown up in an environment very much like her husband's. She was the daughter of an unskilled labourer and one of a family of six. She had left school on her fourteenth birthday and gone to work in a chocolate factory. The opportunities for well-paid but short-lived jobs have never been so plentiful for girls as for boys and, except for the seasonal unemployment which visited her trade every summer, she had remained at the same place of work until the outbreak of war. In the meantime, she had met Herbert.

The engagement, which in due course had come about after they had spent nearly every evening together for several years, would not ordinarily have meant that the marriage would follow speedily. As we have seen, it was hastened by the war, and the ceremony took place with the customary new clothes and a family party when Herbert was twenty and his bride a few months younger.

Then Haynes went back to the front and his wife went daily to a munition factory. When the first

child was born towards the end of 1915, she gave up her work to look after it. But as the baby grew older and needed less attention, the good money and companionship of the factory seemed more attractive than spending her time at home, and she arranged for her mother to have charge of the child while she went out to work once more.

Perhaps this unusual beginning of married life, experienced by many other young wives during the war, accounts for the spark of vitality which she still retains, in contrast to her mother who became prematurely aged and acquiescent towards adverse circumstances in her early twenties.

When, some months after the Armistice, the young Mr and Mrs Haynes settled down into a three-roomed home, the problem of making ends meet, which was of course the wife's responsibility, did not at first seem to be excessively difficult. Even though there was the furniture gradually to be paid for and various household requisites to be acquired as they could be afforded, Mrs Haynes had four years' savings to draw from, and for a time there were the weekly payments of a lodger to supplement her husband's earnings. There was no margin for further saving, however, and when the family increased and the lodger had to go to make room for them, and when, moreover, the sudden and excessive wage reductions came about, Mrs Haynes had to exercise that economic ingenuity which cannot but impress anyone who is familiar with the lives of working women.

Mrs Haynes is schooled to the hard task of providing for the necessities of five people out of an

allowance of £3 or less a week, and she is sensible of injustice when the bakers agree to keep up the price of bread or when the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts a tax on tea. But she is only dimly aware how much more expensive nearly every item of house-keeping is for her than for the middle-class woman who lives a few miles away.

There is a popular fallacy that everything is cheap in a poor neighbourhood. It can be put to the test by looking in at the windows of the small shops. The prices will be much the same as for the cheaper articles in an ordinary large stores. Mrs Haynes can go to the local outfitters and get herself a winter coat at a price ranging from 35s. to £3, but it will be far inferior in style and in the quality of material to the same things bought at a similar price in a big west end shop. And so with everything else. Whether she buys a reel of cotton, a pair of scissors, cakes for Sunday tea, a blanket, a pair of shoes, or a tin of condensed milk, if she gets it at the shops "round the corner" it will almost invariably be an inferior brand or quality.

Moreover, because she can only afford to spend a little at a time and because she has no space in which to store things, she cannot economise like the middle-class housewife by buying in large quantities. Her coal, for instance, she buys from a hawker at 2s. 6d. the cwt., whereas other people can order the same kind from a coal agent at 42s. a ton, thereby saving 8s.

In quite another respect also Mrs Haynes is at a disadvantage in her housekeeping as compared with many a middle-class woman. In the ordinary way

the wife of a professional or business man expects an increased allowance as her family grows in size and numbers. A corresponding increase in the husband's income usually makes this quite feasible. But an unskilled worker like Herbert Haynes has no promotion to hope for and no increased wage to expect. If he gets more money later on it will be the result of a successful trade union demand—the chances of his getting a reduction owing to trade depression are just as likely.

The hardest years for Mrs Haynes, therefore, and the time when she will inevitably stint herself in the interest of her children, are those she is living through now. The first relief will come when her eldest son goes to work. In another ten years, when all three may be expected to be off her hands, the worst of the economic struggle may be over and there will be a margin for pleasure—providing, of course, there are no more children. As she will then be over forty and her health is likely to be more or less impaired, it is perhaps a good thing that she does not wait for the margin to materialise, but occasionally spends a little money on something she cannot afford.

When she can find the time to go a little further for her shopping than the main road round the corner, she gets her provisions and other requirements from the Co-operative Society; and on Tuesday afternoons, if she is not too busy, she goes to a meeting of the Women's Co-operative Guild. The "Co-op.," as she calls it, is to all appearances like any other big stores, but it is run on entirely different lines from any of its rivals. From Mrs Haynes's point of view

its chief distinction lies in the fact that it returns her at regular intervals what she calls her "divvy." The technical term for this is "dividend on purchases;" for members of a co-operative society receive a share in the profits, not according to the number of shares they hold, but in proportion to the amount they spend.

The important movement represented by the hundreds of shops of this kind dotted about the towns and villages of the British Isles may be said to have begun by accident. For nearly half a century attempts at co-operative effort, some aiming at a general Utopia and some more modestly at self-governing factories, had one and all ingloriously failed, when in the year 1844 a few workmen in a northern town set up a little joint-owned shop to suit their own convenience. Somewhat similar shops in other towns had ended where they began, but the Rochdale Store, in addition to its own success, set a model which, with modifications and additions, has been copied for nearly ninety years.

The particular form of co-operation represented by these stores is the co-operation of "consumers"—the people who buy. In each separate society, from the Birmingham Industrial Co-operative Society, catering for nearly 50,000 members, to the little society in the Welsh village of Bryn with a membership of about 150, a company of working people have joined together to own their own shop and divide the profits among themselves.

Mrs Haynes became a member of the local branch of the London Society at the same time as her husband,

by buying a share for a £1. This was paid in instalments and brought in a small fixed rate of interest. If later on she can afford it she may buy further shares, but the rate of interest will never vary and she will never have more than one vote in the control of the society. On being admitted as a member she received a number, and every time she makes a purchase she quotes this so that a complete record can be kept of the amount she spends. Every quarter or half-year the profits, or "surplus" as co-operators call them, are divided, and Mrs Haynes receives a dividend in proportion to what she has spent.

A much simpler way of achieving the same thing might be to avoid the accumulation of profits altogether by charging lower prices than other retail shops, but among other difficulties this would bring the Co-operative Store into such disfavour with its rivals and with manufacturers that the present method is the most workable.

In any co-operative shop it will be found that a great many of the goods are marked C.W.S., indicating that they come from the factories which in the course of its development the co-operative movement has set up for supplying its shops. The Co-operative Wholesale Society is a tremendous commercial concern, bigger than any other single commercial business in the country. It is not only a distributing and manufacturing business, but it owns coal mines, wheat lands, tea plantations, ships and wharves, as well as having its own bank and insurance department.

All these undertakings really belong to the co-operative retail shops. The shops have bought them

or set them up to provide their supplies of tea, flour, and other goods, just as the shops themselves were set up originally by individual consumers to supply them with their domestic needs. And just as the members of any local co-operative society get a share of the society's profit in proportion to what he spends at the shop, so any local co-operative society gets a share of the surplus of the C.W.S. according to the amount of wholesale goods it buys.

Reference was made a little while back to the co-operative factories and workshops that began and failed during the nineteenth century. It is important to note the difference between these and the C.W.S. productive efforts to-day. In the middle of the nineteenth century a co-operative factory meant one owned and administered by the workers in that factory. A co-operative factory to-day is in no sense self-governing. C.W.S. employees are in the same position as the workers in other firms, although the standard of wages and conditions is claimed to be above the average. This, however, is sometimes questioned, and there is occasionally some friction between the trade unions to which the co-operative employees in shops and factories belong, and the boards of management who are elected by the members. To give a concrete example: there might possibly be a strike of the shop assistants in the Co-op. where the Haynes family get most of their requirements, and this would really be a strike against Mr and Mrs Haynes and all the other members—for the shop is their joint concern and the management is elected by their votes.

This supposition shows that Haynes the trade unionist and Haynes the co-operator are apparently engaged in getting all they can out of each other. As a co-operator he stands, according to the most enthusiastic exponents of the movement, for the ultimate control of industry by the consumer; as a trade unionist we have seen that he stands for the ultimate control of industry by the producer. But this absurd conflict is theoretical rather than actual. It might just as readily be argued that as he votes Labour at election times he pins his faith solely in parliamentary government for the final disposal of all social injustice. Actually, he is a very ordinary man who rarely considers the ultimate destination of trade unionism, values the co-operative movement chiefly for its dividends, and supports the Labour Party because he believes it to be the least insincere in its promises to help the working man. Human society is as full of contradictory and inconsistent tendencies as any of the single personalities of which it is composed. The confusion that exists is not like that of a jig-saw puzzle with only one possible solution, but rather the disunity of an imperfect organism wherein there are varying responsive movements to a vaguely conceived principle of social justice.

The Co-operative Store with its assurance of good quality and its distribution of profits provides to some extent against the disadvantages experienced by Mrs Haynes in having to buy things in a poor district. At the Guild meetings, where in a room over the shop the women co-operators can come together for lectures and discussions on social and industrial questions, she

sometimes envisages some provision in a distant future against the more serious difficulty of never having enough money to buy what her family requires. The Guild discussions often come back to this bed-rock economic difficulty which every member knows from personal experience. There are two possible sources of alleviation : either wages must increase or the necessities of life must get cheaper.

Sometimes the discussions veer in favour of a National Minimum Wage, and the members argue that this would not only raise the standard of life, but would be a spur to trade, for the demand for all kinds of goods would be much greater owing to the increased purchasing power of working people. Against this proposal, however, they find two arguments : first, that some industries at the moment seem so depressed that to force upon them a higher wage than they are paying might mean the closing of factories and consequent unemployment ; and second, that it would help the unmarried man as much as the man with the family, whereas it is the latter who merits chief consideration. At other times, they are concerned about some of the factors that make for high prices to-day : the great expense of advertisement and the excessive costs of the various middlemen who stand between the manufacturer and the consumer. In the further development of the co-operative movement they hope to see these burdens lightened.

The solution of their economic problem which some of them most incline to favour is that of Family Allowances. Although this proposal offers no direct help towards the reduction of prices, it would sub-

stantially add to the spending power of the working woman, and in much more equitable manner than by an enforced Minimum Wage. The scheme provides for an allowance to be paid to every mother for each of her children up to the school-leaving age.

The most obvious argument against such an apparent innovation is that it shifts the responsibility of providing for a family from the father to the State. In actual practice, however, this responsibility has already moved through free education, free medical inspection of children, and in some cases free medical treatment. Moreover, if a father becomes unemployed, a special allowance is given him for his children, just as during the war the separation allowance of the wife was similarly regulated. It is therefore arguable that either the State has already gone as far as it can without undermining the parents' responsibility, or that having accomplished so much it might go a stage further without any radical change of policy.

Such arguments seem rather theoretical to working women who are more interested in the practical aspects of the responsibility they themselves have to fulfil against fearful odds. But they nevertheless appreciate quite another question of principle embodied in the scheme: besides guaranteeing the adequate maintenance of their children irrespective of the father's employment, it would give the mother an independence which she entirely lacks at present, relying as she must do now on her husband's luck in getting work, ability to keep it, and generosity in presenting her with a fair proportion of his earnings. It sometimes seems to the more reflecting guilds-

women a strange anomaly that the mother's profession of child bearing and child rearing, to which so much sentimental tribute is paid, should be the only work in the country to receive no direct form of remuneration.

It must not be assumed from the foregoing that in the course of her daily round of cleaning, cooking, sewing, shopping, and silencing noisy children, the mind of Mrs Haynes is busy with abstract theories for the amelioration of society. She is not one of the more reflecting members of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and some of the social reforms she hears advocated on such Tuesday afternoons as she can spare for an escape from home into the sociable atmosphere of the little room over the stores, seem to her merely distant and impracticable. But pre-occupied though she is with minor domestic details, the force of circumstances will sometimes jerk her mind into action, and the various emissaries of the outside world—the Health Visitor, the Sanitary Inspector, the Care Committee worker, and the political canvasser—will not find her devoid of ideas if she feels disposed to spare time for conversation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- RATHBONE, ELEANOR F. *The Disinherited Family*.
Edward Arnold. 1924.
- VIBART, H. H. R. *Family Allowances in Practice*.
P. S. King. 1926.
- BRAILSFORD, ETC. *The Living Wage*. I.L.P., 14
Great George Street. 6d.

- WEBB, C. & S. *The Consumer's Co-operative Movement.* 1921.
- WEBB, C. *The Woman with the Basket: The Story of the Women's Co-operative Guild.*
- ENFIELD, H. *Co-operation.* W.E.A. Outlines. Longmans. 1929. 1s.
- SILVERMAN, H. A. *Economics of Social Problems.*
- EYLES, M. L. *The Woman in the Little House.* Grant Richards. 1922.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

	<i>Suggested References</i>
A Minimum Wage or Family Allowance ?	Brailsford. Rathbone. Vibart.
Family Allowances in other Countries.	Rathbone. Vibart.
Possible Scheme for Family Allowances in England.	Rathbone. Vibart.
The Structure of the Co-operative Movement.	Enfield. Webb, C. & S.
A Co-operative Society and a Joint-stock Company compared.	Silverman. Enfield.
Co-operation and Trade Unionism.	Webb, C. & S. Silverman.
Advantages of Co-operation.	Webb. Silverman.
Defects of Co-operation.	Webb, C. & S. Silverman.
The Women's Co-operative Guild.	Webb, C.

HIS WIFE

91

	<i>Suggested References</i>
Co-operation and Education.	Enfield.
The Daily Routine of the Working Woman.	Webb, C. & S. Eyles.

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

- A Shopping District in a Working-class Neighbourhood.
- A Co-operative Stores.
- The Secretary of a local Women's Co-operative Guild.

CHAPTER VI

HIS RECREATION AND READING

Leisure—The Press—Adult Education.

HERBERT HAYNES leaves his home at 7.30 every morning in order to get to his work by eight o'clock. He gets back again at six in the evening, unless he is working overtime. On Saturdays the factory closes at 12.30 p.m., and the two hundred workers stream out of the gates and hurry home to dinner with a week's pay in their pockets. Sunday is always a holiday and so are Christmas Day, Good Friday, and all Bank Holidays. If Haynes wants to go away for a week with his family, he must forgo a week's wages and risk losing his job through absenting himself from his appointed place at the works; so that even if it were possible to scrape together enough savings to spend a few days in cheap lodgings at Southend, he would feel compelled to let his family go without him. The practice of giving a week's holiday a year with pay is only followed by the most progressive firms, and even the Government factories have only very recently introduced it.

The opportunities for recreation in Haynes's life are therefore limited. On Saturday afternoons he often watches football or cricket. Having only played these games himself in an amateurish way in the

streets and behind the trenches, it never occurs to him now to participate in them except as a spectator. On other Saturdays there are odd jobs to do in the house, and there are nearly always some children's shoes to mend. A friend taught him to do shoe repairs, and it is a very substantial saving of money that his wife appreciates. He would rather like to have an allotment to work in on these half-holidays, but there is not one to be had within many miles, and in any case he is doubtful whether he would be able to make it pay. Both he and his wife in their flights of imagination about moving into a more commodious home are mutually agreed as to the advantages of a small garden.

Occasionally on Saturday evenings, when the few shillings that he keeps for himself out of his week's wages are still intact, he will take his wife to the cinema or music hall; but more probably Mrs Haynes will take the children and leave him a little peace and quiet at home. She finds the picture house an excellent rest. The seats are comfortable, the children are miraculously still and quiet for two hours, and she can either attend or doze as she feels inclined.

On Sundays and Bank Holidays the whole family gets up late, except once in a way when they take advantage of a cheap excursion by rail or road. Usually Sunday afternoon and evening is spent in visiting or entertaining relations, but a sudden fine day may prompt a family outing to the nearest park. There Mr and Mrs Haynes will sit on one of the free benches and exchange trivial remarks between the

injunctions which they shout at the children. Although she never goes to Church and is as little given to religious reflection as her husband, Mrs Haynes rarely does any cleaning or sewing on Sunday. It is the day for a good dinner, idleness, and best clothes.

Neither his education nor his industrial life have developed in Herbert Haynes a propensity for serious reading. He has, however, learnt through his trade union to see himself in relation to the industrial system that he serves and to understand some of its complexities. At the trade union or political meetings that he occasionally attends he sorts out by some innate shrewdness the sound sense from the empty oratory. In his own not very articulate fashion he sometimes discusses with his fellow-workers general questions of trade unionism, of taxation and of industrial organisation, as well as the more technical questions relating to his own trade. Once or twice when an enthusiastic fellow-worker has lent him an economic pamphlet, or an engineering journal full of technical matters has come his way, or some propagandist has pushed a missive under the front door, he has sat down, pipe in mouth, to an hour or two of surprisingly concentrated study. In just the same way his wife has occasionally been stimulated to read a Co-operative paper from beginning to end. But these are sporadic events, not growing habits.

Haynes's chief reading matter is the Sunday paper. To a less extent he reads the evening papers also. He may buy one on the way home or he may have one passed on to him. He always reads the sporting and betting news first, for although he seldom indulges

in anything more serious than an occasional sweep-stake or the hazard of a shilling on the Derby, he is interested in sporting events from the gambler's point of view. When he gets home he reads the rest over his tea. The morning paper he would never have time to read before the news was stale. That, anyhow, was his experience when he was persuaded to take in the *Daily Herald* for a time. It remained unopened until the evening. Sunday is the day for sitting about, and therefore the Sunday paper gets read right through its fourteen pages. Even the advertisements get some attention.

He takes in the *News of the World* because his own father did the same and he is used to it. But he knows that *Reynolds* and others are much the same, and that the *People* is now owned by the Co-operative movement and ought to be supported.

The *News of the World* caters very cleverly for his Sunday afternoon state of mind. He has had a long rest and a good meal of meat and suet pudding, and he must either sleep or be easily entertained. The paper presents the news of the week in just that form in which he can pleasantly assimilate it. What cannot be followed without mental alertness is omitted or emaciated; all that is surprising, homely, and of easy emotional appeal is dwelt on at length. There is nothing to shock the moralists; the tone of the paper is not improper but confidential. It may recount to him intimate but trivial details in the life of some well-known man; describe exactly how the body of a suicide was found by an unsuspecting working woman; present all the circumstances of a

football match so that he can follow the game as if he had himself been there. It does not omit the great events; it merely popularises them. When the Kellogg Pact was signed, a column and a half was given to this event, but although the details of the ceremony were described, including references to the inkwell that was used, Mr Kellogg's long pen, and the activities of the cinema operators in the background, the terms of the treaty itself were not reported.

And yet Haynes, like his wife, is deeply convinced about the necessity for world peace. War holds no glories for him, and he seldom refers to it without his most abusive adjective. At a trade union or Labour meeting he will listen with patient attention while someone expatiates on its economic origins, and although he has little faith in the world gestures of politicians and may mispronounce their names, he likes to know what they are driving at.

A paper, however, must have a large circulation or it cannot exist. To cater for thought is more precarious than providing the gentle emotional stimulus to which the machine minder or overwrought housewife easily responds—and not only they, but a great many others who must submit to a routine existence for six days out of seven.

The chief financial support of a newspaper comes not from its sales but from its advertisement fees, and business firms will want a guarantee that a paper has a very wide public before they pay the heavy cost of advertising their goods in it. The successful newspaper proprietor must therefore give his readers something that is sure to be acceptable, and acceptable

at the moment. He has no time in which to educate them. A penny daily paper that is primarily to stand for a certain political or other opinion must run at a loss. Occasionally this happens. People of wealth sometimes run a paper for the propaganda of the views they support, or the owners of big business undertakings may run a newspaper as a side line, using it primarily to advertise their goods and to propagate political ideas that will help their business to prosper.

How far the newspaper can influence public opinion is, however, a more difficult question than it seems at first sight. The public is not merely passive, and the so-called power of the press seems to depend on a certain receptiveness. The most able newspaper proprietor cannot always sense this accurately, though when he is right he may use a headline with great effect. The nickname "Cow Delegates" proved to be much more than disparaging when applied to the Fight the Famine Council that sought to save the children of Central Europe after the war; and when a by-election was fought over the Education Act of 1918, a newspaper decided the issue of nursery schools and continuation schools as against national economy by calling it a tug-of-war between the frugal house-keeper and the spendthrift official. On the other hand, the most determined partisanship on the part of a newspaper has on occasion failed to capture the votes, just as the typically misleading application of the term "flapper" never seriously jeopardised the enfranchisement of the younger women.

Some newspapers are organised as single publications,

but most belong to a group which goes by the name of the man or family that exercises chief control—as, for example, the Harmsworth Press. Since each share of a certain kind carries one vote with it, the control of a paper, as of any other business concern, is in the hands of those who have lent it most capital. In this lies the chief distinction between the ordinary capitalist business and the co-operative undertakings mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Usually there are different classes of shares, *e.g.*, Ordinary Shares, which carry with them full voting powers and unlimited participation in the profits (or loss); Preference Shares, which may or may not carry voting powers with them but bring in fixed dividends; and Debentures, which bring no voting power but again give the right to a fixed rate of interest. The first class of shares will probably be in the hands of a very few people, the promoters of the company, who will by virtue of their voting powers permanently control the newspaper or newspapers of the company, unless they allow themselves to be bought out by other magnates later on.

The editor is the paid servant of these directors, and he is responsible for carrying out the policy they desire, *i.e.*, if the directors wish the paper to have a political bias, he must see that his reports and his articles give the right emphasis; if financial success is their only demand, he must be attuned to the public for whom the paper is written. He will write general articles himself and censor the articles and reports of his subordinates. Various departments of the newspapers will be under assistant editors, and

under these again are the reporters. But a newspaper does not depend exclusively on its own staff for news reports. Various news agencies, sometimes partly owned and controlled by newspaper proprietors, exist to sell news items to the Press in general. Thus the same report may be found in several newspapers and signed Reuter or Central News, etc. This arrangement enables the smaller papers to dispense with a large staff of correspondents.

Apart from the editorial staff there is the commercial staff that has the great responsibility of securing advertisements. It has already been pointed out that these are the newspapers' chief source of revenue. Indirectly the advertisers exercise some control over the opinions expressed in the paper, inasmuch as these must not reflect adversely on themselves or on political policies in which their interests are involved.

Finally, there are all those engaged in printing and distributing the paper, and here the fierceness of competition which demands the greatest expedition has produced a technique and efficiency that is perhaps unrivalled by any other business. The *News of the World*, the most popular Sunday paper, has a circulation of nearly 4,000,000. Its printing presses produce copies at the average rate of 7000 a minute. It uses every week 450 tons of paper, enough to reach from London to the Pacific Coast of America, and requiring an annual felling of 390,000 trees. Its distribution involves every week the use of eight special trains, and, for tying up parcels for immediate dispatch, 70 miles of string.

The *Daily Mail*, the daily paper with the largest circulation, claims a daily sale of over 1,000,000 copies. In 1920, when the paper had been in existence for sixteen years, the profit on each original Ordinary Share was 207½ per cent.; of these 750,000 Ordinary Shares, 441,000 belonged to the Harmsworth family.

The *Tribune*, a paper started before the war when costs were a little more than half their present standard, spent over £300,000 in trying to build up a circulation and found it insufficient. It is estimated that to-day a newspaper might lose £2,000 to £3,000 a week in establishing itself.

The chief London daily papers representing political opinions are the *Morning Post* (Conservative), the *Daily News and Westminster Gazette* (Liberal), the *Daily Chronicle* (Liberal), The *Daily Herald* (Labour). *The Times* and the *Telegraph* also represent Conservative opinions, but not avowedly so.

In the Provinces the most outstanding paper is the *Manchester Guardian*, originally started to foster the commercial interests of Manchester, but now in a class apart from all other papers owing to its fairness and its excellent journalism. It is published in London as well as Manchester, and issues a weekly edition.

The rather more reputable newspapers are unknown to Herbert Haynes, except for the columns of "Situations Vacant" which are posted outside public libraries for his benefit when out of work. The few books that his family own stand in the corner of an odd shelf in the living-room, and consist of some school prizes won by himself or his children, and one or two second-hand books which his wife was once

HIS RECREATION AND READING 101

persuaded to buy from a hawker, but which have never been read. In another corner there are a few old magazines and paper-covered books, including some back numbers of *Answers* and *Tit-Bits*, bought in the hope of winning £1,000 in a competition, a few Labour pamphlets, an engineering magazine, several well-worn copies of *Peg's Paper*, and a Bible that has lost its cover.

There are, of course, various agencies at work that would replace some of these with reading matter of a more cultured nature. These are the public libraries, religious organisations such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Adult School Union, the Plebs League which seeks to impart Marxian Economics, and the Workers' Educational Association—a non-political society originating from the working people and now running hundreds of classes in which a very high standard of work is maintained.

It has never occurred to Haynes and his wife to take out a ticket at the Free Library. When he was urged to educate himself in the communist doctrines of the Plebs League and its Labour College, he said he had no use for communism in England, although he admitted that the Bolsheviks had done some very creditable things for the working people of Russia. As for the W.E.A., he never considers that the notices of its classes which he sees at his trade union district office are meant for him; for in his opinion the people who go to them, like all others who give leisure time to some form of serious reading, must be endowed with exceptional cleverness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- The Press*. Prepared by the Labour Research Department. Labour Publishing Co. 1922. 1s.
- ANGELL, N. *The Press and the Organisation of Society*. Labour Publishing Co. 1922.
- ANGELL, N. *The Public Mind*. Noel Douglas. 1926.
- DIBBLEE. *The Newspaper*. Home University Library. 1911.
- DIBBLEE. *The Press*. Benn's 6d. Library.
- PRICE, T. W. *The Story of the W.E.A.* Labour Publishing Co. 1924. 1s.
- CURRIE MARTIN, G. *The Adult School Movement*. The Adult School Union, 30 Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. 1924.
- International Handbook of Adult Education*. World Association for Adult Education, 16 Russell Square, W.C.1.
- Handbook and Directory of Adult Education, 1928-29*. Compiled by British Institute of Adult Education. Deane & Sons. 2s. 6d.
- Report of First World Conference on Adult Education held at Cambridge, August 1929*. The World Association of Adult Education, 16 Russell Square, W.C.1.
- Local Government Reports.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

- | | <i>Suggested References</i> |
|--|--|
| The Appeal of the Popular Press. | Angell. |
| The Organisation behind the Modern Newspaper. | Current Newspapers. |
| The Modern Newspaper Groups and their Interests. | Dibblee. |
| The W.E.A. | Labour Research Dept. |
| | The Labour Research Department. |
| | Price. |
| | The W.E.A., 16 Harpur Street, W.C.1. |
| The Adult School Movement. | Currie Martin. |
| | The Adult School Union, 30 Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. |
| Adult Education in X. | Local Government Report. |
| | Local Branches of W.E.A. and A.S.U. |

CHAPTER VII

HIS UNEMPLOYMENT

The Problem of Unemployment—National Health Insurance—
Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation.

THERE is no subject that Herbert Haynes has heard so much discussed as unemployment. From his works manager, from his trade union officials, from public speakers and from the newspapers he finds various theories put forward in explanation of the fact that there are more than one million workers, most of them very like himself, unable to find a livelihood. The modern industrial system, he understands, by reason of its great complexity, its constant changes, its competitiveness, the seasonal nature of some trades and the uncertainty of economic demand, must always involve a number of unemployed. He is a little consoled to know that the present numbers are considered exceptional.

Foreign competition is one of the chief causes. England has not the same markets for her coal and manufactured goods that she had before the war. Many countries that formerly depended on our coal and our manufactures are now developing their own mineral resources and establishing their own factories. If, like the textile factories of India, they are paying a low rate of wages, the competition is naturally more

serious. But besides competition between one manufacturer and another, there is also the competition between old and new forms of goods and services—competition between coal and oil as fuel, between railway and road transport, between cotton and artificial silk.

Capital and credit are two other factors of very great importance. People who have money to invest will naturally lend it where they are likely to reap good dividends. But their interests may not coincide with the urgent interests of trade and unemployment; they may invest outside this country altogether. At the same time bankers in a time of trade depression are unwilling to advance large sums of money for new business undertakings. To safeguard themselves they ask a high rate of interest which discourages the most enterprising of entrepreneurs.

Increased poverty besides being an effect of unemployment, is also a cause of it; for wages always go down as the number of unemployed go up, and when the twelve million wage-earners have less to spend there is a natural repercussion on trade. To give a single concrete instance: Haynes, we have seen, cannot afford to move into a suburban Council house; thereby he is contributing to the unemployment of builders, railwaymen, makers of furniture and household goods—and incidentally to makers of gas meters.

But he cannot consider these ideas with the dispassionate interest of the economist; to him unemployment is like a dogging fate, that may at any moment snatch him from the satisfaction of a regular

daily routine and plunge him into bewilderment and gradual destitution. His first experience, it will be remembered, was as a boy of seventeen, and he has a very clear recollection of the gradual encroachment of hopelessness and resentment on his energy and spirits as week after week of job-hunting proved in vain. He readily admits that he had lost all desire for a regular trade and was fast becoming unemployable when a friend found him a place at the engineering works and persuaded him to take it.

But if in his later experiences of unemployment he has not had to meet the situation with the instability of adolescence, and if the Government's policy of compulsory unemployment insurance has brought some alleviation, the responsibility of a wife and family entirely dependent on his earnings has introduced a new poignancy.

At his demobilisation in 1919 he was told that he could draw an ex-service man's out-of-work donation for twelve months, if need be, provided he could satisfy the Employment Exchange that he was genuinely seeking work. This donation, which was the outcome of the relief, optimism, and bewilderment that came with the cessation of war, seems in these days very generous. Haynes received, as a free gift from a grateful Government, 29s. for himself and his wife and 6s. for his child. Nowadays, if he should be unemployed, he receives 17s. for himself, 7s. for his wife (providing she does not go out to work), and 2s. for each child, but these benefits are only due to him if he can show that during the previous two years he has been sufficiently employed to have

thirty weekly contributions of 7d. shown by the stamps on his employment card. For every 7d. that he pays, his employer pays 8d. and the National Exchequer 6d. When this compulsory Unemployment Scheme was first launched in 1920, it was intended to provide a sufficient fund; but for the excessive numbers of unemployed during the last few years, even the increased contributions and the tightening of the administration have been lamentably inadequate. The Unemployment Fund is now over £30,000,000 in debt.

As may be imagined, Haynes's short period of unemployment when he came back from the war to find himself superseded by electrical power was considerably mitigated by the out-of-work donation and by the general atmosphere of rejoicing and reunion. He was fortunate in finding new work before either the money or the geniality had failed.

The post-war trade boom lasted until the middle of 1920. By the end of that year factories were beginning to close down, and by the following spring the great army of unemployed included even the skilled craftsmen who, except for the interruption of the war, had hardly experienced a break in their years of work.

The engineering employers took the opportunity to do away with some of the new power that the engineering unions had acquired during the war. In the munition factories the shop stewards, who were the elected representatives of the men in the various departments, had often assumed great importance; so much so that they had exercised considerable control

over workshop conditions. The employers acquiesced when universal employment made the workers strong, but were minded to reassert their authority now that conditions were changed. A serious dispute about overtime arose between the A.E.U. and the Employers Federation. This has for long been a bone of contention between masters and men. The employers want to introduce it simply as it suits their convenience; the trade unionists have found by experience that it often results in wage reductions, because the extra wages for extra hours worked make the week's earnings appear unusually high. They also feel that as far as possible extra workers should be engaged rather than extra work should be put on those already regularly employed.

In this particular case the employers asserted that the union's claim to have a voice in deciding when certain kinds of overtime were necessary was an encroachment on "managerial functions," and in March 1922 members of the A.E.U. were locked out of all the federated engineering workshops. Two months later all the other unions were served with an ultimatum which forced them to decide whether they would side with the employers or the A.E.U. Although the quarrel was not theirs, they naturally supported their fellow-workers—for in spite of some inter-union rivalry the workers are in no doubt that their interests are ultimately one.

At the beginning of May 1922, Herbert, therefore, found himself refused admission to his factory unless he would throw up his union and be a blackleg. Such an alternative hardly entered his head. Supported by

his union's dispute pay of 16s. a week, he and his wife somehow managed until the quarrel ended in a victory for the employers.

But for some time the Government had been pursuing a new policy of strict economy, which had had its effect on the building of new houses. Fewer houses meant fewer domestic gas meters, and as it was on these rather than on the larger kinds of meter that his firm depended, Haynes resumed work after the lock-out, on "short time." This meant only three days' work a week, and since the firm arranged for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday to be the working days, he could not draw half a week's unemployment insurance pay from the Labour Exchange, as alternate days at work did not fulfil the statutory conditions of "continuous unemployment." The firm, however, was approached by the union on this matter, and consented to make the work days Monday to Wednesday inclusive, so that the workers could claim such insurance benefits as were due to them for the remaining three days of the week.

The next eighteen months were the severest economic struggle. After several weeks on short time, Haynes was indefinitely suspended from his employment, and on an unemployment insurance benefit of 23s. (the rate at that time) he had to support his wife and three young children, for the third child had most inopportunately been born at the outset of this period of unqualified hardship. To save them from the humiliation of applying to the Guardians for relief, Mrs Haynes went out cleaning, thereby losing 5s. of the insurance benefit. The baby and

the girl of three had to be left all day with the maternal grandmother, who it will be remembered lived conveniently near, and the eldest, a boy of seven, received free dinners at school for a time under the L.C.C. provisions for necessitous children. Haynes considered his job at the gas meter factory had gone for ever, and he set about looking for other work. Every day he had to queue up at the Employment Exchange with hundreds of others in order to sign on at the counter and thus prove that he was still unemployed. He had also to prove that he was "genuinely seeking work," the test being that he submitted to the insurance officer satisfactory evidence that he spent his time badgering every likely employer, and that if he was offered a suitable job he did not refuse it.¹ But he did not get any chances of refusal. When he was told by the Labour Exchange of a vacancy that had been notified by an employer, he tramped off with the card that had been handed him and sought out the firm; but the job had always been filled. On one occasion he had hoped that this would be the case, for the work he was sent after, although at an engineering works, was merely that of a cleaner, and the wages were ten shillings a week less than he had been able to earn before. If he refused the job his

¹ The meaning of the statutory condition "genuinely seeking work" is at present under consideration and may, owing to the pressure from the trade unions, be given a rather more just interpretation than at the time of writing, when it virtually means that every applicant for his insurance benefit is assumed to be a malingerer and has to prove the charge to be false.

unemployment benefit would almost certainly be stopped by the insurance officer, and although he had the right of appeal and could rely on the support of his trade union at the hearing of his case, the risk of being turned down and thus left with no source of income whatsoever was a haunting fear as he made a long journey with his card of introduction in his hand. For once, the abrupt reply that the vacancy had gone was quite pleasant to hear.

He has been told that only 17 per cent. of the employers in England make use of the Exchanges when they want more hands, and that for the most part they rely on the easy method of selecting from the men who clamoured at their gates before eight o'clock each morning. Before he joined the queue at the Exchange at 9.30, Haynes had usually been doing a tour of the London streets for two hours. The accumulated effect of the economic struggle and the hopeless search was to make him feel that, in his own words, he was "going mad in a quiet way."

From 1924, owing to the policy of Government subsidies, housing began to proceed apace. The gas meter works gradually required its usual number of hands, and Haynes got back to his job.

The next four years was a period of fairly steady employment and without any serious economic incident—trivial difficulties there always were, for when there is no margin in the weekly budget, every breakage and minor accident constitutes an economic problem. Up till Christmas 1928 there had only been two serious interruptions in work.

During the winter of 1924, Haynes had a bad

attack of influenza, for which he was constitutionally ill-prepared after many months of nervous worry and physical privation. Pneumonia set in and he was unable to work for eight weeks. / During this period the National Health Insurance Scheme, which had been in operation since 1911, stood him in good stead. He received the panel doctor's services and medicines from the chemist free of charge, as well as sick benefit of 12s. a week. There were, of course, conditions and difficulties to be accepted. The panel doctor, who sometimes saw over 150 cases a day, could not come as often during the critical days as would have been expected in a middle-class home; a signed certificate had to be secured from him at appropriate intervals in order that the benefits could be claimed; the insurance scheme does not provide any specialist services, and so the general practitioner's opinion that Haynes might or might not have consumptive tendencies had to serve until the patient was well enough to go to the out-patients' department of a general hospital and be reassured after an expert examination. During this period Mrs Haynes again went out to work, and her earnings were supplemented by the generosity of relations and neighbours.

In May of 1926 the second interruption of work came in the form of the General Strike. But this was foreseen and only lasted ten days. It was accepted without complaint by Haynes, who considered that the miners had been unfairly treated and that their fellow-workers should stand by them.

During the summer and autumn of 1928 some of the workers had been discharged owing to a falling off

of orders, which the firm attributed to the cut in the housing subsidy. Haynes's job, however, had not been threatened. He was now one of the established workers and would be one of the last to be turned off. His prospects seemed much more settled and he rather expected fairly steady work in the press shop for the rest of his industrial career. His wages were about £3, 3s. in a good week. When he had paid 7d. to Unemployment Insurance, 9d. to Health Insurance and Pension, and 6d. to his Union—a weekly total of 1s. 10d.—there was still over £3 left. He kept 2s. for his fares and tobacco, and gave his wife the rest. She paid the rent of 11s. 7d. and provided food and clothing for the family at an average weekly expenditure of 9s. a head, sometimes supplementing by doing a little earning herself. The eldest boy was now thirteen and in another year he would be adding to the income.

Then one day when Haynes was trying to remove the side of a large gas meter from the tray where the press had just descended to cut it out of the sheet of metal, he inadvertently touched the lever with his arm and the press came down while his hand was underneath. Two of his fingers were amputated by the machine. An ambulance was sent for and he was speedily removed to hospital.

Accidents of this kind were by no means infrequent in the press shop, although they had been reduced by the guards that had been fixed to some of the machines. Unless the worker was clearly to blame, the firm was responsible under the Workmen's Compensation Act for a disablement allowance up to

a maximum of 30s. a week. Actually, this was paid by an insurance firm, for nearly all employers insure themselves against this kind of liability. Owing to the serious nature of the injury, Haynes got the full 30s. a week; but National Health Insurance benefit was ruled out by reason of this other payment, so that the family resources have been reduced by half for most of the year 1929. As usual, the generosity of fellow-workers and neighbours came into play, and again Mrs Haynes went out to work.

Once he had recovered from the shock, the time went slowly for Haynes. When he was allowed to leave the hospital and return home, he disliked sitting about or strolling in the streets. He preferred a good day's work. And having never developed a taste for reading, he had few resources. In August 1929, after nine months away from his job, the doctor pronounced him fit for light work. His firm, although under no obligation to take him back, in consideration of his good services during the last ten years and of his unblemished war record, offered him a job as a messenger at the weekly time-rate paid to labourers in London engineering firms, 45s. a week. This was estimated as a loss of 16s. 8d. on his former average earnings, and under the Workmen's Compensation Act he was entitled to 50 per cent. of his lost earning capacity. The insurance company, therefore, must pay him 8s. 4d. a week, unless he preferred to have the weekly payment commuted into a lump sum down. This rather appealed to him, and he inquired as to what the amount would be. The insurance company offered £170. He consulted his trade

union in the matter, for they had advised him from the beginning, and seen that he got the maximum disability allowance during his months of incapacity. The union considered £170 an unfair commutation. They took the matter up with the insurance company, and secured a revised offer of £250. This, at the time of writing, Haynes has decided to accept.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- SILVERMAN, H. A. *Economics of Social Problems.*
 LLOYD, C. M. *Trade Unionism.*
 RAYNER, C. M. *The Story of Trade Unionism.*
 (i) COLE, G. D. H. *Organised Labour.*
 (ii) COLE, G. D. H. *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy.*
 (iii) COLE, G. D. H. *The Economic System.* W.E.A. Outlines. Longmans. 1927. 1s.
 DAVISON, R. C. *The Unemployed.* Longmans. 1929.
 (i) ASTOR, BOWLEY, AND OTHERS. *The Third Winter of Unemployment.* Report of an Inquiry in 1922. King & Son.
 (ii) ASTOR, BOWLEY, AND OTHERS. *Is Unemployment Inevitable?* King & Son. 1924.
 GORDON. *Social Insurance.* Fabian Society. 1924.
Social Insurance. Report of League of Nations Union Conference. Faber and Gwyer. 1926.
 COHEN, J. L. *Workmen's Compensation in Great Britain.*
 CHURCHILL, Dr S. *Health Services and the Public.*

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

	<i>Suggested References</i>
The Extent and Effects of Unemployment.	Astor, Bowley (i). Davison.
The Causes of Unemployment.	Astor, Bowley (ii). Silverman. Cole (ii).
Unemployment Insurance.	Davison. Silverman. Cole (ii).
Other Remedies for Unemployment.	Silverman. Davison. Cole (ii).
The Economic System.	Cole (iii).
National Health Insurance.	Gordon. L.N.U. Report. Churchill.
Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation.	Cohen. Churchill.
Strikes and Lock-outs.	Lloyd. Cole (i). Silverman.
The General Strike.	Lloyd.
The Hospitals.	Rayner. Churchill.

CHAPTER VIII

HIS FUTURE: HERBERT GEORGE

Pensions—Elementary Education—Juvenile Employment.

DURING his long period of disablement, Haynes had ample opportunity of considering the future. The shock of the accident and the period of threatened blood poisoning that followed were not without the natural reaction on mind and nerves. Lying in hospital he reflected on the possibility of death at thirty-five, and the thought immediately resolved into anxiety about his wife and children. Under the recent extension of National Health Insurance, which exacted a higher weekly contribution from him, his widow would be entitled to 10s. a week and his children would get weekly orphans' pensions at the rate of 5s. for the first child and 3s. for each of the others until they left school. He wondered why the Government would deal more generously with his eldest son than with the two younger members of the family, and he remembered with some satisfaction that Herbert George was fourteen and would be going to work next Christmas.

When he was home again and had sufficiently recovered to accept his firm's offer of a job at 45s. a week, he was no longer preoccupied with a possible early demise but with the exigencies of a continued existence on a reduced income.

The chief shop steward in the firm, by reason of his influence over the men and tact with the management, could always get the ear of the works manager. He interested himself in Haynes, and he held out to him some hopes of getting him transferred later to another piece-work job where he might, perhaps, be able to earn something approaching his previous wages. This, however, was not to be counted on and depended very much on the course of trade. Even his new job as messenger was not secure; for he was no longer an established and reliable hand in the chief department of the works, but an employee that could be easily dispensed with if economies had to be made. Moreover, there was always the possibility of wage cuts, and the lower the wage the more serious the reduction to the worker. The 45s. a week was certainly precarious.

When he decided to forgo the disablement benefit of 8s. 4d. a week for £250 down, he intended to act on the advice of his union and put the money in the Co-operative Wholesale Society's bank, where a small but certain rate of interest would accumulate. Possibly, in thirty years' time, when he would become entitled to an Old Age Pension of 10s. a week, he would be glad of it. In the meantime the family circumstances were certainly very straitened, and he looked to Herbert George soon to make good the deficiency in the family income.

As the immediate future is bound up with this boy, it may be well to conclude this book with some account of his career and prospects.

George, loyally christened after an absent soldier

father and his country's King, goes by his second name to avoid confusion. He is the only member of the family who was a war-baby. His sister of nine was born after Haynes became demobilised, and the youngest, a boy of seven, it will be remembered, came to add to the difficulties at the beginning of her father's long spell of short time and unemployment.

Mrs Haynes was not seriously hampered by lack of money in providing her first baby with essential food and clothing. But in those days of shortage there were things that money could not buy. Moreover, the local Infant Welfare Centre had not then been opened, so that she did not profit from the weekly consultations which have been of service in the rearing of Marie Emily and Robert Edward. Again, there were many air-raids over that part of London which has always been her home, and she had often snatched George from his sleep to take him down to the cellar underneath a local public-house, where the friendly publican's wife assured her she was much safer than in her mother's third floor flat. When in later years George behaved so oddly that she thought he was mental the hospital doctor whom she consulted attributed his excessive shyness and his tendency to play with children younger than himself to these early disturbances.

During his nine years at school his general health has steadily improved, and his mother considers that the introduction of free medical inspection and facilities for treatment have been a great benefit in spite of the faults she sometimes finds with the way these new ideas are carried out. He has been submitted to a

medical inspection four times during his school career, and each time his mother has accepted the invitation to be present. The first inspection revealed several defective teeth, and Mrs Haynes was given a card to take to the dental clinic, where the necessary extraction and fillings would be performed for a fee of 2s. Having learnt something as to the importance of sound teeth from some informal addresses at the Infant Welfare Centre, she lost no time in carrying out the advice. But when a week later the care committee visitor called to make a tactful inquiry as to whether this had been done, Mrs Haynes gave her opinion of the clinic dentist in unequivocal terms. She said he had been so rough in his manner and operations that, whereas the child had gone in quite contented and interested, he had come out hurt and terrified, and it would therefore be like moving a mountain ever to get him there again. The care committee visitor, after having been at pains to explain that she herself was in no way responsible for the dentist's behaviour, tried to assure Mrs Haynes that her experience was exceptional, and did her best to defend the high standard of technical skill which she said was to be found not only in the Local Authority's dental clinics, but in all other treatment centres also.

A year later the same lady again appeared on Mrs Haynes's door-step to inquire if she had taken George to the hospital to see the nerve doctor. This time George had not been due for a medical inspection, but the teacher in charge of his class had discussed his nervous ways with Mrs Haynes, and had suggested

that he should be submitted for an extra inspection next time the doctor visited the school. The doctor had given Mrs. Haynes a card to take to the out-patients' department of a general hospital, and Mrs Haynes, who was then out at work three days a week, took the boy as soon as she could find a suitable day. But, unfortunately, the day was not the right one for seeing the requisite hospital doctor, and after waiting a long time for an interview she was told she would have to come again another day. Again Mrs Haynes had something to say to the care committee visitor. What with George's teeth and nerves, and Marie's anæmia and adenoids, she had a good many doorstep conversations with this lady; and what with the representative of the hospital almoner calling to decide what she could pay towards Marie's operation, the health visitor wanting to have a look at Bob the baby, the sanitary inspector coming to inspect the drains, and some unknown person wanting to know her personal affairs for a "social survey," she sometimes had a sense of too much interference.

There were other and pleasanter interruptions for George than visits to a dental clinic and a hospital. In the summer he went swimming once a week, travelling free on an L.C.C. tram, and then being admitted to the baths without payment. Also, every summer, there was a school journey to the Kentish Coast or the Isle of Wight, and one memorable year he was among those selected to go. For weeks beforehand he attended a special class where he learnt what places of historical interest he could expect to see and what kinds of natural history he

would try to study. The L.C.C. contributed 5s. towards his board and lodging for a fortnight and the railway company took him at a reduced fare; the other expenses were met by his mother.

But the winter terms are the ones he likes best—not for occasional visits to museums or the Old Vic, but because of football. His school, the Malvern Road Boys' Department, is unfortunate in being too far from any park for the boys to go outside the school precincts for the periods on the time-table called Organised Games. But, although they have only the asphalt playground in which to practise, the school team has distinguished itself in the inter-school matches played on Saturday afternoons, and the silver cup in the assembly hall is partly accounted for by a good shot from the right wing by H. G. Haynes.

George is now in Standard VI, which is one behind the usual school-leaving standard. After Christmas, when he has left, his school will be reorganised as a Central or Senior School, and numbers of boys of eleven to fourteen from other schools will join it in place of junior boys, who will go to another elementary school to be called a Junior School. The forty boys in his class are in the hands of a woman teacher, whose efforts at spurring her pupils into mental and æsthetic activity are blazoned on the walls in the shape of charts and posters and a decorated mark list headed, "Who will be top next week?" She began her education in an elementary school such as this, but she was one of the exceptions who won a scholarship to a secondary school and thence a bursary to carry her on to a two years' course at a training college.

She had hoped to go to the University, but she found the so-called educational ladder exceedingly difficult to climb for those whose parents are poor. Now she makes amends for the lack of a more leisurely acquired culture by rushing after diploma courses in the evening and University extension lectures in the holidays. Her pockets, as well as her time, are drained by the career into which she has fallen; for when a mother cannot afford the money for a school journey, or when Christmas brings the customary school party given by the staff to the pupils, or when the school fund has not been sufficiently augmented by a jumble sale or a concert, she unhesitatingly helps with the deficit.

At the time this book appears George will have just finished his school career.

A short time before the end of the term he will be summoned for a "school conference" to meet his head master, the lady from the Juvenile Advisory Committee of the local Employment Exchange, a member of the After-care Committee, and his mother. On the table before the head will be his report stating his weakness in arithmetic, his ability at carpentry and metal work, his average attainments in most other subjects, and his satisfactory conduct.

The proceedings will open by George being invited to declare his ambitions in life; and as he knows that his interrogators cannot put him in the way of being a professional footballer, he will say he does not know what he wants to do. Various suggestions will then be made to him, Mrs Haynes will be asked if she has plans or ideas, and he will be urged to make

use of the Labour Exchange. He will then be asked if he is sorry to leave school, and when, thinking chiefly of football matches, he admits that he is, he will be told that this need not be the end of his school days if he joins an evening class and, provided he enrolls immediately, he will not be asked to pay any fees.

This suggestion he has met every time he has looked at the back cover of his school exercise books, for there he meets the words :—

“BOYS AND GIRLS—KEEP THE LAMP OF KNOWLEDGE BURNING after you leave Day School by joining an Evening Institute or a Day Continuation School. SUCCESS IN LIFE is for those who are prepared for opportunities when they come. The Evening Institutes and Day Continuation Schools will prepare you”—

which exhortation, like the address on the “Uses of Education” on prize day, leads George to suppose that education means gaining useful knowledge that will help you to earn good money. He imagines that he has the requisite knowledge of English, History, and Arithmetic necessary to everybody at fourteen, and that there is no point in going on with these subjects since he is not clever enough to be a clerk or to go in for examinations. If some technical class will help him with his trade, whatever that is going to be, he might perhaps go to it, and he would not mind going to a woodwork class, as he likes the work and it is useful. However, he knows that most boys say you do not feel like an evening class after a

day's work, and that most of them give it up after a few weeks.

At the very end of the term, when he is putting aside for ever such childish things as drawing, the reading of poetry, and the performing of simple scientific experiments, he will receive an invitation to attend the Labour Exchange on the following Monday. By this time, however, it is more than likely that his career will have been decided for him by his parents. They have already been discussing the question very fully, and at the moment two alternatives are before them. Mrs Haynes has made inquiries at the Co-operative Stores, and she finds that the manager would be willing to offer George employment. The job, after a probationary period, would be a secure one. Although he would start as an errand boy, he would not be dismissed in a few years as is so often the case, but he would later be taken into the stores and given work according to his ability, and there would be various openings for him for the future. Owing to the security of the job, the wages at first would be comparatively small—13s. a week.

On the other hand, his father has been definitely offered a job for his son in the "Stamp Shop" of the gas meter works. In this department some of the smallest parts of the inside mechanism of the meters are stamped out of strips of metal, bent to shape and correctly slotted, by a series of machines. All that the operator has to do is to feed the machine as quickly as the dexterity of his hands will allow, and as the processes require neither strength nor skill, they are usually termed "repetition work." It is

peculiarly suited to boys under eighteen and to young women, and the wages they can earn at piece-work rates are very good. After a few years, however, the firm finds it necessary to supplant the older boys by younger ones, fresh from school, and those that are displaced have to be dismissed as they cannot, with few exceptions, be absorbed into other shops. The young women usually leave of their own accord to get married.

If Haynes puts his son to this work, in a short time he will have acquired sufficient skill to earn 30s. a week, and this good money, although temporary, would tide over the difficult time while his father is trying to secure for himself some more remunerative position than that of messenger. Moreover, Mrs Haynes has been told by the doctor that she ought, for the present, to give up going out to work herself. Still another consideration is the two years' gap that intervenes before George becomes entitled to Unemployment pay or National Sick Benefit. The State Insurance schemes make no provision for the young worker until he is sixteen, and no trade union is legally entitled to enrol him before that age. The certainty of a good wage for those two years is therefore some protection.

Mr and Mrs Haynes have talked at length over these alternatives and over other possibilities—for instance, Haynes would use some of his newly acquired capital to apprentice his son if he felt sure that there was any future now for the trained craftsman. They incline more and more to forgo the relief to their immediate financial difficulties and

accept the offer from the Co-op. But his mother says it is no use forcing the boy against his will or he "won't give satisfaction." They hope to persuade him to their way of thinking. But at present George is all for good wages at his father's firm, and sees no attraction in the future prospects of a Co-op. employee who only gets 15s. a week and has to work on Saturday afternoons, when other people are playing or watching football.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- SILVERMAN, H. A. *Economics of Social Problems.*
The Education of the Adolescent. Board of Education.
 H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, W.C.2. 2s. 6d.
The New Prospect in Education. Board of Education.
 H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, W.C.2. 6d.
- NORWOOD, C. *The English Educational System.*
 Benn. 1928. 6d.
- COLE, G. D. H. *The Next Ten Years.*
- TAWNEY, R. H. *Secondary Education for All.* Allen
 & Unwin. 1922. 2s. 6d.
- PATERSON, A. *Across the Bridges.*
Report of the Committee on Education and Industry,
 Parts I and II. H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway,
 W.C.2. 2s. 3d.
- EAGAR, W. M'G., and SECRETAN, H. A. *Unemploy-
 ment Among Boys.* Dent. 1925. 2s. 6d.
- NICHOLSON, J. H. *School Care Committees.* P. S.
 King. 1925. 3s. 6d.

WORKMEN'S FARE

SUGGESTIONS FOR INQUIRY AND DISCUSSION

Suggested References

Pensions.	Silverman.
The Elementary and Central Schools.	The New Prospect. Norwood. Tawney. Cole. National Educational Association, Tothill St., S.W.1.
Education in an Ele- mentary School.	Paterson.
The Educational Ladder.	Tawney. Cole.
Juvenile Employment.	Education and Industry. Eagar and Secretan.
Care and After-care Committees.	Nicholson.

SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITING

- Juvenile Department of an Employment Exchange.
(Apply to Juvenile Employment Officer.)
An Elementary School.

Prayers of the Social Awakening.

By WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. 12s. net.

First British edition of this unique collection of original prayers on social issues by a great pioneer of Christian sociology.

"Sure of a warm welcome from those who already know it, and from all who meet with it for the first time. There was clamant need for such a book, for there was little or nothing in our liturgies or devotional manuals . . . fitted to express the new social purpose which has laid its grasp on modern life and thought." *Scotts Observer*.

Modern Industry.

The Christian Line of Development. By MALCOLM SPARKES. 1s. 3d. net.

"A very clearly written book, well worth reading and discussing." *Church Times*.

"A remarkably practical survey of present conditions. It has the merit of not being merely critical."

Derby Daily Telegraph.

Democracy in Search of a Religion.

By S. C. CARPENTER, M.A., Vicar of Bolton and Hon. Canon of Manchester. 6s. net.

Belief in freedom is profoundly characteristic of Christianity, though there are still many Christians to whom it seems a dangerous thing. It is the design of this book to show that in Christianity alone has Democracy, during many centuries, found anything like a real and continuous ally and that the ancient covenant should be renewed. At present Democracy is doubtful, but the direction of its search points towards Christianity and only there will it find its soul.

" . . . Mr. Carpenter has given us a work to which we shall turn again and again for inspiration."

Church of England Newspaper.

Books from Our List.

Social Christianity in England.

A Study in its Origin and Nature. By J. F. LAUN. 4s.6d. net.

"I am very much in his debt for many a fresh illumination, and I warmly commend his book." *The Archbishop of York.*

The Miners' Distress and the Coal Problem.

An Outline for Christian Thought and Action. Prepared by V. A. DEMANT. Submitted to the Christian Social Council by its Research Committee. With a Preface by Dr. A. E. GARVIE. 1s.6d. net.

The Free-Woman.

Some Inferences from the Thought of Jesus Christ in relation to Problems of Personality and Womanhood. By IRENE SOLTAU. 6s. net.

Religious leaders have so far given us very little light on the application of Christianity to the questions which puzzle women of this generation. This book is an attempt to meet this need, in part at least. It is written from the woman's standpoint and in terms of real life.

Christ and Money.

By HUGH MARTIN, M.A. Second Edition. 3s. net ; paper, 2s. net.

CONTENTS : The Value of Money ; The Teaching of Jesus ; The Rights of Property ; The Acquisitive Motive ; Personal Expenditure (Stewardship)—The Standard of Living—Luxuries—Recreation and Holidays—Duty to Family—Rates and Taxes—Saving and Investment—Betting and Gambling—Giving).

"Challenging, well-informed, truly Christian in its idealism yet very practical in its suggestions, this book is well worthy of wide perusal." *Scotts Observer.*

A Faith that Works.

By E. S. WOODS, M.A. 5s. net.

The author of *Everyday Religion* here carries further his attempt to apply the spirit of Christianity to the whole range of human living.

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT PRESS

32 RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.