

EDUCATION, INDIA.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

IN

1925-26.



**CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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1928

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PREFACE.

This report deals very briefly with education and educational statistics in British India for the year 1925-26. It is based upon the reports of Provincial Directors of Public Instruction and has been considerably abbreviated this year. The quinquennial report on Education which will be published during the current year will contain a full and detailed analysis of education in India during the past five years.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. R. M. Statham for the compilation of this report which is almost entirely his own work.

R. LITTLEHAILES,
*Educational Commissioner
with the Government of India.*

SIMLA,
May 1928.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

IN
1925-26.

I. GENERAL.

During the year 1925-26 there was an exceptionally large increase in the number of scholars under instruction. The number of recognised institutions increased by 9,362 and the number of scholars by 690,967, the corresponding increases during the previous year being 9,371 and 513,778 respectively. The number of scholars reading in recognised and unrecognised institutions increased by 700,049 as against an increase of 498,988 in 1924-25. The table below shows the different types of institutions with the scholars in attendance at them.

Institutions and Scholars.

Types of institutions.	Institutions.		Scholars.	
	1926.	1925.	1926.	1925.
Universities	13	13	6,623	6,799
Arts Colleges	215	211	63,588	58,850
Professional Colleges	75	72	17,378	16,882
High Schools	2,634	2,518	761,637	716,594
Middle Schools	8,203	7,535	954,510	832,007
Primary Schools	183,164	175,663	7,799,076	7,315,811
Special Schools :	8,806	7,736	289,891	255,996
Unrecognised institutions	34,726	34,630	621,618	612,536
TOTAL	237,836	228,378*	10,514,321	9,814,272*

* Revised Figures.

The number of recognised institutions and the number of scholars increased in all the provinces, but out of a total increase of 9,362 institutions as many as 3,550 were opened in Madras. This province also showed the largest increase in the number of scholars, 156,121, but was closely followed by the Punjab with an increase of 140,250 scholars.

It is satisfactory to note that there was a further rise in the number of scholars reading in Professional Colleges and that the number of scholars reading in Special Schools increased by 33,898.

The number of unrecognised institutions rose slightly, and their strength increased by 9,032, the increase occurring mainly in Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and in Assam.

The percentage of males under instruction in recognised institutions to the total population was 6.5 as against 6.0 in 1924-25 and the percentage of females under instruction was 1.3 as against 1.2 in the previous year.

The rise of 0.5 per cent. in the percentage for males was the largest increase recorded in any year during the last ten years and though the percentage of 6.5 is still far from satisfactory, it compares very favourably with the figure for ten years ago, which was only 4.7.

Unfortunately the percentage for females has risen extremely slowly. It was 0.9 in 1916 and after ten years it has increased to only 1.3.

Wastage.—As has been pointed out in successive reports, while the numbers reported to be reading at school show satisfactory increases, the duration of school life in the primary classes continues to be distressingly short.

In the last annual report the wastage between class and class for boys' schools as between the years 1923-24 and 1924-25 was stated to be:—

Between Classes I and II	2,433,285
Between Classes II and III	321,246
Between Classes III and IV	258,937
Between Classes IV and V	281,555

The corresponding figures for the wastage between the years 1924-25 and 1925-26 were:—

Between Classes I and II	2,666,327
Between Classes II and III	280,339
Between Classes III and IV	242,411
Between Classes IV and V	250,988

The latter figures show that after one year Class II represents only 34 per cent. of Class I, Class III 78 per cent. of Class II, Class IV 73 per cent. of Class III and Class V 59 per cent. of Class IV.

All the reports from the provinces show that the problem of stagnation in the lower classes is still a pressing one. The Director of Public Instruction in Bihar and Orissa has given figures for one division which show that in the year 1925-26, 9 per cent. of the pupils reading in Class I were promoted after one year's study, 11 per cent. were promoted after more than one year's study in Class I and 8 per cent. were promoted after more than two years' study in Class I. 72 per cent. of the class were not promoted at all.

It is sometimes assumed that if compulsion could be universally adopted wastage would disappear, but, while compulsion will prevent the large withdrawals which take place from each class, it cannot entirely eradicate stagnation. The Punjab and other provinces have been discovering that one cure for the evils of stagnation lies in better schools, with larger and better trained staffs. The necessity of eliminating the single-teacher school of moderate size is being increasingly recognised in the provinces and in the Punjab in 1925-26 there were less than 500 single-teacher schools of any kind.

Expenditure.—The total expenditure on education has increased by the very large figure of Rs. 1,90,90,310 as against an increase of only Rs. 97,11,973 in the previous year. To this increase Bombay contributed Rs. 37½ lakhs, the Punjab 29 lakhs, Burma 27 lakhs, Madras 26 lakhs and Bengal 21 lakhs. A reference to table (IV), Expenditure on Education, will show to what a remarkable extent the provinces vary in the percentages of their expenditure met from Government funds, from Board and from other funds. In the United Provinces expenditure from Government funds represents 57 per cent. of the total expenditure, whereas in Bengal Government funds represent only 38·1 per cent. In the Central Provinces fees meet only 11·2 per cent. of the total expenditure, but in Bengal fees meet as much as 41·2 per cent. In Madras "other sources"—and the amount met from other sources is a measure of the private effort in education—meet 22·5 per cent. of the total expenditure, whereas in Bombay other sources meet only 11·6 per cent. In Bihar and Orissa Board funds meet 28·5 per cent. of the total expenditure, while in Bengal only 5·1 per cent. is met from Board funds.

The average annual cost per scholar to Government varies in the provinces from Rs. 18·8 in Bombay to Rs. 2·13 in Bihar and Orissa. In the vast, sparsely populated, area of Baluchistan the cost to Government is as high as Rs. 45·9. The total cost per scholar varies in the provinces from Rs. 36·4 in Bombay to Rs. 10·9 in Bihar and Orissa, the total cost in Baluchistan being as much as Rs. 84·11 per scholar.

Province.

Madras	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bombay*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bengal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Punjab	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Burma	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bihar and Orissa	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Central Provinces and Berar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Assam	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
North-West Frontier Province	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Coorg	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Delhi	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Ajmer-Merwara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Rajasthan	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bangalore	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Minor Administered areas (b)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

INDIA

(1) Number of Institutions.

RECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS.			UNRECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS.			TOTAL INSTITUTIONS.		
1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-).	1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-).	1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-).
47,977	44,427	+ 3,550	2,808	3,052	- 244	50,785	47,479	+ 3,304
14,406	13,851	+ 555	1,372	1,505	- 133	15,778	15,356	+ 422
56,549	(a) 55,890	+ 659	1,429	1,263	+ 166	57,978	(a) 57,173	+ 805
21,560	(a) 20,293	+ 1,067	2,892	2,861	+ 31	24,452	(a) 23,154	+ 1,098
12,529	(a) 10,836	+ 1,693	4,286	4,376	- 90	16,815	(a) 15,212	+ 1,703
6,094	(a) 6,379	+ 315	18,489	18,619	- 130	25,183	(a) 24,998	+ 185
31,824	30,567	+ 1,257	1,807	1,539	+ 268	33,631	32,106	+ 1,525
5,051	(a) 4,927	+ 124	298	347	- 49	5,349	(a) 5,274	+ 75
5,191	5,082	+ 109	385	278	+ 112	5,576	5,365	+ 211
686	607	+ 19	365	259	+ 106	1,051	926	+ 125
112	110	+ 2	6	3	+ 3	118	113	+ 5
229	234	- 5	93	98	- 5	322	332	- 10
196	189	+ 7	113	116	- 3	309	305	+ 4
90	87	+ 3	235	251	- 16	325	338	- 13
102	99	+ 3	20	20	..	122	119	+ 3
114	110	+ 4	36	28	+ 8	144	138	+ 6
298,110	(a) 193,748	+ 9,362	34,726	(a) 34,030	+ 696	237,836	(a) 228,378	+ 9,458

(a) Revised figures.

(b) Figures for 1925 exclude "Mount Abu."

* Includes figures of Aden also.

(ii) Number of Scholars.

Province.	IN RECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS.			IN UNRECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS.			IN ALL INSTITUTIONS.			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SCHOLARS TO POPULATION.	
	1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-)	1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-)	1926.	1925.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-)	1926.	1925.
Madras	2,206,390	2,110,269	+156,121	80,162	82,915	-2,753	2,346,552	2,193,184	+153,368	5.5	5.2
Bombay*	1,039,441	975,085	+64,356	37,589	46,499	-8,910	1,077,030	1,021,584	+55,446	5.6	5.3
Bengal	2,172,177	2,107,127	+65,050	49,835	43,815	+6,020	2,322,012	2,150,942	+171,070	4.8	4.6
United Provinces	1,221,420	1,125,183	+96,237	72,205	67,232	+4,973	1,293,625	1,192,415	+101,210	2.9	2.6
Punjab	975,517	835,267	+140,250	87,299	84,382	+2,917	1,062,816	919,649	+143,167	5.1	4.4
Burma	411,398	364,029	+47,369	203,710	205,360	-1,650	615,108	569,389	+45,719	4.7	4.3
Bihar and Orissa	1,041,667	962,423	+79,244	42,712	37,264	+5,448	1,084,379	999,687	+84,692	3.2	2.9
Central Provinces and Berar	398,787	350,811	+47,976	9,196	11,342	-2,146	377,983	362,153	+15,830	2.7	2.6
Assam	260,256	244,413	+15,843	15,780	10,605	+5,175	275,986	255,018	+20,968	3.6	3.4
North-West Frontier Province	58,416	54,568	+3,848	8,103	6,443	+1,660	66,519	61,011	+5,508	2.9	2.7
Coorg	8,841	8,337	+504	127	76	+51	8,968	8,413	+555	6.5	5.1
Delhi	21,906	20,175	+1,731	4,652	6,310	-1,658	26,568	26,485	+83	5.4	5.4
Ajmer-Merwara	12,026	11,162	+864	4,590	4,737	-147	16,616	15,899	+717	3.4	3.2
Baluchistan	5,453	5,207	+246	3,215	3,241	-26	8,668	8,443	+225	2.1	1.8
Bangalore	12,656	12,355	+301	769	712	+57	13,625	13,067	+558	11.5	11.0
Minor Administered Areas	16,152	15,325	+827	1,714	1,603	+111	17,866	16,928	+938	7.6	7.2
INDIA	9,892,793	9,201,736 (a)	+690,967	621,818	612,536 (a)	+9,282	10,514,321	9,814,272 (a)	+700,049	4.8	4.0 (a)

(a) Revised Figures.

* Includes figures of Aden also.

(ii) Distribution of Scholars in Recognised Institutions.

Province.	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS IN INSTITUTIONS FOR MALES, 1920							NUMBER OF SCHOLARS IN INSTITUTIONS FOR FEMALES, 1920						
	Arts Colleges (a)	Professional Colleges	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Special Schools	Total	Arts Colleges	Professional Colleges	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Special Schools	Total
Madras	1,109	1,959	134,965	26,383	1,136,114	19,172	2,093,702	599	6	11,175	1,500	214,846	3,583	230,039
Bombay*	1,428	2,439	63,936	19,285	1,91,279	18,161	301,507	..	..	8,552	3,081	123,263	2,925	137,824
Bengal	21,717	6,453	232,856	142,201	1,312,871	96,090	1,835,228	281	41	8,583	8,897	317,684	1,477	330,966
United Provinces	9,096	3,254	86,258	63,758	998,632	43,037	1,116,055	111	(b) 2	3,838	18,077	52,988	379	75,395
Punjab	7,401	1,729	111,169	311,218	2,17,315	91,386	690,214	81	32	3,516	14,755	35,963	392	75,503
Bihar	1,603	23	68,730	125,181	172,224	14,029	351,710	..	..	6,339	17,656	33,023	666	50,884
Bihar and Orissa	3,214	887	36,608	51,962	861,172	13,967	947,697	8	..	763	3,181	69,222	996	74,069
Central Provinces and Berar	1,383	350	16,67	76,529	26,391	2,190	331,904	..	..	181	4,927	29,968	607	25,783
Assam	1,144	90	14,582	28,238	194,799	4,355	243,298	..	..	1,049	3,074	62,887	41	17,648
North-West Frontier Province	401	19	9,259	14,910	78,117	39	102,622	..	..	2,176	1,146	..	22	6,344
Coorg	..	..	871	..	7,118	19	7,999	..	..	174	..	668	..	842
Delhi	1,068	(c) 139	7,731	5,013	7,801	781	18,563	11	61	565	1,269	1,432	32	3,343
Ajmer-Merwara	131	..	2,498	903	6,689	146	10,367	..	..	174	902	669	16	1,766
Baluchistan	..	..	1,569	4,025	1,952	9	7,555	..	..	742	166	..	..	908
Bangalore	115	..	1,972	1,973	4,725	98	7,983	516	..	898	1,966	2,470	89	4,873
Minor Administered Areas	301	..	8,548	1,193	5,883	39	12,124	..	..	392	690	2,665	231	4,028
INDIA	68,038	17,339	714,655	868,117	6,884,786	255,414	8,832,599	1,274	181	46,989	86,073	914,290	11,247	1,060,104

* Includes figures of Aden.

(a) Includes Scholars residing in Universities.

(b) Training Department of Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow.

(c) Represents students studying in Law classes attached to the University.

(iv) Expenditure on Education 1925-26.

Province.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE			PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE FROM				AVERAGE ANNUAL COST PER SCHOLAR TO				
	1925.	1926.	Increase (+) or Decrease (-)	Government Funds.	Board Funds, (a)	Fees.	Other sources.	Government Funds.	Board Funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	Total cost.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Madras	4,16,20,061	3,90,38,652	-25,81,399	45.1	11.6	20.8	22.5	8 4 4	2 2 1	3 13 3	4 2 1	18 5 9
Bombay*	3,77,39,733	3,39,85,768	-37,53,975	51.1	20.8	16.5	11.0	18 8 10	7 8 10	5 15 10	4 3 6	36 4 11
Bengal	3,76,91,290	3,56,45,930	-20,45,351	38.1	5.1	41.2	15.6	3 7 5	0 13 10	6 15 20	2 10 4	16 15 5
United Provinces	3,13,53,850	3,03,85,698	-9,68,152	57.0	13.4	13.8	15.8	14 10 0	3 7 1	3 8 7	4 1 0	25 10 8
Punjab	2,56,22,014	2,27,30,575	-28,91,439	51.0	12.0	20.3	14.0	13 10 4	3 6 3	5 5 4	3 14 4	26 4 3
Burma	1,72,41,598	1,45,51,053	-26,90,545	18.0	14.1	19.0	18.6	13 7 4	1 0 7	5 5 0	5 3 7	28 0 0
Bihar and Orissa	1,53,81,815	1,33,09,000	-20,72,815	37.6	28.5	19.2	14.7	2 13 8	3 7 11	2 8 7	1 10 7	10 8 11
Central Province and Berar Assam.	1,02,72,464	90,40,444	-12,32,020	56.8	22.9	11.2	9.1	10 4 10	4 5 8	2 6 4	1 0 6	18 7 3
North-West Frontier Province.	40,53,568	38,16,444	-2,37,124	57.0	12.4	16.7	12.8	9 0 4	1 14 5	2 9 7	1 14 5	15 6 9
Coorg	18,39,569	17,50,116	-89,453	62.0	13.8	10.2	13.1	21 8 7	4 11 5	3 8 3	4 7 9	34 4 0
Delhi	2,21,306	1,83,095	-38,211	56.1	20.2	20.1	3.5	13 13 3	4 16 9	4 15 4	0 13 11	24 10 3
Ajmer-Merwara	16,70,140	17,22,336	+46,496	12.3	11.5	15.7	30.5	27 11 2	9 5 4	12 2 1	11 1 1	00 3 8
Baluchistan	6,10,150	5,61,579	-48,571	44.3	6.9	22.3	26.5	22 7 8	3 7 8	11 5 1	13 7 4	50 11 9
Baluchistan	4,62,973	4,64,315	+1,342	53.6	12.5	16.1	17.8	45 8 6	10 6 10	13 10 5	15 1 7	84 11 4
Bangalore	7,88,810	7,08,121	-80,689	39.1	4.0	32.3	24.0	23 15 7	2 6 11	19 13 1	15 2 2	61 5 9
Minor Administered Areas.	12,14,135	9,28,501	-2,85,634	18.7	14.4	25.0	41.9	14 8 6	4 0 0	17 1 11	34 9 7	70 10 0
INDIA	22,77,92,332	20,87,02,222	-1,90,90,110	47.8	14.3	21.6	15.3	10 5 8	3 7 8	4 11 0	3 8 4	21 10 8

(a) Board Funds includes Municipal Funds.

* Includes figure of Adm.

Legislation.—In August 1925 a bill to establish an Andhra University was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council and was passed into law in the following January. The Act, which provides for the location of the headquarters of the University at Bezwada and for the concentration of Honours Colleges at Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry and Anantapur, came into force in the districts in which Telugu is the language mainly or largely spoken, namely—Ganjam, Vizagapatam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor in April 1926.

In the budget session of 1926 the Madras Council also discussed the necessity for the establishment of a Tamil University and the Hon'ble the Minister for Education promised to consider the proposal for the appointment of a special committee of investigation.

During the year the Agra University Act was introduced in the United Provinces Legislative Council, but was not passed into law until August 1926. The Act removes the external side from the Allahabad University and establishes an affiliating University at Agra.

The United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act, which has extended the facilities for introducing compulsion, granted by the Primary Education Act of 1919 to Municipalities, to District Boards, was also passed during the year and the Government of the United Provinces placed an officer on special duty to formulate plans to give effect to the new law.

In the Punjab an Act called the Punjab Primary Education (Enforcement Act) was passed in January 1926. The Act legalised the application of the provisions of Part II of the Punjab Primary Education Act of 1919 to certain local areas in the Punjab.

In Assam the Primary Education Bill passed through the Committee stage of the local Legislative Council. The Bill provides for the gradual introduction of compulsion in approved local areas, local bodies paying one-third and the Government two-thirds of the cost.

II. CONTROL.

Inspection.—Consequent on the rapid expansion of elementary education and the opening of a large number of new elementary schools proposals were under consideration in Madras for the strengthening of the subordinate inspecting agency by the creation of a new class of officers called Junior Deputy Inspectors.

In Burma it has been decided to abolish the cadre of Sub-Inspectors replacing all Sub-Inspectors by Deputy-Inspectors and in Bihar and Orissa the scheme for the appointment of Deputy Inspectors was completed during the year under review.

The Indian Educational Service.—The end of the Indian Educational Service is within sight and in 1925-26 out of a total of 377 sanctioned posts in the Men's branch of this Service only 281 were

filled permanently or held by officiating officers. With the stopping of further recruitment to the Service in 1924 the process of Indianisation of the Indian Educational Service automatically came to an end, but, even as it was, as many as 131 posts were held by Indians in 1925-26. In Madras 52 per cent. of the posts in the Men's Branch of the Indian Educational Service were held by Indians; in Bombay 71 per cent. and in Bengal 51 per cent. The I.E.S. will be replaced by provincial educational services in the near future.

III. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

There were 6,623 students in the teaching departments of the thirteen Universities as against 6,799 students in 1925. The number of Arts and Professional Colleges rose from 283 to 290 and the number of students reading in them from 75,732 to 80,966. The total expenditure on University and Collegiate education increased from Rs. 2,60,97,235 to Rs. 2,85,22,117. No new University was opened during the year, but an Act to constitute and incorporate a University for the Telugu Districts of the Madras Presidency was passed by the Madras Legislative Council in January 1926. The new University will be called the Andhra University. It will be an affiliating University and the Act provides for the concentration of Honours teaching at three specified centres, the ultimate use of the Vernaculars as the media of instruction and examination and for the establishment and maintenance of a Publication Bureau, an Employment Bureau, Students Unions and University Extension Boards. The Bombay University Reforms Committee, which was appointed in May 1924 submitted its report in May 1925 and the Senate made the following recommendations thereon to the Government of Bombay:—

- (1) The elaboration of University administrative machinery.
- (2) The reform of the Senate.
- (3) The expansion of University post-graduate instruction and research.
- (4) The establishment of a College of Technology.
- (5) The establishment of a University Provident Fund.
- (6) The organisation of the physical and military training of students.
- (7) The provision of a recurring grant from Government to the University.

The recommendations of the Senate are under the consideration of the Bombay Government.

The finances of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University were placed on a more stable basis by a recurring grant of Rs. 3 lakhs voted by the Bengal Legislative Council in August 1925. The financial position of the Dacca University was much improved by the passing of the Dacca University Amendment Act

in August 1925, the Act guaranteeing to the University a statutory annual grant of Rs. 5½ lakhs. The hostel for women students at the Benares University was completed during the year. It provides accommodation for 100 students, but only five women were in residence. The financial position of the Benares University has unfortunately, remained unsatisfactory. The Rangoon University added six new professorships to its staff to provide for the new medical course, raising the total number of professorships to twenty-one. An Act (Burma Act No. VII of 1925) was passed by the Burma Legislature to provide for the constitution and powers of a Board of Trustees for the erection of the buildings of the University. The Patna University opened a Medical Faculty and admitted to its privileges up to the M.B., B.S. standard the Prince of Wales' Medical College at Patna. The Wheeler Senate Hall, the construction of which cost Rs. 1½ lakhs, was opened in March 1926. The construction of the Nagpur University offices and Law College buildings was almost completed and the construction of a University Library building was begun. An Agriculture Faculty was instituted and the Agricultural College was affiliated to the University. The scheme for founding a University in Rajputana was abandoned owing to the lack of support from the Indian States. On the other hand the proposal to establish a University at Agra, to which the Colleges in Rajputana will be affiliated, took definite shape and the Agra University Bill was introduced in the United Provinces Legislative Council soon after the close of the year under review.

Statistics of Universities in India.

University	Type.	Date of Foundation.	Faculties.	ANNUAL STATISTICS.				REMARKS.
				Year.	Number of Teaching Staff.	Number of Students.	Number of Students who graduated in Arts and Science.	
1. Calcutta	Affiliating and Teaching.	1857 and 1901	A., Sc., L., Eng., M.	1925-26	1,608	31,196	2,702	Faculty of Arts includes Commerce.
2. Bombay	Affiliating and Teaching.	1857	A., Sc., L., M.	1925-26	631	11,326	1,049	Faculty of Arts includes Commerce and Teaching. Faculty of Science includes Agriculture and Engineering.
3. Madras	Affiliating and Teaching.	1857 and 1923	A., Sc., Ed., Ag., L., Eng., M., Com.	1925-26	1,338	17,127	2,202	
4. Punjab	Affiliating and Teaching.	1882 and 1919	A., Sc., O., Ag., Com., L., M.	1925-26	605	12,195	749	The statistics of students are for 1926-27.
5. Allahabad*	Affiliating and Teaching.	1897 and 1921	A., Sc., Com., L.	1925-26	304	2,865	807	The statistics of students are for 1926-27.
6. Benares Hindu	Teaching	1916	A., Sc., O., L., Th.	1925-26	151	2,047	221	Twenty-three graduates in theology and oriental learning and 15 graduates in Engineering (B. Sc.) are excluded.
7. Mysore†	Teaching	1916	A., Sc., Eng., and Tech., M.	1925-26	135	1,623	228	
8. Patna	Affiliating	1917	A., Sc., Ed., L., Eng., M.	1925-26	252	4,644	333	
9. Osmaniah†	Teaching	1918	A., L., Th.	1925-26	78	753	70	Faculty of Arts includes Science.

* Since the close of the year under review the affiliating side of the University has been transferred to the newly constituted *Agra* University.
 † Outside British India and incorporated by law in an Indian State.

Statistics of Universities in India—concl'd.

University.	Type.	Date of Foundation.	Faculties.	ANNUAL STATISTICS.				REMARKS.
				Year.	Number of Teaching Staff.	Number of Students.	Number of Students who Graduated in Arts and Science.	
10. Aligarh Muslim	Teaching	1920	A., Sc., Ed., Th.	1925-26	79	2,185	452	
11. Rangoon	Teaching and Affiliating.	1920 and 1921	A., Sc., Ec., Ed., L., Eng., M., P.	1925-26	116	1,263	83	Faculties are here called Departments of Studies.
12. Lucknow	Teaching	1920	A., Sc., Com., L., M.	1925-26	104	1,211	145	
13. Dacca	Teaching	1921	A., Sc., L.	1925-26	98	1,470	241	Excluding 62 students who obtained B. T. degree and 17 who obtained B. Com. Degree.
14. Delhi	Affiliating and Teaching.	1922	A., Sc., L.	1925-26	80	1,202	127	
15. Nagpur	Affiliating	1921	A., Sc., Ed., L., Ag.	1925-26	112	1,542	244	
16. Andhra	Affiliating	1925	....	1925-26	..	3,119	..	No examination was conducted during the year.

ABBREVIATIONS.—A. = Arts;
Ag. = Agriculture;
Th. = Theology;

Sc. = Science;
Com. = Commerce;
Tch. = Technology;

O. = Oriental Learning;
L. = Law;
F. = Forestry;

Ec. = Economics;
Eng. = Engineering;

Ed. = Education;
M. = Medicine.

N.B.—The teaching of the "affiliating" Universities is carried on by the staffs of their constituent Colleges, but generally the Universities themselves provide instruction in certain branches of higher education as required by the Universities Act of 1904.

Indian students in the United Kingdom.—The number of Indian students studying in the United Kingdom in 1926 was approximately 1,500. The following table shows the number of Indians at the principal educational centres in 1925 and 1926.

	1925.	1926.
Inns of Court	583	390
Oxford	86	68
Cambridge	117	116
London	360	361
Edinburgh	224	187

The remaining students in 1926 were studying at Provincial Universities or in technological institutes and of these 16 were at Birmingham, 25 at Bristol, 25 at Leeds, 22 at Liverpool, 53 at Manchester, 28 at Sheffield, 12 at St. Andrews, 80 at Glasgow, 20 at Belfast, 5 at Aberdeen, 5 at Nottingham and 2 at Durham.

It is not possible to state the actual number of students studying in the various faculties but it is noteworthy that nearly 200 students were preparing for degrees or diplomas in Engineering and Technology and over 100 were studying for medicine. One hundred and forty-seven of the students, including 21 women, were Government scholars. The following table shows the number of students holding Government of India, Provincial and Indian State scholarships:—

Government of India	13
Madras	20
Bombay	14
Bengal	12
United Provinces	15
Punjab	6
Butma	24
Bihar and Orissa	15
Central Provinces	2
Assam	4
Mysore	7
Bahawalpur	4
Lunawada	1
Sussex Trust	8

Over one hundred of these scholarships were awarded for professional and technical study.

The report on the work of the Education Department of the High Commissioner's office for the year 1925-26 comments on the increased attention that is being paid to scientific study and states that "it is interesting to note that an increasing number of students is coming to this country for further study in pure or applied science, including many who have taken good honours degrees at their Indian Universities and now seek specialised training of some kind. In view of the need in India of men who have had a thorough scientific training and can thus return to their own country adequately equipped to assist in the development of its natural resources, this is a tendency which deserves every encouragement".

The Inter-University Board.—The second annual meeting of the Board was held at Delhi in February 1926. It was attended by representatives from the Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Benares, Aligarh, Mysore, Nagpur, Delhi, Patna and Osmania Universities and by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

The Board considered, amongst other matters, the grades and salaries of University Teachers; the recognition of the degrees of Indian Universities by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; statutory grants to Universities; military training for University students; adult education and tutorial classes; the encouragement of scientific research and the relation of the intermediate stage of education to University work.

Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur of the Osmania University was elected chairman and Mr. N. S. Subbu Rao, member of the Board for the Mysore University, was elected Secretary for the ensuing year.

Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.—One hundred and twenty students were in attendance during the last session; three of these were sent by private firms and forty-three held Institute scholarships. The following local Governments and Indian States maintained scholars at the Institute: Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Mysore, Gwalior, Bhavnagar and Rajpipla.

By a notification of the Government of India dated the 12th February 1926 the constitution for the administration and management of the properties and funds of the institution was revised. Under the new constitution provision has been made for representation on the council of four nominees of Indian universities; two nominees of the Government of India, two nominees of the Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore and one nominee of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Results of the Degree Examinations.

Province.	University.	PERCENTAGE OF PASSES.			
		B. A. (Pass).		B. Sc. (Pass).	
		1924.	1925.	1924.	1925.
Madras	1. Madras	(a)	(a)	50	..
	2. Andhra*	..	..	..	..
Bombay	3. Bombay	46.18	30.29	51.04	51.11
Bengal	4. Calcutta	66.4	51.2	60.2	51.8
	5. Dacca	55.8	50.3	37.2	37.2
United Provinces	6. Allahabad	54	60	75	63
	7. Benares Hindu	54.6	71.70	61.3	54
	8. Aligarh Muslim	77	89.0	90	84.3
	9. Lucknow	81.7	75.26	79.49	73.91
Punjab	10. Punjab	51.7	41.5	48.8	49
Burma	11. Rangoon	51.89	43.23	48.78	38.23
Bihar and Orissa	12. Patna	51.02	57.53	34.09	44.93
Central Provinces and Berar	13. Nagpur	42	64	76	68
Delhi	14. Delhi	52.9	66	..	57.14
Mysore State	15. Mysore	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Hyderabad State (Deccan)	16. Osmania	64.44	55.86	..	..
	TOTAL	77.24	71.00	66.13	55.32

(a) Figures are not available.

* No examination was conducted by the University which started functioning during the year.

IV. SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Secondary Schools.—The number of secondary schools increased from 10,053 to 10,837 and the number of scholars reading in them from 1,547,601 to 1,716,147. The total expenditure rose from Rs. 5,89,17,635 to Rs. 6,31,10,572.

The largest increase in the number of scholars occurred in the Punjab, in which province there was an increase of as many as 84,532 boys reading in secondary schools. But this large increase was mainly due to the conversion of 525 primary schools into lower middle schools, which are classified statistically as secondary.

The Director of Public Instruction, Madras, has complained of a tendency in the Madras Presidency to open or to endeavour to open new schools or new forms before adequate accommodation has been provided and has pertinently observed that "a policy of expansion which neglects existing institutions and does not provide proper facilities for work in new institutions is unsound and more harm than good is likely to be done by such indiscriminate efforts

for advancement". He has reported also that the equipment and accommodation of a large number of secondary schools, especially local body schools, are unsatisfactory and that many schools are still without proper play grounds and satisfactory sanitary arrangement. During the year the Government of Madras appointed a special officer to conduct a survey of secondary education and to prepare a programme of expansion; they also constituted a committee to consider the general question of the reorganisation of secondary education.

Bombay reports that surprise tests in various subjects, without previous intimation of the time or subject, have taken the place of weekly examinations in set subjects in some of the Government secondary schools and have shown beneficial results. In July 1925, a new School Leaving Certificate Examination Board, elected by the University of Bombay in accordance with the Regulations approved by the local Government, came into existence in the place of the old Joint Examination Board.

The Government of Bengal sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs from provincial revenues for distribution in the shape of new and increased grants-in-aid to secondary schools on condition that fee rates and the salaries of teachers were increased and provident funds, where possible, instituted. It is reported that this has had the effect of increasing the fee-receipts in aided schools by about Rs. 3½ lakhs.

The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, has discussed the problem of communal institutions in the Punjab. He writes as follows:—

"This state of affairs is most dispiriting and reveals the unhealthy atmosphere in which a large proportion of the rising generation is receiving its training. Much has been said and written in recent years on the subject of communal tension, but it is peculiar that the problem of communal schools has not been subjected to a closer scrutiny. Conditions in the Punjab being what they are, it is at least open to question whether it is advisable for boys to be trained in a narrowly communal environment from the cradle to early manhood."

The remedies suggested by him are a closer scrutiny of applications for recognition and grant-in-aid in the case of those schools where the main motive appears to be that of competition; and greater encouragement to public authorities to institute schools which will appeal to all communities. Another serious evil which is discussed in the Punjab report is the insecurity of teachers in communal schools. Some action has already been taken in order to lessen the evil, by making it a condition of recognition and admission to the grant-in-aid list that the standard provident fund rules should be accepted. Other remedies discussed are the introduction of incremental scales of pay for all posts and the giving of some right of

appeal to teachers who are dismissed without due notice or without sufficient reason.

In Burma the general condition of the schools under the Council of National Education is reported to be still far from satisfactory. An Inspector of Schools was deputed at the end of the year to inspect these schools and to make recommendations.

The rules for recurring grants to high schools were revised in Bihar and Orissa, a lump sum for the teachers' pay being substituted for detailed rates and an increase of about 12½ per cent. being allowed at the same time.

The grant to a high school will in future be an amount equal to the standard cost *minus* the fee income, subject to a maximum of half of the standard cost and a minimum of Rs. 75 a month.

The year under the review was the third year of the existence of the High School Education Board in the Central Provinces. The Board is reported "to have set before itself and steadily maintained a high standard of education". Thirteen hundred and thirty-five candidates appeared for the High School Certificate Examination, of whom 428 passed.

Both in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan secondary education for boys is reported to be becoming increasingly popular and admissions have had to be restricted owing to lack of accommodation.

Methods.—The Direct Method of teaching English is followed in all Government Schools in the Bombay Presidency and is reported to be producing good results. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, states that "one of the most depressing features of secondary education in Bengal is the deadly monotony of the methods of teaching and learning." The Dalton experiment and schemes resembling the Dalton plan are, however, in operation in a number of schools and the American Baptist Mission at Bhimpore has organised a "project method of study" which aims at supplementing book learning by village industrial arts. Assam has continued to experiment with the Dalton plan in three Government High Schools and the new methods are reported to have met with considerable success.

Medium of Instruction.—In Bombay candidates have been granted the option of answering the question papers in History and Classical language at the School Leaving Certificate Examination in the vernacular. Candidates have also been allowed to offer a vernacular as an alternative to a classical language. A direct result of this change was that 2,000 less candidates took Sanskrit at the School Leaving Certificate Examination. The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces states that no Inspector of Schools has reported favourably on the use of the vernacular in the two highest classes and he considers that the change in the medium of instruction has been made too rapidly. The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, considers it too early to

report on the experiment of instruction through the medium of vernaculars which was introduced in the previous year.

Manual and Vocational Instruction.—Further steps for the introduction of manual instruction and vocational training in secondary schools have been taken in almost all the provinces. Many high and middle English schools in Bengal have opened new or additional manual training classes, including classes in iron-smith's work, carpentry, weaving, dyeing and gardening. A scheme is also under consideration for opening a central training establishment in connection with the Ahsanullah School of Engineering at Dacca. Agricultural classes have been opened in connection with seven District Board middle schools in the United Provinces and agriculture has been made a compulsory subject in these schools. The Government of the United Provinces have also sanctioned the introduction of manual training as a compulsory subject in 15 District Board vernacular middle schools, the cost being met from Government funds. It is reported from the Punjab that the success which has attended the experiment of attaching farms and gardens to vernacular middle schools has strengthened the contention that vocational training should be associated with general training and should not be given in separate schools. Agricultural education has not, however, been so successful in the High Schools in the Punjab and lack of progress has been attributed to the low standard of work required for the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examinations.

In the Central Provinces six new manual training centres have been opened, bringing the total number of such centres up to seventeen. Each centre is open to the boys of all the secondary schools in the locality.

In the North-West Frontier Province there are very few manual training classes, but the Director of Public Instruction reports that the experiment of opening carpentry and tailoring classes in one Islamia Middle School is being watched with interest.

Physical Education.—In Madras increased attention has been paid to physical education and the Assistant Physical Director inspected 192 schools in the course of the year and held special training classes in four centres. In Bombay the newly appointed Director of Physical Education has drawn up a course of physical exercises for all secondary schools and special training classes for teachers from Government and non-Government schools were held in the city of Bombay.

In the United Provinces a special committee was appointed by Government to examine the question of physical training in schools. The Committee submitted its report in March 1926 and it is under the consideration of Government. In Burma the Director of Physical Training has endeavoured to establish schools' athletic associations throughout the province and 5 such new associations were started during the year. In the Central Provinces there is no

Director of Physical Training and the Director of Public Instruction states that "some years ago the Department formulated a scheme for the organisation of physical training in secondary schools, and the pivot of the scheme was the appointment of a Director of Physical Education. The scheme was rejected on the score of expense. It is worth spending money on a scheme which will ensure a proper physical training for the pupils of secondary schools".

V. PRIMARY EDUCATION (BOYS).

The number of primary schools for boys in India increased from 150,957 to 157,350 and their strength from 6,457,591 to 6,884,786. The largest increases in enrolment occurred in Madras, the United Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa. In Madras the number of schools increased by 3,287 and their strength by 138,959. In the United Provinces the number of schools increased by 870 and their strength by 76,750 and in Bihar and Orissa the number of schools increased by 1,129 and their strength by 63,703.

Compulsory Education.—The following table shows the number of municipal and rural areas in each province in which compulsion has been introduced:—

	Municipalities.	Rural Areas.
Madras	20	2
Bombay	7	..
Bengal . . . . .	..	..
United Provinces	33	..
Punjab	42	451
Burma . . . . .	..	..
Bihar and Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces	3	21
Assam . . . . .	..	..
Delhi	1	..
TOTAL	97	477

There has been a satisfactory increase of 82 municipal areas and 175 rural areas in which compulsion has been newly introduced during the year 1925-26, but there has been no move forward in Bengal and Assam and no legislation to enforce compulsion has as yet been introduced in Burma.

The Punjab has made rapid progress in the introduction of compulsion, especially in rural areas. The Director of Public Instruction continues to rely on what he has termed "voluntary compulsion" and he has summarised his convictions in the last Punjab Educational report as follows:—"Though it may appear to be a paradox, compulsion in India can only succeed if it is voluntary. The initiative should come from within and should not be superimposed from above by some distant and uncongenial authority. In the Punjab, it is the villagers themselves who apply for compulsion, and not the local authority which enforces compulsion on an unwilling people".

In Madras, although only 5 more municipalities and 2 rural areas introduced compulsion during the year under review, sanction was accorded to the levy of an education cess in as many as 18 taluk board areas and 6 municipal areas and by the end of the year 25 municipalities and 95 taluq boards were levying the cess—a necessary, if not universally recognised, preliminary which affords the means of obtaining the funds required for the introduction of compulsion. *Festina lente* is a sound principle in compulsory education as in other activities of life.

Bengal, which has hitherto sanctioned no scheme of compulsion under the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919, has a new Primary Education Bill under consideration. The draft Bill "takes as the obvious basic necessity the raising of additional revenue by local taxation".

In the United Provinces 5 new municipalities introduced compulsion during the year and, though the progress made has shown great variation as between board and board, it is reported that the progress made in the municipalities which had already introduced compulsion has generally been good.

The Director of Public Instruction in Burma does not appear to be hopeful about the introduction of compulsion in Burma and states that "It does not appear that in those provinces, where Acts are in force, elementary education prospered more than elsewhere and perhaps we are fortunate to have escaped an Act". The problem is complicated in Burma by the existence of some 17,000 private Monastic Schools which cannot be ignored in any scheme of compulsory education.

Primary School Buildings.—The reports from most provinces regarding the housing of primary schools are disappointing. The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces reports that large numbers of primary schools are without houses of any kind, 327 schools being held under trees in the Benares division alone. The majority of the schools, which have houses, are held in unsuitable rented buildings which are not even kept in a reasonable state of repair. In the Central Provinces also the majority of the school buildings are reported to be unsuitable and in bad repair. During the current year, however, the Government of the Central Provinces

have made a budget provision of Rs. 9 lakhs for building grants to local bodies.

In Bihar and Orissa, during the year under review, the Government offered grants to all District Boards for the erection of 10 new primary school buildings in each district Board area and the offer was accepted by all the Boards except one.

In the Punjab a considerable advance has been made and the Government allotted as much as Rs. 19 lakhs for the construction of vernacular school buildings, out of which 335 new primary school buildings were erected.

Adult Education.—It is difficult to give accurate details for the number and strength of schools for adults in the provinces since in many provinces no distinction is made in classification between schools which really provide for the education of illiterate adults and schools, especially night and part time schools, which are attended most largely by ordinary primary school children who are unable to attend day schools. In the following table the figures for Bombay, the Punjab, Burma and for the Central Provinces represent schools which educate adults only. The figures for the other provinces include schools which admit children as well as adults.

Province.	1926	
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Pupils.
Madras	5,287	136,626
Bombay	191	7,730
Bengal	1,445	27,773
Punjab	3,208	85,422
Burma	19	1,065
Bihar and Orissa	1,036	22,701
Central Provinces	41	1,067
TOTAL	11,227	282,334

As will be seen from the above figures the Punjab is leading the way in the provision of schools for illiterate adults. And the activities of the Rural Community Board and the District Community Councils in the matter of providing village libraries, lantern slides, lecture notes and pamphlets have greatly stimulated the movement for mass education. By the end of the year under review vernacular libraries, open to adults, had been started in 1,531 vernacular middle schools in the Punjab.

In the Central Provinces the majority of the schools are managed by the Depressed Class Mission Society and by the Young Men's Christian Association and in Bombay a number of schools are managed by the Central Co-operative Institute and by the Adult Educational Association.

There is one school for adult women in Bangalore and one for adult women in the Central Provinces.

VI. FEMALE EDUCATION.

The number of recognised institutions for girls rose by 1,135 to 27,110 and their strength increased by 65,510 to 1,060,104.

These figures do not however represent the total number of girls under instruction. Of the total of 1,060,104 pupils in girls' schools 47,891 were boys, while 612,346 girls were reading in boys' schools. The total number of girls reading in recognised institutions was, therefore, 1,624,559, representing an increase of 127,049 over the total for 1925. This increase was made up of 66,195 girls reading in schools for girls and 60,854 girls reading in schools for boys. The increase of 127,049 in the number of girls compares very unfavourably with the increase of 579,243 in the number of boys reading in recognised institutions, but it is satisfactory to note that the increase in the number of girl scholars between 1925 and 1926 was 54,286 higher than the corresponding increase between 1924 and 1925 and that, while between 1924 and 1925 the increase in the number of boys was six times the increase in the number of girls, the increase in the number of boys between 1925 and 1926 was only four times the increase in the number of girls.

The percentage of girls under instruction to the total female population is highest in Madras and Burma (2.3) and lowest in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces (0.5). Madras has the largest number of girls at school, nearly 490,000 and Bengal comes next with 100,000 less. Bombay is third on the list and Burma fourth. Co-education is general in Madras and Burma, 53.9 per cent. of the girls in Madras and 75.1 per cent. of the girls in Burma being in schools for boys. But in Bengal, which has the largest number of separate schools for girls, only 14.3 per cent. are in boys' schools and in the Punjab only 3.5 per cent.

Of the total increase of 127,049 girls in recognised institutions as many as 110,637 were reading in primary schools and of the total increase of 65,510 in the strength of girls' schools 54,286 were confined to the first two primary classes. The strength of the high department of girls' schools increased by only 375 and the strength of the University and Intermediate classes increased by only 38. The number of women reading in professional colleges has increased and in the year under review there were 182 women in medical colleges, 134 in Training Colleges for teachers and 8 in Law Colleges. The majority of the women reading in medical colleges were reading in Bombay, Madras and Delhi and the 8 women reading for Law were distributed between Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces and Burma.

Compulsory Education.—Of the seven Primary Education Acts in force in the provinces only three are applicable to girls, namely the Madras Act, the Bombay Act and the Central Provinces Act.

In Madras elementary education for girls has been made compulsory in four divisions of the city of Madras and in two other municipalities. In Bombay compulsion has been applied to girls in two wards of the Bombay Corporation and in two other municipalities. But in the Central Provinces compulsion has not yet been applied to girls in any area.

Expenditure.—The total expenditure on women's education increased by Rs. 6.82 lakhs to Rs. 284.15 lakhs. During the year under review the total direct expenditure was Rs. 203.38 lakhs of which Government funds met 45.0 per cent., Local Board funds 19.3 per cent., fees 12.9 per cent. and other sources 22.8 per cent. The largest increase in expenditure in the provinces occurred in Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces. Expenditure in Bombay increased by Rs. 2½ lakhs and in Madras and the United Provinces by Rs. 1½ lakhs.

VII. PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

(a) *The Training of Teachers.*

The total number of teachers employed in recognised secondary and primary schools in British India was 380,149 of whom 173,529 or 45.6 per cent. were trained, the corresponding figures for the previous year being 357,481, 162,147 and 45.3 respectively. It is satisfactory to note that though there has been a large increase in the total number of teachers the percentage of trained teachers has slightly improved. The following table shows the number of teachers, both men and women, under training during each of the last two years:—

	Men.		Women.		TOTAL.	
	1925.	1926.	1925.	1926.	1925.	1926.
In training Colleges	1,026	1,085	116	134	1,142	1,219
In Normal and Training Schools.	20,691	20,584	4,563	4,760	25,254	25,349
Total	21,717	21,669	4,679	4,893	26,396	26,567

The above figures show that, while the number of men under training has slightly decreased, the number of women under training has appreciably increased.

The total number of Training Colleges has remained the same as in the previous year, 15 for men and 6 for women. In addition to the 21 Training Colleges there were Departments of Teaching, with Degree or Diploma Courses, at the Aligarh, Benares and Rangoon Universities.

The number of Normal and Training Schools has fallen from 752 to 696. The fall was almost entirely confined to Training Schools for men and occurred mainly in the United Provinces and in Bengal. In the United Provinces there was a large fall in the number of training classes conducted by Local Boards chiefly as the result of the retrenchment in expenditure by individual boards.

In Bengal the decrease was due to the abolition of a number of the old type of Guru Training Schools. In Madras the amalgamation of secondary training schools with higher elementary training schools resulted in a small reduction in the number of Government Training Schools for men.

The percentage of trained teachers to the total number of teachers in primary and secondary schools together was 45.6. The percentages for secondary and primary schools separately were:—Secondary 50.6 and Primary 44.2. But the individual provinces vary very largely in regard to the percentage of trained teachers to the total number of teachers. In secondary schools the percentage for Madras was as high as 76.7 and for Bombay as low as 17.3.

In primary schools the percentage was highest in the United Provinces (64.4) and lowest in Bengal (24.8).

The scheme of training in the Vernacular Training Schools in the Punjab has undergone considerable revision and the Director of Public Instruction reports that "the most potent and healthy innovation has been the revision of the scheme of training whereby the activities of the students are no longer limited to class room routine and to the prescribed examination syllabus. Systematic efforts are now made to give a wider and more suitable training than can be imparted by means of a mere scheme of studies. Students are trained in all those movements which should lead to the uplift of village life and conditions." The work of the Mission Training School at Moga, the School of Rural Economy at Gurgaon and of the Government Training School at Gakhar has done much to serve as an example to the rest of the province and to other provinces of what can be done to accommodate the life and work of training schools to rural conditions and requirements. The "Refresher Courses" for teachers, which are held annually in a number of vernacular training schools, are another outstanding feature of the work of the Training Schools in the Punjab.

In Bengal the rates of stipends for students under training in Vernacular Training Schools were raised from Rs. 6 per mensem to Rs. 10 and the 79 stipends which had been held in abeyance owing to retrenchment were restored.

In Madras steps were taken to extend the scope of the Vocational classes attached to training schools and during the year under report 59 new schemes were sanctioned, including classes in wood work, weaving, dyeing, engraving, book binding, market gardening, tailoring and horticulture. The vocational training section of the Government Teachers' College, Saidapet, continued to be popular and 17 students were under training as Art and Craft Instructors.

(b) Other Professional and Technical Education.

The majority of the professional institutions, other than training colleges and training schools, are not under the control of the provincial educational departments and in consequence the statistics and information furnished in this report are not complete or comprehensive.

The following table indicates the number of institutions and scholars during the past two years:—

Institution.	1925.		1926.	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
Law Colleges and Schools	15	8,140	14	8,356
Medical Colleges and Schools	37	9,169	40	9,116
Engineering Colleges and Schools	18	3,275	16	3,432
Agricultural Colleges and Schools	21	1,088	20	1,094
Commercial Colleges and Schools	151	8,590	153	8,257
Forest Colleges	2	154	2	119
Veterinary Colleges	3	288	3	272
Technical and Industrial Schools	346	20,045	396	20,848
Schools of Art	10	1,847	10	1,870
Total	608	52,576	654	56,363

Law.—The number of students studying for law in Bengal continues to increase and in the year under review the number of students reading in the University Law College, Calcutta, and in the Law Departments of the Ripon College and the University of Dacca rose from 3,634 to 3,804.

In the United Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa there was also an increase in the number of students reading in Law Colleges, but in all other Provinces there was a fall in the number of Law students. The fact that in Madras the numbers fell by 30, in Bombay by 66, in the Punjab by 77, in Burma by 20 and in the Central Provinces by 21 would appear to indicate that the overcrowded state of the legal profession has at last begun to react on the strength of Law Colleges.

Medical.—A new Medical College was opened by the Bombay Municipality in June 1925 as the result of the gift of an endowment of Rs. 14.50 lakhs by the trustees of the estate of the late Seth Godhardas Sundar Das. The College, which has 46 students on its rolls, has been permanently affiliated to the Bombay University as a full grade Medical College teaching up to the M.B.B.S. Degree.

At Ludhiana, in the Punjab, extensive new buildings have been erected for the Women's Christian Medical College, including the

Sisters' house, the chemical pathological laboratory and a new block for the College laboratories.

In Bihar and Orissa higher medical education was provided for for the first time by the opening of the Prince of Wales Medical College at Patna in July 1925. The building of the College was made possible by a liberal donation of Rs. 5 lakhs from the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga and by other contributions amounting to Rs. 9 lakhs. The college teaches up to the final M.B.B.S. standard and is affiliated to the Patna University. The Rangoon University has adopted a scheme for the provision of medical courses leading to the M. B. B. S. Degree involving a capital cost of Rs. 17 lakhs on buildings and equipment and in this connection five additional professorships in Medicine, Surgery, Pathology, Gynaecology and Forensic Medicine were sanctioned during the year under review.

Engineering.—At the Government Engineering College, Poona, new buildings for the Physics and Electrical Engineering Departments have been erected and the construction of the workshop buildings has been commenced.

The Bihar College of Engineering presented its students for the University Examinations for the first time and secured very creditable results. The popularity of the College may be judged from the fact that in 1925 there were 167 applicants for 30 vacancies. A Professor of Civil Engineering has been added to the staff of the College.

Agriculture.—Of the two experimental agricultural middle schools managed by the Department of Agriculture in the Madras Presidency, the school at Taliparamba continued to show very satisfactory results, but the school at Anakapalle has not progressed and its strength is disappointingly low. A third school, of the same type, to be opened at Kalahasti was sanctioned during the year.

In Bengal a special committee, representing both educational and agricultural interests, was appointed by Government and sent to the Punjab to study the working of the agricultural middle schools in that province. The Committee has submitted a report to Government and its proposals are under consideration. The Agricultural College at Lyallpur in the Punjab continues to increase in popularity and during the year under review as many as 375 candidates applied for 74 vacancies. A special and interesting feature of the college is the Rural Economy Class which was attended by 14 officers from the Revenue, Co-operative and Irrigation Departments.

Commerce.—A new Government School of Commerce was opened in July 1925 at Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency. The school is intended to serve the needs of the northern districts and was started as the result of the orders passed by Government on the report of the Committee on Technical and Industrial Education.

The only important feature of the year at the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, was the introduction of the teaching of

Actuarial Science. A part-time professor, who has been especially trained in England, has been appointed to teach the subject.

In connection with the improvement of secondary commercial education, the Government of Bombay have appointed the Principal of the Sydenham College as Inspector of Commercial Schools and have instituted a special clerical and commercial examination. The optional subjects for this examination include shorthand, type-writing, office management, accountancy, administration of Government with local bodies and Indian banking. During the year the Government of the Punjab appointed a committee to investigate the problem of clerical and commercial education. The more important recommendations of the committee included proposals for closing the pre-matriculation classes in clerical subjects, the opening of post-matriculation classes and the institution of a College of Commerce.

VIII. EDUCATION OF SPECIAL CLASSES AND COMMUNITIES.

(i) *European Education.*

The total number of institutions for Europeans increased by 19; the total number of scholars reading in them by 2,660 and the total expenditure on European schools by Rs. 4.53 lakhs. The figures given in table VII for the number of scholars in European schools include Indians reading in European schools. In the year under review the actual number of European scholars in European schools was 42,773 and the number of Indians reading in European schools was 8,800. The total number of Europeans reading in all classes of institutions was 46,962, of whom 4,189 were reading in Indian schools.

The number of Indians reading in European schools has increased every year during the past few years and in Burma 36 per cent. of the total enrolment of European schools, in 1925-26, consisted of non-Europeans.

The total number of teachers in European schools increased from 3,293 to 3,387 and the percentage of trained teachers to the total number of teachers increased from 59 per cent. to 61 per cent. Though the number of trained teachers in European schools is fairly high, the number of trained graduates is very small. In Madras, which has the largest number of European schools, out of a total of 685 teachers only 26 were trained graduates. In April 1925 grant-in-aid for medical inspection was reintroduced in Madras and in the same month the Government Provident Fund scheme was extended to teachers in European schools. The Government of Madras also approved of the introduction of European school-leaving certificates as from the 1st of January 1926. In Bengal a special conference of the authorities of European Secondary Schools was held in February 1926. The recommendations made by the Conference included suggestions for the division of schools into those which prepared exclusively for the Cambridge Examinations and

those which prepared for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations of the University and proposals for a more extensive scholarship system in order to attract more Europeans and Anglo-Indians to the higher courses of the University. An important step forward was taken in the Punjab by the opening of Intermediate classes at the Lawrence School, Ghoragali. The Director is very optimistic in regard to the future value of the new Intermediate College, which has been affiliated to the Punjab University, and writes that "with the passing of the Intermediate examination, these boys and girls will have been brought to the very doors of the Professional and Arts Colleges, and therefore the number of graduates should be much greater in the future than it has been in the past. The main problem of European education in India is to equip members of the community for professional work and it may well be that this problem will have been solved by the institution of the Lawrence College at Ghoragali." The Director can here be referring to only those members of the Community who are, by ability and character, able to take up this class of work. In the Central Provinces a revised system of grant-in-aid for European schools was introduced. The effect of the revision has been to place European schools on the same basis as Indian schools. Grants for European schools were formerly assessed at one-half of the approved expenditure but they are now assessed at one-third of the approved expenditure. As a result of the revision the amount of maintenance grants decreased from Rs. 1.00 lakhs to Rs. 0.73 lakhs.

(ii) *Muhammadian Education.*

There has been a rapid expansion of Muhammadian Education in recent years and the following table shows the progress that has been made between the years 1924-25 and 1925-26:—

Type of Institution.	Number of Muhammadian scholars.	
	1925.	1926.
Arts Colleges	7,369	8,260
Professional Colleges	2,081	2,281
Secondary and primary schools	2,097,829	2,263,948
Special schools	108,461	122,043
Unrecognised institutions	203,801	230,947
TOTAL	2,419,641	2,617,588
Percentage to population	4.1	4.4

With the exception of the provinces of Bombay, Bengal and Assam it is only in the sphere of higher education that the Muhammadian community is backward. In Madras, the United Provinces, Burma, Bihar and Orissa and in the Central Provinces the percentage of Muhammadian pupils under instruction, both for boys and for girls, is higher than the percentage for all communities taken

together and in the Punjab Mohammedan boys are on a level with the male scholars of all communities. In Bombay, Bengal and Assam the percentage of Mohammedan pupils under instruction is lower than the percentage for all communities together. The increase recorded in the number of Mohammedans reading in Arts and Professional Colleges is particularly satisfactory and in view of similar increases in previous year there is reason to believe that the old prejudice against higher and secular education is rapidly dying out. It may be noted in this connection that while the percentages of increase of all classes of scholars in Arts and Professional Colleges during 1925-26 were 8 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively, the corresponding percentages of increase for Mohammedan scholars were 14 per cent. and 8 per cent.

In Madras the Government has paid special attention to the improvement of Mappilla education and in March 1926 a special Assistant to the District Educational Officer, Malabar, was appointed to deal especially with problems connected with the education of Mappillas. The Officer appointed to the new post was himself a Mappilla, trained in England. The buildings of the Islamia College, Calcutta, were completed during the year and the College now has accommodation for 400 students. In Bombay the Government have endeavoured to encourage the higher education of Muhammadans by the provision of large numbers of special scholarships in secondary schools and during the year under report the operation of the scheme of special scholarships was accelerated so as to provide, within the next four years, a total of 1,337 scholarships for Muhammadans in secondary schools. In addition to these scholarships as many as 138 scholarships are reserved for Muhammadans reading in Arts Colleges. In the Punjab the Muhammadan community has made rapid progress in education in recent years and of the total increase in the number of pupils under instruction in the Punjab during 1925-26 60,000 or 46.9 per cent. were claimed by Muhammadans.

(iii) Depressed Classes.

Owing to differences in the manner of classification in the provinces it is difficult to give accurate figures for the total number of depressed classes under instruction. The majority of the provincial reports, however, now classify "untouchables" or outcast Hindus separately from Aborigines, Hill tribes and other backward classes. Leaving aside Burma, where there are no untouchables, and Assam in which province it is impossible to distinguish between the large numbers of Aborigines and Hill Tribes and the actual untouchables, the total number of depressed class pupils reading in all classes of institutions in the remaining seven provinces was approximately 667,000. The percentage of depressed class pupils under instruction to the total depressed class population of these provinces was 2.3 as against the all-India figure for all communities of 4.0. The number of depressed class pupils has shown a satisfactory increase, but much leeway has still to be made up and in all provinces,

except Bengal, the number of scholars reading at the secondary and University stages is depressingly small. In Madras there were 23 scholars reading in Arts and Professional Colleges; in Bombay 14; in the United Provinces 11; in the Central Provinces 8; in Bihar and Orissa one, and in the Punjab *nil*. One satisfactory feature of the reports from the provinces is the increase in the number of depressed class pupils reading in ordinary schools and in the number of caste pupils reading in the special schools mainly intended for the depressed classes. In the Punjab as many as 15,899 pupils, out of a total of 19,049, were reading in ordinary schools and in Madras out of a total of 262,716 pupils reading in schools especially intended for the depressed classes nearly 70,000 were caste pupils.

The Government of Madras has continued to insist on all publicly managed schools being located in quarters accessible to the depressed classes and during the year 210 schools situated in inaccessible quarters were removed to accessible centres. In consequence of the policy adopted 83 per cent. of the schools under the management of Municipalities and Taluk boards are now in quarters accessible to the depressed classes.

In Bombay there was an increase of nearly 6,000 depressed class pupils under instruction and the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, reports that "the prejudice against the depressed class children is lessening. In the Deccan there is little doubt that these communities are sharing in the general awakening of the backward classes. There are fewer signs of any such awakening in Gujrat." The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces also reports that caste prejudice is breaking down and states that "there is now no strong opposition to these boys reading in the ordinary board schools and the number of such boys is increasing. Still stronger evidence of the breaking down of caste prejudice is to be found in one Inspector's report that high caste boys were found to be reading in a number of schools for the depressed classes."

(iv) *Education of Defectives.*

The following table shows the number of schools for defective children and the number of scholars reading in them:—

Province.	FOR THE BLIND.		FOR THE DEAF.	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
Madras	2	33	2	135
Bombay	3	115	2	125
Bengal	1	45	2	170
Punjab	1	24	..	..
Bihar and Orissa	2	60	..	..
Central Provinces	..	..	1	15
Burma	3	44	1	20
Total	18	376	15	474

IX. MISCELLANEOUS.

Hostels.—There has been a satisfactory increase in the number of scholars resident in approved hostels. The following tables show the number of scholars residing in hostels during the years 1924-25 and 1925-26:—

Province.	No. of scholars in recognised institutions residing in approved hostels.	
	1925.	1926.
Madras	34,588	34,940
Bombay	12,337	12,343
Bengal	31,165	30,208
United Provinces	40,085	40,898
Punjab	37,316	38,459
Bihar	15,906	23,512
Bihar and Orissa	19,434	22,771
Central Provinces	7,176	7,710
Assam	4,163	4,166
North-West Frontier Province	2,056	2,006
Coorg	278	295
Chhota Nagpur	1,269	1,574
Ajmer-Merwara	870	801
Baluchistan	181	224
Bengalure	1,150	1,068
TOTAL	207,974	220,974*

Excluding 2,008 scholars in Minor Administered Areas.

General Summary of Educational Institutions and Scholars.

Area in square miles	3,091,454	Population—	PERCENTAGE OF SCHOLARS TO TOTAL POPULATION.						
			Males	Females	Recognised Institutions.		All Institutions.		
					1928	1925	1928	1925	
			Males	Females	TOTAL				
			127,044,958	120,283,470	247,328,428	0.51	0.66	0.93	0.47
						1.35	1.24	1.42	1.31
						4.00	3.72	4.25	3.97

	INSTITUTIONS.			SCHOLARS.			Percentage of scholars in each class of institutions.
	1928	1925	Increase or decrease.	1928	1925	Increase or decrease.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS:							
<i>For Males.</i>							
Universities	13	13		6,623	6,799	-176	0.08
Arts Colleges	106	103	+3	62,357	57,686	+4,671	0.71
Professional Colleges	68	65	+3	17,197	16,709	+488	0.19
High Schools	2,306	2,432	+114	714,655	671,543	+43,112	8.69
Middle Schools	7,471	6,832	+639	866,437	752,292	+116,235	9.83
Primary Schools	157,350	156,427	+923	6,884,786	6,457,591	+427,195	77.95
Special Schools	8,506	7,411	+1,075	278,544	244,642	+33,882	3.15
TOTALS	176,000	167,773	+8,227	8,832,599	8,207,142	+625,457	100
<i>For Females.</i>							
Arts Colleges	19	18	+1	2,294	1,214	+1,080	0.12
Professional Colleges	7	7		181	173	+8	0.02
High Schools	238	203	+2	46,982	44,051	+2,931	4.43
Middle Schools	732	708	+29	86,173	79,806	+6,367	6.12
Primary Schools	23,814	24,701	+1,088	914,290	856,020	+58,270	69.24
Special Schools	800	308	+492	11,347	21,331	-10,000	1.07
TOTALS	27,110	25,974	+1,136	1,080,100	994,594	+85,506	100
UNRECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS:							
<i>For Males</i>	32,030	32,057	-27	564,479	567,022	-2,543	
<i>For Females</i>	2,896	2,574	+322	57,159	55,514	+1,645	
TOTALS	34,726	34,631	+95	621,638	622,536	-898	
GRAND TOTALS	207,826	202,404	+5,422	10,514,321	9,814,272	+700,049	

Excludes hours of the Administered area of "Mount Abu."

General Summary of Expenditure on Education.

	TOTAL EXPENDITURE.			PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE FROM				COST PER SCHOLAR TO				Total cost per scholar.
	1920	1925*	Increase or decrease.	Govt. funds.	Board funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	Govt. funds.	Board funds.	Fees.	Other Sources.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		12
Direction and Inspection.	Rs. 95,66,136	Rs. 94,70,688	+ 95,448	07.2	2.8	..	..	Rs. A. P. ..	Rs. A. P. ..	Rs. A. P. ..	Rs. A. P. ..	Rs. A. P. ..
Universities	95,40,609	84,14,951	+ 11,25,658	48.8	..	41.3	0.9	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous*	4,70,51,738	3,06,42,970	+ 74,18,768	41.5	15.7	13.9	28.9	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	6,61,68,483	5,75,26,609	+ 86,39,874	50.6	11.6	15.9	21.9	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Institutions for Males.</i>												
Arts Colleges	1,14,57,107	1,06,90,556	+ 7,66,551	41.1	0.5	44.0	14.4	78 9 0	1 0 0	83 15 5	27 7 8	191 0 1
Professional Colleges	67,69,834	62,27,877	+ 5,41,461	74.0	1.4	19.8	4.8	285 0 0	5 8 6	70 7 7	18 11 3	385 15 4
High Schools	3,76,97,189	3,49,10,185	+ 27,87,004	31.9	2.7	50.2	15.2	16 1 5	1 5 8	25 5 4	7 16 7	50 7 0
Middle Schools	1,70,88,496	1,57,05,840	+ 12,82,656	36.4	22.2	27.6	43.8	7 2 8	4 5 9	5 7 1	2 11 4	19 10 10
Primary Schools	5,43,21,644	5,10,52,018	+ 32,69,626	52.7	26.6	9.2	9.5	4 2 6	2 4 0	0 11 8	0 12 1	7 14 8
Special Schools	1,39,52,087	1,28,51,335	+ 11,00,752	68.0	4.4	8.6	19.0	74 1 0	2 3 5	4 4 9	9 8 3	50 1 5
TOTALS	11,12,85,861	13,15,37,900	+ 27,48,052	46.9	14.9	25.6	12.6	7 8 0	2 6 1	4 1 0	2 0 4	15 15 11
<i>Institutions for Females</i>												
Arts Colleges	5,30,069	4,75,428	+ 54,631	54.3	1.0	13.7	31.0	277 3 1	4 12 10	69 14 3	158 5 8	510 8 10
Professional Colleges	2,24,994	2,88,413	- 63,419	89.4	..	2.3	2.3	1,111 5 8	..	28 7 0	103 4 4	1,243 1 0
High Schools	51,85,387	51,80,908	+ 4,479	43.3	1.3	31.0	23.6	46 14 0	1 7 1	34 8 10	25 6 0	108 4 5
Middle Schools	81,39,500	80,20,762	+ 1,18,738	38.3	11.3	16.2	33.7	13 15 9	4 4 11	5 14 5	12 4 6	36 7 7
Primary Schools	92,36,654	87,01,831	+ 5,34,823	41.9	37.3	3.4	17.2	4 3 9	3 12 4	0 5 9	1 11 10	10 1 8
Special Schools	20,21,584	19,68,512	+ 53,072	65.5	1.8	4.3	28.4	116 10 1	3 4 1	7 10 2	50 10 3	178 2 7
TOTALS	2,08,88,188	1,96,35,804	+ 7,02,384	45.9	19.3	12.9	22.8	8 10 1	3 11 3	2 7 10	4 5 10	19 3 0
GRAND TOTALS	12,77,92,332	20,87,02,222	+ 1,90,00,316	47.8	14.3	21.6	16.2	10 5 3	3 1 8	4 11 0	3 8 4	21 10 3

N.B. — For explanation of certain terms used in the tables please see overleaf.
 * Includes expenditure on buildings.
 * † Excludes figures of the Administered Areas of "Hyderabad and Mount Abu."

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *School Year.*—In these tables the school year is assumed to coincide with the financial year, i. e., to extend from April 1st of one year to March 31st of the next, though in actual practice some institutions, e. g., European schools, may close in December and others, e. g., colleges, in May.

2. *Recognised Institutions* are those in which the course of study followed is that which is proscribed or recognised by the Department of Public Instruction or by a University or a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education constituted by law and which satisfy one or more of these authorities, as the case may be, that they attain to a reasonable standard of efficiency. They are open to inspection and their pupils are ordinarily eligible for admission to public examinations and tests held by the Department or the University or the Board.

3. *Unrecognised Institutions* are those which do not come under the above definition of recognised institutions. They are for the most part indigenous institutions for education of a religious character.

4. *Other sources* include income from endowments, subscriptions, contributions, etc.

5. *Classification.*—In tables IV-A and IV-B, Class I represents the lowest class in the school, whether called infant class, sub-standard A or Class I. Where the number of school classes exceeds 10, the additional classes should be entered in the spaces left blank below X and numbered for the purposes of this table XI and XII.

6. *Intermediate colleges and examinations.*—An “Intermediate college” means an institution preparing students for admission to the degree courses of a University or for entrance into vocational colleges. The Intermediate examination means an examination qualifying for admission to a course of studies for a degree.

7. *European scholars* are included in the general summary and General Tables II-A and B, IV-A and B, V-A and B and VIII.

I.—Classification of Educational Institutions.

	FOR MALES.					FOR FEMALES.						
	Government.	District Board.	Municipal Board.	Aided.	Un-aided.	Total.	Government.	District Board.	Municipal Board.	Aided.	Un-aided.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.												
Universities	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colleges —												
Arts and Science*	22	1	..	73	17	120	3	..	..	7	1	11
Law	4	..	..	3	5	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine	7	..	1	1	..	9	..	..	..	1	..	2
Education	14	..	..	1	..	15	2	..	..	3	1	6
Engineering	6	..	..	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commerce	2	..	..	12	1	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary Science	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Intermediate and 2nd Grade Colleges.	20	..	1	43	12	76	2	..	..	6	..	8
TOTALS.	92	1	3	147	35	277	7	..	..	17	2	19
High Schools	298	113	86	1,329	470	2,396	30	2	2	198	6	238
Middle (English)	101	228	137	1,070	684	3,070	21	..	9	235	10	275
Schools (Vernacular)	54	2,955	76	1,292	24	4,401	77	17	63	295	5	457
Primary Schools	2,016	50,262	3,631	88,366	12,255	157,950	343	4,197	1,368	16,580	3,226	25,814
TOTALS.	2,499	53,558	4,750	92,947	14,083	142,217	471	4,216	1,442	17,308	3,247	26,784
Special Schools —												
Art	6	..	..	3	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Law	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical	19	..	..	2	5	26	2	..	..	2	..	..
Normal and Training.	346	20	18	90	4	539	51	3	5	98	3	160
Engineering	8	..	..	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial.	94	24	7	169	25	319	1	..	..	70	6	77
Commercial	7	..	..	28	98	133	..	..	..	6	..	..
Agricultural	10	..	1	2	..	13	..	..	..	1	..	..
Reformatory	7	..	..	2	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Schools for Defectives.	1	..	..	22	..	23	..	..	..	4	..	..
Schools for Adults	15	2,591	121	1,531	610	4,871	..	1	..	13	1	15
Other Schools	87	24	64	1,907	491	2,553	2	1	..	39	2	43
TOTALS.	575	2,729	211	3,766	1,235	5,006	56	5	5	222	12	230
TOTALS FOR RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	3,166	56,287	4,961	96,713	15,318	176,000	534	4,221	1,447	17,547	3,259	27,114
UNRECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	..	21	17	89	31,908	32,030	..	2	..	25	2,600	2,625
GRAND TOTALS, ALL INSTITUTIONS.	3,166	56,308	4,978	96,802	47,226	208,030	534	4,223	1,447	17,572	6,060	29,739

* Includes 2 Oriental Colleges.

II-A.—Distribution of Scholars attending

	GOVERNMENT.			DISTRICT BOARD.			MUNICIPAL BOARD.		
	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
READING—									
IN RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.									
UNIVERSITY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (a).									
Arts and Science (b) & (c)	15,061	12,914	4,994	73	70	69	87	84	10
Law (d)	1,876	1,614	78	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine	2,729	2,375	676	..	..	..	46	49	..
Education	951	903	786	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering	1,326	1,162	962	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	641	577	572	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commerce	253	218	93	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry	198	106	53	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary Science	272	251	246	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	23,346	2,110	8,323	73	70	69	133	124	410
SCHOOL AND SPECIAL EDUCATION.									
In High Schools	191,420	90,477	13,771	33,169	29,848	1,645	22,317	21,532	900
.. Middle (English)	15,656	14,311	1,157	32,629	27,356	1,674	21,653	18,485	928
.. Schools (Vernacular)	6,287	5,099	942	410,305	311,067	24,628	12,390	10,289	445
.. Primary Schools	35,541	66,524	175	2,849,446	2,078,707	1,608	439,683	329,225	2
TOTALS	208,904	176,411	15,976	3,325,559	2,441,978	29,755	502,548	383,531	2,965
In Art Schools	1,637	1,494	140	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Law	164	133	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Medical Schools	4,326	4,076	1,211	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Normal and Training Schools	16,834	14,710	20,346	837	798	603	300	199	147
.. Engineering Schools	1,200	1,139	815	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Technical and Industrial Schools	6,307	4,992	845	907	707	87	742	608	..
.. Commercial Schools	590	550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Agricultural	307	280	159	..	..	..	85	33	..
.. Reformatory	1,174	1,095	1,174	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Schools for Defectives	24	21	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Schools for Adults	3,547	1,730	..	62,408	47,613	..	2,599	2,397	..
.. Other Schools	4,645	8,820	757	1,089	889	124	2,123	1,596	25
TOTALS	40,305	34,072	15,460	65,191	49,957	814	6,669	4,826	169
TOTALS FOR RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	272,555	230,483	39,764	3,390,823	2,492,006	30,638	509,217	388,357	2,544
IN UNRECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	..	..	..	1,193	389	..	952	616	..
GRAND TOTALS.	272,555	230,598	39,764	3,392,016	2,492,394	30,638	510,327	389,199	2,544
ALL INSTITUTIONS.									

(a) Scholars reading more than one of the following subjects should be entered under only one head.

(b) Includes 710 scholars also reading Law.

(c) Includes 767 scholars in Oriental Colleges and 297 scholars of Oriental Departments in Lucknow and Benares Universities.

(d) Includes 111 scholars reading M. A. or M. Sc. in Bihar and Orissa.

Educational Institutions for Males...

AIDED.			UNAIDED.			Grand total of scholars on rolls.	Grand total of average attendance.	Grand total of residents in approved hostels.	Number of females included in column 18.
Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.				
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
39,284	34,190	14,699	14,093	4,820	3,201	66,638	51,547	22,283	450
4,418	4,247	1,689	1,503	1,492	494	8,181	7,353	1,606	8
907	832	446	..	..	..	3,633	3,298	1,118	121
148	130	81	..	..	..	1,099	1,033	817	14
702	684	590	..	..	..	3,028	1,816	1,552	..
1,117	950	595	187	181	..	641	577	572	..
11	11	5	..	..	..	1,507	1,289	456	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	119	117	55	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	272	251	246	..
46,392	41,034	16,606	16,033	5,943	3,695	86,177	67,281	28,708	793
415,577	355,720	39,144	135,672	104,887	6,672	714,655	605,943	62,062	9,154
202,331	163,449	11,580	53,237	40,705	1,116	325,517	264,308	16,525	5,773
112,452	110,257	8,298	1,486	1,174	80	542,920	437,986	35,414	40,195
3,157,184	2,536,420	10,868	352,932	275,684	78	6,684,766	5,283,560	12,931	563,567
2,987,495	2,187,955	76,890	513,277	421,920	7,916	8,467,878	6,591,795	128,932	808,707
151	104	..	32	19	..	1,870	1,619	141	29
115	97	..	62	63	242	164	133	..	119
3,407	3,207	2,149	75	78	73	5,103	4,676	1,453	269
8,993	7,235	3,494	304	190	..	1,404	1,329	815	..
2,182	1,701	38	656	551	20	17,635	14,128	3,446	169
71	60	23	8,711	2,324	8	6,484	4,775	46	313
410	384	410	..	..	..	413	353	161	..
6-8	534	3-9	..	..	..	1,564	1,479	1,684	..
88,999	30,612	29	13,159	10,573	..	707	553	-12	171
72,071	58,567	1,483	20,767	15,536	848	121,712	92,075	29	374
..	..	..	..	..	..	100,645	80,378	3,234	1,411
127,083	102,351	7,029	39,266	29,969	1,186	278,544	221,397	21,666	2,546
4,061,170	3,311,540	94,525	593,676	467,752	12,827	6,832,599	6,380,473	183,298	612,546
5,025	4,064	..	557,809	352,000	959	564,479	357,109	959	31,42
4,066,195	3,315,604	94,525	1,155,985	809,832	13,786	9,397,076	7,237,582	181,267	644,283

I.R.B.—Distribution of Scholars attending

	GOVERNMENT.			DISTRICT BOARD.			MUNICIPAL BOARD.		
	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
READING—									
(IN RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.)									
UNIVERSITY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (a).									
Arts and Science (b)	418	388	208	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Education	49	45	45	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	462	478	248	..	..	..	..	..	..
SCHOOL AND SPECIAL EDUCATION.									
In High Schools	6,923	5,461	917	244	275	..	354	325	..
.. Middle Schools. { English	2,604	1,983	101	..	..	..	378	379	..
.. Vernacular	9,384	6,541	101	1,378	843	85	7,735	6,099	31
.. Primary Schools	21,313	14,590	6	191,885	137,413	786	121,540	86,033	..
TOTALS	40,154	28,633	1,125	195,312	138,557	841	133,567	91,136	31
In Medical Schools	124	116	102	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Normal and Training Schools.	1,872	1,711	1,034	66	53	62	36	35	25
.. Technical and Industrial Schools.	12	13	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Commercial Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Agricultural Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. Schools for Adults . . . . .	..	..	..	20	17	..	..	..	..
.. Other Schools	60	51	..	41	28	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	2,068	1,890	1,117	127	101	62	36	35	25
TOTALS FOR RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	42,684	30,823	2,490	195,439	138,658	903	133,603	91,171	56
IN UNRECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS.	..	..	..	74	65	..	..	..	..
GRAND TOTALS, ALL INSTITUTIONS.	42,684	30,823	2,490	195,513	138,723	903	133,603	91,171	56

(a) Scholars reading more than one of the following subjects should be entered under only one head.

(b) Includes not scholars in Oriental Colleges.

III-B.—Expenditure on Education for Females.

Expenditure on buildings includes Rs. 2,32,322 spent by the Public Works Department on educational buildings.
 "Miscellaneous" includes the following main items:—

Scholarships, hostel charges and other contingent charges

	GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.						DISTRICT BOARD AND MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS.					
	Government funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.	Government funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
UNIVERSITY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Arts Colleges	1,93,222	..	..	26,000	667	2,19,889	..	..	..	..	..	..
Professional Colleges— Medicine	45,386	..	..	400	..	45,786	..	..	..	..	..	..
Education	21,271	..	..	1,850	..	22,780	..	..	..	..	..	..
Intermediate Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	2,59,879	..	..	27,950	667	2,88,455	..	..	..	..	..	..
SCHOOL EDUCATION.												
<i>General.</i>												
High Schools	631,610	..	..	1,02,926	3,021	1,67,057	6,926	12,421	20,627	1,149	1,912	46,982
Middle Schools—												
English	1,94,197	..	..	16,477	1,322	2,10,996	12,471	..	20,089	4,220	414	47,194
Vernacular	1,78,162	..	..	1,707	..	1,79,869	45,659	10,250	1,41,815	2,751	806	2,00,281
Primary Schools	3,47,814	240	..	1,071	81	3,49,796	22,85,779	9,17,754	17,18,257	18,466	15,879	49,57,129
TOTALS	13,51,173	240	..	1,80,974	4,424	14,76,518	23,51,001	9,46,445	19,06,638	23,018	18,511	52,51,913
<i>Special.</i>												
Medical Schools	78,825	..	..	..	440	77,265	..	..	..	..	..	..
Normal and Training Schools	99,80,153	1,811	1,336	827	2,568	6,60,995	3,357	12,998	131	2	1,448	17,936
Technical and Industrial Schools	3,256	..	..	..	..	3,256	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Schools for Adults	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools	15,334	..	..	..	..	15,334	..	..	..	..	438	75,443
TOTALS	7,55,570	1,811	1,336	827	3,008	7,62,552	3,357	12,998	131	2	1,886	18,422
GRAND TOTALS FOR FEMALES.	23,06,922	1,951	1,336	1,49,117	8,099	23,27,525	23,55,358	9,652,443	19,20,369	23,620	20,397	58,70,365
GRAND TOTALS FOR MALES.	2,38,29,131	95,596	63,246	37,78,199	6,50,888	3,94,26,060	2,74,14,745	87,77,913	56,29,269	39,43,304	5,18,575	4,68,79,403
GRAND TOTALS FOR BOTH SEXES.	26,45,213	1,047	76,582	38,27,316	14,607	27,21,785	26,30,106	97,42,361	75,49,638	43,050	25,873	65,39,768

AIRED INSTITUTIONS.

PROFESSIONAL UNAIRED INSTITUTIONS.

	Government funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.	Fees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
UNIVERSITY AND INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION.									
Arts Colleges	68,201	..	..	44,923	2,59,027	2,48,053	4,200	6,530	10,530
Professional Colleges	1,24,190	..	..	..	..	1,24,190	..	..	..
Medicine	30,679	..	..	4,747	18,603	54,018	..	..	..
Education	55,917	..	8,918	8,323	59,807	1,81,959	..	..	..
TOTALS	2,80,987	..	8,918	53,993	2,08,437	6,84,490	4,200	6,530	10,830
SCHOOL EDUCATION.									
<i>General.</i>									
High Schools	15,88,976	7,722	37,247	17,86,922	11,52,819	42,30,684	29,865	25,085	64,900
Middle Schools	8,21,708	10,114	25,487	4,87,410	2,44,444	13,49,133	4,200	30,000	34,200
English	1,01,000	89,081	1,12,281	21,287	2,74,818	8,91,137	..	8,000	8,911
Primary Schools	12,40,793	8,97,381	2,72,437	3,68,473	14,48,847	37,57,519	12,976	1,24,703	1,48,279
TOTALS	35,77,936	5,08,788	4,87,432	22,58,701	23,19,984	1,04,87,494	50,099	1,07,098	2,47,194
<i>Special.</i>									
Medical Schools	50,823	2,320	695	12,571	81,816	97,429	..	..	..
Normal and Training Schools.	4,01,752	56	8,235	30,591	2,93,895	6,76,425	304	5,051	5,355
Technical and Industrial Schools	60,072	8,778	490	6,804	1,58,281	2,59,905	24	10,237	10,261
Commercial Schools	8,871	..	..	16,810	1,076	26,757	..	..	..
Agricultural Schools	380	..	..	..	540	1,200	..	..	..
Schools for Adults	14,393	21	1,862	4,725	25,339	46,760	614	481	1,095
Other Schools	28,159	1,369	3,170	13,349	69,320	1,16,007	..	815	815
TOTALS	5,61,445	7,445	12,292	64,750	4,52,554	12,72,384	1,033	17,179	18,202
GRAND TOTALS FOR FEMALES.	41,28,805	6,01,000	4,54,065	24,08,448	48,80,954	1,28,81,095	55,811	2,20,795	2,86,606
GRAND TOTALS FOR MALES.	2,06,24,889	58,96,894	18,70,643	2,47,71,969	1,42,86,617	6,64,96,391	54,27,895	28,84,898	83,12,793
GRAND TOTALS FOR ALL.	2,50,47,895	64,98,894	23,24,708	2,71,74,418	1,91,67,571	7,93,77,486	54,48,490	30,57,417	87,00,589

III-B.—Expenditure on Education for Females—*concl.*

	TOTAL EXPENDITURE FROM					
	Government funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	GRAND TOTALS.
	22	23	24	25	26	27
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Inspection	7,04,245	7,002	8,026			7,19,273
Buildings, etc.	11,74,084	79,707	61,499	1,28,216	12,92,222	27,45,688
Miscellaneous	10,29,934	69,797	56,968	17,30,732	17,52,611	46,11,769
TOTALS	29,08,363	1,44,476	1,29,193	18,58,948	30,34,843	80,76,823
UNIVERSITY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION.						
Arts Colleges	2,62,423	..	..	75,285	1,35,124	4,73,752
Professional Colleges—						
Medicine	1,25,190	..	..			1,25,190
Education	78,993	..	..	5,147	23,092	99,904
Intermediate Colleges	78,128	..	5,912	10,832	52,807	1,54,789
TOTALS	5,44,734	..	5,912	91,264	2,12,023	8,53,483
SCHOOL EDUCATION.						
<i>General.</i>						
High Schools	22,02,370	19,492	48,074	10,23,901	21,93,648	50,86,965
Middle Schools—						
English	8,23,366	10,114	51,498	4,79,150	7,76,478	21,45,599
Vernacular	2,75,483	55,331	2,53,546	28,787	2,80,784	9,98,901
Primary Schools	38,74,482	14,55,318	19,90,754	3,26,984	15,89,109	68,56,654
TOTALS	71,80,710	15,40,123	23,43,870	24,56,102	38,40,014	1,74,63,119
<i>Special.</i>						
Medical Schools	1,27,434	2,319	665	12,571	32,254	1,75,191
Normal and Training Schools	10,65,266	14,845	14,802	31,614	2,44,578	12,66,507
Technical and Industrial Schools	63,331	8,778	400	6,829	1,99,118	2,73,455
Commercial Schools	8,871	..	..	16,819	1,076	25,757
Agricultural Schools	300	..	..		840	1,200
Schools for Adults	14,693	214	1,832	5,330	25,970	47,877
Other Schools	43,493	1,200	2,170	12,268	70,482	1,90,694
TOTALS	18,23,442	21,554	15,259	66,611	5,74,618	20,21,584
GRAND TOTALS FOR FEMALES	1,20,55,361	17,06,553	24,94,234	44,94,345	76,64,998	3,84,15,011
GRAND TOTALS FOR MALES	9,68,02,504	1,81,98,676	1,02,44,093	4,47,71,007	2,98,65,371	19,98,77,521
GRAND TOTALS FOR ALL	10,88,57,785	1,99,06,329	1,27,38,297	4,92,66,752	3,76,29,469	22,77,92,532

IV-B.—Race or Creed of Scholars in Institutions for the General Education of Females

Race or Creed.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus.	Muslimans.	Buddhists.	Parsees.	Sikhs.	Others.	Total.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
TOTAL POPULATION *	96,171	1,374,420	90,287,707	24,346,886	5,624,068	42,881	1,030,895	3,123,710	120,197,9	
School Education.										
	<i>Classes.</i>									
Primary	I	7,594	26,412	394,074	226,494	25,640	1,398	6,841	2,181	663,988
	II	2,167	11,644	96,847	36,690	14,273	907	1,954	628	165,120
	III	2,631	8,474	61,497	16,487	3,096	942	1,597	433	94,377
	IV	2,292	7,031	34,670	5,721	3,782	833	1,065	400	55,729
• Middle	V	1,985	5,454	18,320	2,776	943	571	718	234	30,660
	VI	1,746	2,863	8,018	869	623	496	207	168	15,672
	VII	1,471	2,861	4,250	477	423	486	108	191	10,117
• High	VIII	1,087	1,863	1,844	173	63	386	57	57	5,670
	IX	523	800	948	68	74	200	89	30	2,832
	X	534	548	717	47	52	137	18	23	2,068
	..	193	377	563	5	2	33	1	12	1,187
	..	4	45	142	4	..	55	..	6	154
TOTALS		23,177	69,261	590,905	298,754	48,880	6,542	12,583	5,672	(a) 1,047,787
University and Intermediate Education.										
Intermediate classes	1st year	31	124	149	14	..	3	8	1	
	2nd year	29	97	103	5	..	2	3	1	
Degree classes	3rd year	11	65	57	4	..	..	5	..	
	4th year	14	58	59	3	..	..	1	..	
	5th year	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Post-graduate classes	6th year	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
	7th year	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Research Students		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS		85	339	376	26	..	..	12	2	(b)
No. of scholars in recognized institutions		23,262	69,500	591,273	299,780	48,880	6,547	12,575	5,674	1,048,837
No. of scholars in unrecognized institutions.		..	1,084	14,908	38,227	1,778	23	1,484	176	57,506
GRAND TOTALS		23,262	70,584	605,586	328,007	50,658	6,580	14,059	5,850	1,106,343

* Vide footnote on previous page.

(a) Includes 16 female scholars (excluded from table IV-A) reading in Institutions for males.

(b) Excludes 71,23 and 295 scholars reading in school stages in colleges in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bangalore res.

V.A.—Race or Creed of Scholars in Institutions for the Vocational and Special Education of Males.

	Euro- peans and Anglo- In- dians.	Indian Chris- tians.	HIN- DUS.	Mu- ham- mads.	Bou- ddhas.	Par- sIs.	Sikhs.	Others.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Schools.									
Art Schools	10	124	1,224	235	1	20	9	22	1,621
Law Schools . . . . .	..	..	143	21	..	..	..	..	164
Medical Schools	40	410	2,540	878	61	3	126	8	4,059
Normal and Training Schools	3	2,206	12,120	2,704	1,172	..	269	122	20,596
Engineering and Surveying Schools	50	54	1,284	100	70	..	61	23	1,622
Technical and Industrial Schools	488	2,504	9,780	4,000	100	122	272	150	17,316
Commercial Schools	410	431	4,242	442	422	222	20	45	5,784
Agricultural Schools	3	90	217	22	..	..	..	..	332
Reformatory Schools	5	52	226	526	67	..	2	8	1,480
Schools for Defectives	10	229	220	61	15	7	2	2	567
Schools for Adults . . . . .	..	976	27,242	56,074	262	2	6,006	449	121,711
Other Schools	70	227	24,222	54,225	10,222	112	10	27	100,222
TOTALS	1,124	7,553	126,612	121,025	12,172	602	7,422	620	272,222
Colleges.									
Law	11	24	6,727	1,144	21	20	72	22	2,222
Medicine	22	202	2,722	222	22	222	122	2	2,222
Education	22	62	724	222	2	2	22	2	(2)1,222
Engineering	107	41	1,222	122	12	22	127	2	2,222
Agriculture	2	24	222	27	22	12	72	22	222
Commerce	11	22	1,212	72	2	70	2	..	1,222
Forestry	6	7	22	17	2	..	2	..	222
Terrestrial Science	1	12	124	22	..	..	12	..	222
TOTALS	219	472	1,722	2,222	122	222	422	22	27,222
GRAND TOTALS	1,343	8,025	128,334	123,247	12,294	824	7,844	642	300,222

(2) 22 scholars of one Oriental College in Assam which have been shown against "Arts and Science" in the A. and S. column and "Education" in this table.

VI.—Teachers (Men and Women).

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	TRAINED TEACHERS WITH THE FOLLOWING EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS.					UNTRAINED TEACHERS.				Total Trained Teachers.	Total untrained teachers.	Grand total of Teachers.
	A Degree.	Passed Metric. or School Anal.	Passed Middle School.	Passed Primary School.	Lower qualifications.	Possessing a degree.		Possessing no degree.				
						Certificated.	Uncertificated.	Certificated.	Uncertificated.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Primary Schools.												
Government	2	208	1,214	1,243	27	..	3	320	1,090	2,894	1,413	4,307
Local Board and Municipal.	4	1,022	42,731	23,553	313	60	266	6,537	25,347	32,004	42,390	74,394
Unaided	28	1,469	22,371	19,351	1,061	36	72	25,535	79,373	44,200	104,018	150,206
Aided	..	48	1,041	759	21	..	12	5,984	10,419	1,369	15,515	17,354
TOTALS	44	2,748	67,357	59,006	1,412	96	453	47,706	117,429	131,407	165,774	297,181
Middle Schools.												
Government	58	962	519	125	13	12	23	96	265	1,313	289	1,602
Local Board and Municipal.	255	957	22,433	912	140	22	96	725	3,771	14,999	4,922	19,921
Unaided	232	1,501	4,804	1,565	711	223	311	4,932	5,168	2,923	10,399	13,322
Aided	31	112	680	63	7	53	68	1,420	733	303	2,274	2,777
TOTALS	566	2,078	18,235	2,665	871	310	508	7,166	10,967	25,498	18,008	43,506
High Schools.												
Government	1,841	1,320	811	44	144	247	326	333	769	4,173	1,725	5,898
Local Board and Municipal.	759	963	271	66	306	39	196	121	571	2,345	1,297	3,642
Unaided	2,448	3,222	2,636	322	313	2,102	2,321	3,979	5,143	9,209	13,303	22,512
Aided	180	135	510	23	4	1,734	483	3,071	1,191	322	5,424	7,217
TOTALS	5,208	5,650	4,127	455	1,877	4,172	3,326	7,611	7,974	16,029	22,308	38,337
GRAND TOTALS	5,918	11,474	89,719	64,056	3,362	4,576	4,312	62,575	135,153	178,339	206,082	384,421

VII.—European Education.

Total European population	Male	157,793	Percentage to European population of those at school.		
	Female	92,262	Males.	Females.	Total.
	TOTAL	250,055	16-97	26-87	20-62

	Institutions.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	Number of females in institutions for males and vice versa.	TEACHERS.		EXPENDITURE FROM				Total expenditure.	
					Trained.	Un-trained.	Govt. funds.	Board funds.	Fees.	Other sources.		
												5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Institutions for Males.</i>												
Arts Colleges	3	166	135	..	30	19	1,16,654	..	1,01,102	1,30,535	3,28,291	
Training Colleges	1	19	16	..	2	..	15,787	..	..	..	15,787
High Schools	71	16,661	14,615	957	641	368	11,03,080	6,284	10,16,821	7,57,627	28,82,071	
Middle Schools	40	4,151	2,578	1,220	292	121	2,54,774	4,919	1,72,432	2,17,525	4,29,700	
Primary Schools	30	2,061	2,529	927	135	30	68,775	11,364	70,198	39,063	2,50,205	
Training Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	760	..	..	..	760
Technical and Industrial Schools.	2	117	104	..	2	5	6,490	..	1,056	1,000	15,146	
Commercial Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,421	..	..	..	3,421
TOTALS	160	24,065	21,177	2,113	363	598	15,74,000	21,000	15,61,309	11,92,958	41,46,015	
<i>Institutions for Females.</i>												
Arts Colleges	1	310	200	..	17	8	9,711	..	12,123	7,000	28,834	
Training Colleges	2	52	50	..	12	1	36,416	..	3,820	6,120	46,352	
High Schools	97	16,108	14,790	2,082	602	448	10,19,300	6,308	9,66,840	6,97,330	24,71,480	
Middle Schools	64	6,309	4,040	1,705	278	167	2,67,759	6,521	2,27,812	1,36,471	6,80,191	
Primary Schools	65	2,565	2,810	1,404	130	95	1,07,594	11,066	79,635	1,22,002	3,21,397	
Training Schools	12	376	242	38	35	13	56,260	2,027	17,803	39,244	1,16,446	
Technical and Industrial Schools.	1	60	66	..	2	2	900	..	..	1,000	2,900
Commercial Schools	5	174	121	..	7	7	7,551	..	11,000	785	20,336	
Other Schools	2	23	23	0	5	..	11,808	..	..	3,807	14,515
TOTALS	240	27,506	24,423	5,833	1,178	733	16,06,702	20,908	13,19,021	9,66,837	37,16,440	
GRAND TOTALS FOR INSTITUTIONS.	410	51,571	45,600	—	2,066	1,321	30,81,302	48,608	28,81,230	20,59,795	78,62,455	
Expenditure on Buildings includes Re. 94,623 spent by the Public Works Department.							Inspection	1,23,060	..	..	1,23,060
"Miscellaneous" includes the following main items:—							Buildings, etc.	7,59,700	..	2,06,697	2,04,560	17,71,057
Hostel charges, scholarships and other contingent charges.							Miscellaneous	9,89,676	2,772	22,09,979	17,48,457	47,47,884
TOTALS								18,72,436	2,772	24,16,676	19,50,046	66,42,000
GRAND TOTALS.								49,53,908	51,408	50,97,906	43,98,386	1,45,01,660

VIII.—Examination Results.

Examinations.	MALES.						FEMALES.					
	NUMBER OF EXAMINERS.			NUMBER PASSED.			NUMBER OF EXAMINERS.			NUMBER PASSED.		
	Public.*	Private.	Total.	Public.*	Private.	Total.	Public.*	Private.	Total.	Public.*	Private.	Total.
DEGREE EXAMINATIONS.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Arts and Sciences.</i>												
D. Litt. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ph. D. . . . .	..	10	10	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. Sc. . . . .	..	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. A.	1,029	384	1,413	760	137	947	21	6	27	12	5	17
M. Sc.	849	17	366	259	6	265	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. A. (Honours)	1,858	159	1,517	853	38	941	57	4	61	51	2	22
B. Sc. (Honours)	386	57	443	219	32	251	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. A. (Pass)	5,516	2,527	8,043	2,395	1,058	3,953	132	68	195	83	41	120
B. Sc. (Pass)	1,879	288	2,147	1,070	125	1,195	12	1	13	9	1	10
<i>Law.</i>												
Master of Law	2	29	31	..	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bachelor of Law	4,144	128	4,272	2,303	39	2,347	1	..	1	1	..	1
<i>Medicine.</i>												
M. D.	8	3	11	3	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. B., B. S.	1,466	..	1,466	482	..	482	51	..	51	76	..	76
L. M. S.	15	..	15	11	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. C. P. & S. (Bombay)	8	..	8	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. S. Y. M. (Calcutta)	10	..	10	8	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. S.	12	..	12	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
M. Obstetrics . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Hyg.	8	..	8	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. P. H.	8	..	8	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Sc. (Sanitary)	4	..	4	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
D. T. M. (Calcutta)	8	27	35	6	14	20	..	2	2	..	2	2
<i>Engineering.</i>												
Bachelor of C. E.	218	(a) 2	220	152	..	152	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bachelor of M. E.	74	..	74	54	..	54	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Education.</i>												
A. B., B. T. & L. T.	512	212	724	409	87	496	51	21	72	46	14	54
<i>Commerce.</i>												
Bachelor of Commerce	224	98	302	132	28	161	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Agriculture.</i>												
Bachelor of Agriculture	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bachelor of Agriculture	39	..	39	32	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..

* i.e., appearing from a recognised institution
(a) appeared for Master of C. E. examination in Bombay

VIII.—Examination Results—contd.

Examinations.	MALES.						FEMALES.					
	NUMBER OF EXAMINERS.			NUMBER PASSED.			NUMBER OF EXAMINERS.			NUMBER PASSED.		
	Public.	Private.	Total.	Public.	Private.	Total.	Public.	Private.	Total.	Public.	Private.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATIONS.												
Intermediate Arts	10,273	4,592	14,877	4,845	2,149	7,014	301	126	440	205	87	292
Intermediate in Science.	7,710	692	8,409	2,909	232	4,217	93	11	104	22	8	30
Licentiate of Civil Engineering	83	..	83	65	..	65	..	..	..	..	..	..
Licentiate, Diploma or certificate in Teaching.	1,359	77	1,436	937	44	961	302	5	297	140	6	146
Intermediate or Diploma in Commerce.	470	16	486	252	9	262	..	..	..	..	..	..
Licentiate of Agriculture	100	..	100	78	..	78	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ordinary Examinations.	117	1	118	83	..	83	..	..	..	..	..	..
SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS.												
<i>(a) On completion of High School courses.</i>												
Matriculation	36,422	2,693	39,119	20,151	1,931	21,202	532	125	297	201	53	254
School Final, etc.	25,339	2,794	26,135	19,223	1,180	20,442	496	51	277	109	12	121
European High School	285	10	295	176	3	179	248	..	252	23	1	24
Cambridge Senior	392	95	487	246	10	256	256	11	267	25	2	27
Vernacular High (in Burma).	262	478	680	37	139	236	44	55	99	26	7	33
<i>(b) On completion of Middle School courses.</i>												
Cambridge Junior	629	2	631	324	1	325	397	..	297	..	..	297
European Middle	561	..	561	284	..	284	515	..	516	350	..	350
Anglo-Vernacular Middle	61,572	206	61,778	46,786	69	46,946	2,545	29	2,584	1,247	16	1,263
Vernacular Middle	34,223	5,335	39,518	20,735	1,088	22,772	2,554	606	3,160	1,263	270	1,533
<i>(c) On completion of Primary courses.</i>												
Upper Primary	191,667	323	191,990	141,929	124	142,052	12,226	122	12,348	6,227	65	6,292
Lower Primary	226,524	372	226,896	159,620	217	159,837	42,439	102	42,541	21,900	79	21,979
<i>(d) On completion of Vocational courses.</i>												
For teacher's certificates.—												
Vernacular, Higher	6,325	849	7,174	3,279	370	3,649	1,529	80	1,619	1,222	45	1,267
Vernacular, Lower	9,242	2,794	12,122	5,826	1,125	7,081	625	24	729	292	12	304
At Art Schools	1,125	89	1,214	649	22	671	37	..	37	..	..	..
At Law Schools	42	..	42	40	..	40	..	..	..	..	..	..
At Medical Schools	1,427	200	1,627	821	122	954	64	6	70	24	6	30
At Engineering Schools	741	312	1,053	567	122	702	..	..	..	..	..	..
At Technical and Industrial Schools	1,765	1,037	2,802	1,408	679	2,082	112	200	322	101	122	223
At Commercial Schools	2,423	5,044	7,467	1,025	1,216	2,201	55	48	101	17	9	26
At Agricultural Schools	122	..	122	103	..	103	..	..	..	..	..	..
At other Schools	4,305	268	5,091	2,927	177	3,108	17	..	17	..	..	..

* L., appearing from a recognised institution.

Educational Institutions for Females

AIDED.			UNAIDED.			Grand total of scholars on rolls.	Grand total of average attendance.	Grand total of residents in approved hostels.	Number of maids included in column 18.
Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.	Scholars on roll on March 31st.	Average daily attendance.	No. of residents in approved hostels.				
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
783	716	429	35	30	15	1,231	1,104	547	
61	61	61	..	..	..	62	61	61	
65	63	60	6	6	..	120	114	105	
909	840	550	41	36	15	1,412	1,279	613	
28,759	24,024	12,310	797	696	261	46,982	40,779	13,433	4,575
26,637	24,726	7,995	774	652	227	32,893	27,096	8,323	2,206
34,280	29,326	4,332	513	396	103	53,180	46,325	4,022	5,949
503,084	396,515	9,737	71,443	55,122	112	914,200	691,979	19,641	23,288
604,760	486,491	24,373	72,532	56,856	703	1,047,345	803,870	27,075	47,569
144	152	143	..	..	..	270	255	244	..
2,485	2,249	1,798	21	27	5	4,490	4,123	2,894	..
2,129	2,555	1,219	92	74	26	3,242	3,229	1,917	65
266	211	6	..	..	..	266	211	6	..
40	39	40	..	..	..	40	39	40	..
327	668	..	..	..	..	327	668	..	..
1,683	1,579	390	112	87	..	2,166	1,723	390	277
2,661	7,578	2,556	265	183	31	11,247	8,756	4,791	286
614,560	494,904	38,431	73,868	57,080	749	1,060,104	814,177	42,179	47,691
1,348	1,349	..	55,217	12,598	44	57,122	19,927	44	3,096
616,298	496,253	38,431	129,025	75,688	793	1,117,243	834,104	42,223	51,367

III-A.—Expenditure on Education for Males.

Expenditure on Buildings includes, Rs. 57,04,301 spent by the Public Works Department on educational buildings.

"Miscellaneous" includes the following main items:—

Scholarships, Hostel charges and other contingent charges.

	GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS						DISTRICT BOARD AND MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS					
	Govern- ment funds.	Board funds.	Muni- cipal funds.	Yees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.	Govern- ment funds.	Board funds.	Muni- cipal funds.	Yees.	Other sources.	TOTALS.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
UNIVERSITY AND HIGHER SECONDARY EDUCATION.												
Universities	28,93,887	..	2,680	11,00,561	1,11,545	41,70,573	..	..	..	..	12,250	12,250
Professional Colleges—												
Law	7,449	..	..	1,02,814	69	1,70,332	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine	16,00,782	..	..	4,33,324	5,018	21,08,599	..	..	81,506	10,448	23,670	1,15,621
Education	8,22,123	917	91	800	10,758	8,34,689	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering	10,85,084	..	..	1,81,531	2,31,241	14,07,856	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	5,87,900	..	..	18,293	..	6,01,093	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commerce	28,035	..	..	36,031	20,004	84,070	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry	2,12,245	..	..	..	..	2,12,245	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary Science	4,00,000	..	..	33,736	..	4,33,736	..	..	..	..	..	..
Intermediate Colleges	5,07,300	..	..	2,08,824	3,129	11,19,253	4,000	..	1,608	6,124	251	11,003
TOTALS	76,75,623	917	2,871	28,23,073	3,86,769	1,12,89,043	4,000	..	83,113	16,570	24,171	1,39,854
SCHOOL EDUCATION.												
<i>General.</i>												
High Schools	51,47,758	14,913	25,421	27,86,065	20,025	80,06,782	6,80,430	2,48,642	2,70,916	14,70,070	57,946	26,52,072
Middle Schools—												
English	6,23,172	2,796	..	2,78,326	1,774	9,02,070	5,94,637	2,06,561	2,70,605	6,03,379	31,412	18,05,614
Vernacular	1,62,580	..	..	4,636	4	1,67,220	32,21,944	1,85,715	6,82,898	54,817	68,31,406	
Primary Schools	8,45,258	14,527	5,000	14,818	20,827	9,08,424	2,26,29,026	62,85,783	47,00,119	10,97,246	2,49,396	1,40,23,932
TOTALS	67,76,762	32,238	30,421	30,80,835	22,240	99,84,496	2,71,85,096	85,87,225	51,54,356	28,39,597	3,93,398	4,24,09,526
<i>Special.</i>												
Art Schools	4,04,321	..	..	26,000	16,189	4,46,500	..	..	..	..	..	..
Law Schools	..	..	..	10,314	30	10,344	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools	12,16,545	6,164	436	1,80,390	70,902	14,74,436	..	..	..	..	..	..
Normal and Training Schools	31,23,466	27,222	6,445	11,794	16,055	51,84,082	1,23,480	79,021	13,596	58	60	5,09,210
Engineering Schools	5,79,077	..	..	66,490	10,368	6,48,869	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools	11,00,557	26,077	26,516	26,014	71,225	12,21,347	86,723	31,562	45,070	11,307	39,391	5,18,646
Commercial Schools	79,295	..	..	80,817	1,645	1,21,460	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural Schools	92,911	..	..	2,063	3,040	98,004	2,147	..	..	..	..	3,147
Reformatory Schools	2,13,414	..	..	..	11,179	2,30,593	..	..	..	..	..	..
Schools for Defectives	6,309	..	..	..	22	6,237	..	..	..	..	..	..
Schools for Adults	760	..	..	..	790	1,550	31,007	24,967	29,602	149	332	1,07,518
Other Schools	4,75,482	2,973	2,809	20,289	3,695	5,12,390	47,202	14,153	11,924	76,237	43,825	1,93,441
TOTALS	74,76,746	61,441	30,164	3,74,292	2,00,889	81,62,591	2,76,649	1,00,693	81,702	87,137	84,121	7,29,002
GRAND TOTALS	2,28,21,131	98,606	63,246	66,22,199	6,69,888	2,94,94,060	2,74,14,745	87,77,918	64,29,260	39,46,964	6,13,576	4,62,70,462

	AIDED INSTITUTIONS.					UNASSISTED INSTITUTIONS.			
	Government Schools.	Board Schools.	Municipal Schools.	Free.	Other Schools.	TOTALS.	Free.	Other Schools.	TOTALS.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
UNIVERSITY AND INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION.									
Universities	45,58,458		270	29,42,508	2,59,443	95,40,609			
Arts Colleges	12,12,912	15,300	25,771	20,86,918	20,50,552	49,99,358	9,37,960	1,34,701	20,74,661
Professional Colleges—									
Law	20,000	..	..	2,24,657	..	2,44,657	1,14,129	..	1,14,129
Medicine	24,800	..	..	56,642	..	1,12,143	..	..	..
Education	17,600	..	..	..	..	17,600	..	..	..
Engineering	23,000	..	9,600	19,500	26,200	89,700	..	..	..
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commerce	51,963	..	..	24,144	10,995	66,107	6,918	..	6,918
Forestry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary Science	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Intermediate Colleges	4,51,224	..	7,500	5,41,470	2,69,871	12,80,865	1,20,283	2,06,389	3,26,672
TOTALS	64,53,787	15,300	26,471	75,23,840	24,18,852	1,64,70,120	21,78,170	2,42,899	15,21,100
SCHOOL EDUCATION.									
<i>General.</i>									
High Schools	84,00,251	87,485	2,12,215	1,06,22,617	42,52,358	2,08,14,026	22,16,924	11,53,942	48,70,866
Middle Schools—									
English	15,72,513	3,54,917	66,722	26,04,797	17,04,162	63,07,171	4,98,113	6,25,114	9,23,227
Vernacular	47,547	6,49,184	2,41,701	75,145	1,14,263	11,27,892	2,995	29,229	25,504
Primary Schools	51,49,972	28,48,599	6,26,900	24,79,800	41,11,567	1,75,84,238	4,17,503	4,80,417	9,07,920
TOTALS	1,24,20,283	49,38,047	12,19,688	1,67,82,250	1,04,64,450	4,58,34,837	41,28,545	20,69,782	62,25,227
<i>Special.</i>									
Art Schools	21,671	480	1,200	2,121	9,822	35,704	192	1,092	1,284
Law Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools	600	..	190	7,723	1,002	9,505	42,603	48,225	58,320
Normal and Training Schools.	6,57,867	2,285	623	10,242	1,36,505	8,07,742	4,785	2,322	7,797
Engineering Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,530	4,300	6,200
Technical and Industrial Schools.	4,02,529	26,989	22,994	1,20,246	9,27,873	15,27,731	2,595	13,172	20,767
Commercial Schools	8,716	..	1,541	26,234	20,068	66,182	1,43,128	15,819	1,59,007
Agricultural Schools	1,000	560	60	..	7,268	8,878	..	..	..
Laboratory Schools	72,512	..	1,445	729	14,596	89,642	..	..	..
Schools for Defectives	54,684	954	25,846	6,740	98,422	1,20,856	..	..	..
Schools for Adults	63,904	21,218	12,699	17,153	70,246	1,25,322	2,713	15,269	28,082
Other Schools	4,52,876	79,681	27,092	2,49,762	6,60,576	14,70,227	67,274	1,09,540	3,76,824
TOTALS	17,25,219	1,42,267	1,00,483	4,60,770	19,68,125	62,91,444	2,73,280	4,04,260	6,78,120
GRAND TOTALS	2,06,24,859	50,95,804	13,70,642	2,47,71,900	1,48,33,417	8,66,96,891	68,27,995	29,36,822	84,24,817

III-A.—Expenditure of Education for Males—*concd.*

	TOTAL EXPENDITURE FROM					
	Government funds.	Board funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	Gr. Totals.
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Direction	14,29,406.				1 00	14.
Inspection	71,65,720	1,03,006	57,250		1,221	74.
Buildings, etc.	1,12,80,625	2,40,1,247	22,80,864	5,30,345	50,83,313	2,25.
Miscellaneous	60,36,868	15,99,593	8,55,301	41,56,497	45,67,027	1,71.
TOTALS	2,59,12,628	42,24,028	31,72,215	46,89,840	1,05,51,630	4,85.
UNIVERSITY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION.						
Uni. Grants	45,53,453		200	39,42,508	9,39,448	95.
Arts Colleges	41,29,690	15,200	36,351	47,91,459	15,90,157	1,02.
Professional Colleges—						
Law	37,449			5,03,060	69	5.
Medicine	18,94,282		81,505	5,32,913	25,963	23.
Education	8,39,733	917	91	800	10,758	8.
Engineering	11,17,084		9,000	2,01,031	2,57,527	15.
Agriculture	5,87,870			13,293		0.
Commerce	60,003			65,793	30,999	1.
Forestry	2,18,845					2.
Veterinary Science	4,58,338			23,795		4.
Intermediate Colleges	15,62,324		17,198	9,71,801	5,95,840	28.
TOTALS	1,50,59,371	16,117	1,44,255	1,19,47,053	31,53,481	3,94.
SCHOOL EDUCATION.						
<i>General.</i>						
High Schools	1,14,97,498	4,51,660	5,17,552	1,81,02,075	54,73,881	3,09.
Middle Schools—						
English	37,90,522	6,55,296	3,48,287	39,79,615	21,64,222	2,22.
Vernacular	34,33,071	23,58,375	4,27,416	7,46,279	1,99,373	2,22.
Primary Schools	2,86,22,250	1,00,96,799	54,11,109	50,09,337	41,82,119	5,43.
TOTALS	4,66,42,344	1,35,59,180	67,04,464	2,78,36,336	1,30,09,935	10,74.
<i>Special.</i>						
Art Schools	4,25,998	489	1,200	23,373	27,052	4.
Law Schools				10,314	30	
Medical Schools	12,17,148	6,164	615	2,30,716	1,14,120	15.
Normal and Training Schools	39,04,813	99,628	20,444	29,974	1,54,953	42.
Engineering Schools	5,78,077			65,050	9,002	6.
Technical and Industrial Schools	18,21,809	1,44,618	96,078	1,67,252	10,66,724	30.
Commercial Schools	68,714		1,544	2,18,889	37,552	3.
Agricultural Schools	97,653	530	60	2,653	10,903	1.
Reformatory Schools	3,91,998		1,445	739	34,075	4.
Schools for Defectives	66,292	154	25,648	6,740	93,460	3.
Schools for Adults	1,25,671	185	35,381	26,006	36,549	3.
Other Schools	9,72,706	6,512	41,876	4,19,332	10,22,596	25.
TOTALS	94,89,244	3,94,891	2,22,429	11,94,678	26,59,335	1,39.
GRAND TOTALS	9,63,03,506	1,81,93,676	1,08,44,063	4,47,71,907	2,98,63,371	19,93.

SURVEY OF TECHNICAL
AND
FURTHER EDUCATION
IN
ENGLAND AND WALES.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

This survey of the provision made for Technical and Further Education in England and Wales appeared originally as Chapter I of the Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year 1924-25. In view of its general interest and importance the Board have thought it desirable to publish it as a separate pamphlet.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
WHITEHALL, LONDON,
November, 1926.

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SURVEY OF TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The arrangements which we propose to describe are, in the main, for technical or vocational instruction, but do not cover agricultural education, which is supervised and aided by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, nor, as a rule, the applied science instruction which is provided by Universities and their constituent Colleges; on the other hand, they are not exclusively vocational in character, since, quite apart from the adult education movement (which we do not include in our survey), courses for adults interested in cultural studies constitute a material part of the arrangements in some localities, and almost everywhere the evening schools for younger adolescents have in principle a continuative intention, though they may also offer preparation for the specialised instruction which is available for older adolescents; they are mainly for part-time study, but include also full-time schools and courses for pupils under 16, offering instruction which is definitely preparatory to employment or is otherwise specialised, and some post-secondary full-time schools and courses, few in number but, in the aggregate, of substantial industrial and professional importance. They are in the main controlled by the local education authorities, but some quite important elements of the provision are either essentially non-local or have retained so much of their original independence as not yet to have formally accepted the control of the authority which aids them.

2 Our purpose is to give, within the narrow space which can be spared, a reasonably clear picture of what is being done to-day in the institutions or arrangements of which the great majority are described, with slight local variations, as polytechnics, technical colleges, schools or institutes; as schools of art or of arts and crafts; or as evening schools, institutes or classes. To trace, in the manner appropriate to a formal treatise, the development of State action in this part of the educational field would be foreign to our purpose. And for the period which ended with the passing of the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, this work has been exhaustively accomplished in Sir Graham Balfour's "Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland." Nor shall we recount in any detail the origin, growth and achievements of the voluntary movement for technical education in this country. For information on such points reference should be made to the authoritative articles by Sir Philip Magnus and the late Sir Joshua Fitch under the titles "Technical Education" and "Polytechnics" in the last edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. But though we shall concern ourselves mainly with the extent and character of what now exists under the Board's supervision, we think it essential to include some notice of the circumstances and influences which have shaped the growth of what we have to describe. Its quality and limitations will be better understood, and, what is perhaps more important, some light will be thrown upon the factors

which may control future expansion and new developments. For this purpose the course of further education in this country can be considered as falling into three periods, of which the first was closed by the enactment of the Technical Instruction Acts, including the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise Duties) Act of 1891, and the second by the passing of the Board of Education Act and the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903.

First Period, to 1839.

3. Some public expenditure in addition to that incurred upon elementary day schools was, during this period, incurred for the provision and equipment of schools from both local and central funds. Under the Public Libraries Acts, science and art schools were built. The Science and Art Department made some grants, most of which were limited to not more than £500 for science, and a like sum for art, and some of which were quite small, in aid of the building of schools of this type. The Department also made grants in aid of fittings and apparatus. The Education Department made grants for evening schools under the Code. These schools, which were mainly occupied in teaching within the limits set by the Code for public elementary day schools and received no assistance for anything more advanced, were merely a lateral extension of the elementary education system and were in no sense providing what would now be regarded as further education. Towards the end of the period the development of elementary education had made such schools of quite minor importance compared with the schools and classes under the Science and Art Department. These were aided on a basis of payment by results and were restricted to the programmes prescribed by the departmental syllabuses. How far these arrangements were meeting the visible demands of the time was made clear during the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, which heard evidence in 1882 and 1883. One witness, who had been present at the inaugural meeting of the London Mechanics' Institute (founded in 1825 by Dr. Birkbeck, Henry Brougham and others interested in popular education) explained that many of the Mechanics' Institutes were founded by working men of whom some could not read or write. Their first task was perforce to teach the veriest rudiments, and so long as this was necessary the original intention of the institutions, which was to give to the workers what we should now regard as technical instruction, could not be realised. As the development of elementary education was being achieved through the legislation of 1870 and later years on the subject of school provision and school attendance, new needs were arising in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The people wanted instruction in literary subjects, in languages, in music, in commercial subjects and in what we should now describe as technology, and the evening schools and the science and art classes did not satisfy their aspirations. Some of the evidence given exhibited the science and art teaching in a highly unfavourable light. It was

said that there was no connection between the Yorkshire industries and the work of the local art schools, that the teaching of design was unpractical and that art masters could not be induced to teach subjects for which there were no grants. The science teaching had no bearing on the textile industries, the students were industriously crammed, no definite educational aim was pursued, teachers were ill qualified and prone to take up in succession whatever subjects they were qualified to teach without regard to the interests of students. Even where less unfavourable opinions were expressed, non-official witnesses stressed the importance of developing the schools of science and art as then conducted into schools more directly concerned with the local industries. Examinations in technology, which had been taken over from the Society of Arts in 1879 by the newly formed City and Guilds of London Institute, were approved by witnesses from Lancashire and Yorkshire as a step in the right direction, though much more was required. The evidence from Bradford, where a technical school had been founded about 1878, and from the City and Guilds Institute, showed how observers competent to form an opinion about woollen manufactures had observed in the productions of certain foreign countries great progress which they attributed to advances in technical education. But even in Bradford the support of local manufacturers was by no means general. Some preferred to continue in the old tradition, others feared increased local competition in the result of training a superior body of men, or were apprehensive lest young men trained in Bradford might migrate to America and elsewhere and benefit competing countries. It appeared also that before there was a technical school in Bradford, sons of local manufacturers and merchants had to some extent resorted to German and French textile schools.

4. Manufacturers who replied to the invitation to submit opinions about the science and art classes were, on the whole, friendly but not entirely satisfied. Even those who thought very highly of what had been done desired the development of teaching with definite practical application; engineering firms generally complained that mechanical drawing was taught by art masters without suitable experience; one such firm thought the science and art teaching so rudimentary as not to be comparable with that of the technical schools abroad; others referred to the importance of commodious and suitably equipped premises or to extremely unsatisfactory local conditions in this respect. One great firm which definitely promoted the technical and scientific instruction of its employees, and found that the classes developed thought and intelligence, fostered steady and studious habits and raised the tone of the students, deplored the tendencies of the examinations which had become well suited only to the few who were capable of absorbing a large amount of information preparatory to an examination and were not necessarily in the end the most useful men. A firm of carpet manufacturers spoke highly of the local school of art as

having enabled them to dispense with foreign designers, but desired a teaching of chemistry applied to the dyeing of worsted and other yarns, for the benefit of the dyers who, working by traditional methods, were not capable of avoiding waste; a leading pottery firm set a very high value on the training given in the local art school, but did not find that examination results corresponded to the real ability of the workers, as many failed to pass who were quite excellent in their respective handicrafts; one firm of glass manufacturers found the local art school useful only for the simple rudiments of drawing as the master knew nothing practically of the trade; and a firm concerned with stained glass found that students seeking employment as draughtsmen had often received good training in drawing the figure, but were entirely ignorant of the art of stained glass and were for some time at a loss.

5. Huxley, then Dean of the Normal School of Science (later to be the Royal College of Science), was a strenuous champion, not merely of the working of the Science and Art Department's system, but also of the essential sufficiency of the system as a State provision for the national ends it was meant to serve. When the examinations began there was no machinery, State or other, for disseminating scientific knowledge, except so far as the Mechanics' Institutes with their sporadic and unsystematic popular lectures on scientific subjects were something of the kind. In the result of the departmental system no considerable town was in 1882 without machinery for the diffusion of elementary scientific knowledge, and through the classes any young person who proved his or her scientific capacity could be brought to the Normal School of Science to obtain a thorough and complete scientific training such as, thirty years before, was not to be had in any University. Some of the local teaching might be bad, and, indeed, dishonest so far as the teacher's aim was not to impart sound knowledge but to get paid on the results of examination. But if seven or eight per cent. of the students exhibited real knowledge and not more than forty per cent. were "plucked" for ignorance, cramming and the like sins, the system was working quite as well as any other educational machinery then extant. He did not claim experience of the working of the system in its bearing upon industry, but, if the improvement of industrial processes depended upon the application of intelligence and scientific knowledge not only by the employer but also by the artisan, the system of the Department must necessarily have had an excellent influence upon industry. He was doubtful whether the State should go further than to develop and improve the existing system by making practical instruction essential in all science teaching. Endowments and employers should do the rest; but the mass of employers had no interest in technical teaching. Endless harm would be done by a more special kind of teaching than was aided by the Department, for, in the absence of preliminary instruction in general science, the knowledge that young men would acquire would be nothing more

than the ordinary technique of their business varnished over with scientific phraseology. Examinations in special subjects for students who had already received general training would be better done by employers and persons specially interested in technical education than by the State. He was decidedly opposed to the suggestion that young artisans who were personally fit for promotion to higher positions should be sent to a technical college for two years. To take a young man of capacity and ability from what is toilsome and disagreeable, and is sometimes regarded as lowering in status, and to give him a high education would accustom him to a different set of social conditions, and he would not ordinarily be content to return to his former occupation. Colonel Donnelly, the secretary of the Department, explained that nothing in its charter precluded encouragement of the teaching of the applications of science or art in industry; expediency and not a principle of limitation controlled the decisions taken on the point from time to time.* Indirectly, the bearing of the Department's work upon industry had been very great, but when the Department had diverged from general science, as in the case of the School of Mines, or from general art, it had not been highly successful. He had not found among workmen an objection to technological teaching, but it was strongly opposed by some of the manufacturers who warmly supported science and art classes, and the Department would have been wrong to force the matter through its classes. He believed in technological teaching and had been instrumental in persuading the Society of Arts to institute examinations in 1873, but it was a wide question whether it should be promoted by the Government, by the City and Guilds Institute or some body of that kind or left to the persons most interested. As to the alleged faults of the system of classes under the Department, he saw no prospect of the adoption of systematic grouping of subjects for study except in secondary schools, because artisans wanted a short cut to knowledge and would not care to be tied up to a course system. The standard of competence required of the teacher was a low one, but even in 1882 there were few places where a teacher could live by science teaching alone, and persons with other employment had to be induced to teach. During the summer they had opportunity for study at South Kensington and might become really good teachers. Such men would have been lost if a high standard had been set up. The effect of instruction at the Normal School of Science, and of that to be obtained with the help of the Department at places of advanced instruction such as Owens College, would raise the standard in time.

* The Department was examining in machine construction, building construction, naval architecture, metallurgy, principles of mining, principles of agriculture; the syllabuses for these and for some other subjects show that students were expected to learn many matters belonging to the ordinary technique of their business.

6. The judgment of the Commissioners, who were not concerned with further education in literary or even in commercial subjects, upon the science and art classes and the technological classes which had recently been instituted under the City and Guilds Institute was not entirely favourable. Nothing comparable was found in any foreign country. But the standard of the teaching left something to be desired, though improvement would come through the work of the Normal School of Science and of the central institution of the City and Guilds Institute which was then being erected in Exhibition Road. Inspection was inadequate and in the science and art classes too much reliance was placed on payment upon examination results, and more practical work was necessary in the science classes. The report of the Commission lent support to the complaint that the system of aid encouraged teachers to devote themselves exclusively to large elementary classes instead of giving some time to smaller classes for more advanced students. The art schools and classes were hampered by the inadequacy of the drawing teaching in the elementary schools, and by lack of sympathy on the industrial side. But, even so, the teaching of design was insufficiently encouraged by the Department and was neglected in the schools, the masters of which were often devoid of any practical knowledge of industry.

7. The report was, however, not altogether discouraging. It showed how in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Bristol and Nottingham, the institutions which are now Universities or University Colleges were being developed, almost invariably without Government aid. In all of them attention was given to pure and applied science, though the funds available did not allow the provision either of staff or of equipment comparable with those to be found even then in some of the Universities and Technical High Schools abroad, where almost the entire cost of the highest general and technical instruction was being met by the State. In some of these towns and in other manufacturing towns such as Bradford, Huddersfield, Keighley, Oldham and Leicester, progress was being made in the development of schools for artisans, a movement which was supported, if not initiated, by the Cloth Workers' Company, and later by the City and Guilds of London Institute as part of its admirable and well planned effort to place this country in possession of an adequate provision of technical education.

8. The proceedings of the Royal Commission threw a flood of light upon the character and quality of the further education available during the first period. The extent of the provision cannot be exhibited with any precision, because the operations of the Department of Science and Art concerned Scotland and Ireland as well as England and Wales, and training colleges, endowed schools and public elementary schools, as well as schools and classes for persons

who had left day schools, came within its purview. Very great progress was, however, being made in London at the close of the period. In the result of the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883 an annual income of about £50,000 had become available for various purposes including the advancement of further education in the metropolis, and large sums were collected from subscribers and other private sources to satisfy the conditions on which assistance from the charity funds was offered. Before the end of the period a number of schemes for founding, or refounding, and endowing educational institutions had been established; the Regent Street Polytechnic, the Birkbeck College and the City of London College were developing the educational work which they had carried on for many years; the Goldsmiths' Institute had been opened and the People's Palace had been taken over by the Drapers' Company; the Borough and Battersea Polytechnics were on the point of opening; and the buildings of the South Western Polytechnic, the Northern Polytechnic and the Northampton Institute were being erected.

Second Period : 1889-1899.

9. This period extends from the creation of local authorities for technical instruction to the establishment of one central authority for all forms of education. Even more than the creation by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 of local authorities with rating powers, the allocation in 1890 of the local taxation residue grants between county and county borough councils to provide local funds for technical instruction came opportunely for the satisfaction of some of the more urgent needs of the time. The technical instruction powers did not extend to elementary schools, but otherwise were so wide in scope and so broadly drawn as to enable the new authorities to make a recognisable contribution to the improvement and extension of secondary education. Science teaching was introduced into endowed schools which had not previously been able to take advantage of the grants of the Department, and special rooms and equipment were added in not a few instances. By the end of the first period grants for organised science schools under the directory of the Science and Art Department were being paid to a material number of elementary school authorities (principally School Boards), but otherwise little use was made of these grants: in the course of the second period there was a great extension of full-time post-elementary instruction not under School Boards or other elementary school managers. We are concerned here, not with this side of the work of the new authorities, but with the development of part-time instruction in science and art, in technology and in general subjects.

10. We have shown how unimportant as "further" education was the work of the evening schools under the Code during the first period. But in 1893 a separate Code was issued for "Evening Continuation Schools." A wide choice of subjects was offered from the beginning and additions to the original list were soon made, the

choice of teachers became almost unrestricted, no upper age for grant-aided attendance was retained and payments upon the attainments of individual pupils were replaced by grants computed upon the hours of attendance. It was intended that these Schools, besides enabling the pupils to repair the defects in their elementary day school education, should give them opportunities to pursue to a higher point the subjects begun in the elementary schools, to study science, languages and other subjects of practical utility, or to prepare for the more specialised studies directed by the Science and Art Department and the County Councils, or for profitable attendance at University extension lectures or other forms of higher education. Manual and technical instruction, physical exercises, military drill and housewifery were to some extent aidable as evening continuation school work. The success of this effort to promote further education on attractive lines was remarkable, if regard is had only to the numbers of schools and pupils. In 1896 there were 4,397 departments with 298,724 scholars: in 1899 there were 5,971 departments with 474,563 scholars: the grants were in 1896, £129,542, in 1899, £184,272. The significance of such figures could, however, be over-estimated. The number of scholars in 1899 exceeded by 39,000 the number in 1896: but the number of free scholars in 1899 exceeded by 70,000 the number of free scholars in 1896. In 1899 half of the total number of scholars paid no fees, and most of the fee-payers contributed a nominal fee of 1*d.* to 3*d.* per week. In 1899, 68,000 scholars (14·4 per cent. of the total) were over 21, those over 16 were nearly 50 per cent. of the whole. Elementary subjects were still more in demand than any others: in 1899, 23 per cent. learnt arithmetic, 15 per cent. writing and composition, 12 per cent. writing and reading and 7 per cent. reading and recitation. As needlework was taken by 12 per cent. of all scholars a high proportion of women and girls took this subject: 9 per cent. of the scholars took shorthand, 8 per cent. geography and 7 per cent. vocal music.

11. Changes in the methods by which the Science and Art Department encouraged further education were not made so soon and were less thoroughgoing than those introduced by the Education Department. In 1896 managers of science and art classes were allowed to elect to receive, in respect of the elementary classes, either payments on results or payments on attendance. In 1897 payment on attendance became the rule, though payments were added for successes in the more advanced examinations. But the elementary examinations were still held and the results, with the findings of inspection, were considered in the assessment of the rate of grant upon the attendance. During the ten years 1890-1899 there was a considerable increase in the numbers of pupils under instruction (apart from the growth of the number of organised science schools). But there was no corresponding growth in the number of schools, the probable explanation being the absorption of the smaller science schools in the larger and better equipped technical schools of the local authorities.

The policy of attractiveness which was so marked a feature of the evening continuation school arrangements was not allowed much place in the Science and Art Department's arrangements, and the growth of attendance during the period cannot be considered remarkable in all the circumstances. An extension of inspection, the natural corollary of the disappearance of payment by results, made it possible for the Department to be better informed, by the end of this period, about the needs of industrial students, as distinct from those of the elementary and secondary school pupils who came under the operations of the Department and those of teachers who attended classes and took examinations. Industrial students of science, in particular, were embarrassed by the rigidities of the departmental syllabuses in physics, chemistry and mathematics which seriously interfered with the arrangement of comprehensive courses of technology and the related essentials of pure science. Some steps in the direction of mitigating the difficulties created by the obligation to study, in grant-aided classes, according to the departmental prescriptions, were being taken at the end of the period. But, as we recount later, much more radical changes were found advisable.

12. The Science and Art Department made no move in the direction of including in its programme the subjects of technology and applied science in which the City and Guilds of London Institute held examinations. The resources of the Institute did not permit the continuance of their early practice of making payments on the results of examinations to schools in the provinces, and though such payments were continued for London schools during the period under review the amount so spent in the final year of the arrangement was no more than £950. But the exercise of the technical instruction powers of the local authorities encouraged a considerable development of this type of teaching and, for the subject of textiles in particular, a good deal was done in the way of providing special equipment for demonstrations by teachers and for practical and experimental work by students. In 1890 there were 483 classes registered by the Institute with 12,022 students, of whom 6,667 were examined. In 1899 there were 1,764 classes with 34,176 students, of whom 14,004 were examined. The figures cover all the operations of the Institute (outside its own schools) including those in Scotland, Ireland and the Colonies, but there was certainly very rapid progress during this period in the spread of technological teaching in England and Wales. In London classes in 1899 there were 5,735 students.

13. But the most characteristic feature of this period was the progress made in the matter of acquiring, improving, building and equipping premises for science, art and technology. Twenty-five institutions, of which twelve were in county boroughs, were transferred to the technical instruction authorities under the provisions of the Schools for Science and Art Act of 1891. The

Science and Art Department did not long continue the grants for apparatus and equipment but, until 1897, when the door was shut upon new applications, the offer of grants up to £500 for science and £500 for art remained open. Such sums were of some importance in connection with the modest buildings in smaller towns, and the withdrawal of the grants gave rise to apprehensions that much needed provision might be indefinitely postponed. But they were not of any consequence in relation to the needs of the large towns. The sums raised by loan by the authorities were substantial, being in 1895-6, £179,501; in 1896-7, £142,413; in 1897-8, £69,333, and in 1898-9, £105,301. Not every town where a technical school building might reasonably have been expected obtained one at this time. In London, however, where the financial task of the County Council as technical instruction authority had been greatly simplified by the foundation, towards the close of the first period, of the Polytechnics and similar institutions, there was great additional progress during the second period. Two further institutions of the Polytechnic group came into existence (Woolwich Polytechnic and Sir John Cass Technical Institute), and the County Council provided, took over, or otherwise contributed to the establishment of, several other institutions, including the Technical Institutes at Shoreditch, Westminster, Hackney, Wandsworth and Norwood, the Central School of Arts and Crafts, the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts and the School of Photo-engraving and Lithography. At the end of the second period the School of Building at Brixton and the School of Engineering and Navigation at Poplar were being built, several extensions were in progress and plans for a large new building for the Central School of Arts and Crafts were in course of preparation.

Birmingham, Blackburn, Brighton, Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, Leicester, Manchester, Norwich, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford and West Ham among the larger towns were, during this period, supplied with new or much improved schools and in many smaller towns, particularly in the industrial districts, special buildings were erected. In each case the primary purpose was to supply evening instruction, but in not a few instances organised science schools occupied the premises in the day.

14. The inspectors of the Science and Art Department soon found occasion to notice that part-time education on a voluntary basis presents, in an exceptional measure, problems of organisation and administration. The intrinsic financial safeguards of a strict system of payment on examination results were not conducive to particular care in the matter of recognising classes. But when grants were payable on attendance and within one town a School Board, individual bodies of voluntary school managers, a technical instruction authority and, in some cases, a university institution or a flourishing Mechanics Institute or similar organisation might secure recognition for much the same kind of class, the dangers of dissipation of effort,

wasteful competition and comparative inefficiency became evident. Further, the science classes were of such a standard and were attended by students of such an age, that some co-ordination between those classes and the evening continuation schools was necessary. Towards the end of this period the directory of the Department included provision (Clause VII) designed to place the technical instruction authority in a position to limit the possibilities of unreasonable competition. But the provision was whittled down by the recognition of the rights of other managers of existing schools. And, except so far as the School Boards and the technical instruction authorities voluntarily arranged for co-ordination, nothing was done to bring about any definite relations between the system of evening continuation schools and the system of science and art classes.

15. One other phase of this period deserves notice. Except so far as concerned classes for which science and art grants were sought, there was a mere shadow of departmental control over the exercise of technical instruction powers. Whatever the abstract merits of that arrangement, the position of secretary to an important technical instruction authority was not the less agreeable because of the freedom of the authority to work out its own policy and plans, and some men of exceptional gifts were attracted to this untilled part of the educational field. Cordial relations between such men and the departmental officers were the rule and contributed in no small degree to the achievements of the period and to the establishment of what may be called a professional interest in educational administration.

16. From a return of the 21st May, 1900, it appeared that 39 of the 49 English County Councils and 55 of the 61 English County Boroughs applied the whole of the residue grants to technical education, and that two County Councils, 20 County Boroughs, 86 Boroughs and 181 Urban Districts made grants for the same purpose out of the rates. In Wales and Monmouth the 13 Counties and the three County Boroughs applied the whole of the residue to intermediate and technical education, but chiefly under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889: the Councils of 13 Counties and County Boroughs and 14 Boroughs and Urban Districts made grants out of the rates. During the year 1898-9, £866,063 was expended in technical education, apart from the amounts raised by loan. It is not possible to say how much of this was spent on what we should now describe as technical, as distinct from secondary, education. Nor is it possible to distinguish the expenditure of the School Boards on evening continuation schools from that upon day schools.

Third Period: 1899 to the Present Time.

17. The union in a single central authority of the separate powers previously exercised by the Education Department and the Science and Art Department, the Cockerton judgment and its consequences, the creation of new local education authorities for elementary and

for higher education respectively and the definite removal from the province of elementary education of all evening instruction, led to important changes in the central administration and supervision of continuation and technical education. In 1898 the Education Department aided, under the evening continuation school code, evening schools of one type, the Science and Art Department aided, under the directory, evening schools of another type (science and art classes), schools of art and organised science schools. The details of the process of reshaping and rearranging these documents, which occupied some years, need not be described: it was completed in 1904. The regulations for secondary schools of that year were concerned with secondary schools and the minor extensions of a specialised character which were attached to a few such schools; the regulations for evening schools, technical institutions and schools of art and art classes were concerned under the title "evening schools" with evening and similar schools of the continuation type and with evening and similar classes in science, art, technology, etc.; under the title "technical institutions" with advanced specialised full-time instruction in science or in science and art, with or without other subjects; under the title "schools of art" with the more important organisations exclusively for day and evening art instruction; and under the title "art classes" and "branch schools of art" with the less important organisations of that character.* The regulations were also concerned with certain day technical classes, not recognisable as "technical institution" courses, to which the title of the document made no reference. Most of the organised science schools of 1898 had become secondary schools, a few had become higher elementary schools, and only the most advanced sections of organised science schools could become technical institution courses. Corresponding changes were made in the internal departmental organisation and, in particular, the evening schools of the continuation type and the evening departments of technical schools were brought under one body of inspectors.

18. The powers of an authority to apply the residue grant and the rates were even wider than those of a technical instruction authority and were subject only to an obligation to consult the Board before steps were taken. But in practice it was indispensable that State aid should be obtained, and the conditions of grant set out in the regulations did much to shape the development of further education through the greater part of the third period. For this reason we think it appropriate, without dwelling upon the more general educational and administrative topics in which all bodies of regulations have a family likeness, to explain the characteristic features of the regulations. Of the principles which were of general application to

* "Art Class" is a technical term which does not cover the classes in art which may be held in an evening institution as items in a miscellaneous programme. "Minor Art School" would be a more accurately descriptive term.

all schools for further education we need refer to only three. The first encouraged the direction by the local education authority for higher education of schools which were not provided, or even aided, by the authority. The Board's grant for a directed school was paid to the authority, by whom the person with whom the school correspondence was conducted on behalf of the managers was also appointed. The second acknowledged the right of the authority to be heard before the Board recognised any school which had not already had a grant, in order that, so far as possible, undue competition with existing schools should be averted and local arrangements should be suitably articulated. The third emphasised the desirability of fees by requiring the sanction of the Board to be obtained beforehand for free schools or for arrangements for remitting fees.

19. An evening school was constituted by one or more recognised "courses" of instruction, courses which began before 4 p.m. (or 1 p.m. on Saturday) not being, as a rule, recognisable. No grant was payable on account of a course unless it lasted for 20 hours or more in lessons, according to an approved syllabus, of not less than a minimum duration, which ranged according to the nature of the subject from 30 to 60 minutes. The grant in respect of a course was calculated on the attendances of eligible students who were qualified to the extent of having attended for at least 14 hours. Children under 12 and any pupils of schools aided under other regulations were ineligible. No restriction was placed upon the number of courses taken by the individual student, but no hours in excess of 160 in a year could be credited in all for grant. Subject to this the number of complete blocks of 20 in the aggregate hours of attendance recorded for eligible and qualified students supplied one factor for the calculation of the grant on the course. The other factor was the "rate" of grant for each block of 20 hours, which was ordinarily from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d., but might be extended for certain subjects, either in respect of all the hours of a student's attendance or in respect of some hours. The rate could be extended, on all hours of instruction, up to 5s. for modern languages, geography, history, economics, mercantile law and practice, up to 4s. for woodwork, up to 5s. for metalwork, up to 5s. 6d. for home occupations and industries. On the first 60 hours only of a student's attendance in art the rate could be extended up to 15s. ; on the first 120 of instruction in science and technology the limits of extension were 8s. 6d. for elementary instruction and 20s. for advanced, the special extensions for practical work in lessons of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours duration being 13s. and 25s. The regulations for promoting, by specific financial inducements, the organisation of courses of part-time study which would be progressive over a series of years and comprehensive in each year proved to be too complicated to be practically useful, and it is unnecessary to give the details.

The aggregate of all the grants for all the courses, with the capitation payments on individual successes of students in the Board's

honours examinations in science and in their examinations in advanced art subjects, was the grant to the "evening school," which, at one end of the scale, might be the evening section of a London Polytechnic with thousands of students and hundreds of courses and, at the other, might be the village evening class in the "three R's" or in one of them. Practical work in crafts or trade processes was not excluded from recognition, but in fixing a rate of grant regard was had to the extent to which the instruction elucidated principles and their application, as distinct from affording practice directed to the acquisition of manipulative skill.

20. A group of day classes which supplied to students who had taken a three year course in a recognised secondary school, or to other students over 16 (temporarily 15) qualified by previous general education, an organised advanced course in science, or in science and art, with or without other subjects, extending over at least two years, entitled the institution providing the course to be recognised as a "technical institution" and to receive grants in respect of students who attended the course for 600 hours in the year. The rate of grant for such attendance was 120s. in the first year and 180s. in the second or any later year. Proportional payments were allowed on students attending part-time at an approved fraction of a course and for students attending full-time, but for less than the hours specified for the full grant, and grants up to 40s. (first year standard) or 60s. (higher standard) were allowed on the attendance of students at detached day technical classes of a standard appropriate for inclusion in a "technical institution course." To these capitation grants were added grants on examination results.

Art schools conducted during 36 weeks in a year with meetings of two hours duration on at least two days a week and meetings of similar duration on at least three evenings a week, were recognisable as "Schools of Art" if advanced art instruction was given and the principal teacher was adequately qualified. For the first five years grant to a new school was to be payable as if the attendance of the students had been made in an evening school. Subsequently, and for schools already five years in existence in 1904, a fixed annual grant was paid to be re-assessed after detailed inspection at intervals of three years. The Art schools not recognised as "Schools of Art" were aided in respect of day and evening work as if all the attendance had been in evening classes. Grants on examination results were also payable.

21. These regulations of 1904 were designed, so far as they concerned evening schools, to make a possibility of recognition for classes in almost every department of knowledge. Further, they purported to provide a scheme of grants appropriate not merely to the intrinsic characters of the subjects, but also to the wide range of variation possible for most subjects, in the age of the students and the standard of study, the qualifications of the

teacher and the actual efficiency of his instruction, the cost incurred in the installation and upkeep of special equipment and the supply of material for use by students and, not least in importance, the size of the classes which could be formed as the students proceeded to more and more advanced stages of their subjects.

It is unnecessary to state the details of the considerable amendments which were made from time to time. Some of them were intended by way of better adjustment to actual conditions, e.g. in 1914 a limited provision for inclusive grants to larger institutions was extended to all the day and evening technical work of those institutions, so that variations of grant, according to the fluctuation in attendance from year to year, became unnecessary, and cost as well as merit and volume of work could be considered. In the same year provision was made for a class-hour grant for the smaller schools under authorities, and loss of grant by unavoidable depletion of attendance through the war was thus minimised. Other changes were intended to foster new developments as they arose, e.g. in 1908 improved rates of grant were offered for higher work in literary subjects (including economics) in order to promote the adult education movement; in 1913 a special scheme of grants was devised for university tutorial classes, and in 1924 a separate body of regulations was issued for all non-L.E.A. adult education; in 1920 the numerous conditions of detail, which applied to evening classes and to ordinary part-time day classes, were made capable of modification in their application to day continuation schools. Some important changes were made to encourage technical instruction in rural areas, but in 1912 the Board ceased to have responsibility for any technical instruction of agriculturists.

22. The regulations of 1904 contemplated no day courses in science of a lower standard than was appropriate in a post-secondary "technical institution course," and no courses without science. Some of the subsequent changes were of special importance. In 1905 grants were offered for courses designed to meet the technical requirements of the students by grouped "day technical classes" not necessarily of the standard required in a technical institution course. The grant for each student was not to exceed £2 unless in the year he attended more than 200 hours in work of a higher standard than that of the first year of a technical institution course, or more than 400 hours at other work; in either case the grant might then be raised to £3. In the same year the scale of limiting capitation rates for "technical institution courses" was materially improved; but in 1911 work of this type in universities and constituent colleges of universities became aidable under a separate statement of grants to such institutions in respect of technological and professional work.

23. In 1913 those full-time "day technical classes" which were definitely of a pre-apprenticeship character, or were trade schools, became eligible for aid under a separate body of regulations for

" junior technical schools," which offered annual capitation grants at the rate of £3 for pupils under 13 at the beginning of the school year and £5 for older pupils, the last rate being subject to augmentation up to not more than £7 if the course of instruction was of a specially expensive kind. In the same year those " day technical classes " which were in residential institutions which prepared boys for the sea came under the regulations for " schools of nautical training " which provided, in respect of each boy leaving after at least 12 months of instruction, a grant of £10, or more in proportion to the actual period of instruction, up to a maximum of £20. In 1919, courses of " advanced instruction in arts " were made recognisable and eligible for like grants with " technical institution courses."

No change of material importance was made in the regulations affecting Art Schools until 1913 when instruction in non-artistic subjects was made recognisable in order to facilitate, among other developments, the organisation in attachment to the Schools of Art of full-time or part-time " preparatory " departments with courses including subjects of general education. In 1916 such departments were described as " junior " and are so termed to-day.

24. For the institutions which are not under the local education authority grant is still paid under the regulations we have described, which since 1906 have been described as regulations for technical schools, schools of art and other forms of provision of further education. But in consequence of the provision under the Education Act of 1918 of grant based upon the expenditure of the local education authority for higher education the financial arrangements of the regulations have been superseded for the schools under the Authority, which are the great majority. In other respects than finance and particularly as supplying a basis for the description, classification and statisticising of the further education under the local education authorities the regulations still held good ; and for the best part of twenty years the regulations determined the amount of the State assistance to the authorities. This assistance, it may be added, was in respect of the running expenses of the schools, and no aid for the capital expenses of provision or equipment was available before 1918.

General Conditions at the Present Day.

25. We turn now to the task of describing what is being done in the way of further education at the present time under the supervision of the Board of Education. Since 1919 technological instruction in universities and constituent colleges of universities has ceased to be aidable by the Board, except that four institutions are still aided in respect of evening or day classes which are not conducted under the regulations for university degrees or diplomas ; the Board also aid the day technological instruction and the evening technical or other classes of three university colleges which are not constituent colleges of any university and the day and evening instruction in art given in three university institutions of which one

is a constituent college. In 1912 the Board ceased to supervise technical instruction for agriculturalists or intending agriculturalists, whether given in University Departments of Agriculture, in other Agricultural Colleges, in Farm Institutes and Farm Schools or in part-time courses under the local education authorities. Of what does fall within the Board's province, viz., technical schools, schools of art, and part-time classes for adolescents and adults, we do not propose to notice in detail what has become known as "adult education"* (part-time classes designed for the liberal education of adults), since a substantial account of that branch of further education was given in Chapter VI of our Report for the year 1922-23.

26. *The existing types of courses.*—The account of the regulations given above shows that an arrangement for further education must be identifiable as coming within some one of the following categories:—

- (a) a "day continuation school" or course:
- (b) an "evening school" comprising evening or "similar" classes, similarity residing in the fact that the class, whether held in the evening or not, is to be planned for persons who are ordinarily fully occupied otherwise than as students, not, of course, excluding, in the case of women, those who are busy with household duties:
- (c) a full-time "technical institution course" which must include science and must be post-secondary in standard and, so far as possible, in organisation:
- (d) a course of "advanced instruction in arts," which must be post-secondary in standard and in organisation:
- (e) a "day technical class" of advanced standard, or "day technical classes" organised to give instruction adapted to the technical requirements of the students, amongst which are to be found full-time courses, post-elementary in character, for persons under 16:
- (f) a "junior technical school":
- (g) a "school of nautical training":
- (h) a "school of art," or a "junior department" of a school of art or a "branch" of a school of art:
- (i) a day "art class," or more properly an art school of minor importance.

27. The official category of "evening and similar schools and classes" covers arrangements for students of all ages above the age of obligatory full-time attendance, and of both sexes, without

* As we do not in this part of the Report describe in detail the effect of the Adult Education Regulations of 1924, it is sufficient to notice here that an account of the types of work falling under those regulations was given on page 102 of the Report for the year 1923-24.

distinction of the subjects studied. No highly organised structure could have been predicted for an evening school system designed to attract, and reasonably to satisfy the demands of, a large voluntary attendance of young workers. But the conception of a grouped course of study in which there is a balanced combination of subjects to be studied through a school year, or a succession of school years, by attendance on two, or, more commonly in the case of boys, three, evenings a week, has from the early days of evening schools commended itself locally and centrally as a means of organising evening study. The grouped course system, which obtained in Lancashire and Yorkshire towns, early in the century and was adopted in London in 1913, makes it possible to exhibit a certain stratification in evening school education. It is not applicable to all such education nor universally applicable to particular sections of it: but much evening continuation school work for boys and girls and the most important sections of evening technical school work for men and boys reflect this classification. The highest degree of organisation yet reached implies subject-matter susceptible of study extending progressively through five or more years of substantial attendance after entry to the evening technical school at 16. Neither in respect of the time which girls and women can give to evening school attendance, nor in the subject-matter, does housewifery lend itself to such organisation, but what is done for girls and women who are prepared to go to evening schools is not for that reason less important than what is done for men. The women over 21 who attend evening schools are, in fact, more numerous than the men of a like age, though there are few, if any, grouped courses for women which offer opportunities of continuously progressive study over a series of years. Grouped courses of evening study are classified as (i) "preparatory" if arranged for those who require a repetition of the work of the public elementary school; (ii) "junior" if adapted to the needs of children who pass at 14 from the public elementary school to the evening school, for a two years study; (iii) "senior" if adapted to the needs of students who have left the "junior" course, or have left a school higher in standard than an ordinary public elementary school at 15 or 16 and proceeded forthwith to the evening technical or commercial school, for a course of at least two years duration; (iv) "advanced," if adapted to the needs of older students and planned to reach, within the limits of the subjects covered, the standard of university work. In conformity with this classification we find the evening schools of the provincial towns with their "junior" technical, commercial, and (sometimes) domestic courses, and the "junior technical" and "junior commercial" institutes in London. In some provincial towns there are "branch" technical schools which deal with "senior," but not "advanced" work, though in all but the largest towns the "technical school" provides all the senior and advanced courses for both men and women. Part I of the Board's

List 111* gives the names of institutions classed for the purpose of the List as technical colleges, with particulars of the subjects in which there are evening and similar classes. It may be taken that the admission of students under 16 to the evening classes of these places would be exceptional and still more exceptional would be the provision in them of junior evening grouped courses. Junior day grouped courses (day continuation courses) are held in a few of them.

28. In the grading of full-time instruction similar terms are used. Those schools and courses which, like junior technical schools, schools of nautical training, certain day technical classes (junior commercial schools and junior domestic economy schools) and junior art departments, receive their pupils from public elementary schools at 13 or 14 for a course of three or two years (or exceptionally for shorter courses) to be completed at about 16 years of age, are, in relation to other full-time courses of further education, "junior": technical institution courses, certain day technical classes which are definitely post-secondary (senior commercial courses) and courses of advanced instruction in arts are all "senior," unless the course is of sufficient duration to enable students who complete it to enter a final university examination for a degree, in which case the term "advanced" is appropriate. In List 111 the duration of each technical institution course is given; it may be taken that every such course of no more than two years' duration is of "senior" standard only, and that some only of the courses of three years' duration are "advanced."

29. *The Character and Government of the Institutions.*—Almost every one of the more important "institutions" for further education is composite in character, in that it comprises under a single management work assignable to two or more of the official categories of recognition which are set out in (a) to (i) of paragraph 38 above. List 111 gives information about the principal institutions and a study of that list is indispensable for a full understanding of the technical school and art school arrangements of the country. It is of particular interest at this point to notice that the great majority of the institutions, great and small, in which further education is given are "directed" for this purpose by the local education authority. Of the few that are not directed the following are the most important:—

Colleges.

Merchant Venturers' Technical College, Bristol, with evening classes and day technical classes in navigation and business training.

University of Leeds, evening classes.

* List of the more important technical schools and of the schools of art recognised by the Board of Education: H.M. Stationery Office, 1922, price 4s.

University College, Nottingham: evening classes, technical institution courses in engineering and mining, day technical classes in mining.

University College,* Reading: evening classes and a school of art.

University College, Southampton: evening classes, technical institution course in engineering.

School of Metalliferous Mining, Cornwall: evening classes, technical institution course in metalliferous mining and a school of art.

Wigan and District Mining and Technical College: evening classes, technical institution courses in mining, engineering and chemistry, a junior technical school, a junior commercial school and a school of art.

South Wales and Monmouthshire School of Mines: technical institution courses and day technical classes.

Working Men's College, St. Pancras, London: evening classes.

National Training School of Cookery, Westminster, London: evening classes and day technical classes.

Architectural Association School, Holborn, London: technical institution course.

Birmingham and Midland Institute, Birmingham: evening classes.

Technical College, Gloucester: evening classes, junior technical school, day continuation classes and a school of art.

Harris Institute, Preston: evening classes, day technical classes in commerce, a junior technical school and a school of art.

Marine School, South Shields: evening classes, day technical classes in marine engineering, navigation and wireless telegraphy.

Schools of Art.

Armstrong College, University of Durham, Newcastle.

Penzance, Cornwall.

Mansfield, Nottinghamshire.

Croydon.

Junior Technical Schools.†

Stanley Trade School, Croydon.

* Now the University of Reading.

† For technical reasons separate grants have been made in respect of the junior technical schools in the London Polytechnics and the Doncaster Technical College, but they have in practice been "directed" schools.

Schools of Nautical Training.

None of these is directed by an authority.

Of less important schools which are not directed seven are day or evening continuation schools maintained by firms for the benefit of their employees, three are schools of nautical cookery maintained by the Shipping Federation. Of the rest most are evening classes in non-local orphanages or in clubs for working girls.

30. There can be no doubt that under the system of municipal provision of schools, and municipal support of non-provided schools, our further education, including technical education, has reached a pitch of development and of efficiency which could not have been attained in any other way. There are, however, some difficulties incidental to the system, particularly in respect of the more advanced and costly forms of technical education. Most of the great technical schools are in London or a county borough, and almost every one of them might to great advantage serve a district extending into an area other than that of the authority which provides or maintains the school. But the maintaining authority cannot be expected to make provision at its own cost for students living outside its own area. In recent years there has been an extension of the practice of charging differential fees, and some authorities are unwilling to admit outside students unless the whole of the estimated cost in relation to the number of external students is paid to the authority by, or for, such students. To some extent this arrangement has led to a satisfactory accommodation as between neighbouring authorities. But the difficulty has by no means been universally overcome. In some areas, students who could profit by advanced instruction, which is not available and could not be economically provided in the areas to which they belong, find the terms on which they can attend appropriate instruction in adjoining areas entirely prohibitive. It is interesting to note that where, as in a few cases, the technical school is on a foundation having a governing body, of which some members are nominated by a county borough, and others by the authority for the neighbouring county, the two authorities give liberal aid, sometimes in proportion to the attendance from the respective areas. In each of these cases the school is made available on reasonable terms to all the students who reside within a reasonable distance.

31. *Premises.*—The third period has not been so productive of buildings for further education as was the second, when the responsibilities of the local authorities were restricted to technical education. When secondary education and the training of teachers were added to the responsibilities of the local authorities circumstances were obviously less favourable for the execution of large projects for technical school buildings; in those areas where such matters had been neglected in the second period, continued inattention was only to be expected.

especially as the Board's grants for further education made no effective provision for aiding expenditure upon buildings. A few buildings, sometimes designed for joint use by secondary and technical schools, were, however, provided during the third period, even before the legislation of 1918 introduced conditions more favourable for capital expenditure. But, of the counties, only Cheshire, Kent, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Middlesex, Somerset, Staffordshire and the West Riding were active before 1918. In London, after completing the work in progress at the end of the second period, the Council, before the war, provided a new building of the first order of importance for the Central School of Arts and Crafts, rehoused the School of Photo-engraving and Lithography, built new schools in Hammersmith and Lambeth, gave assistance to important enlargements of five of the polytechnics and enlarged five of its own institutes. Building work, rarely of the first order of importance, was done also at Barrow, Birkenhead, Blackpool, Bournemouth, Bradford, Burnley, Leicester, Liverpool, Lincoln, Manchester, Portsmouth, Rochdale, Sheffield, Smethwick, Stoke-on-Trent, Stockport, Warrington, Worcester, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea.

32. Since 1918 several very important projects for further education buildings have been more or less seriously discussed. A few of these were perhaps attributable to the post-war enthusiasm for educational developments of all kinds, and others were intended to provide *inter alia* for day continuation schools. But most of the projects arose from a conviction that valuable existing work is inadequately housed or from a belief that important developments in technical education are becoming necessary. A few sites for new institutions have been obtained, and one at least of these was to be a college of the first rank. But financial difficulties have prevented the submission of all but a few building plans, and the Board have not been able to sanction the immediate execution of all that has survived local discussion. The story of actual progress, since 1918 is, therefore, not impressive. The first instalment of an entirely new technical college building has been erected at Wolverhampton, and through the munificence of Alderman Eastwood who contributed a site and £25,000 for the purpose, the first instalment of a technical school for Chesterfield has been supplied. A mining institute has been provided at Coalville in Leicestershire, the mining school at Nuneaton has been enlarged and less important special provision for mining instruction has been made at centres in the West Riding and elsewhere. In all these cases assistance has been provided from the Miners' Welfare Fund from which grants have also been made for the equipment of these and other places of mining education. In other departments of several important technical colleges there have been improvements in equipment, the occasion being, as a rule, the dispersal of some local collection of machine tools, etc., made for war or post-war special uses. In London the most

important developments since 1918 are the transfer of the principal printing school from the St. Bride Foundation Institute to an adapted building providing much more accommodation in Southwark, and the rebuilding of the Wandsworth Technical Institute; other important developments, including the extension of the Hackney Technical Institute, the extension of Regent Street Polytechnic, the extension of the Northern Polytechnic and the rebuilding of the Barrett Street Trade School for Girls, are either now proceeding or waiting for the Board's consent.

33. The problem of supplying a great town with adequate technical school buildings may, in these days, be one of peculiar complexity. A University is, or tends to be, attended only by full-time day students: but the technical college or school of the English type is almost invariably much more frequented in the evening than in the day, and, the more important the institution, the wider is the area from which it should draw its students. A site near a principal traffic node is, therefore, much to be desired, and a site in a suburb such as may be appropriate and even preferable for a university college, a training college or a secondary school would often be definitely unsuitable for the technical college of a large city. Students of both sexes engaged in a great variety of occupations, with educational needs of a corresponding range of specialisation, expect to find instruction in the local college and, except in the very largest towns, a single college for all kinds of instruction is normally preferable. In such an institution there must be a number of specially fitted rooms, each of which can be used by students of one only of the many groups in attendance, and the college is, therefore, an extensive building in itself, and exceptionally costly in relation to its extent in respect of the character and the amount of its special equipment. Such considerations help to explain both the frequency and the persistence in this country of make-shift arrangements for further education, and it may be that, when all circumstances are considered, our arrangements are not less creditable than those of other countries.

34. At the same time it must be admitted that the accounts of technical school premises given by Your Majesty's Inspectors show that the work is sometimes carried on not merely under serious disabilities, but even under conditions of material environment which must be distasteful to teachers who have known the amenities of study in a university, and cannot but repel those students, at least, who have had recent experience of a modern secondary school. The following passages, taken from a considerable list of extracts from recent reports, illustrate conditions which are unfortunately less rare than could be desired. "The school buildings, originally designed for a grammar school, have since 1911 been used for the technical school. The development of the latter necessitated the erection on adjoining land of temporary structures and

the acquisition of a neighbouring factory. The buildings, at no time suitable for the work, have in recent years proved exceedingly inconvenient : the Principal has to carry on his administrative work in a room measuring about 10 feet square : there is no common room for the teaching staff, no room for the use of students, no rest room for the women staff and students ; and the sanitary arrangements are very much below standard."—" While the college possesses a considerable amount of valuable equipment, much of it is rendered almost entirely useless by the entirely inadequate room in which it is housed. The larger pieces of apparatus and machinery are crowded round the walls of a room which is used mainly as a classroom. The equipment for the practical study of electrical engineering is meagre, and the room in which the electrical machines are housed is a very small and dingy store in the basement."—" The premises consist of portions of a large house which has on two occasions undergone some alterations : the only convenient part is a semi-permanent extension in which engineering instruction is given. Dressmaking is carried out on wood-work benches, and plumbing is taught in a cellar. There is no staff-room, no students' common room, no library, though there are many books : the cloak-room and lavatory accommodation is unsatisfactory and the main corridor contains an objectionable projecting staircase."—" The lecture room is so badly lighted that it is impossible to see anything on the black-board, and in the laboratory the lighting is so poor that volumetric or colorimetric work is impossible, and the atmosphere is bad. A specimen or precipitate obtained in the laboratory must be carried down a series of flights of stairs, across an open yard, through a gate, across another yard, before it reaches a recently provided furnace."—" The school is accommodated in three rooms and a large upstairs hall of a mechanics' institute ; a science laboratory and workshop in the premises of an elementary school about a quarter of a mile away, have recently been made available. The class-rooms are low and badly ventilated, while the large hall has to be used for two classes simultaneously at certain periods. No satisfactory cloak-room accommodation exists."

35. *The Teachers.*—About 3,000 teachers devote all their time to schools for further education. A small number of whole-time teachers divide their time between such schools and schools of other types. In addition to these full-time teachers who, as a rule, are mainly occupied in morning or afternoon teaching, several thousands of persons are engaged for evening teaching only. Of these very many are full-time teachers in elementary and secondary schools who undertake evening teaching under separate engagements ; the rest are primarily occupied in industry, commerce and professions. In general, if not universally, the full-time teachers of subjects such as languages, literature, mathematics and pure science have had the same educational antecedents as secondary school teachers of the same subjects. In the more important technical colleges it is necessary to have men

of high academic qualifications in the principal posts concerned with pure and applied science. The evening teachers of English subjects, elementary mathematics and science are, as a rule, also full-time teachers in elementary or secondary schools; but for some of the language teaching, persons of foreign origin, engaged during the day in business, are employed. Most full-time teachers of engineering subjects are members of an engineering professional institution and many are also graduates. Men professionally qualified as architects teach students of architecture and students concerned with the constructional side of building. In commercial colleges and the more important departments of general technical colleges, there is a tendency to appoint graduates in commerce or economics to the principal posts. Mining subjects are taught by teachers holding a statutory qualification of competence to manage a mine, and several of these teachers have studied in mining departments of universities or in recognised mining colleges. The specialised subjects of pharmacy are taught by persons holding the major qualification of the professional body of whom few, as yet, have had the opportunity of graduating. Domestic economy teachers have, as a rule, been trained in recognised training colleges for intending teachers. In the Schools of Art the principal posts are usually, but not invariably, filled by professional art masters, most of whom have studied for some years in the Royal College of Art.

36. Besides the teachers above described, who hold specific academic or professional qualifications, there are many others, full-time as well as part-time, whose title to give instruction in their subjects consists of experience of industry, handicraft or commerce together with some aptitude for the work of teaching. In this group are to be found most teachers of textiles, of printing and process work, of boot- and shoe-making, of engineering and building crafts, of needle trades work, and of office arts. In many important schools of art there are visiting teachers of artistic handicrafts, and in London some of the most successful teaching of drawing, painting and illustration is done by practising artists of repute.

37. The more important institutions for further education in this country are of the polytechnic type (though that description is rarely used outside London, Croydon and Middlesex) and comprise several departments each having day and evening students and normally full-time and part-time teachers. Many institutions of this type have more than a thousand individual students. The Principal of such an institution is responsible for its general administration (normally with some clerical assistance) as well as for its educational organisation and management, and no other kind of educational post presents a close parallel to his ultimate responsibilities whether internal or external. Internally, he has to direct a large staff of teachers of various qualifications and antecedents, many of whom are employed for not more than a year at a time and must be

re-appointed or replaced at the end of the year : externally, he may be charged with a general oversight over the continuation schools which work in connection with his own institution, and it is essential for the best results in his own school that he or his staff should seek relations with persons engaged in the occupations in which his students are, or hope to be, employed. However able and enthusiastic a Principal may be, the task of bringing his school to a high pitch of efficiency may be too heavy unless he can entrust some of his internal educational responsibilities to members of the staff who are specialists in subjects with which he is not himself acquainted and can divide their time between actual teaching and departmental organisation and supervision. An important technical school, even if it has no day courses of instruction, will normally require at least one full-time head of department in addition to a full-time Principal. There is at least one important evening technical school with over 1,000 students in the several departments of work, in which apart from men of the mechanic type, there is no full-time teacher other than the Principal. Your Majesty's Inspectors have found in such cases that, through no fault or insufficiency on the part of the Principal, the work in one direction or another betrays a lack of expert direction. Such cases are, fortunately, less common than they were.

38. Of the actual teaching much is given by persons who are either not primarily engaged in teaching or have become teachers by profession after a considerable experience of some other occupation, and in both classes there are many who have not had the advantage of an extended academic training. A particular section of a large technical school with day courses may, according to its individual aims and the qualifications of the teachers, be comparable with a secondary school or with a department of a university institution. But as between schools for further education in the mass and schools of any other type there is as strong a contrast in the composition of the staffs as there is in aims, organisation and the circumstances and aspirations of the students. In such circumstances a judgment of the comparative efficiency of the teaching, even if it were possible, would be misleading. It is more important to understand the conditions which bear upon the degree of success to be expected. For example, in day continuation schools it is not uncommon to employ teachers who have had experience in elementary or sometimes secondary schools. But success in ordinary day school work may not guarantee success in a day continuation school. In such a school there is often on each day in the week a different set of pupils to be taught and each teacher is brought into contact with many more pupils than he or she would have to deal with in an elementary or a secondary school ; in an ordinary school the pupils are under continuous instruction, in a day continuation school the teacher has to pick up in each lesson the thread of what was being done a week ago, and unless home work is being done the pupils may in the interval have given little thought

to school work. The evening school teacher who is occupied during the day in an ordinary school does not invariably perceive the need for a variation of the methods which are successful with his day school class. Those who attend evening schools are not primarily students but wage-earners, their attendance is voluntary and for a short period in each week. Completely successful work in such circumstances requires not only a concentration upon certain aspects of a subject, but also the application of a technique adapted to the conditions. For subjects not commonly taught in day schools there is often difficulty in finding specialist part-time teachers who at the outset exhibit a high degree of teaching ability. The development of technical education has enabled some men and women to pass from industry, commerce or a profession into full-time teaching, as a rule, after a period of experience in part-time teaching. The great majority of specialist teachers, full-time or part-time, have thus had to develop their teaching ability mainly by experience. The heads of institutions have sometimes found it possible to supply guidance as to methods, but there are obvious difficulties where the head has himself no more than a superficial acquaintance with the subject for which it is necessary to employ a specialist. In these circumstances it is not surprising that Your Majesty's Inspectors sometimes find it necessary to comment in their reports upon weaknesses of method, such as failure to save time and effort by substituting collective instruction at suitable opportunities for repeated instruction to individuals; a tendency to demonstrate to students how more difficult operations should be done instead of insisting that they should make their own attempts; undue dependence upon lecturing and insufficient questioning of students to make sure of the effect of the instruction; the laborious dictation, or *in extenso* writing on the blackboard, of lecture notes entailing waste of time on the one hand, and, on the other, a failure to train students in the taking of their own notes; or occasionally a failure to appreciate the need for a careful planning of a scheme of instruction in relation to the time the students can give to their studies. But, on the whole, good work is being done by teachers drawn from industry, not excluding those who are without academic or professional training; almost all teachers of textiles, for example, are qualified primarily on the basis of manufacturing experience. Some of them possess, in addition to an extensive and intimate knowledge of at least one branch of the industry, an originality of outlook, and a natural ability for educational affairs, by which they have been able to make important improvements in textile education.

39. This is not the occasion to speak in detail of the short full-time and part-time courses which have been directly organised by the Board for teachers of elementary mathematics, engineering, building, mining, textiles, boot- and shoe-manufacture, painting and decorating, dressmaking and millinery. There is no doubt that work of this kind is as necessary among teachers in schools for further

education as among teachers in ordinary schools; appreciative letters from those teachers who have attended the courses show that the opportunity of hearing the addresses and of engaging in discussion with colleagues and with Your Majesty's Inspectors and the lecturers employed for the courses has been most welcome. More extensive arrangements of this kind are eminently desirable; but there is little opportunity in such courses for dealing with the fundamentals of the teaching craft. It is in those matters that the part-time teacher drawn from industry or commerce most needs help when he or she first takes up teaching. Substantial courses of training are out of the question, but more might be done to enable recruits to part-time work to observe the methods of the best teachers of their own subjects. The issue of concise hints and suggestions dealing with particular subjects, and preferably drawn up by well known specialist teachers of the respective subjects, also seems worth consideration as a practical way of helping beginners to appreciate the importance of a sound technique.

40. *Students: their numbers.*—The figures in this section are for both England and Wales and refer to attendance in "school years" which were completed within the twelve months which ended on 31st July, 1924.

(i) *Individual Students in Evening Schools and Classes.*

	Under 14	14 and under 16	16 and under 18	18 and under 21	21 and over	All.
<i>In "Colleges"—</i>						
Boys and Men ...	148	8,494	26,570	33,180	35,108	103,500
Girls and Women ..	163	3,370	6,771	7,540	20,970	38,814
<i>In other Evening Schools—</i>						
Boys and Men ..	6,226	98,474	56,865	34,421	55,169	251,155
Girls and Women ..	5,280	80,037	42,792	29,444	85,797	243,360
<i>In all Schools—</i>						
Boys and Men ..	6,374	106,968	83,435	67,601	90,277	354,655
Girls and Women ..	5,453	83,407	49,563	36,984	106,767	282,174

Three points of particular interest in these figures are the extent of the attendance of students over 16 at evening schools not placed in the "College" group, the preponderance of boys and men among the students who are under 21 and the preponderance of women among the students over 21. Similar figures area by area would, of course, not exhibit a uniform picture in these respects, but the general trend of the figures is strongly marked. On the first point, it is worth notice that much relatively advanced commercial instruction which requires no elaborate equipment, is offered outside the institutions in the "College" group. On the second point, it is generally found, even where the authority is willing to make ample provision, that the response of girls, no doubt for good reasons

including, for example, the calls of home duties, is not so good as that of boys. As to the third point it would seem that adult women are either more interested than their younger sisters in the opportunity of improving themselves in the domestic arts, or are in a better position to take advantage of it.

(ii) *Individual Students in Day Continuation Schools.*

		Under 14.	14 and under 16.	16 and over.	ALL.
Boys	.. .. .	403	8,319	3,347	12,069
Girls	.. .. .	317	8,538	2,492	11,347

(iii) *Individual Pupils in Junior Technical Schools.*

		Under 13.	13 and under 15.	15 and over.	ALL.
Boys	.. .. .	1,187	7,212	1,791	10,190
Girls	.. .. .	4	1,273	521	1,798

(iv) *Individual Pupils and Students in Day Technical Classes.*

		Under 13	13 and 15 under 15	15 and 18 under 18	18 and 21 under 21	21 and over.	ALL.
Boys and Men	..	284	1,235	1,397	965	2,416	6,297
Girls and Women	..	94	1,727	1,642	822	1,651	5,936

In this group are included full-time schools for pupils who will normally be under 16 on completing the course (viz. junior commercial schools, junior housewifery schools and junior industrial courses), full-time senior commercial courses, mainly post-secondary, day classes for instruction in domestic arts often for part-time students, day classes in which short full-time courses can be taken in preparation for Board of Trade Certificates (Masters and Mates), and short full-time vacation courses mainly for teachers.

Corresponding figures for the year 1922-23 with some particulars about the different types of courses under this head are given in Tables 83 and 84 of the published statistics for the year in question.

(v) *Individual Pupils in Technical Institution Courses and Courses of Advanced Instruction in Arts.*

		Under 16.	16 and under 18.	18 and under 21.	21 and over.	ALL.
Boys and Men	..	174	1,082	1,564	887	3,707
Girls and Women	..	5	65	229	121	420

An analysis of the corresponding figures for the year 1922-23 showing the subjects in connection with which these courses have been arranged is given on pages 92 and 93 (Tables 75, 76 and 77) of the volume of Educational Statistics for that year. It will be seen that, apart from engineering and chemistry, post-secondary full-time technical instruction has been as yet little developed.

(vi) *Individual Pupils and Students in Junior Departments of Art Schools.*

	Under 13.	13 and under 15.	15 and over.	All.
Boys	46	632	315	988
Girls	24	344	173	541

(vii) *Other Pupils and Students in Art Schools.*

	Under 13.	13 and under 15.	15 and under 18.	18 and under 21.	21 and over.	All.
Boys and Men ..	543	3,440	8,309	4,818	6,220	23,330
Girls and Women ..	455	2,392	5,602	4,546	11,585	24,580

(viii) *Individual Pupils in Schools for Nautical Training.*

	Under 13.	13 and under 15.	15 and over.	All.
Boys	365	1,068	96	1,529

41. *The aims and characteristics of the Students.*—Full-time students in junior and even in senior courses in technical, commercial and art schools are there for much the same kinds of reasons as account for attendance at secondary schools. Among these the interest of parents in the future of their children is normally decisive, and as full-time courses in the schools in question have a definitely vocational outlook, the conditions, if the teaching is reasonably competent, are conducive to zealous work. Much the same may be said of those day continuation schools, such as are to be found in London and West Ham, which give opportunities for part-time day education to children whose parents desire that they should wait for suitable openings before they begin work. But the great majority of the students in schools for further education are, at all ages, fully occupied in the day and attend voluntarily in the evening. As the evening school habit becomes well established, school authorities can better carry out their own conception of what is good for the younger students, but on the whole our part-time further education is what it is, mainly because young persons who have finished their full-time education in a public elementary school have desired further intellectual or manual instruction, mainly along vocational or other specialised lines. Few boys and girls who join an evening school soon after leaving an elementary day school might be able to give a very precise account of their reasons for doing so. Your Majesty's Inspectors who have specially interested themselves in the problems of part-time courses for juniors discern a variety of motives: some of the boys may have a definite ambition to proceed from stage to stage to the highest classes in the evening technical or commercial college: others with less zest for study may yet have a vague idea of improving their economic position: some again are studious by disposition, without any definite thought of the purposes to which knowledge may be put: some attend because parents have insisted, or teachers have advised, or employers have

encouraged : others may be impelled rather by a desire for company or social intercourse or may even be attracted by the comparative comfort of the evening school during winter evenings. These junior students are, of course, still boys and girls : the older students, proportionately less numerous, are correspondingly more definite in their purpose. Normally, if not invariably, they want vocational instruction, and it is natural to think of our senior evening students as so many young engineers, builders, textile workers, miners, printers, office employees, accountants' pupils, insurance and banking clerks and so forth. Most of them want to become better equipped, perhaps not so much for the precise work in which they are occupied as for some superior work to which they have a more or less definite prospect of advancement. But it would be as erroneous to suppose that all these students have solely the motive of a personal advantage, to be reaped at some more or less remote date, as to believe that they are moved solely by a zeal for learning. Though they may choose courses which are sometimes more narrowly utilitarian than their own teachers, not to speak of educational idealists, would desire; they are willing to work hard ; and the very limitation of their study is a safeguard against superficiality. Even if they do not know how best to get what they want, they know what they do want and do not come to school to be influenced, still less experimented upon, by the teacher : the teacher's strongest claim upon the students will be his ability to help them to accomplish their own purposes. With each successive year a process of elimination takes place, for only the strongest and most determined can stay the full course. In the senior classes there is often an influx of students who have passed through a secondary school, but the process of elimination is not arrested, so that those who remain in the courses to the age of 20 or 21 are among the sturdiest products of the system of public education. These strenuous conditions may, of course, leave a certain impress upon the students. For each there is little contact with any other students than those of the particular section to which he belongs ; the hours which can be spent in the school are necessarily few ; and preoccupation with the internal or external examinations by which the studies are directed and tested is naturally conducive rather to an attitude of independence than to the cultivation of those social activities and amenities which are so justly valued in connection with full-time schools. Those students who have had the advantage of a full-time education on broad lines will, other things being equal, make the best use of further education on specialised lines. But it is often through the interests awakened by technical education and the discipline of the studies connected with it that many students who have missed other educational advantages can best develop their own powers. They are often not interested in general ideas or in the ordinary academic pursuits, but can grasp patiently and firmly the more concrete aspects of their surroundings. In truth, the great majority of evening students would not be

attracted by literary study : their vocational interests do, however, provide a starting point, and interests in other intellectual pursuits which can be followed up, for example, in adult education classes may be developed by at least a few. For the others—probably a large majority—the technical school has served a highly useful purpose. In no other country is there less of a division than here between the higher and the lower ranks of industry, and we owe this in a large measure to the intelligence, enterprise and tenacity of former part-time technical students, not a few of whom have found their way to positions of high responsibility.

42. *Students and Examinations.*—A bare list of the examinations which at the present day attract candidates taught in schools for further education would show how extraordinarily wide the range of studies has become. It would also suggest that in this part, as in other parts, of the post-elementary field, examinations must be a powerful, if not a dominating, influence. In the earlier days of further education the examinations of three bodies were specially instrumental in promoting development of the system and in setting up standards. The Royal Society of Arts, which never aided schools by grants, encouraged commercial studies. The City and Guilds, which for a comparatively short period only was able to offer payments on results, continued thereafter to promote technological studies. The Board of Education, after the date on which the last grants on results were withdrawn and grants on attendance had become the basis of State aid, continued for a time to offer to individual students, including those in quite early stage of their subjects, the chance of a State certificate of attainments. From 1908 to 1911, in which year science examinations were held for the last time on the old system, the number of exercises examined fell from nearly 85,000 to about 62,500: the decline in the number of art exercises was more marked, as about 49,000 were examined in 1908 and only about 32,000 in 1912, the last year of the old system. The majority of candidates took only one subject of science or art : candidates for scholarships and some others took two or more subjects. The number of individuals examined was, therefore, something less than the number of exercises worked. But though the Board's examinations were falling somewhat out of favour they still affected a larger number of candidates than those of either the City and Guilds Institute (between 22,000 and 24,000 a year in 1908 to 1912) or the Royal Society of Arts (between 26,000 and 33,000 a year in the same period).

43. The part-time student who attends a school to acquire a craft or any manual or other skill which is immediately serviceable in his actual occupation may be indifferent to examinations, unless he has some special reason, such as an intention to teach, for desiring a certificate. But many of the older part-time students in technical and commercial schools are acquiring intellectual or other attainments not likely to be turned to direct account in their present posts,

or even in the positions to which their attainments as educational qualifications may help them to advance. That such students should, so to speak, desire to capitalise the effect of their studies by successes in reputable examinations is as natural as it is for secondary school pupils and university students to seek certificates and degrees or diplomas. The great majority of students in technical and commercial schools attend voluntarily in leisure time and as individuals rather than as members of groups. No large development of advanced study can be expected unless suitable certificates are to be obtained. To this extent it may be taken that in some departments of study examinations are indispensable to progress.

44. In the early days of further education the syllabuses of examining bodies supplied the only guidance which could be given to those of the teachers who, left to their own devices, would have been at a loss to plan courses for their students. In some subjects, at least, examining bodies can no longer function usefully in this direction. The proportion of barely competent teachers has been greatly reduced and technical teaching is concentrated in a comparatively small number of institutions so that the less competent or less experienced teachers can be brought under the direction of principals or heads of departments. Inspectors of varied qualifications, with teaching or other experience, are ready to collaborate with the teachers. Students have come to realise that it is to their advantage to attend on three nights a week, an arrangement which makes possible a systematic and thorough treatment of their subjects as divisible into branches. In this way it comes about that school staffs become more competent than external examining bodies to plan curricula and syllabuses which shall be appropriate to the needs of part-time students, to the time which they can be expected to devote to their education and to the actual organisation of their studies.

45. Grants on examination results were discontinued in 1906, but the examination system itself was not then terminated. In 1911 the Board decided upon a considerable restriction of the science examinations. The elementary examinations were abandoned because they no longer served any purpose that would not be as well served by local examinations of this standard and were, further, as single subject examinations, ill-adapted to the grouped course system upon which the Board desired part-time technical education to be based. Provision for the more advanced stages was still made, but as an alternative the Board offered to endorse certificates issued by schools. For this purpose schools were invited to frame curricula and syllabuses for three-night a week courses to extend over two or three years of study. The examinations were to be internal, subject in the final year to external assessment, and in order to qualify for a certificate a student had not merely to pass the final examination but also to satisfy the requirements of the scheme as to attendance, home work,

and the passing of internal tests in the earlier stages. During the war the advanced examinations were withdrawn except for the purpose of awarding scholarships, including Whitworth Scholarships and the State Scholarships tenable at the Imperial College of Science and Technology. For part-time students at least no suitable external examinations in subjects which the Board had covered were then available. Not many schools elaborated plans for their own certificates, whether for endorsement by the Board or otherwise. As there was thus a prospect that many deserving students would be left without a suitable mark to aim at, the opportunity of exchanging views on the subject with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers was welcomed by the Board, and led to co-operation in a plan for issuing joint certificates. The leading educational principles of the plan of 1911 were retained: but through the appointment of assessors, with functions which correspond to those of external examiners, who co-operate with the teachers of the school acting as internal examiners the Institution obtains guarantees which justify its part in the certification of individual students. The schemes of study are, as before, formulated locally, but are referred to the Institution as well as to the Board in respect of such points as the qualifications of the teachers, the adequacy of the equipment and the general suitability of the curricula and syllabuses. Obviously schemes of this kind throw upon all parties to them work of a kind that did not arise when syllabuses were dictated by examining bodies and questions were set and answers were marked by external examiners. And though the new plan works smoothly enough, simplification, if it were practicable, would be an improvement. But the situation to be dealt with is not simple. Most present day teachers of engineering are men of that standing, professional and academic, which makes it reasonable to hope that they will do their best work if they are not tied down to the task of teaching their students for purely external examinations. On the other hand the schools are numerous and as widely dispersed as is the engineering industry. Few of them as yet enjoy such a reputation as will secure general respect for their certificates if they are not backed by a central body. The intervention of the Institution lends some industrial currency to documents which otherwise might not be highly esteemed even as scholastic evidence of attainment. There is no doubt as to the popularity of the general plan in the schools. It has done at least something to interest members of the engineering profession locally in the technical school of their district. It has demonstrated in one or two schools that the demand of Your Majesty's Inspectors for a higher standard was not unreasonable. Last, and not least, the new plan has encouraged in some of the stronger schools the development of a higher stage of part-time instruction than had previously been attempted.

46. Schemes of a similar character have been negotiated with the Institute of Chemistry and with the Institution of Electrical Engineers. In connection with the Gas Industry a scheme of a rather different

character, extending also to Scotland and Ireland, has been arranged with the Institution of Gas Engineers. Negotiations are proceeding with the Institution of Naval Architects and the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights for a scheme for the benefit of shipbuilding apprentices.

47. The following table shows the extent to which advantage has so far been taken of these schemes :—

	<i>Part-time Courses.</i>						<i>Full-time Courses.</i>					
	<i>Ordinary.</i>			<i>Higher.</i>			<i>Ordinary.</i>			<i>Higher.</i>		
	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Candidates.</i>	<i>Passed.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Candidates.</i>	<i>Passed.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Candidates.</i>	<i>Passed.</i>	<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Candidates.</i>	<i>Passed.</i>
Mechanical Engineering												
1922 ..	46	1,017	521	9	104	69	6	96	38	3	32	16
1923 ..	73	1,138	606	17	185	122	6	58	38	5	46	30
1924 ..	76	1,104	564	23	239	166	7	55	40	4	37	31
1925 ..	82	1,083	572	31	302	213	7	49	32	4	31	28
Electrical Engineering—												
1924 ..	41	417	282	9	62	43	4	17	9	1	5	5
1925 ..	45	387	229	16	117	79	3	12	8	1	2	2
Chemistry—												
1922 ..	12	93	23	3	10	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
1923 ..	14	121	55	6	67	47	1	2	—	—	—	—
1924 ..	17	99	57	6	65	42	—	—	—	—	—	—
1925 ..	18	87	53	7	59	45	1	1	—	—	—	—
Gas Engineering—												
1924 ..	Not recorded.		11	Not recorded.		4						
1925 ..	7	25	17	4	13	9						
Gas Supply—												
1924 ..	Not recorded.		3	Not recorded.		—						
1925 ..	2	5	2	1	1	—						

48. The association of professional institutions with the Board is, of course, appropriate only in respect of those more ambitious students who look forward to work of a professional or semi-professional character. Arrangements of the kind are less necessary for full-time than for part-time students. Those who have matriculated will normally use opportunities of full-time study to prepare as external (exceptionally as internal) students for a University of London degree. In engineering, however, there is evidently some demand, among full-time students who for one reason or another do not become candidates for degrees, for a record of attainment and training of the National Certificate type. In Chemistry there is no parallel demand and in future the arrangements will make provision for part-time students only. Specially planned provision for students belonging to the Gas industry has not previously existed and as the courses are organised the number of candidates for certificates is expected to grow.

49. In the new system of Art Examinations which was introduced in 1913 the Board abandoned the old plan of holding unco-ordinated tests in the several branches of technique through which it had been assumed that the training of the artist in his craft could be conducted. The revised scheme provided for five examinations only, the subjects being drawing, painting, modelling, pictorial design and industrial design. In each examination there is a group of tests which, except as indicated in the next sentence, must be taken as a whole at one time. Some concession has been made in the interests of part-time students, who are assumed to be interested in industrial design, by dividing that examination into two parts, but success in both parts is required for success in the examination. The new examinations serve as the basis for awarding scholarships provided by the Board (mainly tenable at the Royal College of Art) and also enter into a scheme for teachers' certificates. The imposition of minimum age-limits, the exclusion from the examinations in painting, modelling and pictorial design of persons who have not passed in drawing, and the exacting character of the examinations themselves, all tend to keep the numbers comparatively low; competitors for scholarships and intending teachers seem to be the majority of the candidates. The following table shows the recent working of the scheme.

	1922		1923		1924		1925	
	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.
Drawing ..	228	68	289	86	281	114	273	115
Painting ..	32	16	28	21	26	19	26	16
Modelling ..	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	3
Pictorial Design	10	6	12	8	24	18	21	15
Industrial Design								
Pt. I ..	44	24	65	31	71	52	93	66
Pt. II ..	18	22	16	23	33	18	52	44
Both ..	72	19	76	30	97	49	87	21

In some schools no use is made of these examinations, and in almost every school the great majority of the students are not affected by them.

50. Until 1918 the City and Guilds of London Institute provided for testing students at different stages of their study of technology. The considerations which led to the dropping by the Board of the elementary science examinations as likely to delay progress and to impede the planning and effective carrying out of grouped courses suggested a like objection to the elementary examinations of the Institute. In 1918, after discussion with representatives of the Board, it was agreed to abandon in England and Wales examinations below the final except in very special circumstances and with the Board's consent. Other changes were in principle decided upon, such as the institution for the several subjects of advisory committees,

in the constitution of which teachers would be well represented. Difficulties of various kinds have prevented the complete accomplishment of these plans, and the Board in particular cases, especially when an appropriate industrial body has shown itself disposed to consider the technical education of young workers, has consented to the temporary resumption of the lower examinations of the Institute. So far little has been done to replace those examinations by locally managed examinations. In Lancashire and Cheshire, however, the long established Union of Institutes, which is now very closely associated with the local education authorities, has since 1918 perfected its scheme for grouped course curricula with related local examinations, and applied it to most of the locally important branches of industry. For some subjects none but local examinations are contemplated, for others there is a participation in National Certificate schemes. In cotton technology the City and Guilds final examinations will still be taken by advanced students, but the local grouped course system deals with all but the most advanced study: the co-ordination of these arrangements is secured by an advisory committee which serves with the Union and the Institute.

51. While in pure and applied science, in art and in technology the amount of examining done by non-local bodies has been greatly reduced since 1911, the examinations of the Royal Society of Arts in commercial subjects are conducted on a greater scale than before. Since 1916 when the number of exercises fell to 23,000 there has been a rise in each year, and in 1925 the number was over 70,000. These numbers include the exercises of pupils from full-time schools, but there is reason to suppose that part-time students have contributed to the increase. The young people who may expect to find in commercial schools instruction which corresponds to their own requirements include those who are employed in establishments concerned with wholesale or retail distribution as distinct from production, in various forms of transport, in the offices as distinct from the workshops of manufacturing firms, and in such occupations as banking, insurance and accountancy. Provision must be made for those who want skill in office arts, for those who want knowledge of one or more modern languages, for those who want some information about the principles or details of commercial and company law, for those who are interested in the principles and practice of banking, insurance or accountancy, and for those who want to study the trade in important raw materials and other commodities. That the students should be anxious for short cuts and should tend to a narrow conception of the study which will be worth the investment of their time and money is inevitable, and the task, to which much thought has been given, of organising a series of educational courses adapted to the widely ranging special interests of the students, has been no light one. Of late years the authorities of the higher commercial schools and departments in the greater commercial centres have seen the importance of placing them under the direction of men of

practical experience of business and, if possible, and with an academic training in commerce or economics. Such men are likely to give particular attention to the educational needs of those students who, after passing through a secondary school, have entered or propose to enter business. Sooner or later the bearing of existing commercial examinations upon efforts to organise courses suitable for students of this type will require discussion. For the moment the more important of the existing examinations seem reasonably well adapted to the existing stage of development in this branch of further education.

52. When a local scheme of part-time further education provides a definitely graded system of schools it is necessary to regulate the passage of students from one grade to another. Sometimes this is effected by means of common examinations which test the fitness of individual students to pass from the continuation school to the evening department of the technical college, or in some areas to the intermediate schools which are known as "branch" technical or commercial schools. Such examinations may also be used to regulate the work of the evening continuation schools and, with due allowance for circumstances, to test the efficiency of the teaching. There are some important instances of collaboration between neighbouring authorities in joint examination systems. The most highly developed arrangement of this type, that of the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, has already been mentioned; the most recent is the Northern Counties Technical Examinations Board. Through the acceptance of invitations to nominate Your Majesty's Inspectors to be members of advisory committees the Board are in touch with the planning and working of these schemes. If regard is had to certain principles, the most important of which is perhaps the association of teachers, through representatives, with the planning of the examination syllabuses, these schemes are likely at least to promote efficient teaching. It seems reasonable to conclude that the development of higher part-time technical instruction in the Lancashire and Cheshire district has been greatly assisted by the work of the advisory committees dealing with particular industries. Such a committee serves to bring teachers, inspectors and others concerned with educational administration into definite association with representative persons engaged in the industry.

53. *Relations of the Schools with Industry.*—It is not too much to say that, before the war, neither the scope nor the efficiency of technical school work was a matter of general interest to associations of employers or of workers. But, as we have had occasion to note in our historical account, employers as individuals long ago used to encourage learners and apprentices to supplement their works training by the study of mathematics, science and drawing. A few firms found it worth while to provide schools for their own staffs. More consideration than in the past is now given to the welfare of young workers, and the standard of both general and technical education

has been considerably advanced. In consequence the encouragement by employers of further education on general or technical lines is now more widespread than ever before. In a matter where so much depends upon the individual firm particulars which approximate to the quality of statistics are not to be expected. But a recent enquiry in the schools shows that in one way or another not less than 4,400 firms in England and Wales support attendance at technical schools and that not less than 68,000 young persons come under arrangements for encouraging it. These range from such active measures as taking part in "sandwich" schemes, under which the young person is alternately full-time at school and full-time in the works, or allowing time off each week for attendance at school during working hours, to comparatively passive arrangements for the consideration of periodical reports upon the progress of the individual employees who attend evening classes. The particulars collected in the schools show that 57 firms (including 37 engineering, 6 shipbuilding and 4 vehicle and railcarriage building) take part in "sandwich" schemes, and 1,756 (including 438 engineering, 328 printing, 277 building trades and plumbing, and 58 vehicle and railcarriage building) grant time off during ordinary working hours. These two are the most effective forms of encouragement but are not everywhere practicable without serious inconvenience. Even in the most favourable conditions a readjustment of the duties of learners is called for: in less favourable conditions either plan would mean loss of production or alternatively the engagement of a proportionately increased staff. As to evening attendance it is worth notice that in some occupations the tradition that the youth who wants to make his own way to a position of responsibility must begin by going to the technical school is so well established as to make the intervention of the employer or manager quite unnecessary.

54. In other ways connections are set up between technical schools and the industries to which they may hope to be of service. County Borough Education Committees not infrequently include, either as members of the appointing council or as co-opted members, persons engaged in local industries who, in the consideration of technical school matters, can represent industrial opinion. But in addition there are, in connection with some of the most efficient technical schools in the provinces, more or less formally constituted special advisory committees for important departments. These assist the schools, on some occasions no doubt as critics, but more often as interpreters, friends and helpers. In London there are several definitely constituted trade advisory committees, some dealing with the work in a number of schools, others dealing with monotecnics. The London School of Printing, for the maintenance of which an aggregate annual contribution of £2,500 is received from various trade sources, is under the immediate management of a trade advisory committee. Other evidence of industrial interest in the schools is to be found in the record of recent gifts in

money or in kind for building, extension or equipment. Without taking into account exceptional instances such as the gifts of the Constantine family for the provision of a Technical College at Middlesbrough (£80,000 or more), Alderman Eastwood's gift for the provision of a Technical School at Chesterfield (a site and £25,000), the fund for the enlargement of the Municipal College at Manchester (£60,000 already paid) and the various allocations from the central portion of the Welfare Fund for the development of higher technical education for miners, the value of gifts accruing in the last three years for the advancement of technical education may be safely put at not less than £120,000. In this total the principal items are, equipment of the London School of Printing (£17,000), two legacies of £10,000 each for the benefit of Sunderland Technical College, gifts of equipment for Bradford Technical College (£6,000), equipment for new engineering laboratories at Coventry (£5,800), a fund of nearly £4,700 for the improvement of the Textile Department at Leicester, and promises of £10,000 for the general cost of the enlargement of the College, equipment for the engineering department of the new college at Wolverhampton (£3,000). In addition, there are many gifts of smaller value which it would be impracticable to enumerate, but it is perhaps worth noting that industries like baking, building, and boot- and shoe-manufacture, as well as engineering, are represented in the list.

55. The wider possibilities of industrial co-operation in technical education deserve notice. Some occupations, even some productive occupations, are of such a character that a vocational, as distinct from continuative, education of the young worker is hardly necessary or practicable. But of others there is *prima facie* reason to think that the possibilities of advantage through technical school training have been insufficiently studied. The powers of Joint Industrial Councils extend to the consideration of the interests, educational and other, of the young workers. In favourable circumstances, the Councils for those industries which are insufficiently provided with technical school facilities might be expected to offer valuable suggestions to those engaged on either side in the industries and to those engaged in educational administration. The services of suitable officers of the Board have been available, so far as required, for the assistance of Councils desiring to consider educational topics. But the long depression of trade, and the preoccupation with more definitely industrial affairs of those Councils which have continued to function, have often prevented serious consideration of educational questions. In one way or another, however, certain of the Councils, including those for flour milling, heating and ventilating, engineering, pottery, printing and silk have interested themselves in the improvement of technical school work. Of the other Councils some have no doubt been well advised to leave the subject to other trade bodies interested, as for example in the case of painting and decorating where a Joint Education Committee

has done excellent work. In the boot and shoe industry co-operation between the industry and the local education authority in important centres of the manufacture such as Northampton County Borough, Northamptonshire County, Leicester, Leeds and Norwich, is so effective as to make action by the Joint Industrial Council superfluous. The research associations in connection with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research have taken powers to constitute education committees. This, as a reserve power, is important, because if an industry is to take full advantage of the results of research the technical education which is now available may, for some grades of workers at least, require extension or modification. On points of this kind authoritative opinions could be expressed by education committees of research associations. A consideration by the education committee of the cotton research association of the existing textile departments in the cotton district has led to the institution of a standing joint committee in which leading persons engaged in the textile industries meet the principal officers of the more important local education authorities in the district. The outlook of this body, which has already made an interim report, is not defined by terms of reference which confine it to the problems of technical education. The difficulties of such enterprises, as this are not to be underrated, but it is all to the good that a serious attempt should be made to bring about on both sides a better comprehension of the extent to which, and the ways in which, educational policy and industrial interests or prospects come into contact.

THE WORK OF THE SCHOOLS.

56. So far, we have in the main dealt with the conditions and circumstances within and outside the schools which have affected, and may continue to affect, the character and quality of further education in this country. We now propose to describe briefly the instruction which is given in the schools. For this purpose we take first the provision made in day and in evening continuation schools for the part-time education of young persons up to about 16 years of age, and then the arrangements of a more specialised kind which are made in full-time courses for younger and for older scholars and in part-time courses for older students.

(a) Continuative Education.

57. *Day Continuation Schools.*—Before 1918, there were a few day continuation schools, the best known being those at Birmingham and York maintained for the benefit of the younger employees of Messrs. Cadbury and Messrs. Rowntree. The Act of 1918 contemplated that obligatory attendance at part-time day instruction should gradually become universal. That development, if not abandoned, is indefinitely postponed, but the legislation has not

been entirely without effect. In Rugby and an adjacent suburb, a statutory obligation to attend the day continuation school is still enforced. In London and in West Ham some of the schools, started on the basis of compulsion, are maintained on the voluntary basis. Several survive in provincial areas where, though no day was appointed for compulsion, it was thought well by employers to open schools experimentally, sometimes in co-operation with the local authorities. One consequence of the action taken in London and West Ham deserves mention. It was assumed in 1918 that the distinctive purpose of a day continuation school would be the further education, on non-vocational lines at least for students under 16, of young people in employment. But in London and West Ham, the chance of further day education is welcome to many parents who do not want immediate employment for children who for one reason or another are not in ordinary schools, and the majority of the pupils have not yet had employment. A demand for instruction in preparation for the particular kind of employment desired has thus arisen and has to some extent been met in the curriculum of the schools in these areas. One school in London is conducted in close co-operation with the Retail Distributors' Association and has a curriculum specially adapted to that connection. In the provinces day continuation schools are attended mainly by young people who are in employment, and, if maintained by the authority, are conducted under agreements with firms for the attendance of their employees. The schools at Bolton, Hemel Hempstead, Street and York, which are not under the respective authorities, and some of those schools which authorities control and direct, are held in the premises of firms. The character of the provincial schools in general conforms pretty closely, except perhaps in respect of the private provision of premises, to the expectations of 1918.

58. In London the majority of the pupils attend for as many as five half-days; in West Ham some pupils attend full-time. The weekly period of school attendance in the provinces is normally one day a week, or some other arrangement equivalent to this. But at Northampton and Nottingham the weekly attendance is only for one half-day. These differences are reflected in the curricula. Girls normally take English subjects, physical training and hygiene and some domestic instruction, but in some schools one or more of the following must be or may be taken:—Arithmetic, office subjects, art, singing, musical appreciation, home nursing, the care of children. In day continuation schools for boys the normal subjects are English, mathematics and technical drawing, but one or more of the following can sometimes be taken:—French, office subjects, woodwork, metal-work, trade processes, music, art. In the school for boys at Birmingham, preparation for matriculation, or even for the intermediate science examination, is given to selected boys. In the West Ham schools individual study under direction on the Dalton plan has been introduced to solve the problems which arise

because some pupils give greater attendance than others and the personnel of the classes is always changing. There is a nucleus curriculum which is obligatory, and a large choice of optional subjects is permitted.

59. All the day continuation schools which have recently been inspected are doing well, and one or two are successful in an outstanding way. But some of the firms who send their young workers to a day continuation school are able, for that or for other reasons, to recruit for their employment the most suitable among many applicants. The failure of a day continuation scheme in such conditions would be surprising. And in another way the London and West Ham day continuation schools are fortunately situated since the pupils, being volunteers, are not less of a special type than are the students who elect to attend in their leisure time at evening institutes. The success of the existing day continuation schools would not justify the expectation of a like success under a universal system. But at the lowest the discipline and the physical exercises might be expected in most cases to check careless personal habits and rough manners, to improve carriage and demeanour, to tend to the development of self-respect and steadiness of character and to help to quicken intelligence. This sort of result has been achieved in the much less favourable conditions of juvenile unemployment centres, even with young persons who have been entirely outside educational influences for two years or more.

60. *Junior Courses in Evening Continuation Schools.*—Evening school arrangements in most of the populous areas are organised to the extent of providing for progressive study over a period of two or more school years beginning with the year after that in which the age of exemption from the statutory obligation is reached. In these organisations the study during the first two years is generally conceived to form, as a whole, a definite stage of further education, and many evening continuation schools in urban areas are devoted exclusively to this stage. Where this is not practicable the junior course (or courses) of two years may still be identifiable within a school which has other part-time work.

61. The junior course may be taken as planned for students who will be between 16 and 17 years of age at the end of their second year in the course. Rough comparisons of the extent to which continuation education has been developed in an area can thus be obtained by expressing the number of young persons aged 14 and 15 on enrolment for the school year as a percentage of the total number of young persons of like ages who do not attend school full-time. For the whole of England and Wales the percentage is about twenty; in some county areas the figure is very low, in some northern county boroughs it is fifty or more, in London it is more than forty. In the course of their work Your Majesty's Inspectors sometimes find material for comparing enrolments in the first year of a junior course with the

numbers of public elementary school leavers, enrolments for the second year with enrolments for the first year and enrolments in the next higher stage of part-time education with enrolments for the second year of the junior course. In every case where such comparisons have yet been made serious leakage at each point is apparent. The following may be taken as a fair sample of the conditions in a well organised county borough. About one-third of the leavers enrol in the junior commercial, technical and domestic courses. Of those who enrol in the first year of the commercial course, thirty per cent. do not go beyond the first year, of the residue who enrol for the second year forty-five per cent. go no further. For the technical course the corresponding percentages are forty and forty-four. For the domestic course, which is less definitely planned in relation to further courses, the leakage as between the first and the second year is thirty-six per cent. Other general facts worth notice about evening instruction in junior courses are those concerning the number of weeks during which the school is in session, the weekly hours of attendance given by the individual student, the average number of hours of instruction in a school year received by the individual student and the extent to which the students give complete attendance at the meetings of the courses in which they enrol. The session generally lasts from the middle of September to the end of March or thereabouts, and in only a few areas is there even an attenuated programme of classes in the summer. The attendance expected seldom exceeds six hours a week, and in many areas not more than four hours is expected of the girls. The average number of hours of instruction received by a student in a school year and the percentage of completeness of attendance, cannot be separately shown for the junior courses; but figures can be given for all the evening work outside the evening classes of the greater technical schools and colleges, and wherever the junior work is organised at all the figures will be approximately valid for the junior classes. The average hours in County Boroughs are, English 70, Welsh 69; in Counties, English 55, Welsh 36; in London, 61. The three highest figures for English County Boroughs are 116, 106 and 105, the three lowest are 43, 43 and 48. The three highest figures for English Counties are 104, 82 and 68, the three lowest are 23, 24 and 28. Very low figures indicate the absence of the grouped course system, but in three typical industrial counties the figures are 68, 59 and 52. The percentage of completeness of attendance are in County Boroughs, English 61, Welsh 55; in Counties, English 63, Welsh 55; in London, 50. Three English County Boroughs have as high a percentage as 76, the three lowest are 44, 49, and 49. In English Counties the three highest figures are 72, 70 and 69, the three lowest are 46, 53 and 54.

62. The actual teaching in junior evening courses is often quite good and is sometimes excellent. But the facts set out in the last paragraph show that no high efficiency can be claimed for junior

evening school arrangements as an educational system. If the aim is to enable picked students to make headway with serious further education the leakage after one year, or even within the first year, of the junior course must mean in the aggregate a considerable waste of effort; if the aim is to bring under the advantage of school discipline those young people under 16 or 17 who have done with full-time education it is only partially achieved.

63. Some students of the system blame the course system as making too high a demand upon the young persons, who might be enrolled in greater numbers and attend with greater regularity if they had a free choice as to the subject or subjects which they might study; others incline to the view that while the grouped course system is the only one worth while for young students, the courses in actual operation have been too narrowly conceived. They think that insufficient note has been taken of the fact that in the population which the evening schools seek to serve there are two classes, one with interests predominantly vocational, the other with interests of other kinds. For boys at least the needs of the first class dominate the evening school system, as is evident in most areas from the description of the only courses offered to juniors as technical (or industrial) and commercial respectively. But instruction with a vocational outlook cannot appeal strongly to those who have no prospect of entering skilled occupations or for whom the acquisition of special knowledge can open no avenue to promotion. Moreover, under modern industrial conditions the class of highly skilled workers tends to be a restricted one. Other boys and girls need educational facilities; the more so as they may fail to find in their work that stimulus to mental activity which might serve to prevent the loss of the knowledge won in the public elementary school, or even the atrophy of mental powers. Upon such considerations these critics suggest that the general popularity of handwork and of physical training among boys of evening school age make it proper to offer courses of new types which would not only attract those who do not now enrol, but would relieve the existing semi-vocational courses of some students who are not well suited by them. They also suggest that, as between school authorities and the voluntary agencies which enrol many young people who are not attracted by the existing evening schools, co-operation might well be more extensive than it is.

64. There is general agreement that, whatever adjustments in detail may be advisable, the existing junior courses suit quite well the minority of young persons who pass through to more advanced evening study. The failure of so many students to complete them might suggest that other types of evening continuation education would be better for many who take the existing courses without the desire or the capacity to go beyond them. And there is probably some waste of effort on the present lines in such directions as the teaching of shorthand in junior commercial courses to large numbers of boys or girls who will never have any real attainment in the

subject. It would be too much to assume that on any scheme of studies voluntary evening instruction for boys and girls under 17 could be, as a system, as highly efficient in all areas as it seems to be in a few. Experiment in the direction of ascertaining whether better educational value can be obtained for existing expenditure on evening continuation schools is certainly desirable, but it should be cautious in the first place. Wholesale changes of system might mean drastic reductions in the attendance, and in view of the considerable social value of the evening school habit such a consequence in a great industrial town would be regrettable. In one such area the evening school facilities attracted in the school year 1918-19, 1,786 of the 3,256 boys and 925 of the 3,448 girls who left the elementary schools in the preceding year. Under new arrangements, attributable in part to the financial necessities of the authority, the enrolments in the school year 1924-25 were no more than 643 of the 4,472 boys and 750 of the 4,367 girls who left school in 1923-24. It is satisfactory to know that such a change, in a large town at least, is unique.

(b) Vocational and other Specialised Education.

65. *Mechanical Engineering*.—For several reasons there is in the aggregate a greater provision of technical education for mechanical engineering than for any other industry and it is more widely dispersed. The industry is carried on in every part of the country, the applications of comparatively elementary science, and particularly mechanical drawing, are very direct. The need of a knowledge of them for individual success is readily seen by the young apprentice and there is a long tradition of technical education for the industry fostered in the past by such leaders as the late Sir Joseph Whitworth and maintained to-day by large employers and others both individually and through the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. The young person in, or preparing for, mechanical engineering is thus encouraged to believe that technical study will not only be of service to him but will also be appreciated by his employers or their representatives.

66. Boys of 13 or 14 with a taste for engineering and with the requisite ability can obtain, in almost any large centre of population, a pre-apprenticeship training in a junior technical school preparing for constructive trades. Such a school provides, during a period of two or three years, a substantial time for the study of English subjects, together with mathematics, science, mechanical drawing and manual instruction in wood and metal. This training, while specially suitable for a boy who becomes a skilled artisan, is so frequently followed up by further technical study, mainly in evening classes, that boys from these schools ultimately find their way into a number of miscellaneous posts in the industry, many of them of a higher grade than that of a skilled mechanic.

67. For those who have continued their general education up to the age of sixteen or more, further full-time education in preparation

for engineering is available not only in the engineering departments of university institutions, but also in technical institutions in many towns. The technical school courses are not confined to persons coming direct from secondary and other schools and are frequently followed by some who have had a few years in the industry : in some cases the courses are arranged on the "sandwich" system to combine periods of full-time study alternating with periods of, say, six months in industry. The answer to the question whether full-time study of this grade should precede, or follow, or alternate with, workshop experience as an apprentice is still debated : so far as it may depend upon local and individual circumstances the existing system of technical education is sufficiently flexible to allow for local or even individual differentiation. Full-time students in technical school courses may work, in particular cases, for the external degree examination of the University of London, or for the appropriate certificate under the National Certificate arrangements which are described in paragraphs 57 and 58, or for a diploma of the institution which provides the course.

68. Part-time classes for the technical education of young engineers during an ordinary apprenticeship and subsequently were at one time almost exclusively held in the evening, and evening classes meeting from 6 to 8 hours weekly for about 30 weeks in the year are still the rule. But the number of employers who, in co-operation with the local education authorities, allow some or all of their apprentices to attend in the day time has increased considerably since the war. The youth who, after suitable preparation in a junior part-time course or in a secondary, junior technical or central elementary school, enters upon a well organised part-time study at 16 to 18 years of age and pursues it diligently for a period of five to seven years, is able, without great expenditure, and without severing his connection with the industry, to reach a level of technical knowledge little, if any, inferior to that associated with a university degree course, though his attainments may be rather narrower in range than those of the graduate. The National Certificates for part-time courses were designed in the interest of students of this class.

69. Where school attendance is voluntary the training of craftsmen, foremen and managers will not be definitely separated, and the study undertaken will depend mainly on individual choice and ability. There is, in fact, a rather variable provision of evening courses based upon workshop practice rather than upon science, and often including practical work in the school workshop : quite useful work is done in the way of giving the opportunity, which individual students may lack in their daily occupation, for acquiring wider skill in handwork or the use of particular machines. But to an ambitious apprentice of ability, training in evening classes for a limited career in mechanical operations does not appeal so forcibly as a wider training, and with voluntary education ambition is a considerable factor in settling the curriculum to be followed. There are few persons

in the industry for whom an appropriate form of technical training could not be recommended, but in many cases the advantage to the individual would not be so obvious as to ensure attendance on a voluntary basis.

70. In part-time courses for the more ambitious students the subjects of study are mainly mathematics, mechanical drawing and such parts of the sciences of mechanics and heat as are most applicable to the industry. In the later years mathematics may disappear except for its applications, mechanical science is subdivided and the individual student may specialise in some parts and omit others, and mechanical drawing becomes a part of mechanical design. A full-time course differs mainly in the inclusion by the student, who has more time available, of additional subdivisions of mechanical science and of study of more of the allied sciences of physics, chemistry and elementary metallurgy. Sometimes a foreign language is also studied. For effective instruction on these lines, whether the students attend full-time or part-time, suitably equipped engineering laboratories and drawing offices are indispensable. In these respects the standard is being raised, particularly in the smaller schools, through the influence of the National Certificate scheme. The most important development of the engineering curriculum in recent years is the inclusion, in some full-time courses and in the most advanced part-time courses at their later stages, of such subjects as costing and estimating, works organisation and management and the economics of engineering. The demand of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers for knowledge of such subjects by all applicants for corporate membership encourages this development, which is likely to proceed further.

71. *Ship-building*.—On a smaller scale, and on a lower plane, the provision of instruction in connection with the ship-building industry represents, so far as conditions permit, the carrying out of the ideas which are expressed in the arrangements for mechanical engineering. Given a revival of the industry, it may be expected that the introduction of the new scheme for the co-operation of the Institution of Naval Architects and the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights in the issue of National Certificates would encourage more highly organised provision for ambitious and able part-time students in shipbuilding and ship-repairing towns.

72. *Electrical Engineering*.—On the manufacturing side of the electrical industry it may be said in general that about 75 per cent. of the employees are engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work. Few of these receive any education after leaving a public elementary school, and for the work they have to do technical training other than that given in the works is hardly required. If promotion to higher work is desired technical education is necessary. The remaining 25 per cent. include skilled workmen and the technical, commercial and managerial staffs, and for all these training in a technical school or a

university department of electrical engineering is indispensable. On the operative side school training is generally necessary, though the character and extent of the indispensable training will depend upon the post occupied.

73. As a pre-apprenticeship training for boys who will enter the industry at about 16 the junior technical school for the constructive trades is available. Those who desire, before employment, to study with a view to ultimate employment in higher technical or professional work, may proceed from a secondary school either to a university department of electrical engineering or to a technical school which provides a full-time course. A technical school course extends over two, three or four years and would normally be completed not before the age of 19 or 20. In such courses the work of the first year is generally common to electrical and mechanical engineering, and in the later years electrical work predominates. Some students will take the external examinations for a university degree, others may aim at the appropriate certificate in the National Certificate scheme, others again may aim at the diploma of the school concerned.

74. For the more ambitious part-time students courses are available which occupy three evenings a week (6 to 8 hours) and extend over three to five years; and, in general, the arrangements for students of this type are parallel to those made for the benefit of mechanical engineering students. National Certificate arrangements are planned in much the same way for electrical as for mechanical engineering.

75. For craftsmen and other workers of the rank and file there are special forms of evening part-time study. These courses, which are held on three evenings a week, extend over one, two and sometimes three years. Their primary purpose is to supplement and enlarge the training which the students get in their daily work at a particular trade in the industry. For foremen and charge hands such courses may be extended in duration, and promising students sometimes pass from these extended courses into the courses of a more professional outlook which are mentioned in the last paragraph.

76. In the first year of the part-time courses directed to the National Certificate not less than two hours per week is given to each of the main subjects, mathematics, engineering drawing and elementary electrical engineering. In the second year the subjects are normally mathematics, mechanics and heat (engineering science) and electro-technology. In the third year mathematics is continued to include an elementary study of the calculus and two nights are devoted to electro-technology, one night for lecture and class work, the other for laboratory work. The study of electro-technology deals with direct current work and with the principles of the alternate current circuit. Beyond the third year advanced courses of two or

three years may be taken. In the fourth year one evening is given to mathematics and as a rule two are devoted to electro-technology. Beyond the fourth year the arrangements are more specialised. The principal technological subject in the advanced course [is alternating current machinery and transmission, but it is customary also to undertake a higher study of measurements and of direct current machines.

77. Artisan courses include an elementary treatment of electrical science comprising the methods of measuring and testing, the mechanical and electrical properties of materials, the making of diagrams of connections, the operation of special instruments and appliances, the technique of processes such as soldering, sweating, insulating and vulcanising, and the methods of wiring. Instruction is given in calculations and drawing and one evening is given to practical work according to the individual trade. In the extended course for foremen instruction is given in the rules and regulations governing electric supply, the installation and maintenance of generators and motors, fittings, secondary batteries and switchboards. The special courses for post office employees deal mainly with the requirements of the telegraphic and telephonic services.

78. *Textiles : Cotton*.—No special pre-employment school training of those who will enter the industry in the ordinary way has ever been attempted. A few full-time courses for those who enter in special ways have been organised but (apart from the degree and certificate courses in the Manchester Municipal College) the number of students has never reached 100. These students are, in general, sons or friends of persons in responsible positions in the industry and have places already reserved for them, but a certain number of young men who have been part-time students are assisted by scholarships given by local authorities or by the Drapers' Company to drop their work for a time in order to become full-time students. A full-time course is generally arranged to cover two years and includes, as a rule, spinning, weaving, design and textile engineering, some science, mathematics and technical drawing, and some treatment of the commercial and economic aspects of the industry. The general purpose of the course is to supplement the general education of the students in public schools, or in other secondary schools, by such technical knowledge as will help them to take up more quickly and easily the industrial duties which are assigned to them. For students of other types full-time technical education receives no encouragement. It is held that full-time study would divorce from the industry at a critical stage of their careers those who have already been in employment, and that it would be difficult to guarantee, or even give an expectation of, reabsorption in positions which would compensate them for the time and money expended.

79. Even fewer students attend day classes for part-time technical instruction. Those who do so are usually privileged by family

connections and seek to make themselves better fitted for the positions of responsibility which they hold, or are meant to hold. As regards employees in general it is held that the organisation of the industry and its present condition make it impossible to allow time off in working hours without serious industrial dislocation and financial loss. Part-time day students usually study either spinning or weaving, and such other elements of the full-time course described above as can be brought into a course which occupies two or three half-days per week. Many of these students also attend evening classes.

80. Evening instruction is generally accepted as meeting the requirements, numerical and other, of the industry in relation to the technical training of those who may rise to positions of responsibility in production; the great majority of those now in superior posts have attained them as the result of long experience in the industry supplemented by, at most, evening technical study. In the various schools in county boroughs and the other important seats of the industry, about two thousand students are studying cotton spinning and a like number cotton weaving. The classes, which are arranged to meet on three evenings a week for thirty weeks in the year, provide for the study of ancillary subjects in addition to the central technological subject. A few schools construct their own courses and syllabuses, and grant their own certificates to successful students at the end of the courses. Most of them adopt the courses and syllabuses arranged by the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes for the first three (senior) years, and by the City and Guilds of London Institute for the fourth and fifth (advanced) years, and present the students for the examinations of those bodies. Whether the schools frame their own courses or not, the accepted final examination is that for the Full Technological Certificate of the City and Guilds, and all the courses have the same general characteristics. The general plan is as follows:—

<i>Spinning.</i>		<i>Weaving.</i>	
Year 1.	Spinning Theory. Spinning Practice. Machine Drawing. Mathematics.	Year 1.	Weaving Theory. Weaving Practice. Design and Colour. Mathematics.
2.	Spinning Theory. Spinning Practice. Machine Drawing. Mechanics. Mathematics.	2.	Weaving Theory. Weaving Practice. Design and Colour. Machine Drawing. Mechanics.
3.	Spinning Theory. Spinning Practice Machine Drawing. Mechanics.	3.	Weaving Theory. Weaving Practice. Design and Colour. Mechanics and Chemistry
4 and 5	Spinning: City and Guilds, Final A and B. Engineering. Economics.	4 and 5	Weaving: City and Guilds, Final A and B Design and Colour. Engineering or Chemistry or Economics.

In addition there are in some of the schools other courses with specially arranged curricula, for overlookers and foremen, for agents, buyers and salesmen, for mule and ring spinners and for mill secretaries. About a thousand students attend these courses.

81 *Textiles: Silk*.—So far technical education for this industry has been given in the evening classes of two or three schools, the largest of which has concentrated in the training of designers. The few students who have been ripe for examinations have taken those held by the City and Guilds Institute. The Joint Industrial Council, which has investigated the case for improved arrangements, has recently promulgated schemes suitable for young persons engaged in the several branches of the industry. These contemplate study for three evenings a week in each of four sessions, and the curricula include, besides the principal trade subjects, one or more of the following:—English, mathematics, mechanical drawing, mechanics, engineering, physics, design and colour and the economics of the industry. The City and Guilds Institute will still examine, but in courses instead of in single trade subjects. If the schemes are taken up as well as the enthusiasm of the Joint Industrial Council merits, there is no reason why the technical education available for this industry should not become as effective as in that provided in the cotton districts.

82. *Textiles: Wool*.—In all branches of the industry most of the workers enter direct from the public elementary school. In smaller undertakings it is common to find that even the members of the firm entered in this way. In those branches of the industry, such as worsted spinning, in which larger undertakings have been formed, men of a wider initial education are engaged and of the younger men some have passed through a university. Full-time study directed to textile technology is provided in the university of Leeds, and in certain of the technical colleges in Yorkshire county boroughs. But the numbers in such courses are not large. Most of the students, being already connected with mill-owners, are assured of a start in the industry at the end of their studies. As a rule, a boy from a secondary school, unless he had some antecedent connection with the industry, would have difficulty in finding a suitable opening. In some sections, such as worsted spinning, 90 per cent. of the employees are women and girls. Their duties can well be learned in the mill. Of the remaining 10 per cent. only a few are highly skilled and even these can, and do, learn in the course of their work all that is essential. In such circumstances it is mainly the overlookers for whom technical education is, if not indispensable, highly desirable. At the other end of the worsted industry the work of the designer depends very much upon a thorough understanding of cloth structure, and most of the younger men in this section have studied in the textile department of a technical school or college. Technical education would be useful also to the overlookers of weaving mills.

In the woollen section of the industry, especially in carding and spinning, it is not clear that any technical school training is indispensable for the efficient discharge of the routine duties of the overlookers, but in other ways they might gain by attending suitable courses.

83. In such conditions the incentive to part-time technical study is normally an ambition to rise from the ranks to the position of employer or manager, and a desire to get that comprehensive grasp of the routine and processes of the industry for which there is no opportunity in the round of daily work. The facilities offered are not so standardised as those for the cotton industry, but in general take the form of a three or four years senior course leading up to the advanced and specialised technologies of the branches of the industry. Some of the larger schools plan their own courses, but the syllabuses of the City and Guilds Institute final examinations may be taken as indicating in a general way the scope of the advanced courses. In the senior courses, which include with the textile subjects a reasonable study of mathematics and other necessary general subjects, the first year of study tends to be devoted in the main to the ancillary subjects; by the end of the course the curriculum is mainly in the textile subjects. Advanced courses are devoted exclusively to the textile subjects.

84. *Chemical trades.*—The proportions of workmen, foremen and technicians in chemical industries vary from one trade to another. Foremen may be from five to ten per cent. of the whole, technical staff from two to three per cent. In the rank and file there are, in the proper sense of the word, no craftsmen other than those common to all industries. Much of the work in heavy chemical industry is labouring work, and the supervision required for it is experienced rather than trained. Little, if anything, is done to train workers and foremen: if their duties entail the facilitation or retardation of some reaction, or the control of some mechanical device, instruction in the scientific principles which underline the processes or the operations of the plant would clearly be worth while. But no demand for such instruction seems to have arisen.

85. For the higher managerial functions in chemical industry a university education is indispensable; but there are positions in the works and in the laboratories for which a less extensive preliminary training may be adequate. Full-time courses, which include chemistry and are designed for pupils who have passed through a secondary school, are available in some of the larger technical colleges. Curricula and syllabuses approximate to those of university courses: some students prepare for degrees, others for the diplomas of the schools concerned.

86. In these and in other schools there are part-time courses extending over three or four years. The best organised of these courses generally entail attendance for three nights a week. A few

employers allow attendance for one or two half-days per week, but not many students enjoy this privilege. In the works a boy is frequently associated with a man who cannot spare him, and in the laboratory the routine testing, which cannot be intermitted, falls to the younger members of the staff. The following examples illustrate the structure of courses organized under the National Certificate scheme: it may be taken that a distinctly high standard in the subjects taken is contemplated by the Board and by the Institute of Chemistry.

Senior Part-time Course.

- Year 1. Inorganic Chemistry.
Mathematics.
Physics.
2. Inorganic Chemistry.
Organic Chemistry.
Physics.
3. Inorganic Chemistry.
Organic Chemistry.
Physical Chemistry or a Subject of Applied Chemistry.

Advance Part-time Course.

- Year 1. Inorganic Chemistry.
Organic Chemistry.
Blending and Dyeing.
2. General Practical Chemistry.
Technical Analysis.
Bleaching and Dyeing.

In the larger schools the advanced course may extend to a third year (making six years of study in all); this may enable the part-time student to prepare for the associateship examination of the Institute of Chemistry.

87. The best equipped schools have part-time classes of a post-graduate standard which are attended not only by men who have passed through the normal courses of the school, but also by others of considerable academic standing. It is not uncommon for graduates to take advantage of the specialised instruction which is available in some technical colleges.

88. *Gas Industries.*—The most recent development in this department of technical education is the organisation, under the scheme in which the Board are associated with the Institution of Gas Engineers, of courses in Gas Engineering and Gas Supply. Four years ago there were only twenty centres at which any instruction in these subjects could be obtained. In only four of these were grouped courses, entailing attendance at the cognate subjects, arranged, and in only two of the centres did students actually follow the courses. This year 18 schools have arranged approved courses: the number of students taking courses has been greatly increased. The standard of the instruction has also been raised.

89. *Metallurgy.*—Industries in which metallurgy is applicable are widely distributed, but reach a considerable concentration in a comparatively few localities. Outside the universities there are no full-time courses suitable for the intending technician. Part-time grouped courses, attended occasionally by foremen as well as by persons looking forward to more responsible positions, have been arranged

in a few schools including the Municipal College of Technology in Manchester, the Applied Science Department of the University at Sheffield, the Sir John Cass Institute, London, and the technical schools in Birmingham and Wednesbury. The best organised courses cover five years of study of which the last two are for advanced work. In the early years attention is given to the necessary portions of pure science and occasionally some engineering drawing is done. The time given to the specific technology of metallurgy is limited. The increasing severity of the demands of users is turning the attention of producers to the possible treatments of the crude product, and study of the physical constitution of metal, of the effects of heat treatment and so on, is now as necessary as a study of chemistry. In some centres there are special classes for engineers interested in the treatment of metals after production from the ores. In other centres classes of an older type in "iron and steel manufacture" survive, but in these it is not easy to require a suitable educational standard from the students, or to devote adequate attention to the fundamental science which underlies the technology in which the students are primarily interested.

90. The provision made for metallurgical craftsmen is not satisfactory. Careful experiment is being made at one centre by co-operation between the technical school and the local industry to determine what could or should be done for foundrymen. Recent reports on what is being done in France and America, and a shortage of highly skilled foundrymen have stimulated interest in the possibility of technical school training.

For many years better instruction has been available for students of ferrous than of non-ferrous metallurgy, in which trade secrets have played a considerable part. It has therefore been difficult to find experts who are at liberty to instruct students. The progress of research in non-ferrous metallurgy may help to change the situation.

91. *Pottery Manufacture.*—There are few counties in England without some form of ceramic industry, and instruction in throwing and turning, in modelling for ceramics and in pottery decoration is provided in several schools of art. Some of these are equipped with kilns with which some measure of experimental work may be possible. But no provision for the study of the science and technology of ceramics is made anywhere outside Stoke-on-Trent.

92. In the pottery department of the Central School the instruction provided is appropriate to the requirements of under-managers, managers and employers. But some craftsmen and foremen have attended in order to improve their qualifications for advancement. Students with a secondary education are admitted direct to the Central School; others must pass through a two years' course in pottery in one of the other technical schools, and if they pass the prescribed examination may then go to the Central School. The course in that school includes the study of chemistry, physics and

pottery up to a high standard. There are also opportunities for studying geology, mineralogy, pottery engineering and the commercial aspects of the industry. The study covers four, or in most cases five years of part-time study. The full-time arrangement now instituted is for the present experimental.

93. In the course every reasonably important aspect of the ceramic science and technology is dealt with: in the later years there is opportunity for investigating the effect upon the properties of the product of changes in the composition of bodies and glazes, in modes and temperatures of firing, in rates of drying and other treatments. The students benefit also by the excellent library housed in the premises of the school and by the accessibility of the testing and research work for which the department is the recognised headquarters. The school diploma issued to successful students is a qualification much esteemed in the industry.

94. Outside the regular course work the Central School provides special technical lectures for pottery managers, and other lectures dealing with more general topics of importance. These attract interested listeners from abroad as well as ex-students and others locally concerned.

95. *Refractory Materials.*—By the co-operation of certain employers with the Staffordshire Education Authority a refractories department has been recently built and equipped at Brierley Hill. This provides both for instruction on the spot and for missionary lectures in a district where technological instruction is essential if the results of research are to be translated into works terms and become useful in working conditions. This department may eventually prove as useful to the industries of the Stourbridge clay area and the neighbouring glass industry as the pottery department at Stoke is to the appropriate area of North Staffordshire.

96. *Leather Manufacture.*—In this industry the application of science has advanced greatly of late years and a high standard of scientific and technical knowledge is required by the works manager and the works chemist. There are signs of a growing demand for foremen who have had a suitable technological training. Full-time instruction in leather technology and the basic sciences is provided at the University of Leeds, in the Leathersellers' College in Bermondsey and in the Northampton Technical School.

97. The industry is scattered and only in five localities are there enough leather works to allow of systematic evening instruction in leather technology. A few students at Bermondsey and Northampton attend part-time for instruction in the classes arranged for full-time students. Grouped courses providing in evening classes a training in chemistry, &c., preliminary to the instruction in leather technology are available in only one or two places. The extension of this system is desirable in the interest of foremen and

of workmen who aspire to enter that class. The rank and file of the workers are employed mainly in mechanical tasks or in labourers' work, and for the performance of their actual duties no technical training is necessary.

98. *Paper Making*.—Full-time courses of an advanced character including engineering, chemistry and the technology of paper-making together with the study of the commercial aspects of the industry are provided in the Manchester Municipal College of Technology and at the Battersea Polytechnic. These are appropriate for persons preparing for such positions as works manager, chemist or engineer. In other centres a full-time course in chemistry or in engineering may to some extent serve the needs of students of this type.

The Papermakers' Association has given much attention in recent years to the educational problems which face the industry. But only few of those engaged in it have yet taken advantage of educational facilities. There are difficulties arising out of the location of many works and out of the three shift system of working. Part-time paper making classes are held in seven centres and in three or four it is possible to take a grouped course including chemistry and physics as well as the principal technological subject. There is reason to think that it would be a gain to the industry if more of the foremen and workmen could receive a systematic technical training.

99. *Pharmaceutical Chemistry*.—The regulations of the Pharmaceutical Society impose upon persons who wish to follow the occupation of Chemist and Druggist or to become qualified as Pharmaceutical Chemists certain obligations which bear directly upon the work of technical schools in connection with these occupations. Of these conditions the most important, as affecting technical schools, concern (i) the need for practical experience in dispensing under supervision, which means that normally the students in the early stages are part-time and not full-time; (ii) the approval of the institutions in which the preliminary scientific studies of chemistry, physics and botany may be made; and (iii) the approval of those institutions in which the final examination subjects of pharmacy, pharmaceutical chemistry, forensic pharmacy and pharmacognosy may be studied. Many technical schools are approved for the subjects of the preliminary scientific examination, but only seven are approved for the subjects of the final examination. It is not unusual for students to pass the Preliminary Scientific Examination after study in the local school or college, and to continue at that school to study pharmacy as a preliminary to the study of that and other subjects of the final examination in one of the small number of institutions approved for the purpose by the Society.

100. *Coal Mining*.—In this industry there is no system of apprenticeship except for a small number of pupils articulated to

mining engineers or general managers. For these and a certain number of persons who have some connection with the industry, or have had previous experience in it, full-time courses of study are available in certain universities and one or two technical schools. But part-time technical education is, in present circumstances, of far greater practical importance. For various reasons the arrangements present some special features. Almost all grades of mine officials (for whom there are minimum age-limits), from the fireman or deputy to the general manager in charge of a group of collieries, must by law possess an appropriate certificate of competency by passing a statutory examination. The subordinate official staff of the colliery is almost entirely recruited from the ranks of the underground workers, and a considerable proportion of the managers in charge of collieries have had the same origin. Ambitious boys and youths who aspire to promotion are therefore willing to take advantage of local opportunities of study. But as 25 is the minimum age limit for many official positions there are found in classes for miners not a few students whose age is much higher than the average age of students in like grades of other technical instruction. Some courses of primary standard have, in fact, to be arranged for adults. Some of the boys who enrol as soon as they leave school look forward to study extending (including the junior course of two years) over six, seven, eight or even nine years. There are often two well marked stages beyond the junior course, a senior course of three years in district schools or small technical schools, and an advanced course of three years in a mining school or a mining department of a technical school or college. Some students may, by winning scholarships, proceed to a mining department of a University or University College for still more advanced study. The most completely developed scheme of senior and advanced part-time instruction is as follows :—

Senior Course.

- Year 1. Mathematics, English, Physics, Chemistry, Drawing, Ambulance (Summer only).
 2. Mathematics, Heat, Mechanics, Drawing.
 3. Mechanics and Heat Engines, Ventilation and Lighting, Surveying.

Advanced Course.

- Year 1. Mathematics, Mine Explosions and Rescue Work, Electricity.
 2. Electrical Engineering, Mine Machinery, Geology of Fuels.
 3. Surveying, Mine Machinery, Mine Working Prospecting and Sinking.
 4. Surveying, Mine Machinery, Development of Mineral Properties.
 5. Surveying, Colliery Organisation, Mining Law.

This scheme is related, in the later stages, to the statutory examinations for managers which includes papers to test a knowledge of mathematics, drawing, surveying, physics, chemistry, mechanics, engineering and geology as well as a knowledge of mining practice.

101. In seven of the English counties where coal-mining is carried on the organisation of instruction for miners is supervised by the Authority through organizers of mining instruction. These officers have formed an association, which includes also the heads of mining departments in important technical schools, whose existence is acknowledged by the Mines Department which supplies the members of the association with official reports and other documents likely to be of educational interest. In this way mining education, notwithstanding its wide dispersion, is susceptible, to an exceptional degree, of standardisation, so far as that may be advisable. Another circumstance of special importance is the influence which the Miners' Welfare Committee are able to exercise through the use of the Miners' Welfare Fund created by the Mining Industry Act of 1920. The Committee appointed by the Board of Trade, with which the Board of Education are in close touch through the appointment of an assessor, has set aside out of that part of the fund which can be applied in ways centrally, rather than locally, determined, £500,000 to promote mining education. More than one half of this reservation has been already provisionally allocated for definite proposals such as the extension and improvement of existing mining schools and mining departments of technical schools; the erection of new mining schools, the purchase of additional equipment for existing schools and the equipment of new schools. A scheme of national scholarships for miners and the sons and daughters of miners is also under consideration. In the Third Report of the Committee (for the year 1924) some 27 pages are devoted to the subject of mining education.

102. *Architecture.*—Twenty years ago most architects were trained as articled pupils and supplemented their office experience by attending evening classes in art or technical schools. At the present time there are several day schools of architecture. Some of these are in universities and are thus outside the purview of the Board; others have been organized within technical schools or schools of art; the largest school of all is independent of any other educational work. In these schools there are 500 full-time students and many part-time students. The energy of the Royal Institute of British Architects in connection with the schools is rapidly increasing the number of students in them, but the far larger number of young architects who are still trained on the old plan presents a difficult problem. They can attend evening schools, but the number in any one school is not always sufficient to allow of special classes and they have then to be grouped with builders and craftsmen.

103. There is no preliminary education specially planned for the intending architect, but in individual cases a junior technical school course for the building trades or a junior full-time course in an art school has been found useful. The day architectural school presupposes a general education in a public school, or other secondary school, till the age of 16 or 17.

104. The architectural day school provides instruction in some branches of building technology together with exercises in design, extensive practice in drawing and the study of architectural history. The following is a fair example of the arrangements which come under inspection by the Board.

Year 1. History of Architecture 1 hour, Mathematics 1 hour, Drawing 8 hours, Construction 10 hours, Design 8 hours, Colour work 2 hours.

Year 2. History of Architecture 1 hour, Mathematics 1 hour, Drawing 4 hours, Construction 12 hours, Design 14 hours, Colour work 3 hours.

Year 3. Mathematics 1 hour, Drawing 1 hour, Construction 9 hours, Design 16 hours, Colour work 8 hours.

105. The Royal Institute distinguishes between schools which are "recognised" and other schools. The satisfactory completion of the three years course in a recognised school is accepted in lieu of a success in the Institute's own Intermediate Examination. Some schools provide for two further years of study which is not necessarily full-time, and if the recognition extends to this part of the course satisfactory completion of it exempts the student from a considerable part of the final examination for Associate Membership of the Institute.

106. *Building and Building Crafts.*—Pre-apprenticeship training for the building industry can be obtained in four junior technical schools (in or near London) which are planned for the particular purpose: in the provinces the junior technical school for the constructive trades is a reasonably suitable pre-apprenticeship training. The junior full-time department of an art school might be a suitable preparation for some boys. In the junior technical schools specially planned for the building trades the curriculum in the first year at least would not distinguish the needs of intending architects, builders or building craftsmen. In one of the schools there is a degree of specialisation in the latter part of the course. The general character of a building trades junior technical school may be inferred from the following curriculum.

Year 1. English subjects 5 hours, Mathematics and Geometry 5 hours, Science 4 hours, Technical Drawing 2 hours, Art 3 hours, Drill 1 hour, Building Construction 3 hours, Workshop (Carpentry, Plumbing and Painting) 7 hours.

Year 2. All as before except the last two items. These are for carpenters, Building Construction 3 hours, Workshop 7 hours; for others, Workshop 10 hours.

There are several full-time courses of a post-secondary standard. But the number of students in these schools is very small.

107. Part-time day classes for apprenticed carpenters and other craftsmen are provided in a few large towns and the system may be expected to grow. Up to the present it has not made great progress. The school training of most builders and craftsmen is at present carried on in evening classes, which are sometimes attended also by artiled pupils in architecture. The nature of the instruction required varies from one group to another. The craftsman needs instruction in the theory of his craft, some additional workshop practice and some exercise in drawing, geometry and calculations. "Builders" (e.g. office employees, builders' sons or craftsmen aspiring to promotion to the ranks of foremen, clerks of works, managers or master builders) are primarily interested in building construction and drawing and later in quantities, estimating and accountancy. But they are usually slow to realise the importance of mathematics and science as a foundation for the advanced study of structural work. The architect's pupil has additional needs in the way of training in design, practice in drawing and the study of the history of architecture.

There is likely to be an increasing demand, as the organisation of the building industry develops, for school-trained men in positions of responsibility: but the present urgent need for skilled craftsmen is an additional argument for the school training of apprentices to the building trades. The character of well organized evening instruction may be inferred from the following examples:—

Course for Builders.

Year 1. Construction and Drawing,
Building Mathematics and Geometry,
Building Science (Each one evening).
Years 2 and 3. Construction and
Drawing (two evenings), Building
Science (one evening).

Course for Carpenters.

Year 1. Trade Knowledge, Drawing, Workshop (Each one evening).
Year 2. As in the first year.

The course for builders may in the best organised schools be extended to a fourth or even a fifth year in order that further aspects of the building industry may be studied with specialisation according to individual needs.

108. *Boot and Shoe Manufacture.*—As a rule, boys and girls enter the factories when they leave the public elementary school and up to 18 carry out the simpler operations of the manufacture. But a junior technical school to prepare boys for entry to the trade has been instituted at the Cordwainers' Technical College in London. This experiment is followed with much interest in other centres of the industry, where the same idea has been under consideration.

109. Full-time day courses lasting for one or two years have been organised for the special benefit of sons of manufacturers and others in the trade, who will in course of time become owners or managers of factories, or of those who have shown exceptional ability in

the factory and are likely to rise to responsible posts. A few students who can only spare time for some of the subjects also attend. In these schools, where the number of students is very small, instruction is given in the practice and theory of foot-wear manufacture and in those matters connected with the conduct of a modern factory such as costing, bookkeeping, accountancy, marketing and factory organisation.

110. Part-time training in the evening for students over 16 is available in all the large towns where the industry is carried on and in several of the smaller towns and larger villages in Northamptonshire. The separate machine processes of the industry are so numerous that each operative becomes, through practice, a high-speed worker in one process, but has no opportunity, as a rule, to learn in the factory much about the operations which precede or follow his own. Both employers and workpeople now recognise that with such knowledge, which can be acquired in a well-found technical school, the work of the individual could be improved in quality with a saving of time and material. It is also possible for foremen, and even managers in some cases, to see in a completely equipped school how the highest and latest kind of work, such as is not yet done in their own establishment, can be turned out.

111. Schemes of instruction in a subject or group of subjects are often arranged to cover two or more years, but beyond this there is no very clear-cut course organisation. The course will depend very much upon the department (pattern cutting and clicking, upper closing, bottom stock cutting, lasting and attaching, finishing) in which the student is working. The general idea is to acquaint the student with the processes besides his own which are carried on in the department. In some cases it is thought desirable for the student to make a boot or shoe, from start to finish, by hand. The schools can provide the necessary tools, materials and instruction, and can supplement this kind of training, and the training given in factory processes, by teaching also such simple mathematics, drawing and elementary principles of science as are necessary. The more capable and ambitious students have opportunities of studying such matters as are important to factory managers.

112. *Printing and Process Work.*—There are two pre-apprenticeship schools specially dealing with branches of this group of industries, the School for Book Production in the London Central School of Arts and Crafts and the School for Photo-engraving and Lithography in Bolt Court, E.C. Boys enter at 13 or 14 and stay for two or three years, leaving for apprenticeship at about 16. In some of the larger printing towns there are full-time courses of one or two years' duration intended for the sons of master printers or for others likely to occupy important positions. Of the students in

attendance some have been to the university or a public school and others have been through a local secondary school. They are generally able to profit by a wide study of the various branches of the industry and of their mutual relationships.

113. Part-time instruction is provided in some of the larger technical and art schools. Many employers allow apprentices to attend one or two half-days in the week without reduction of wages and even pay fees in addition. In one school more than a thousand apprentices attend in this way. The widest provision for trade instruction is, however, still made in evening classes. Of these there is a great variety intended to help apprentices, journeymen and the technical staff. According to the section of the industry in question the instruction may have a literary, artistic, scientific or engineering bias, but will normally include much practical instruction in actual processes of the trade. Important improvements in method and processes are not infrequent, and well equipped schools can assist such developments by training the workers to take the fullest advantage of them. They also help the workers more generally by helping them to get a deeper knowledge of their own work and a better grasp of its connection with other sections of the industry.

114. *Tailoring*.—Boys usually enter this trade as assistants to journeymen by whom they are taught to sew. They may get a knowledge of "cutting" by attending public or private classes and then pass on to the position of assistant cutter and ultimately to more responsible work. But in London a boy can obtain a pre-employment training in sewing by attending the Junior Technical School at the Regent Street Polytechnic, which has a full-time course of three years' duration. There is special scope for such a school because of the demand for sewing tailors capable of doing the hand work required by the West End "bespoke" trade.

115. There are part-time classes in London and elsewhere in both sewing and cutting, and separate classes are sometimes held for men's and for women's tailoring. The "ready made" trade does not lend itself so much to technical instruction, but many persons in that trade attend classes with the object of qualifying for the "bespoke" trade. The scheme of instruction in "cutting" may cover from one to three years, and includes practice in taking measurements, the construction of actual patterns proceeding from the simpler to the more difficult garments, patterns for abnormal figures, etc. A little anatomical knowledge is usually imparted to the class.

116. *Women's Trades*.—Preparation for employment in skilled needle trades is given to girls leaving public elementary schools by means of junior technical school courses in London, Middlesex, Plymouth, Manchester, West Ham and Gloucester. In London there are also schools of a similar type for photography, hairdressing,

cooking and laundry work, and a school for specialised branches of domestic service. The general idea of these schools is to replace the stage of learning, and consequently the practical training aims at the acquisition of a considerable measure of skill before the course is completed. The course is normally of two years' duration (an extra preparatory year has been added in two cases where girls are admitted under 14), and in every case provides for carrying on the general education of the girls. The following is a typical curriculum in London, which for cooking and laundry work courses is modified by substituting science for art:—

English, 5 hours.

Physical Exercises, 1 hour.

Mathematics, 2 hours.

Art, 3 hours.

Singing, 1 hour.

Trade work, 18 hours.

In London two full-time courses of one year's duration for girls from secondary schools have been started as an experiment. These are similar in general construction to the junior technical school courses except that a greater proportion of time is given to the trade instruction. The trades taught are photography and hairdressing.

117. In one of the trade schools for girls in London there are part time day classes for "learners" in the needle trades, but in proportion to the number of apprentices and learners the attendance is very small. Most of the instruction available for women employed in trades is given in the evening, and it is only in London that trade classes form a definite branch of technical education. A few classes are held in other places. Evening instruction for women tends to take an individual character. This is necessary because the experience and attainments of members of a class are far from uniform.

118. *Housecraft*.—A few courses of full-time instruction for girls under 16 have been instituted. Some of them are of comparatively short duration for girls who are exempt from the school attendance obligation; others are of two years' duration and represent a substantial form of specialised education, comparable in conception with a junior technical school, though less definitely specialised for a particular kind of employment. Many of the girls who pass through the longer and shorter courses of this kind become general domestic servants or between-maids. Those who take the shorter courses seldom find employment which justifies the expenditure on their instruction, but those who take a course of one year's duration or more readily find posts in which they can make good progress. A typical curriculum for such a course is, English subjects 3 hours, arithmetic 1 hour, physical exercises 1 hour, housewifery 6 hours, needlework 4 hours, laundry work 4 hours, home nursing 1 hour, cooking 1 hour, science related to the practical subjects 1 hour. Girls who have passed through such a course, and other students who have experience in housework and desire to increase their skill, sometimes attend more specialised instruction for short courses of

6 to 12 weeks. After taking such instruction some of the students find work as cooks, lady's maids or housekeepers in smaller households. Some institutions arrange what are known as housewives', housekeepers' or institutional housekeepers' courses for girls of 18 who have been to secondary schools or are of like educational standing. The duration of these courses, which are normally full-time, is from 3 to 15 months, the longer courses being intended for those who wish to take domestic charge of large establishments. Such courses include instruction in cookery, laundry work, household management, sewing, upholstery, hygiene, nutrition, science related to the practical subjects and household budgeting. Visits to various social organisations and public institutions are arranged for the students. In the courses for institutional work special attention is given to the problems of dealing with large numbers of inmates in the matter of meals, catering, marketing and storekeeping.

119. But most technical training in housecraft is given in evening classes in continuation and technical schools, some of which are specially concerned with domestic economy. To some extent the grouped course system obtains, especially for girls under 16, but most of the instruction for girls over 16 and for women is given on the single subject basis. Of all subjects taken, dressmaking, millinery and cookery are the most popular. There are also classes in laundry work, housewifery, upholstery, hygiene, home nursing and the care of infants.

120. In many rural areas the Women's Institute* movement has enabled the authority to do more in the direction of providing practical instruction for women and girls than had previously been possible. Subjects like hygiene, various forms of needlecraft, cookery, household renovations and repairs, and such decorative handicrafts as embroidery, leather work, glove-making and basket-making, no doubt because of their obvious utility, have generally appealed more than others to the members of the institutes. In mentioning these results of a valuable movement we do not wish to minimise the possibilities in other directions; its leaders are known to be anxious to promote among village women those wider interests with which the adult education movement is concerned, and in some counties programmes of lectures on such matters as local government, history, literature and music have been arranged with encouraging success.

121. *Seafaring Occupations (other than Marine Engineering).*— It is rare for boys to go to sea much before the age of 16. So far, therefore, as preliminary training is thought necessary, there is a considerable scope for full-time schools of a junior grade. Only a

* The report of H.M. Inspectors on the Educational Work of Women's Rural Institutes (published by the Stationery Office, price 6d.) may be consulted for a detailed account.

few of these come within the purview of the Board. There are six residential schools under the regulations for schools of Nautical training, two junior technical schools which are non-residential, and certain residential and other public elementary schools having a specialised curriculum. In the schools of nautical training, of which four are moored "training ships" (generally with shore establishments), and the rest are shore establishments, the boys learn nautical handicrafts, the use of the compass, how to steer, the "rule of the road," signalling, the names and uses of the different parts of the ship and of instruments like the lead and the log-line, the uses of derricks and cranes, the meaning of lights at sea, and so on. They are also exercised in physical drill, swimming and rowing and boat management. Navigation is not generally taught in any of the schools. The boys have to take assigned duties in the general routine, cleaning and maintenance of the establishment. In every case there is instruction in ordinary school subjects, ordinarily from eight to ten hours a week, but sometimes more and sometimes less.

122. In the junior technical schools, which are non-residential, less time is given to practical subjects, and in the other part of the curriculum the standard aimed at is generally much in advance of that set up in the schools of nautical training, partly because the intention is to prepare for apprenticeship, and partly because in the schools for nautical training, most of which are eleemosynary in character, no high intellectual attainment is worth striving for.

123. The Board are associated with the Board of Trade in the supervision of the Gravesend Sea School. This gives a training of about three months' duration to selected boys of 15 years and nine months at least on entry. The training is exclusively practical as the school is meant to supply recruits for lower deck or stokehold duties.

124. The further education of seafaring persons is given mainly between voyages, in the principal seaports. The instruction is obtained in part-time or short full-time courses. Such are provided in departments of public technical schools or in other schools inspected and aided by the Board and in a number of private schools. The actual teaching is dictated by the character of the Board of Trade Examinations which the student is preparing to take. Among the schools aided by the Board are five, recognised also by the Board of Trade, which prepare students for certificates in Nautical Cookery. In one such school there is also a special course for stewards.

125. *Commercial*.—In many large towns there is a junior commercial school providing full-time instruction for boys, or girls, or both, who, when they leave the public elementary school, want special preparation for commercial life. The age of admission is 13 or 14 and the duration of the course is two or three years.

The curriculum generally includes English subjects, French, arithmetic, bookkeeping, shorthand, typewriting, commercial knowledge and physical exercises. Science is often included. The largest school of the kind has nearly 400 pupils. Some have no more than 40.

126. There are also in the principal commercial towns full-time courses of a year's duration, or of two years' duration, planned to prepare for commercial pursuits students who have previously attended a secondary school or a similar school up to the age of 16. The curriculum includes, as a rule, English, economic history, geography, business economics, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, one or two foreign languages, shorthand and typewriting, general economic theory is frequently, and commercial law is sometimes, a subject of the course. Shorthand and typewriting are not always obligatory and at one school may be replaced by the technique of retail trades, merchandise and colour and design. The largest of these senior full-time courses has an enrolment of rather more than 100.

127. The width and depth of the provision of part-time instruction for students over 16 will depend upon the occupations of the area concerned as well as upon its size. The evening technical school of a small town may provide nothing beyond a two years course in bookkeeping and shorthand. The school or college of commerce in a great commercial city will normally have a varied curriculum planned to cover more than one stage of study. Where the necessary elements are present in the curriculum grouped courses are usually organised, at least for a senior stage, and sometimes for both a senior and an advanced stage. Grouped courses are sometimes made obligatory for all students under 18. Senior courses extend over two, or more rarely, three years. The normal course, intended to provide a general commercial training, includes, as a rule, subjects prescribed by the school and a subject or subjects selected by the student. Thus business economics, commercial arithmetic and bookkeeping, or two of these, might be the fixed part of the course and another subject might be selected by the student from among English, foreign modern languages and shorthand. Courses extending over two years, planned for prospective shorthand-typists, are very popular. These generally include English, shorthand and typewriting, and sometimes include bookkeeping. In an advanced course the work in some subjects will be continued from the senior course and taken to a higher standard, while other subjects may be introduced such as commercial law and economic theory. Some advanced courses, not definitely organised in relation to senior courses, prepare students for professional examinations, such as those of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the bodies of Accountants, the Chartered Insurance Institute, the Corporation of Insurance Brokers, the Institute of Bankers and more recently the Institute of Transport.

128. Increased attention is now being given to the study of commodities and the commerce in them. Instruction in such matters has been for some years included in the courses for grocers' assistants which are encouraged by the Institute of Certificated Grocers. There are also courses in connection with the meat trade and courses of various kinds for persons engaged in the commerce of textiles. There is a department of commodities in the City of London College which has offered courses in textiles, oils and fats, iron and steel, timber and grain.

129. Students of modern languages are as a rule interested in a vocational use of the language, but to some extent other students frequent the classes. The instruction occupies one, two or more rarely three hours in each week of the session, which lasts, as a rule, from about the beginning of October to Easter, less frequently to Whitsuntide, with occasionally an extension into the summer months. In some important schools of commerce six or more modern languages are taught, but French, Spanish and German are by far the most in demand. In French there are more than 2,300 classes, in Spanish about 350, and in German about 375. There are about 170 classes in Italian. In French the teaching may provide for four, or even five, stages of sessional studies, in other languages more than two sessions of study are rarely arranged.

130. *Art and Artistic Crafts.*—Most schools of art were in the past concerned mainly to teach drawing or drawing and painting. They are now in most cases schools of industrial art and allied crafts, in which drawing and painting take their places as ancillary to the main vocational aim of the school. In certain areas special attention is given to the type of design or craft which is locally important. Instances of such specialised instruction are the teaching of design for woven and printed fabrics in the cotton and woollen areas, of the various branches of craft and design in connection with pottery in Stoke-on-Trent and elsewhere, of metalwork and jewellery in Birmingham, of metalwork in Sheffield and Dudley, of cabinet and chairmaking in High Wycombe. In London also there is an ample provision for workers in most artistic industries. Another modern development is the attention given to design for advertisement in various forms, ranging from posters to showcards, which has received a great impulse through modern methods of process reproduction. While the schools are thus addressing themselves to serve the needs of the time, or the special needs of particular localities, teaching of a high standard is in many schools available for the benefit of the art student who may prefer to develop his powers in the crafts of drawing, painting or illustration by full-time or part-time study, before deciding as to the particular direction in which he will seek to apply his attainments.

131. Pre-employment training of young persons under 16 for specific artistic trades is only possible in exceptional circumstances,

and there are few examples of courses of this type. But it has been thought advisable to offer in some schools of art full-time education which may meet reasonably well the requirements of those who may enter one or other of a group of local industries depending, in some measure, upon the application of drawing or design or individual craftsmanship. The curriculum of these junior art departments continues general education in a suitable way by instruction which occupies about 12 hours per week, the remainder of the school attendance, which amounts in all to about 30 hours per week, being given to drawing, handicraft and elementary design. The course is of two or three years' duration and the age of admission is from 12 to 14 years, the general intention being that the boy or girl shall find employment at about the age of 16.

132. In the other work of schools of art a recent development of interest and importance is the adoption of improved arrangements for the training of apprentices to the painting and decorating craft, entailing in some cases attendance in the morning or afternoon by arrangement with employers. There are, as already noted, some instances of similar arrangements in art schools for young workers in the printing trades. Two art schools have architectural day schools recognised by the Royal Institute in respect of exemption from the intermediate examination.

133. Such arrangements as those just described are more or less parallel to arrangements of a like kind in technical schools. But much of the work of an art school is done under conditions which do not obtain to the same degree in any other kind of school. Partly because it is seldom possible to form classes for collective instruction, partly because much of the instruction is in a craft which some students acquire more rapidly than others, and in which from the beginning invention and design are properly encouraged, much of the teaching is so individual as to make it impossible to describe the work of an art school in terms of courses of instruction. The quality of much of the teaching cannot be assessed without ascertainment of the actual progress of the students. Some teachers are skilled to a remarkable degree in getting students to exhibit talents or ambitions which under another teacher might have remained latent or been suppressed. There has been in some of the smaller schools which were under masters whose efficiency had fallen to a low ebb, a remarkable increase in attendance under a new principal with the advantage of a more modern and liberal training. This is evidence, if any were needed, of the extent to which the success of an art school may depend upon the individual personality of the head.

134. *Pure Science.*—Studies of literature, history, economics and philosophy are reasonably well provided for in that branch of further education which is generally, though not with strict accuracy if the words are used with an exclusive intention, described as adult education. But historically the older branch of further education,

in which our present technical schools are comprised, was a provision for teaching pure science as well as applied science. If comparison is made with the days of the Science and Art Department or even with the period immediately before the curtailment of science examination in 1911, there has been an apparent diminution in the amount of pure science teaching in technical schools. But the statistics of the examinations could not distinguish between candidates who took subjects of pure science as ancillary to the technology in which they were primarily interested, or because they were teachers and wished for some qualifications for giving instruction in subjects which might be assigned to them, and those other candidates who might by comparison be regarded as disinterested students. Several technical schools now provide full-time courses for candidates for the University of London intermediate and final degree examinations in pure science, and so far as the study of chemistry, physics or mathematics is vocationally important it survives in full-time and part-time courses such as those encouraged by National Certificate schemes. As to teachers, better provision is now made for science teaching in the training colleges. But it was the opinion of the Committee on the position of Natural Science in the educational system of this country that an important piece of work in national education remains to be done in the way of extending and increasing among adults a general interest in science.

It may be assumed that the main aims of science teaching in schools for general education are being achieved, that a knowledge of what may be called the science of everyday life is being generally diffused, and that most people will have at least a dim intuition of the essential nature of scientific enquiry. Beyond this some adults, by reason of their occupation, must have, within a narrow rather than a wide range, a fairly extensive knowledge of the facts of science. Among them, and among those who require no such equipment, not a few may desire to study the more philosophic aspects of science and to seek authentic information about modern scientific achievement in various fields, or about the tendencies of modern scientific investigations or speculations. Something is already being done to satisfy such interests by means of university extension courses or other courses under the Adult Education Regulations, but not invariably under favourable conditions. For the purpose in question no course, certainly no elaborate course, of experimental work is necessary or even appropriate, but visual illustrations or lecture demonstrations may be of great importance. Most technical schools have at least one well equipped lecture room, and it would seem appropriate that technical school programmes should include some classes of the character now in question, conducted, so far as possible, by persons who can speak as masters of their own subjects. In this particular direction technical schools might make a distinctive contribution to the liberal education of adults.

The Results and Prospects of Technical Education.

135. Some general observations may be added on the subject of vocational education in technical and commercial schools. The moral influence upon the young worker of any kind of serious study is as obviously a gain to those who may employ him, as it is to himself. In the past some employers seem to have considered evening classes to be more important in this respect than by reason of any positive value, for the occupation of the student, of the attainment he might acquire. At the present time much better planned instruction is given and its direct practical utility is increasingly appreciated. But it is not too much to say that our schools were, in the past, supported rather by the aspirations of the students than by any organised demand from industry and commerce for technical education. Yet in certain ways they have already rendered a valuable service to manufacturing and trading interests. That service rarely includes the general enlightenment or guidance of industry or commerce. In some countries technical schools may have been founded for such a purpose. But in this country both industry and commerce had attained a high development before any serious thought was given to technical education: and there are agencies not connected with educational institutions of any grade, such as public research institutions, professional societies, trade journals, inventors and consultants, better fitted than schools to advance industrial practice. Members of technical schools staffs, as individuals with special knowledge, may occasionally act as consultants, but the main work of the schools is to teach wage-earners or salaried employees who attend for their own enlightenment.

136. In part-time classes the instruction, in the case of the craftsman, may reasonably be directed to improve his manual skill, for in his actual occupation he may not be able by practice to learn all parts of his craft. It can also give him a sufficient mastery of such matters as elementary science, or calculations, or drawing, or design, which bear on the successful exercise of the craft but cannot be learned in the workshop. The more ambitious student will aspire to promotion in the industry in which he is engaged. The school may enable him to learn the technique of some superior occupation in the industry, such as that of the draughtsman or the estimator, or to get a better comprehension of the industry, as a whole, than observation alone in the course of his daily work will ever give him. Much technical education can be described in general terms as the necessary complement of industrial or commercial experience, as the case may be. For more ambitious students it supplies that equipment of technical knowledge, not in itself fitting the individual for a position of wider responsibility, without which he will be less fit for advancement. Of this type of work an industrialist of wide experience has recently said that the grit and perseverance of the hundred thousand young men in the cotton industry who

between 1893 and 1925 have attended textile classes, often for three or four nights a week, must have told on the success of the industry, and that the result is not to be looked for in any one section or grade of it. Among important developments fostered by the system of technical education this observer notes a growth, in the artistic sense, of the application of design to fabric structure, increased interest in the formation of textile societies and textile managers' associations, and, above all, the advent of the Textile Institute, some of whose founders were, in the past, evening students.

137. Pre-apprenticeship full-time schools (junior technical and junior commercial schools and junior art departments), which are of comparatively recent origin, are certainly justifying the hopes which inspired them. The number of such schools is comparatively small, and it is generally possible to make a careful selection among the applicants for admission. In the girls' schools of this kind, much attendance is normally given to actual trade work, and there is never any difficulty in getting good places for those who finish the course. In most of the boys' schools the curriculum has regard to the constructive trades in general, and no high attainment in any specific craft is arrived at, or is possible in the circumstances. But the attention given to manual work is such that the boys can make an excellent start in an industrial occupation. Those of them who go into a trade in which a high degree of personal skill in craftsmanship is important have been noted as keenly interested in their work and ambitious to excel, and there are instances of remarkable success, sometimes in business, sometimes in a profession, among ex-pupils of schools of this type.

138. Enquiry made recently to ascertain how far senior full-time students of technology and art, other than those leaving departments of university institutions, succeed in finding suitable employment drew, from 27 schools and colleges, statements which have been summarised as follows:—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Number in Courses.</i>	<i>Leavers, July, 1925.</i>	<i>Actually employed, December, 1925.</i>
Engineering	901	308	256
Industrial Chemistry ..	177	58	52
Mining (metals and coal)	83	27	27
Textiles	115	66	62
Building Trades.. ..	95	51	25
Art Industries	613	138	93
Commerce	236	150	124
	2,220	798	639

It was not intended that information should be supplied ~~except~~ in regard to those whose courses had covered three years or more, but some students who took shorter courses were included. A number of the students of engineering and chemistry and possibly

some of those who took commerce, were preparing for degree examinations. The extent of the supply and demand for recruits with advanced academic training cannot be judged without reference to the university output and its absorption. In some of the subjects covered, notably textiles, it is known that full-time courses are mainly attended by students whose places in the industry are assured before they begin the course. Without a proper allowance for such cases no opinion can be formed as to the extent to which a boy leaving a secondary school, and having no connection with an industry he would like to enter, would be well advised to take a long full-time training with a view to a career in it. There appear to be, in general, no placing arrangements such as would gauge the unsatisfied demand for recruits of this type. Experience, and local experience in particular, is the only safe guide on this point. It is clear that in some important industrial centres the accommodation and equipment of the technical schools are not yet such that evening technical school education for employed students can be highly developed. In such circumstances no satisfactory day instruction is possible, but as these deficiencies are remedied, and a suitable full-time staff is employed in reasonably attractive and well-found premises, some little development of full-time courses of post-secondary standard is to be expected. Apart from this there are no indications of a rapid extension of work of this type. This, in a sense, is a disappointing prospect, but it would not be prudent to assume that most of the undertakings which prefer now to recruit, at an earlier age than 18, young persons who can be trained in the ways of the firm and attend good technical schools for part-time study would be well advised to abandon this practice. It is understood that opinion in the Lancashire cotton industry favours the continuance of the present system, which is generally accepted as having given excellent results.

139. The raising of the standard of part-time study in certain subjects by means of National Certificate and similar schemes is, in fact, the most noticeable general development in technical education since the war. Another factor of general importance is the raising of the standard of general education among evening students. A system of part-time technical education cannot be expected to reach maximum efficiency in its more ambitious branches unless the students come to it with the advantage of a reasonably high standard of previous education. With an increase in the number of young people who pass through a secondary school, a junior technical or junior commercial school, or a central elementary school, before entering employment in industry or commerce, it will be possible in the evening technical and commercial schools to achieve even better results: some observers already notice an improvement in the quality of the work where ex-secondary and junior technical school pupils are numerous, and there can be no doubt that the teachers are both willing and able to raise the standard.

The extension of the habit of allowing school attendance in the morning or afternoon would also increase the effectiveness of part-time study, not only by substituting day for evening work, but also by increasing the amount of attendance in the year, and there is already definite evidence on this point.

140. It is unlikely that vocational instruction will ever be uniform in standard, in efficiency or even in educational quality; at one end of the scale it will become increasingly scientific and will extend to some matters which in the past have concerned the higher direction of industry rather than the technician: at the other it will still include such humble but necessary work as the preparation of unlettered persons for such minimum tests as the State may impose for the safety of life and limb. Some students will desire to be no more than masters of their several crafts: the schools will justify their existence if they help them to achieve that purpose. Others may wish to rise in their occupations: to assist them to be more fit for advancement, or for taking an effective part in any tasks of reconstruction that may be entrusted to them, is a gain not only to the students but to trade and industry in general. But within the limits permitted to them the schools have wider aims, and with larger opportunities and better prepared students will more completely succeed as places of higher education. The responsible teachers at the present time claim it as their province to develop the intellectual powers of the students, to widen their horizons, to kindle their imaginations, to help them to find legitimate satisfaction in the exercise of their callings and, in general, to guide them along the ways of good citizenship.

The following Educational Pamphlets, issued by the Board of Education, have been placed on Sale :—

School Doctors in Germany.

By W. H. Dawson. (1908.) *Price 6d.*

The Problem of Rural Schools and Teachers in North America.

By Ethel H. Spalding. (1908.) *Price 6d.*

Report on Science Teaching in Public Schools represented on the Association of Public School Science Masters.

By Oswald H. Latter. (1909.) *Price 4d.*

Compulsory Continuation Schools in Germany.

By H. A. Clay. (1910.) *Price 9d.*

The Course System in Evening Schools.

By H. T. Holmes. (1910.) *Price 3d.*

Report on the Teaching of Latin at the Perse Grammar School, Cambridge. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. i.) (1910.) *Price 6d.* [Out of Print.]

A School Week in the Country. Bradford, Grange Road Secondary School, Girls' Department. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. ii.)

By Miss Mary A. Johnstone. (1910.) *Price 4d.*

Syllabus of Mathematics for the Austrian Gymnasien.

Translated by E. A. Price. (1910.) *Price 2d.*

The Training of Women Teachers for Secondary Schools. A series of Statements from Institutions concerned. (1912.) *Price 8d.*

The Montessori System of Education.

By E. G. A. Holmes. (1912.) *Price 2d.* [Out of Print.]

Report on Farm and Agricultural Schools and Colleges in France, Germany and Belgium.

By R. B. Greig. (1912.) *Price 2d.*

Education and Peasant Industry. Some State and State-aided Trade Schools in Germany.

By Edith Edlmann. (1912.) *Price 5d.*

The Playground Movement in America and its relation to Public Education.

By Walter Wood. (1913.) *Price 4d.*

Report on the Teaching of Greek at the Perse School, Cambridge. (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iii.) (1914.) *Price 1s.*

The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. iv.) (1915.) *Price 4d.*

An Experiment in Industrial Research. By Thomas Lloyd Humberstone. (1915.) *Price 4d.*

The Admiralty Method of Training Dockyard Apprentices (1916.) *Price 1½d.*

The Universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. A Handbook compiled by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. (1918.) *Price 9d.*

Report on the Sheffield City Museums.

By Sir F. G. Ogilvie, C.B. (1919.) *Price 6d.*

Memoranda on Promotion in Elementary Schools in London. (Elementary School Series, No. i.) (1919.) *Price 6d.* [Out of Print.]

- Some Experiments in the teaching of Science and Handwork in certain Elementary Schools in London.** (Elementary School Series, No. ii.) (1920.) *Price 1s.*
- The Teaching of History.** (1923.) *Price 6d.*
- The Practical Management of Small Live-Stock in connection with the teaching of Rural Science in Elementary Schools.** (Elementary School Series, No. iii.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- Notes on Camping.** (1923.) (*Revised Edition.*) *Price 1s.*
- Print Script.** (Elementary School Series, No. iv.) (1922.) *Price 6d.*
- The Botany Gardens of the James Allen's Girls' School, Dulwich: Their History and Organisation.** (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. v.) (1922.) *Price 2s.*
- Report on the Experimental Course in Music at the Mary Datchelor School, Camberwell.** (Educational Experiments in Secondary Schools, No. vi.) (1923.) *Price 4d.*
- Humanism in the Continuation School.** (1921.) *Price 1s. 6d.*
- Mental and Scholastic Tests among Retarded Children.** An enquiry into the effects of Schooling on the various tests. (1923.) *Price 1s. 3d.*
- The Teaching of Drawing in a Secondary School.** Being the development of intelligence through form and colour. (1924.) *Price 1s.*
- Rural Education.** Adaptation of Instruction to the needs of rural areas. A survey of the present position. (1926.) *Price 6d.*
- The Position of French in Grant-aided Secondary Schools in England.** (1926.) *Price 9d.*
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REPORT OF AN ENQUIRY
INTO
APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

For the Skilled Occupations in
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

1925-26.

VII.—General Report.



LONDON:

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1928

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To the Secretary of the Ministry of Labour.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward a Report by the Director of Statistics upon an enquiry which has been made, in accordance with your instructions, into Apprenticeship and Training for the Skilled Occupations in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

HUMBERT WOLFE.

May, 1928.

To the Principal Assistant-Secretary (General Department) of the Ministry of Labour.

SIR,

I have the honour to present a Report summarising and discussing the results of an enquiry made in 1925 and 1926 into the methods adopted in Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the recruitment and training of boys and girls for the skilled occupations. This report together with the six reports on conditions of training in the various industries, already published,* provides for the first time a complete and authoritative survey of this important aspect of national economy.

A great part of the information, on which these reports are based, was obtained from the replies of individual employers to a schedule of enquiry, which was issued to them after consultation with the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations. Schedules of enquiry were issued to some 44,000 employers and the response made was extremely satisfactory. Almost three-fourths of the employers to whom the questionnaire was addressed, employing nearly 3 million workpeople, gave the requisite information respecting 137,331 male and 41,530 female apprentices and learners. The material so collected has been augmented by particulars of apprenticeship furnished by a large number of Employers' Associations, especially as regards collective arrangements in existence in the various industries.

Valuable information was also received from practically all the trade unions concerned with the skilled occupations, to whom a separate schedule of enquiry was addressed after consultation with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

The information thus derived, supplemented by that already in the possession of the Department, and by correspondence and

* Vols. I.—VI:—Printing and Allied Industries (4s. 6d. net); Building, Woodworking and Allied Industries (6s. net); Mining and Quarrying; Metal Extraction; Chemical, Glass, Pottery and Allied Industries (3s. 6d. net); Textile and Clothing Industries (5s. net); Government Departments; Public Utility Services; Distributive and certain Miscellaneous Industries (4s. net); Engineering, Shipbuilding and Ship-repairing and other Metal Industries (7s. 6d. net). To be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingway, London, W.C. 2, or through any bookseller.

special investigation where necessary, is, it is submitted, sufficiently representative and covers a field wide enough to enable general conclusions to be drawn with some confidence.

For the occupations definitely accepted as skilled, apprenticeship is still the recognised method by which the requisite amount and kind of training is given, but this generalisation is subject to certain qualifications. In those industries in which great specialisation of process and of product has become possible, the advance made in the perfection of mechanical methods and in the use of tools of precision has had the effect of introducing what may almost be described as a new class of worker—the minders of automatic or semi-automatic machines—many of whom are trained to a certain degree of skill by means of a rather vague and indefinite system of learnership or by a simple process of upgrading. Moreover, even among apprentices proper, there is a distinct trend in the direction of substituting for a well-defined instrument of apprenticeship or written agreement an oral agreement, in which the terms of employment may only be implied in the known or advertised conditions obtaining at particular establishments. The extent of this tendency may be illustrated by a comparison between the proportions of boys serving under written or verbal agreements at intervals even so closely related in time as 1909 and 1925. Thus the proportion of boys in training, who were serving as apprentices under *oral* agreements, increased in that period from rather more than one-third to just under one-half, while those serving under written agreements decreased from about 36 to 30 per cent.

Despite these tendencies the number of boys employed as apprentices is still very substantial. It is estimated that there are some 315,000 boy apprentices and 110,000 boy learners (excluding learners in the textile industries) in Great Britain alone; thus nearly one-fifth of the male workpeople* in Great Britain under 21 years of age are apprentices and nearly 30 per cent. are either apprentices or are employed under some form of training adopted in substitution for or as an alternative to apprenticeship. How far the number of apprentices is sufficient to meet the prospective needs of industry is a problem of a somewhat speculative nature, but, so far as the inherent difficulties of the problem and the available information permit, the report attempts to afford some guidance as to the position in the more important apprenticeship industries by estimating the ratios of apprentices to journeymen in the principal occupations and considering how far they are likely to maintain the existing numbers of journeymen or to effect an increase or decrease in such numbers. The problem is one which concerns individual occupations rather than industries and is of too detailed a character to be dealt with in this introductory note, but, in connection with this problem, full weight has been given to the effect which the decline in the birth-rate is likely to produce on the number of boys and girls who will be available for employment, as apprentices or otherwise, in the period up to 1940.

* i.e. In industries in which apprenticeship and/or learnership occur."

Although in some industries, such as engineering and shipbuilding, 60 per cent. or more of the employers take apprentices, it is worthy of note that, when all the industries in which apprenticeship occurs are considered together, only about a quarter of the employers take apprentices and about 30 per cent. employ boys under some recognised form of training. Moreover, it is clearly established that the burden of training apprentices is borne to a greater extent, i.e., in relation to their size, by the smaller than by the larger firms.

As regards the conditions of apprenticeship, there is ample evidence that a substantial change has occurred both in the age at commencement and length of apprenticeship. The traditional seven years' apprenticeship running from the age of 14 years has been superseded to a very considerable extent by an apprenticeship for five years from the age of 16 years. Thus of the 74,500 boys, who each year are estimated to enter upon some definite form of industrial training, about 27,000 begin at 14 years, 15,000 at 15 years and 30,000 at 16 years.

As regards the choice of apprentices, the traditional methods of selection by the employer or by foremen, on the basis of recommendation or preliminary trial, are by far the most widely adopted, but there is some indication of the adoption by a substantial number of employers of methods of selection intended to ensure that the determining factor in such choice shall be mainly, if not solely, considerations of industrial fitness. Similarly in regard to training, while the time-honoured method of attaching an apprentice to a skilled workman is still by far the most common, employers in increasing numbers are examining the traditional methods and adapting them to modern conditions, introducing in many cases schemes of training designed to provide opportunities for progressive advancement in knowledge and skill. A greater regard for the advantages of technical education as an adjunct to practical work is a feature of all these schemes.

In most industries, the employers' associations have expressed themselves as satisfied that the present system is capable of producing skilled workers in adequate numbers. In certain cases, however, doubts have been raised and suggestions made.

Many trade unions have rules relating to the conditions of employment of apprentices, and these rules have been summarised in the Report in so far as they affect, for example, entry into apprenticeship, age at commencement and length of apprenticeship, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen, etc.; no attempt, however, to estimate how far these rules are effective has been made or is indeed possible. In this connection, it is important to observe that in several large industries, e.g., engineering and shipbuilding, the employers' associations regard apprenticeship as a domestic matter between the individual employer and the apprentice. Some account is also given of collective agreements on the subject of apprentice-

ship, of the wages of apprentices, and of the historical development and legal aspect of apprenticeship.

On the importance of assuring an adequate supply of properly skilled workmen in order to maintain the traditionally high standard of workmanship for which British industries are renowned, all are agreed; the methods of recruitment and training of the new entrants give rise nevertheless to many problems, which can only be solved by those engaged in industry. The purpose of this series of reports is to place on record the facts derived from the enquiry and some of the conclusions that may be drawn from them. Every care has been taken to ensure accuracy, but it is recognised that an industrial enquiry of this nature is not necessarily exhaustive, largely dependent as it is on the replies received to a questionnaire addressed to a large number of individuals.

The satisfactory response made by employers and others has done much to eliminate the risk of error, but there are certain fundamental limitations in an enquiry such as this which remain to-day very much the same as apparently they were in the days of an eighteenth century pioneer of industrial research, who prefaced the results of his enquiries in the following terms:—

“ Now there remains only for me to request the candid Reader, that, upon his meeting with here and there some little things, that may not exactly tally with his Knowledge or Judgment, he will not immediately condemn the Whole or major Part, which he knows nothing of : But consider how many different Persons must have been consulted to gain so much Intelligence as is herein communicated; and add to this the Oddness and Variety of Men's Tempers, on being asked three or four civil Questions, the answering which was no Trouble, nor could be any Detriment; yet some were shy, some jealous; some testy, others sour; nay some quite angry, thinking one was come as a Spy to steal the Secrets of their Trade : and, besides all this, several of the same Trade or Business were met with, who gave very different Accounts.”*

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN HILTON.

Ministry of Labour,
Statistics Division.

May, 1928.

* Extract from “ A General Description of All Trades ” (printed for T. Waller) at the Crown and Mitre, opposite Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, London. 1747.

VII.—General Report.

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GENERAL REPORT ON APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING FOR THE SKILLED OCCUPATIONS.

§1. Introduction.

The maintenance of an adequate supply of skilled workmen to meet the needs of industry is a matter of vital importance not merely to industry itself but to the community as a whole. It is important to employers, because the uninterrupted flow of a sufficient number of workmen with the requisite skill is essential if the continuity and progress of industry are to be assured; to workmen, because the maintenance of a high standard of skill profoundly affects their economic status and prospects; to the community, because its interest and duty lie not only in ensuring the economic welfare of its citizens but in fostering a high standard of education and of citizenship.

Any examination of the methods by which this object can be attained needs, therefore, no elaborate justification; it is indeed remarkable that, despite the importance of the subject, no authoritative information had, prior to the present investigation, been published which would show for industry generally the character and extent of the methods adopted for recruiting and maintaining the required supply of skilled men. The present enquiry was instituted with a view to satisfying this need, at least in part. Full use of the facts elicited from the enquiry has, however, been seriously handicapped by the lack of comparative information.

§2. Methods of training for skilled occupations.

The methods of training for the skilled occupations adopted in industry may be said to consist of (a) Apprenticeship, (b) Learnership and (c) Upgrading. The apparent simplicity of this classification is somewhat misleading for the absence of a well-defined nomenclature and the use of these and other similar terms in a variety of senses renders any discussion of the subject unusually difficult. It is necessary, therefore, that the precise meaning attached to each of these terms throughout the present enquiry should be carefully differentiated.

(a) *Apprenticeship* is the contractual relationship between an employer and worker under which the employer is obliged to teach the worker or to cause him to be taught any trade or business and in consideration of such teaching the worker is to serve the employer as an apprentice throughout an agreed period on stated terms.

The essential ingredient of this as opposed to other forms of contract of service is the obligation cast on the employer to teach the apprentice his trade, though it is usual for the instrument of apprenticeship to limit this obligation so that it extends only to

the trade "so far as carried on by the employer" and "so far as the capacity of the apprentice permits." Thus the relationship implies that, at least in the earlier stages of training, the apprentice receives more by way of training than he gives by way of production. This is the sense in which the term has been used throughout this report, but it is often used in other senses. Thus it is not infrequently applied generically to all those boys learning a trade under any form of engagement, a loose interpretation which the present enquiry has endeavoured to avoid.

Apprenticeship in its modern form is constituted either under a written agreement (commonly an indenture) or under a verbal agreement. The extent to which these two types of agreement differ in their legal and practical aspects is discussed below (see pages 14 to 20), but apprenticeship in the modern sense is by no means confined to apprenticeship under indenture or a written instrument; indeed, one outstanding feature of apprenticeship to-day consists in the predominance of verbal over written agreements.

(b) *Learnership*.—For the purpose of this enquiry a "learner" connotes "a worker who, not being an apprentice, is specifically engaged by the employer for a recognised period of training in the capacity of a learner and is provided by the employer with instruction or with definite facilities for learning a branch or process of the industry."

This term, which is of recent origin, is even more lacking in definition and distinctiveness than apprenticeship. In the cotton and wool textile industries, for example, it is used in a somewhat different sense from that adopted in the enquiry and is commonly applied to a juvenile worker undergoing a short but variable period of intensive training or to one who is performing certain simple auxiliary operations while awaiting a vacancy at a machine either in the same or in an entirely different department.

In paragraph 29, an account is given of the principal industries in which learners are employed. In most of these industries the relationship implies a tacit understanding that the boy shall be employed so long as his services give satisfaction and that during such period he will receive certain increases in wages and be given the opportunity to learn. The distinction between this system and apprenticeship appears to rest on (i) the less exacting degree of responsibility of the employer in the matter of imparting instruction; it is sufficient, e.g., that the employer shall merely provide facilities for learning and (ii) the absence of any understanding, explicit or implicit, that the boy shall be employed throughout the whole of the recognised period.

In many of the trades, to which the Trade Boards Acts have been applied, there is a special form of learnership commonly in operation. In these trades the rate of wages which must be paid to a

juvenile worker varies with the juvenile's status. Where an obligation to provide training is imposed on the employer, the rate of wages which must be paid is lower than where there is no such obligation. In respect of learners such an obligation exists; generally speaking the obligation does not go beyond requiring the employers to provide facilities for learning the trade, but in a few cases the conditions attached to the payment of the learners' rates definitely require that the learner shall receive training in a number of prescribed operations. If these conditions are not complied with, the employer is under a legal obligation to pay a rate which is always higher than the learners' rate. This rate may be either the rate fixed for the ordinary adult worker or a rate intermediate between the learners' and the adult rate. One of the conditions attached to the payment of the learners' rates is that the learner must be registered with the Trade Board, but learnership in the Trade Board trades, as in other industries, imposes no obligation on the employer to retain the learner throughout the whole of the learning period.

In connection with this discussion of the meaning of the term "learner," some reference must here be made to the use of the term "improver." Strictly speaking, and in its original significance, the term "improver" is applied to an apprentice who, having completed his term of apprenticeship, is required to serve a further period of training before qualifying for the journeyman's rate, and this is the sense in which it is still used in the great majority of occupations. But in some industries and districts, and especially in the building industry, the term has acquired a different or double connotation and is commonly also applied to boy labourers who, though not apprenticed, are provided with facilities for learning the trade by working alongside and assisting skilled men. While improvership of this type is in a sense a substitute for learnership, it is in some respects less well-defined. Thus it implies no definite understanding either as to the length of the improvership period or as to remuneration, both being dependent upon the progress and ability of the improver.

(c) *Upgrading* is the practice of promoting, usually to the semi-skilled or to the less-skilled tasks, labourers or other unskilled operatives who have acquired some knowledge of methods and processes in use by working in association with skilled men. It takes two main forms. In the first case, the young labourer is first placed on a simple machine and his progression to more difficult machines depends on his own adaptability; this phase of the practice is most developed in those industries in which large-scale machine production has induced great specialisation of processes. In the second case, the labourer works with a skilled workman, sometimes in the capacity of mate or as a member of a group or gang; he naturally acquires some acquaintance with the skilled operations performed and after some years' experience may himself

be able to perform a limited or specialised number of these operations. A fuller account of the system of upgrading and of the industries in which it occurs is given in paragraph 30 of this report.

Upgrading may be distinguished from apprenticeship or learner-ship by reason of the fact that it is a method of training adopted only in the case of workers, frequently somewhat older than apprentices or learners, who have already been working in the industry in an unskilled capacity, that it implies in general no regular instruction or recognised period of training or scale of wages (the man's remuneration being mainly determined by the value of the work he does) and that it does not, unless exceptionally, lead to the production of fully skilled workmen, the great majority of men so trained never proceeding beyond the semi-skilled stage.

These three systems of training, it may be observed, are not separate compartments to one or other of which every system of training in use can be definitely allocated; on the contrary, they shade off into each other by imperceptible degrees, but each of them has nevertheless its own special and peculiar characteristics.

§3. History of apprenticeship.

Of the three methods, apprenticeship is by far the most important and has been for long the recognised avenue in this country for entry into the skilled occupations. Its origin, history and tradition have exercised so profound an influence on its modern development that it is necessary to refer briefly to them.

The development of the system may be conveniently if somewhat arbitrarily considered in each of the following three phases, (i) *Gild apprenticeship*, (ii) *Statutory apprenticeship*, (iii) *Voluntary apprenticeship*.

(i) *Gild apprenticeship*.—This covers the period from the twelfth century to 1563. During this time the industrial organisation of the community centred round the gilds—associations, voluntary in their origin and composed of masters exercising a common trade, which had for their purpose the regulation of the conduct of the trade. The gilds, jealous of the reputation of their crafts, greatly exercised themselves with the maintenance of the standard of workmanship and with this object in view controlled the enrolment, the age at entry and length of service of apprentices, the number of apprentices that any one master might employ and in general the qualifications of both masters and apprentices. At first, apprenticeship was not the only means of entering a skilled trade; men who could prove themselves "able and sufficient" in the mysteries of the craft could be admitted, but from the end of the 14th century onwards apprenticeship became practically compulsory under regulations of the gilds, and only those who had served an apprenticeship became entitled to exercise the craft.

The main feature of this system was its paternal and domestic character. The apprentice lived with the master who in return for the boy's service supplied board, lodging, clothing and instruction; every master was himself a worker at the craft and every apprentice was a potential master. The boy's instruction was supervised, not only by the master, but by the officers of the gild, who, primarily charged with the duty of discovering those who contravened the gild's regulations and of searching out and condemning bad work, also ensured that proper attention was given to the instruction and welfare of the apprentice. During the prescribed term of apprenticeship, usually set at not less than seven years, the apprentice received no wages. There was no premium apprenticeship but fees were paid to the gild for admission; the number of apprentices to be taken by any one master was restricted, the customary limitation being three apprentices to one journeyman.

From the expansion in trade which took place in the 16th century there emerged a national as opposed to a local or municipal conception of industry, which paved the way for a transition from a local to a national system of apprenticeship—a transition which was hastened by the exclusive and unreasonable regulations of the gilds. This change found its expression in the Statute of Artificers, 1563 (5 Eliz. Cap. 4).

(ii) *Statutory apprenticeship*.—In England, apprenticeship under statutory regulation lasted from 1563 to the repeal of the Statute of Artificers in 1814. The Elizabethan statute, which was in effect a consolidation of existing regulations affecting labour, provided in its application to apprentices that apprenticeship should extend to seven years at the least, the term not to expire before the apprentice attained the age of 24 years; that no person, saving those already lawfully engaged therein, should exercise a craft unless he had been apprenticed in the prescribed manner; and that a master might have three apprentices to one journeyman; for every apprentice above three, one other journeyman must be employed.

As no statutory provision was made for the enforcement of these requirements, it fell to the gilds to see that the provisions of the statute were put into effect, but by the end of the 17th century the gilds appear to have found themselves unable either to enforce the statute or their own regulations. Those who were not members of the gilds disregarded the statute, the operation of which was further curtailed by the strict construction placed on it by the Courts, limiting, for example, its application to townsmen only and to those trades which had been in existence at the date of its enactment. Moreover, a change manifested itself about this time in the character of apprenticeship. It was not uncommon to find the master no longer bound to supply food, lodging, clothing or medical attendance; the apprentice began to receive pocket money and then wages; premium apprenticeship became common and apprenticeship on the "outdoor" system was definitely instituted.

The increasing disregard for the provisions of the statute foreshadowed the complete breakdown of the system of statutory apprenticeship, which came at the end of the 18th century. Factors which hastened the passing of the system included the introduction of machinery in the woollen and cotton mills and the change from industry carried on in the home or workshop to industry carried on in the factory. In addition, at this period of general expansion of industry, public opinion was strongly in favour of the removal of all legislative or other restraints in the way of business and this led to the ultimate repeal of the Statute of Artificers in 1814.

(iii) *Voluntary apprenticeship*.—It is convenient to consider this phase of apprenticeship in three periods :—

(a) *Pre-war apprenticeship, 1814-1914*.—The repeal of the Statute of Artificers did not involve the disappearance of apprenticeship, which continued to be the method of training in those trades which, despite the introduction of machinery, demanded a high degree of manual skill and a prolonged course of instruction, and in those in which the old industrial processes and methods persisted.

It was now, however, a free contract differing in essential features from its predecessor. The period of apprenticeship was no longer restricted nor was there at law any limitation in the number of apprentices that might be employed. Outdoor apprenticeship became more frequent and, towards the end of the period, indoor apprenticeship became almost exceptional; there was a pronounced decline in indentured and also in premium apprenticeship. The reasons for the decline may be found in the altered conditions of industry. The increasing sub-division and specialisation of processes and the greater use of machinery, rendered it unnecessary for many workmen to become acquainted with a complete trade or even a complete branch of trade; with the increase in the size of industrial establishments the obligation on the employer to teach the boy became more remote and in a sense more difficult to fulfil; the speeding up of processes and the increasing use of payment by results made it difficult and even unprofitable for the journeyman to give the time and care necessary for the proper instruction of the apprentice; the competition of boy labour, which under the new conditions had become a source of profit, with that of journeymen led in some trades to the imposition of restrictions by trade unions on the numbers and conditions of employment of apprentices, and in consequence induced a reluctance to employ apprentices.

(b) *Apprenticeship during the Great War*.—The causes which, prior to the war, operated to the discouragement of the system of apprenticeship were themselves accentuated during this period and were reinforced by others arising from the liability of boys to be called up for military service. During the previous century there had been an expansion of those industries in which sub-division and

specialisation had rendered boy labour profitable at the expense of those in which a prolonged training was necessary and in which an immediate sacrifice of wages on the part of the boy was involved, but nevertheless a certain discernible equilibrium between them had been maintained. During the war the influx of boys into industries within the first of these two categories enormously increased, and the proportion of boys in training grew steadily less. Moreover, the withdrawal of men from industry for military purposes involved both an acute disturbance of the proportion of boys to adults normally employed and also the early promotion of boys to work normally performed by men. Thus the proportion of boys to men employed increased between July, 1914, and April, 1917, from 5.9 per cent. to 10 per cent. in the building industry and from 13.9 per cent. to 20.8 per cent. in engineering. The difficulties of training boys for skilled work by the traditional methods were greatly increased by the absence of skilled men, by the intensive specialisation induced by the necessity of increasing output, and by the risks of discontinuity in training through the liability of boys to military service on attaining the age of 18 years. Moreover, the high wages paid to boys and girls on repetition work accustomed them to new economic standards and reacted to the detriment of apprenticeship, which implies an immediate sacrifice in wages with a view to future gain. At the end of the war period, therefore, the future supply of skilled men appeared to be seriously menaced; many skilled men had been definitely lost to industry, thousands of boys who would normally have been recruited to industry as apprentices had never had the opportunity of commencing their training, those whose training had been interrupted by war service were of such an age or had incurred responsibilities such that they could not be expected to recommence at apprentices' wages, while vast numbers of boys had, by force of circumstances, embarked on work for which no real training was required. This was the problem which had to be solved during the period of reconstruction which followed the conclusion of the war.

(c) *Post-war apprenticeship.*—One contribution towards the reinstatement of the traditional methods of industrial training was made in the Interrupted Apprenticeship Scheme for which the Ministry of Labour was responsible. The scheme provided for the recommencement of training, by those whose apprenticeship had been interrupted by military service, in the works of the employer with whom the apprenticeship originated, for the reduction of the period of apprenticeship on an agreed basis, and where practicable and desirable for instruction in technical institutions. With the money allowances granted by the State and the wages paid by the employer, the apprentice was enabled to receive a total remuneration approximating to that which he would have obtained if his training had not been interrupted by the war. The apprentices accepted under the scheme numbered nearly

45,000, of whom approximately 16,000 resumed their training in engineering, 7,500 in building, 6,000 in printing and allied industries and 2,000 in shipbuilding. In addition, many other apprentices were reinstated in certain industries in which the principles of the scheme were applied without a scheme being formally adopted for the industry as a whole.

Important as this contribution was, however, it only affected a temporary phase of the problems of apprenticeship. The subdivision of processes and specialisation in product which had spread to such an extent during the war continued and indeed increased; at the same time the acute industrial depression of the last few years set in. The influence of these factors on the distribution, character and tendencies of modern apprenticeship was unknown, and if national stock of the position was to be taken, an investigation into the whole subject of apprenticeship was necessary. Some of the questions on which it was hoped such an investigation would throw light were as follows: the distribution of apprenticeship, including the industries and the types of firms in which it persists; the character of apprenticeship, the tendencies in regard to the form, the age of commencement and the length of apprenticeship; the number of apprentices, the relation of this number to the needs of industry and the prospects of apprentices, the attitude of employers' associations and trade unions to apprenticeship; the selection of apprentices and the forms of industrial training; alternative methods of training. The information obtainable during the enquiry does not, perhaps, enable an authoritative pronouncement to be made on all of these subjects, but it is hoped that it widens the available knowledge of the more important aspects of the modern development of the apprenticeship system.

Before proceeding to describe the scope and results of the enquiry, it is necessary to refer briefly to the various forms and the legal aspects of apprenticeship.

§4. Forms of apprenticeship.

There are in operation three well-established forms of apprenticeship—apprenticeship under indenture, apprenticeship under written agreement and apprenticeship under oral agreement. Apprenticeship under oral agreement is, in form, a departure from the earlier and stricter types of apprenticeship, in which the existence of a legal instrument was deemed to be essential to constitute the relationship, but under modern conditions the term "apprentice" is applied to a great number of boys who are being trained for the skilled occupations and whose agreement with the employer has not been reduced to writing. The legal consequences flowing from these different forms of agreement are discussed below (see page 18), but the broad features distinguishing the various forms of apprenticeship may be briefly described as follows.

(a) Apprenticeship under indenture or other written agreement.

—There is little difference between the terms implied in apprenticeship under indenture and apprenticeship under written agreement. In the former case, the agreement is reduced to writing in a form to which a special solemnity attaches and which sets out in considerable detail the various conditions to which the employer and the apprentice agree to bind themselves.

Written agreements are usually simpler in form than indentures, and may contain nothing more than the agreement of the employer to teach the apprentice and the reciprocal agreement of the apprentice to serve. Where an apprenticeship is entered into for a period of more than one year, a written agreement is necessary in order to make the contract enforceable, but indentures are no longer necessary save in certain exceptional cases where they are required by statute.

There are a few simple and necessary features of both these types of agreement. There must be an undertaking by the employer to teach the apprentice, though it is usual for the employer to qualify this to the extent to which the trade is carried on by him and an undertaking by the apprentice to serve the employer. The agreement of the apprentice to be bound must be evidenced by his seal or signature.

It is also usual to set out, in considerable detail, especially in indentures, the various conditions under which the apprentice is to be employed. Thus it is usual to provide for the term of apprenticeship, the wages to be paid in each year of apprenticeship, the trade(s) or branches of trade which the apprentice is to be taught and the binding of the boy's parent or guardian as a third party to the agreement.

In addition to these principal features, indentures sometimes contain other clauses governing in some special way the conditions of employment. Of such clauses the following are typical examples: (i) requiring the apprentice to attend a specified number of technical classes, either during the day or in the evening; (ii) binding the apprentice to keep his employer's secrets, not to damage or waste his goods and not to absent himself without his employer's consent; (iii) restraining the apprentice from working during the term for anyone other than the employer or, in certain circumstances, from engaging in any similar trade or business for a specified period after the determination of the agreement; (iv) prohibiting, limiting or discouraging the employment of the apprentice on overtime; or in cases where overtime is contemplated under the agreement, fixing the rate of wages payable to the apprentice in respect of such overtime; (v) prohibiting the apprentice from joining a trade union during the term except for the purpose of National Health Insurance or other benefits of a like nature; (vi) providing for the "standing-off" or suspension of the apprentice in certain specified

circumstances, e.g., in the event of the employer being unable to find work; (vii) making arrangements for the transfer of the apprentice to another employer in the event of the employer's death or in certain cases in the event of there being a shortage of work; (viii) providing for the binding of a fourth or independent party to the agreement who is charged with the duty of securing the proper supervision and training of the apprentice.

Only two of these provisions, namely, that prohibiting apprentices from joining a trade union except for benefit purposes and that dealing with the suspension or standing-off of apprentices during slack trade, demand any detailed reference. The former restriction is found mainly in shipbuilding, the model indenture prepared by the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation for the use of its members containing a provision of this kind, but it also appears in the indentures of some engineering apprentices, and in some isolated cases in other industries. There has been no pronounced opposition on the part of organised labour to the insertion of a restrictive clause of this kind in agreements of apprenticeship. Trade unions in general are more impressed by the necessity for ensuring the continuity of employment and training of apprentices than by the risk of any detriment which the insertion of such a clause in an apprenticeship agreement might be considered to imply. Indeed, so far does this view prevail that some agreements between employers' associations and trade unions, notably in the furniture and woodworking industries, and even the rules of some trade unions (e.g., the Amalgamated Slaters and Tilers' Provident Society), contain clauses providing that in the event of a strike or lock-out, apprentices who are legally bound are to be regarded as quite separate and distinct from any such strike or lock-out, and are to continue at work without interruption.

A provision in an indenture stipulating for the suspension or "standing-off" of the apprentice when work is not available needs to be interpreted in accordance with the rules of common law bearing on apprenticeship. As will be seen below (page 18), an apprenticeship agreement, to be binding on an infant, must be for the infant's benefit, and the question whether the presence of prejudicial clauses renders the agreement unenforceable depends on whether they outweigh the general benefit. There is no fixed rule of law determining the conditions under which a clause providing for the suspension of an apprentice during periods of slack trade would render an apprenticeship agreement invalid; each case must be treated on its merits, but the considerations likely to affect a determination of the question appear from the facts of a recent case (*Bell v. Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth and Co.*).

In that case the plaintiff had been suspended on alternate weeks without wages owing to a shortage of work. The decision turned on the actual terms of the indenture, which contained a clause

providing that the firm would, provided they carried on business during the period, to the best of their knowledge, power and ability, teach and instruct the apprentice or cause him to be taught and instructed during the period in the trade or occupation of fitter and turner as carried on by the employer and as the capacity of the apprentice would permit, and that, *inter alia*, the apprentice would be paid wages at a specified rate per week of 53 hours, the rate increasing in each year of apprenticeship. Circumstances of trade arose which necessitated placing the apprentice on half time, the apprentice being "stood-off" on alternate calendar weeks. For the defendants it was contended that the agreement meant that if the apprentice worked for less than the full week, the amount of his wages should be proportionately less. The Court, however, held that the rates (other than the bonuses specified) were minimum rates and were payable in full notwithstanding that the apprentice might be on short time or even suspended for a whole week. Sargant, J., said:—

"As regards the plaintiff's claim to his full rate of wages under the indenture, I am clearly in his favour. . . . When one considers the object of the indenture and the fact that both parties to it are binding themselves for a period of five years, the one to employ and teach the apprentice and the other to serve the employer, it is in my judgment impossible to read into the indenture or its schedule such a modification of the employer's *prima facie* liability as would enable him to employ the apprentice for shorter hours and at a proportionately reduced wage. . . ."

It is quite unnecessary to mention or negative such an obvious absurdity as that the apprentice's wage, trifling in itself and obviously bargained for with a view to his interim maintenance, should be reducible indefinitely for any period during which the employer should think fit to shorten the actual hours of work. A power in the employer so to reduce the apprentice's hours of work and wage might in my view go far towards rendering the indenture unenforceable against the apprentice. . . ."

The plaintiff's claim for damages for loss of tuition during the suspension, however, failed, the Court finding that as the firm were bound to teach the apprentice the trade or occupation of fitter and turner *only in so far as it was carried on by them*, they were entitled in the circumstances of the case to put him on short time as they did.

(b) *Apprenticeship under oral agreement* is constituted when an employer orally agrees to take a boy as apprentice for the purpose of being taught a skilled trade. The terms of the contract seldom go beyond fixing the length of the apprenticeship, the hours of work and the wages payable. The terms may be explicit, but are usually implicit, and are then based on the known or

advertised conditions of apprenticeship obtaining at a particular establishment. Such an agreement is of course perfectly valid, but unless the agreement is to be performed within the space of one year, it is unenforceable.

(c) Apprenticeship may also be differentiated on the basis of the type of training contemplated under the agreement, and of the educational qualifications of the boy at the time of entry. The ordinary apprentice, drawn from the primary or central schools, who enters industry in order to learn a skilled craft, for example, patternmaking, carpentry or bricklaying, is known as a *trade apprentice*; the apprentice who is drawn from the higher secondary schools and is given a wider training, both practical and technical, in two or more crafts in order to qualify for a supervisory post is commonly called a *pupil apprentice*; apprentices who have undergone a full-time technical course at a university or technical institution and are being trained for administrative positions in technical or commercial staffs are termed *student apprentices*; student apprentices who are specially qualified for research work in the laboratories or workshops of manufacturing firms are commonly described as *research apprentices*. The terms pupil apprentice and student apprentice are, however, to some extent interchangeable.

(d) There are also *premium apprentices*. This term is applied to boys in respect of whom the employer has required a premium or money payment before the apprentice commences his training. Premiums are commonly required in respect of pupil and student apprentices, but trade apprentices do not usually pay premiums, except in certain trades and localities. The extent of premium apprenticeship is considered on page 35 below.

§5. The legal status of apprentices at Common Law.*

The law of apprenticeship reflects its traditional character. It is based largely on the paternal or fiduciary character of the relationship which at one time existed between employer and apprentice and also on the apprentice's status as a minor. The rule of common law that contracts made by an infant are voidable at his option, that is, are enforceable by but not against him, is subject to the two well-established exceptions that contracts for necessaries and certain contracts for the infant's benefit are binding on him. The contract of apprenticeship comes within these exceptions; it is, therefore, binding on the infant provided that, considered as a whole, it was beneficial to him at the date on which the contract was entered into. The question whether the existence of prejudicial stipulations in the contract renders it unenforceable against

* This paragraph only describes the position of apprentices at Common Law. There are a number of statutes affecting apprenticeship, one of the most important being the Employers and Workmen Act, 1875.

the apprentice depends on whether they do or do not outweigh the general benefit. An agreement stipulating for a penalty to be paid by an infant or empowering the employer to stop work or wages at his own option or, in general, placing an inordinate power in the hands of the employer without imposing a correlative obligation cannot be beneficial and therefore binding on the apprentice.

An apprentice cannot be bound without his own consent evidenced by attaching his signature to the agreement, but he can bind himself without his parents' consent.

An agreement of apprenticeship for a period not exceeding the space of one year is binding without any writing, but for any longer period a written agreement is necessary; indentures are only necessary where statute so requires.

Where there is an unqualified agreement to teach an apprentice a trade, the apprentice must be taught the whole and not merely a part of the trade, but in modern practice the employer usually protects himself by qualifying his obligation so that he is bound to teach the trade only "so far as carried on by the employer." Where the agreement does not contain provisions specifying the hours of work an apprentice is required to work the hours customary in the trade and such reasonable overtime as is required; nor is he entitled to receive additional wages for such overtime, unless the agreement expressly so provides. Temporary sickness or accident incapacitating the apprentice does not relieve the employer from his obligations under the contract, but permanent illness excuses performance.

An apprentice cannot be dismissed for misconduct, but if his misconduct is such as to make it unsafe for the employer to keep him (as where the apprentice is an habitual thief) or as to make it impossible for the employer to perform his part of the agreement (as where the apprentice absconds and remains away) this would be a good defence to the employer in an action on the covenant. An apprentice may by covenant give the employer a right to dismiss him for misconduct.

If an apprentice serving under a good agreement of apprenticeship fail to observe his part of the contract he cannot be sued for breach of covenant; where, however, a parent or guardian has become a party to the agreement and has bound himself by covenant to answer for the infant, a breach of covenant by the infant will render him liable to be sued.

An apprentice on attaining his majority may either repudiate or ratify the agreement. If he repudiates, he is no longer bound, but his repudiation does not discharge his sureties; if, with knowledge of the terms of the agreement, he continues to work in the agreed manner, ratification will be implied.

The agreement is terminated by the death of the master, and unless the agreement expressly provides otherwise, the apprentice

is not bound to serve the executors and the latter are not liable to the apprentice, nor can the apprentice in that event recover any premium or part thereof which he may have paid.

§6. The scope and methods of the enquiry.

The information on which this report is based was obtained by issuing to employers in those trades in which some kind of systematic training is required a schedule, drawn up by the Department in consultation with the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations. The schedule consisted of two parts. In the first part, employers were asked to furnish information with respect to the sources from which apprentices and learners are usually obtained, the arrangements made for training in the works and for encouraging attendance at technical or trade classes, the methods other than apprenticeship or learnership by which skilled workers are trained, the practice as regards requiring a probationary period prior to the commencement of apprenticeship, or an improvership period on completion of apprenticeship, and the difficulties (if any) encountered in obtaining apprentices.

In part two of the schedule, statistical information was sought respecting the total number of workpeople employed, including clerks and salaried persons, the number of apprentices employed in each occupation under indentures or written agreements and under verbal agreements, the amount of premium (if any) paid, the usual age of commencement, the usual length of apprenticeship and the wages paid in the first and last years of apprenticeship. Information of a similar character was requested in respect of learners.

Except in the building industry, no information was obtained respecting the number of journeymen or skilled men employed in each occupation.

The schedule was issued to all employers of more than 100 workpeople in the selected industries, but only to a proportion of employers of less than 100 workpeople. This proportion varied according to the importance and size of the industry, but on the average the sample taken of the smaller firms was in the neighbourhood of 10 per cent. In addition, in certain industries such as engineering, building and printing, where the subject of apprenticeship was regarded as of special importance, the enquiry was extended over a much wider field than that indicated above; with the concurrence and in some cases at the request of the employers' organisations in these industries, the sample taken covered a proportion of the workpeople much in excess of that covered in the other industries.

Schedules were despatched to about 44,000 employers in all industries, and 27,291 schedules in respect of boy apprentices and learners and 6,499 schedules in respect of girl apprentices and

learners were returned. Of these schedules, 11,693 were received from firms who actually had male apprentices or learners in employment at the date of the enquiry and 2,347 from those who had female apprentices or learners in employment. The total number of male workpeople employed by firms furnishing returns was 2,336,601, of whom 104,649 were apprentices and 32,682 were learners; the corresponding number of female workpeople was 620,388, of whom 6,065 were apprentices and 35,465 were learners.

The information based on these returns is contained in a series of six reports in which the conditions of apprenticeship and training for the skilled occupations are described in detail for a related group of industries.

The industries dealt with in each of these reports are as follows :

- I. Printing and Allied Industries.
- II. Building, Woodworking and Allied Industries.
- III. Mining and Quarrying; Metal Extraction; Chemical, Glass, Pottery and Allied Industries.
- IV. Textiles and Clothing Industries.
- V. Government Departments, Public Utility Services, Distributive and certain Miscellaneous Industries.
- VI. Engineering, Shipbuilding and Ship-repairing and other Metal Industries.

The purpose of the present volume is to afford a general conspectus of apprenticeship and training for the skilled occupations, to indicate the direction in which the various systems of training are tending and to discuss generally the bearing of the information obtained on the whole subject of industrial training.

§7. Distribution of apprenticeship.

(a) *Industries in which apprenticeship is found.*—Generally speaking, the occurrence of apprenticeship in a particular industry is coincident with the need for a period of systematic training extending over a number of years in order to acquire the manual skill necessary for the proper exercise of a particular occupation. Thus apprenticeship no longer prevails in those industries in which the necessary knowledge of an occupation can be picked up without any directed training but merely by a day-to-day association with the work. Nor does it now appear in those industries in which the march of mechanical progress has resulted in such a simplification of machinery and sub-division of process as to involve the supersession of skilled by semi-skilled or unskilled workmen. In such industries, of which the boot and shoe manufacturing industry is a typical example, the work in its modern form demands only a relatively short period of training, during which the worker learns a single operation or a limited range of operations and on the conclusion of which he devotes himself to increasing his dexterity, speed and general aptitude on the work.

But in a great many of the staple industries, these circumstances are far from being applicable; there are still many occupations for which a lengthy period of training is imperative. This occurs not only in industries in which there has been no pronounced departure from the old or traditional methods of work, but even in those in which the mechanization of industry has developed to the highest degree, for mechanical progress has led as frequently to the complication as to the simplification of work. Many modern machines are so intricate in their construction, work to such degrees of fineness and accuracy and demand such care in their adjustment and operation that the skill required in operating them is certainly not less than was necessary when the processes were performed by hand. Hence the need for a long period of training persists in many occupations whose industrial character has undergone a complete transformation. But apprenticeship and learnership are confined to relatively few of all the occupations within the bounds of industry. Thus there are excluded from treatment in this report vast numbers of persons employed in transport services (e.g., locomotive drivers, tram drivers, busmen and chauffeurs), in agriculture, in domestic services, in clerical and similar work, or as engine attendants or operators of automatic or semi-automatic machines. For all such workers and for many others whose occupations demand some measure of skill, there is no recognised apprenticeship or other system of training.

In considering the industries in which apprenticeship obtains, those in which apprentices are employed solely on maintenance work may be distinguished from those in which they are employed on productive as well as on maintenance work.

The main industries in which apprentices are employed on productive work and in which apprenticeship is the recognised avenue of entry to the ranks of skilled workers include the engineering and allied industries, e.g., light castings, sheet metal working, wire drawing, etc., shipbuilding,* building and electrical contracting, woodworking and allied industries, printing, pottery, glass, scientific instrument making, baking, the supply of electricity and gas and the mercantile marine. Those in which learnership is the recognised mode of entry include the textile industries, boot and shoe manufacture, paper making, certain miscellaneous metal industries, such as the manufacture of cutlery and edge tools, needles and fish hooks, and screws and the majority of those industries to which the Trade Boards Acts have been applied and of which the principal are the clothing, paper box and paper bag, boot and shoe repairing and the brush and broom manufacturing industries; those in which apprentices or learners are found on maintenance work and only rarely on productive work include the mining and quarrying

* The term "shipbuilding" throughout this report is intended to cover the shipbuilding and ship repairing industry as a whole.

and chemical industries, the manufacture of iron, steel and other metals, of tubes and tinplate, and industries engaged in the manufacture of food and drink. There is, of course a certain overlap between each of these classes since they are not mutually exclusive.

Apprenticeship and learnership are adopted in varying degrees in the several occupations of these industries. In some, apprenticeship is predominant; in some, learnership; while in others, skilled workers are recruited both by way of apprenticeship and learnership. A full account of the occupational distribution of apprentices and learners is given in the various sectional reports.

The extent of apprenticeship in a particular industry is reflected in the proportions of employers who take apprentices and in the ratio of apprentices to the total number of workpeople employed in the industry. It is perhaps best indicated, however, by the ratio of apprentices to male workers under 21 years. These proportions are set out in the table given below for (a) male apprentices separately and (b) male trainees, i.e., both apprentices and learners, in the principal industries.

Proportions of employers taking, and of male workpeople who are employed as, apprentices and trainees.

Industry.	Percentage of employers in Great Britain and Northern Ireland taking male—		Percentage of total male workpeople in Great Britain and Northern Ireland who are—		Percentage of male workpeople in Great Britain only, under 21 years of age, who are—	
	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*
Metal :						
Engineering	53.3	62.1	7.0	9.4	32.2	43.2
Shipbuilding	88.5	89.4	12.8	12.9	67.1	67.6
Iron and steel... ..	53.7	57.6	1.6	1.7	9.6	9.8
Precious metal	20.8	32.6	2.1	4.8	11.3	25.6
Other metal	27.8	38.6	2.6	4.8	12.3	22.6
Chemical and Allied :						
Chemical	19.1	22.6	1.1	1.6	7.8	11.0
Pottery	65.1	77.1	6.0	7.5	28.9	36.3
Glass and glass bottle	50.0	50.0	3.7	3.7	12.8	12.8
Brick and tile... ..	7.8	13.1	0.3	0.9	1.4	4.3
Building and Wood-working :						
Building	36.4	40.7	8.2	10.1	60.7	74.2
Electrical contracting	66.5	76.8	22.4	25.8	50.0	69.3
Furniture and allied ...	41.9	54.5	7.3	10.9	34.2	51.0
Sawmilling	15.1	17.1	3.8	4.7	18.1	22.3
Printing and Paper making :						
Printing	61.9	67.5	8.9	10.1	44.8	50.9
Paper and paper goods	22.1	36.7	0.8	3.6	3.9	16.8

* See footnote on next page.

Industry.	Percentage of employers in Great Britain and Northern Ireland taking male—		Percentage of total male workpeople in Great Britain and Northern Ireland who are—		Percentage of male workpeople in Great Britain only, under 21 years of age, who are—	
	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*	Apprentices.*	Trainees.*
Textile and Clothing Trades :						
Cotton... ..	8.5	—	0.5	—	1.9	—
Wool textile	25.6	—†	1.0	—†	4.2	—†
Other textile	24.1	—	1.9	—	6.8	—
Boot and shoe	10.7	27.0	0.2	2.6	1.1	14.4
Other clothing	13.4	39.5	1.5	7.2	8.4	40.8
Miscellaneous :						
Leather and leather goods.	11.9	21.0	0.8	1.4	5.1	8.9
Food, drink and tobacco.	20.4	27.4	1.0	1.4	6.1	7.0
Distributive	17.6	24.5	3.6	6.3	12.0	21.2
Mercantile marine	25.6	25.6	8.0	3.0	22.9	22.9
Other	26.2	31.2	1.2	1.6	8.0	10.0
All above industries ...	23.2	30.2	3.8	5.4	19.5	28.2

* The term "apprentice" includes apprentices under indentures, written or verbal agreements; the term "trainee" includes learners in addition to all classes of apprentices.

† The proportions of trainees are not given for the textile industries as in these industries the term "learner" has a different connotation from that adopted in the enquiry.

Some interesting features emerge from a consideration of this table. It shows that rather less than one-fourth of the employers in industries in which apprenticeship occurs train apprentices, but the proportion varies from industry to industry, being greatest in shipbuilding and least in the brick and tile industry.

Of the total male workpeople of all ages and classes employed in the industries in which apprenticeship or learnership occur, between 3 and 4 per cent. are apprentices and between 1 and 2 per cent. are learners. These proportions are, however, slightly reduced if the industries in which no apprenticeship occurs be taken into account. Thus boy apprentices number 2.6 per cent. of all male persons gainfully employed, and 2.8 per cent. of all male workers in industrial occupations (i.e., excluding professional workers and those engaged in civil administration and defence); excluding the textile industries, learners number about 1.0 per cent. of the former and about 1.1 per cent. of the latter class.

The ascertained facts have, however, a fuller significance when considered in relation to the number of male persons in industry who are under 21 years of age.

It is estimated that of the males under adult age in industries in which apprenticeship or learnership occur nearly 20 per cent. are apprentices and, excluding the textile industries, about 9 per cent. are learners, but these proportions differ widely in the various industries.

It is further estimated that apprentices number 13.4 per cent. of all male persons under 21 years of age, gainfully occupied in all industries, and 14.2 per cent. of those under adult age in all industrial occupations (i.e., excluding professional occupations and civil administration and defence); excluding the textile industries, learners number about 5.4 per cent. of the former and 5.8 per cent. of the latter class.

From this, it appears that only about one-seventh of the youths under 21 years of age in industrial occupations are serving a recognised apprenticeship and that, excluding the textile industries, about one-fifth are receiving some kind of systematic industrial training such as will fit them for skilled manual occupations. The great majority of the remainder are employed as boy labourers, clerks, transport workers or otherwise in occupations in which prolonged training is not given.

(b) *Employers taking apprentices.*—The facts ascertained during the enquiry throw some interesting light on the comparative extent to which the burden of training apprentices or learners is undertaken by large or small firms.

A comparison of the number of male workers employed to each apprentice in firms of different sizes shows that, as the size of the establishment increases, fewer boys are trained in proportion to the number of male workpeople employed. The disparity in the ratios so obtained is so great that it is impossible to find a complete explanation of the differences which exist in terms of the relatively greater number of clerical and ancillary workers, possibly found in the establishments of the larger firms; there is indeed a clear inference from the figures that among firms taking apprentices it is the smaller rather than the larger firms which in proportion to their size do most in the way of training boys for the skilled occupations. A few examples will make this clear.

In the firms returning apprentices in all industries, it appears (see table on page 27) that the number of workpeople employed to each apprentice varies from 2.6 in firms with less than 5 workpeople to 10.7 in firms with 50 and less than 100 workpeople, and to 19.9 in firms with 500 or more workpeople.

The proportions in some of the principal industries may be quoted. In engineering, the number of workpeople employed to each apprentice in firms with less than 5 workpeople, with 50 and under 100 workpeople and with 500 or more workpeople are, respectively, 2.3, 6.9 and 13.6; in shipbuilding, (—), 5.8 and 8.0; in building, 2.4, 10.0 and 22.9; in printing, 2.7, 9.4 and 35.6. This diminishing proportion is found in all industries, with one

exception; in the pottery industry, the number of male workpeople per apprentice remains relatively constant, only ranging from about 17 in firms of 20 and under 50 workpeople to about 15 in firms of 200 and under 500 workpeople. Some explanation of the uniformity which emerges in the last-mentioned industry may be found in the fact that the majority of the firms are intermediate in size, being neither exceptionally small nor exceptionally large.

The general rule of diminishing ratio applies also to male trainees, i.e., apprentices and learners. Thus, in all industries, the number of male workpeople employed to each male trainee increases from 2.1 in firms with less than 5 workpeople to 7.8 in firms with 50 and less than 100 workpeople, and to 15.3 in firms with 500 or more workpeople.

The reasons which tend to the discouragement of the training of apprentices by the larger firms differ according to the circumstances of each industry, but there are some factors which are of more or less general application.

There is the attitude of the prospective apprentice or his parents or of those who are directing his choice of employment. Where there is direction in the selection of an employer, it frequently tends to place the boy with the small employer, since in the smaller firms handicraft work is usually practised and entry into apprenticeship is comparatively easy.

Moreover, the movement of the present age towards mass production or towards great specialisation of product or process tends to the introduction of labour-saving devices and to the elimination of the craftsman employed on productive work and consequently of the apprentice in the more highly-developed businesses. The intensive methods of work adopted within recent years and the need imposed by competition for ensuring production at the lowest possible cost, coinciding with the reduction of hours which has occurred since the war and the increase in cost of the skilled man's time, have placed certain limitations on the capacity of the large employer to train apprentices, for he is no longer able to contemplate lightly the allocation of even part of the time of a skilled craftsman for the purposes of tuition or the use of machinery and factory space, with their coincident overhead charges, by an apprentice whose output is only a fraction of that of a competent workman.

Again, in some industries, restrictions have been imposed by trade unions limiting the number of apprentices that may be employed in any one establishment irrespective of the number of workpeople engaged therein. In the printing industry, for example, the number of apprentices that may be taken in some of the principal occupations is limited to eight, and in some cases to four, five or six. This is a restriction which, justifiable as it may be on some grounds, has operated as a deterrent on the employment of apprentices by the larger firms.

Some large firms have successfully overcome these difficulties and have systematic and comprehensive schemes of apprenticeship training in operation, but nevertheless many make no or little effort in the way of training boys, relying on meeting their need of skilled craftsmen from those trained in small shops or businesses. This is a policy which is at least intelligible, but those concerned with the future needs of industry may well consider whether it does not imply that training is denied or at least restricted to a minimum in exactly those establishments, which, by reason of the variety and class of work done, and of the systematic organisation which prevails in them, might offer a productive field for the training of skilled men.

Distribution of apprentices according to size of firm.

Industry.	Number of male workpeople* employed per boy apprentice in firms employing the undermentioned numbers of workpeople.							
	Under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	50 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 500.	500 and over.
Metal :								
Engineering	2.3	3.4	4.8	6.6	6.9	8.4	9.4	13.6
Shipbuilding	—	2.9	3.1	3.0	5.8	7.2	7.4	8.0
Iron and steel	—	—	—	2.9	8.8	12.8	50.0	50.0
Precious metal	3.4	4.3	9.4	15.2	17.8	25.8	58.8	—
Other metal	3.0	4.0	6.4	13.2	—	17.1	17.7	34.1
Chemical and Allied :								
Chemical	—	1.6	—	24.0	40.6	59.0	—	63.1
Pottery	—	—	—	16.9	16.1	15.7	14.9	—
Glass and glass bottle	2.0	2.0	—	6.0	8.3	16.1	14.3	31.5
Building and Woodworking :								
Building	2.4	3.8	5.0	6.8	10.0	12.4	15.5	23.9
Electrical contracting	2.7	3.1	3.3	4.3	4.7	5.7	—	—
Furniture and allied	1.9	4.2	5.8	5.9	9.0	11.8	14.1	44.9
Sawmilling	2.3	3.7	3.7	5.5	15.3	19.7	18.2	—
Printing and Paper Making :								
Printing	2.7	4.3	5.4	7.1	9.4	10.7	15.6	35.6
Paper and paper goods	—	17.5	17.8	32.0	32.0	38.1	69.0	69.0
Textiles and Clothing :								
Textile	5.0	5.8	10.1	21.2	28.4	40.0	—	51.4
Boot and shoe	9.7	—	47.4	—	36.6	132.0	200.0	—
Clothing	2.7	7.8	28.0	44.0	—	39.6	44.2	—
Miscellaneous :								
Leather and leather goods	—	17.0	26.9	—	29.5	—	—	—
Food, drink and tobacco	3.3	6.0	7.2	13.0	17.6	33.4	37.7	99.4
Distributive	2.9	4.7	6.0	9.3	9.4	14.8	16.6	—
Mercantile marine	—	—	3.0	11.6	13.1	15.2	14.0	27.0
Other	2.5	3.6	10.5	15.3	21.9	24.4	33.8	71.0
All above industries ...	2.6	4.1	5.3	7.7	10.7	13.5	14.7	19.9

* The male workpeople referred to in this table comprise employed persons of all ages and classes (including clerks and salaried persons).

§8. Extent and distribution of the various forms of apprenticeship and of learnership.

Of all the methods of training for the skilled occupations, that now most frequently adopted by employers is *apprenticeship under verbal agreement*, about 48 per cent. of the boys in training being returned as apprentices under verbal agreement, as compared with 28 per cent. returned as apprentices under indenture or other written agreement and 24 per cent. as learners. (See table on pages 29-30.)

In many industries, the proportion of apprentices serving under verbal agreement is, of course, considerably greater than the proportion for all the industries. Thus, in the maintenance occupations of iron and steel manufacture it is 87.3 per cent., in glass bottle making 75.8 per cent., in pottery 74 per cent., in the maintenance occupations of mining and quarrying 69 per cent., and in electrical contracting 59.7 per cent., but in the principal apprenticeship industries, save printing, the proportion of boys serving under verbal agreement approximates to the general average. In shipbuilding 48.6 per cent., in engineering 51.6 per cent., in building 53 per cent., in furniture making 45.2 per cent., and sawmilling 51.1 per cent. of the boys in training are apprentices under verbal agreement; in printing, the proportion drops to about 34 per cent.

Indentured apprenticeship still absorbs a fair proportion of boys, about 28 per cent. of the boys in training being formally bound. It retains its greatest hold in printing, in shipbuilding, in certain occupations in the glass and chemical trades and in the mercantile marine. In the printing industry, it is much more common than either apprenticeship under verbal agreement or learnership, about 54 per cent. of the boys being apprentices under formal, as contrasted with 34 per cent. under verbal agreements; in shipbuilding, where there is little learnership, it is as usual as verbal apprenticeship, but in other industries where systematic training prevails, such as engineering, woodworking, building and electrical contracting, only about a quarter of the boys serve under indentures.

There are sometimes distinct differences in the incidence of these two types of apprenticeship in the various branches of each industry. An illuminating example of this is found in the engineering industry in which, considered as a whole, about 23 per cent. of boys are indentured but the proportion of indentured boys varies from nearly 50 per cent. in marine engineering to 5 per cent. in ironfounding and to 2 per cent. in the manufacture of textile machinery.

It is beyond the scope of this volume to examine in detail the varying proportions of indentured apprentices in the occupations within each industry; full information on this subject is given in

the sectional reports but some slight indication of the distribution of these forms of training by occupation may perhaps be given for a few of the principal industries.

Among the main occupations in the *engineering* industry indentured apprenticeship is most commonly found among general engineers, draughtsmen, coppersmiths, plumbers, electricians, patternmakers and fitters, and least commonly among dressers and fettlers, grinders and machinists; in *shipbuilding*, the proportion of indentured apprentices is remarkably uniform in all occupations, and in most cases approximates closely to the general average of 50 per cent., but it is slightly higher among electricians, sheet-iron workers and painters than in other occupations; of the more important occupations in the *building* industry, indentured apprenticeship is most common among plasterers, followed by masons, bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, painters, plumbers, and slaters and tilers; in *printing* it is most usual among monotype casters, lithographic machine minders, copper-plate engravers, and process workers, and is only rarely found among copyholders and layers-on, the great majority of whom are learners. In the manufacture of glass, indentured apprenticeship is more common among apprentices in the maintenance than in the productive occupations. Where hand and machine methods of production co-exist, it is not unusual to find apprenticeship under indenture more common among apprentices being trained in making by hand than among those engaged on machine production. Thus, apprentices to paper making and to glass bottle making by hand are more frequently formally bound than are those engaged in making by machine.

Proportion of male apprentices under written or verbal agreements and of learners in each industry.

Industry.	Number of male trainees (apprentices and learners) returned.	Percentage numbers of male trainees who are—		
		apprentices under—		learners.
		indentures or other written agreements.	verbal agreements.	
Metal :				
Engineering	58,647	23.3	51.6	25.1
Shipbuilding	13,432	50.5	48.6	0.9
Iron and steel	2,554	10.2	87.3	2.5
Precious metal	487	25.5	19.9	54.6
Other metal	8,370	6.8	47.7	45.5

Industry.	Number of male trainees (apprentices and learners) returned.	Percentage numbers of male trainees who are—		
		apprentices under—		learners.
		indentures or other written agreements.	verbal agreements.	
Chemical and Allied :				
Chemical	1,155	45.2	26.9	27.9
Pottery	1,216	5.6	74.0	20.4
Glass and glass bottle	883	52.7	47.3	—
Brick and tile	200	7.0	24.5	68.5
Building and Woodworking :				
Building	12,942	28.9	53.0	18.1*
Electrical contracting	1,998	26.9	59.7	13.4
Furniture and allied	1,781	21.7	45.2	33.1
Sawmilling	638	30.1	51.1	18.8
Printing and Paper Making :				
Printing	11,594	54.3	33.8	11.9
Paper and paper goods	991	6.4	16.8	76.8
Textile and Clothing :				
Cotton	688	2.3	29.0	68.7
Wool textile... ..	1,194	11.2	50.8	38.0
Other textile	1,417	10.2	51.5	38.3
Boot and shoe	1,103	4.1	3.8	92.1
Other clothing	1,986	14.1	7.1	78.8
Miscellaneous :				
Leather and leather goods... ..	209	15.8	42.1	42.1
Food, drink and tobacco	1,311	25.2	50.3	24.5
Distributive	4,759	15.2	41.5	43.3
Mercantile marine	2,897	96.3	3.7	—
Other	4,879	16.7	62.5	20.8
All above industries	137,331	28.4	47.8	28.8

* Improvers.

There is a discernible preference for indentured apprenticeship in southern as compared with northern districts. In Yorkshire and Scotland, the proportion of boys serving under indentures is least; it increases in Lancashire and again in the Midland Counties, and is highest in the Southern and Western Counties of England and in some industries in London. There is, however, a notable exception to this rule in the Northern Counties (i.e., Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland), in which the practice of indenturing apprentices still survives to a considerable extent, almost as many apprentices in that area serving under indentures

as under verbal agreements (see table below). The proportion of indentured apprentices employed in all the industries which come under review varies from 12.2 per cent. in Yorkshire and 16.1 per cent. in Scotland to 48.2 per cent. in the Southern and South Western Counties of England, and 58.2 per cent. in Wales. This relationship between area and the incidence of indentured apprenticeship also manifests itself consistently in the individual industries. Thus, in *shipbuilding*, for example, the proportion of indentured apprentices varies from 2.3 per cent. in Scotland (excluding the Clyde), and 20.7 per cent. on the Clyde, to 60.1 per cent. on the Tyne and 85 per cent. on the Mersey and Thames, while in Northern Ireland all the apprentices serve under formal indentures; in *building*, only 4.6 per cent. of the boys in training in Scotland are indentured, but this proportion increases to about 25 per cent. in London, the Northern Counties of England, and in Northern Ireland, and to 44 per cent. in the South of England, and 50 per cent. in the Midlands; in *printing*, 4.3 per cent. are indentured in Scotland and about 19 per cent. in the Northern Counties, but the proportion increases to 44 per cent. in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and to between 60 and 70 per cent. south of that area, except London, where it is 85 per cent.; in *furniture making*, indentured apprenticeship is rarely met with in Scotland, and there are only 4.1 per cent. of apprentices formally bound in the Northern Counties, but the proportion in the Midlands is 21.3 per cent., in London 27.5 per cent., and in the Southern Counties 55 per cent. In *engineering*, the rule in general still holds. Thus, indentured apprentices number 28.3 per cent. of the boys in training on the Clyde and 21.5 per cent. of those in the rest of Scotland, this proportion rising to 48 per cent. on the Tyne, Wear and Tees, and to 49.6 per cent. in the Southern Counties, but there occur some curious differences in the practices of districts in close proximity to one another. Thus, in Leeds, only about 0.2 per cent. of the boys in training are indentured, and in Sheffield 10.7 per cent.; in Lancashire, the proportion of boys indentured varies from 60.3 per cent. on the Mersey and at Barrow, to 14.8 per cent. in Manchester, 4.7 per cent. in 14 large Lancashire towns, and 2.7 per cent. in the rest of Lancashire and Cheshire. It is clear that in this industry, consisting as it does of a number of separate though inter-connected branches, the form of the apprenticeship agreement is determined more by the custom of the particular branch of the industry than by locality. For example, those districts devoted to marine engineering show in general a high percentage, while those devoted to textile engineering show a correspondingly low percentage of indentured apprentices.

Proportion of male apprentices under written or verbal agreements and of learners employed in each district.

District.	Number of male trainees (apprentices and learners) returned.	Percentage numbers of male trainees who are—		
		apprentices under—		learners.
		indentures or other written agreements.	verbal agreements.	
Scotland	25,799	16.1	77.3	6.6
Northern Counties	13,439	44.2	51.9	3.9
Yorkshire	14,754	12.2	59.7	28.1
Lancashire and Cheshire	27,763	23.0	57.0	20.0
North and West Midland Counties.	23,299	24.6	28.2	47.2
South Midland and Eastern Counties.	5,407	40.0	25.4	34.6
London	13,489	44.9	12.5	42.6
Southern and South Western Counties.	8,304	48.2	29.8	22.0
Wales	2,118	58.2	33.8	8.0
Great Britain	134,372	27.9	47.9	24.2
Northern Ireland	2,959	50.2	44.9	4.9
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	137,331	28.4	47.8	23.8

Northern Counties include Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland and the Cleveland District of Yorkshire.

North and West Midland Counties include Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Gloucester, Hereford, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester and Warwick.

South Midland and Eastern Counties include Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk.

Southern and South Western Counties include Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and Somerset.

Yorkshire does not include Cleveland.

Boy learners number nearly 24 per cent. of those being trained for skilled work, and are found chiefly in the textile and clothing industries, in boot and shoe manufacture and in paper making. In shipbuilding, the number of learners returned is so small as to be negligible and in engineering and printing, where the proportions of learners are about 25 per cent. and 12 per cent. respectively, they are mainly returned in occupations such as machining and stamping (engineering) and laying-on and copy-holding (printing), in which the work is of an automatic or mechanical nature and is regarded as capable of being learned in a relatively short period.

If learnership be regarded as a form of apprenticeship under verbal agreement, it appears that together they account for about

72 per cent. of the boys in training, and that they predominate over indentured apprenticeship in every industry except shipbuilding, printing and glass manufacture.

§9. The decline of indentured apprenticeship.

The question has often been asked whether indentured apprenticeship is declining and, if so, to what extent and in what industries or areas it has diminished. Opinion has generally inclined to the view that the proportion of apprentices formally bound has considerably decreased within recent years, but no quantitative estimate of the rate of this supposed decline has hitherto been possible. The comparative information available does not permit of an estimate being given in respect of the whole field of industry, but certain information, previously collected by the Department, enables a comparison to be made of the extent of indentured apprenticeship in 16 of the principal apprenticeship industries in 1909 and 1925 (see table on page 34).

It is necessary to guard against drawing too rigid a conclusion based merely on figures, since the comparative information does not relate to the same firms but only to the same industries; the choice of firms was, however, in each case sufficiently random to warrant a rough indication being given of the trend of practice or custom.

It appears that, in the group of industries in which the available information enables a comparison to be made, the boys in training as apprentices under indentures numbered 36 per cent. of the total in 1909 as compared with 30 per cent. of boys under indentures or other written agreements in 1925. The decline is perhaps a little more than is indicated by these figures since the 1925 figure includes a small number of boys employed under written agreements who were not included in the 1909 figure. The decline has been greater in some industries than in others. Thus there has been comparatively little movement in the proportion of indentured apprentices employed in pottery (4.6 per cent. in 1909 and 5.6 per cent. in 1925), in shipbuilding (51.3 per cent. and 50.5 per cent. respectively), in sawmilling (31.5 per cent. and 30.1 per cent. respectively), and in the glass industry (55.8 per cent. and 52.7 per cent. respectively). The industries which show a contraction of indentured apprenticeship greater, but not appreciably greater, than the average are engineering (from 29 per cent. to 23.3 per cent.), building (from 37 per cent. to 28.9 per cent.), furniture (from 33 per cent. to 21.7 per cent.), and printing (from 64.5 per cent. to 54.3 per cent.). The greatest decline appears in the textile, clothing and precious metal industries; thus the proportion of indentured apprentices decreased in the wool textile industry from 30.6 per cent. to 11.2 per cent., in clothing from 33.5 per cent. to 14.1 per cent., in boot and shoe manufacture from 25 per cent. to 4.1 per cent., and in the precious metal industry from

70.9 per cent. to 25.5 per cent. It is clear that in these industries indentured apprenticeship has given way to a system of learner-ship, for the abnormal decline in indentured apprenticeship is reflected in the proportion of learners employed, which increased in clothing manufacture, for example, from 42.4 to 78.8 per cent., and in boot and shoe manufacture from 49 to 92.1 per cent. The tendency to turn over from indentured apprenticeship to some looser form of industrial contract appears in every district in the country except the Northern Counties. Thus in Scotland the proportion of boys in training under indentures in the 16 industries referred to above decreased in the same period from 19.6 per cent. to 18.4 per cent.; in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire from 28.8 per cent. to 19.3 per cent.; in the North and West Midland Counties from 38.2 to 27.1 per cent.; in London from 85.5 to 45.5 per cent., and in the rest of England and Wales from 57.2 to 49.3 per cent.

Comparison of the distribution of the various forms of apprenticeship and other methods of industrial training in 1909 and 1925.

Industry.	1909.			1925.		
	Percentage numbers of boy trainees returned as—			Percentage numbers of boy trainees returned as—		
	indentured apprentices.	apprentices under agreement.	learners.	apprentices under indentures or other written agreements.	apprentices under verbal agreements.	learners.
Engineering	29.0	35.0	36.0	23.3	51.6	25.1
Shipbuilding	51.3	22.1	26.6	50.5	48.6	0.9
Precious metal	70.9	11.6	17.5	25.5	19.9	54.6
Pottery	4.6	28.8	66.6	5.6	74.0	20.4
Glass (including bottles)	55.8	44.2	—	52.7	47.3	—
Building	37.0	63.3	—	28.9	53.0	18.1*
Furniture	33.0	26.1	40.9	21.7	45.2	33.1
Sawmilling	31.5	20.1	48.4	30.1	51.1	18.8
Wooden vehicle building	26.3	40.3	33.4	18.7	81.3	—
Printing	64.5	30.2	5.3	54.3	33.8	11.9
Wool textile	30.6	32.4	37.0	11.2	50.8	38.0
Boot and shoe	25.0	26.0	49.0	4.1	3.8	92.1
Clothing	33.5	24.1	42.4	14.1	7.1	78.8
Leather and leather goods	35.8	26.0	38.2	15.8	42.1	42.1
Baking	19.1	39.9	41.0	9.0	75.3	15.7
Electricity supply ...	16.1	83.9	—	12.9	87.1	—
All above industries ...	35.2	37.7	26.1	30.1	48.5	21.4

* Improvers.

§10. Premium apprenticeship.

Premium apprenticeship is still found in most industries, but as a practice it has no longer a wide acceptance, except in the mercantile marine and, to a lesser extent, in shipbuilding. Premium apprentices number only 6.6 per cent. of the total number covered by the enquiry and 7 per cent. of the apprentices in those industries in which premium apprenticeship is found (see Appendix, Table I). The industries in which the system appears most widely developed are the mercantile marine, in which 36.9 per cent. of the apprentices paid premiums, shipbuilding and repairing (16.6 per cent.), electrical contracting (9.4 per cent.), miscellaneous metals (7.3 per cent.), engineering (5.7 per cent.) and sawmilling (4.8 per cent.). In the printing, building, furniture, iron and steel, gas and electricity supply and distributive industries, premiums are paid only by between 2 and 3 per cent. of the apprentices returned.

There are in general two classes of premium apprentices, i.e., trade apprentices who are required to pay a relatively small premium (usually not more than £10) and pupil or student apprentices who are in training for the higher branches of the work. The former are by far the most numerous; thus, although the premiums reported range from sums of £1 to as much as £500, no fewer than 60 per cent. of the premium apprentices paid premiums of not more than £5, 75 per cent. not more than £10 and 80 per cent. not more than £20. The amount most frequently paid is £5, paid by nearly 40 per cent. of the premium apprentices; sums of £50 and under £100 are paid by 9 per cent. of the apprentices paying premiums; only 1 per cent. pay £100 or more.

An analysis of the firms requiring premiums furnishes interesting results both as to the size of the firms which adopt this practice and as to their distribution by locality (see Appendix, Table II). Of the firms with apprentices, 5.1 per cent. require premiums, and they are mainly the smaller firms. Thus of the firms which take premium apprentices, 12 per cent. employ less than 5 male workpeople, 26 per cent. less than 10, 42 per cent. less than 20, and 60 per cent. less than 50 male workpeople. This feature is accentuated in industries such as printing, building and electrical contracting in which from 60 to 75 per cent. of the firms with premium apprentices employ less than 20 male workpeople. In engineering, shipbuilding and the mercantile marine, premiums are taken equally by large and small firms.

Premium apprenticeship is mainly confined to the Midlands and South of England, including London, in which areas nearly 80 per cent. of the firms taking premium apprentices are located. These

firms are distributed as follows :— London 24 per cent., Southern Counties 22 per cent., South Midland and Eastern Counties 17 per cent. and North and West Midland Counties 17 per cent. Premium apprenticeship is more rarely found in Scotland, the Northern Counties, Lancashire and Yorkshire and Wales, the firms in each of these areas adopting the practice numbering from 2 to 5 per cent. of the firms in all districts requiring premiums. There appears to have been a decline in premium apprenticeship since 1909. Thus, engineering shows a drop in the proportion of apprentices of this type from 18 to 5.7 per cent., building from 4.7 to 2.4 per cent., and printing from 4.3 to 2.7 per cent.

§11. The number of boy apprentices and learners in industry.

The information obtained during the enquiry has enabled certain estimates, based on the number of workpeople employed in the several industries as returned at the Census of 1921, to be made of the actual numbers of apprentices and learners employed in industry generally and in each of its more important branches (see table below).

The total number of boys estimated to be employed in Great Britain as apprentices is 315,000; there are also estimated to be 110,000 learners (excluding those engaged in the textile industries for whom no figure can be given) or a total of 425,000 boys who are under some form of systematic training.

The great majority of boy apprentices (i.e., about 80 per cent.) are employed in a relatively small number of the principal industries, viz.: engineering 72,000, shipbuilding 42,000, other metal industries 20,500, building (including electrical contracting) 71,500, woodworking 9,400, printing 15,500 and distributive 29,000.

Boy learners appear mainly in engineering 25,000, other metal industries 14,850, building (including electrical contracting) 16,000, boot and shoe and clothing manufacture 13,100 and distributive industries 22,000, these alone accounting for over 82 per cent. of the boy learners employed. In considering the estimated number of learners, it is necessary to emphasise that they relate only to boy learners, the terms of whose contracts of employment conform to those specified in the definition of learner contained in the schedule issued to employers and set out on page 8 above. In the textile industries, in particular, the conditions implied in the definition referred to obtain in relatively few of the principal occupations, and accordingly no figures have been given of the estimated number of boy learners employed therein.

*Number of boys estimated to be employed in each industry in
Great Britain as apprentices or learners.*

Industry.	Number of male workpeople employed in Great Britain.	Estimated number of boy apprentices.	Estimated number of boy learners.	Estimated number of boy trainees.*
Metal :				
Engineering	1,033,993	72,000	25,000	97,000
Shipbuilding	313,537	42,000	500	42,500
Iron and steel	249,746	4,500	100	4,600
Precious metal	44,964	1,000	1,250	2,250
Other metal	569,924	15,000	13,000	28,000
Chemical and Allied :				
Chemical	155,460	1,800	700	2,500
Pottery	34,462	2,200	550	2,750
Glass and glass bottle	40,168	1,500	—	1,500
Brick and tile	56,607	250	500	750
Building and Woodworking :				
Building	791,638	65,000	15,000	80,000
Electrical contracting	29,560	6,500	1,000	7,500
Furniture and allied	80,195	5,700	2,800	8,500
Sawmilling	94,238	3,700	800	4,500
Printing and Paper Making :				
Printing	173,217	15,500	2,500	18,000
Paper and paper goods	68,409	600	1,900	2,500
Textile and Clothing :				
Cotton	228,016	1,250	—	1,250†
Wool textile	109,855	1,200	—	1,200†
Other textile	184,645	2,600	—	2,600†
Boot and shoe	145,640	400	3,600	4,000
Other clothing	158,615	2,500	9,500	12,000
Miscellaneous :				
Leather and leather goods	51,124	700	400	1,100
Food, drink and tobacco	359,782	3,600	1,400	5,000
Distributive	801,555	29,000	22,000	51,000
Mercantile marine	175,496	5,500	—	5,500
Other	2,341,047	31,000	7,500	38,500
All above industries	8,291,893	315,000	110,000	425,000

* "Trainees" includes both apprentices and learners.

† These figures apply only to apprentices; estimated number of learners in the textiles industries cannot be given as in these industries the term "learner" has a different connotation from that adopted in the enquiry.

§ 12. The ratio of apprentices to skilled men.

Some of the most important of apprenticeship problems centre round the relationship subsisting between the number of apprentices and journeymen employed in a particular occupation. Thus the question whether apprenticeship is declining cannot be answered merely by a comparison of the number of apprentices employed at two different dates, since absolute numbers of this type take no account of the natural increase or decrease that has occurred in the same period in the number of persons engaged in an industry or occupation; nor do they afford any criterion of the adequacy of the existing number of apprentices to meet the future needs of industry.

To answer these questions, it is necessary to ascertain the ratio of apprentices to journeymen employed in each occupation, and then to examine such ratios in the light of the past history and the future requirements of industry.

It has already been explained (see page 20 above) that, except in the *building* industry, no *direct* evidence on this subject was obtained during this enquiry; certain independent information relating to the *printing* industry was subsequently furnished by the Federation of Master Printers and the Newspaper Society. As regards industries other than these, it has accordingly been necessary to arrive at the ratios of apprentices to journeymen in the several occupations by a process of estimation based on the results of the enquiry as applied to the 1921 Census figures. The process consists in determining the number of journeymen in each occupation in the sample enquiry, by applying the proportion of journeymen to all male workpeople in the industry ascertained at the 1921 Census to the "all male workpeople" figure obtained in the enquiry and relating the number of journeymen so calculated to the number of apprentices returned in each occupation.

It is proposed to set out the ratios obtained by direct evidence in the building and printing industries, to compare the ratios so directly ascertained with those obtained by estimation, to show that the comparison confirms the substantial accuracy of the process of estimation, and thereupon to apply the method to the more important occupations in the other principal industries.

(a) *Ratios of apprentices to journeymen in the Building Industry (1925).*—The ascertained ratios given in the table below are based on returns received from 7,493 employers, employing 10,599 apprentices, 2,343 improvers and approximately 46,600 journeymen. The sample taken represents about 14 per cent. of the industry.

Building.—Number of journeymen per apprentice employed.*

District.	Bricklayers.	Masons.	Carpenters and joiners.	Woodcutting machinists.	Slaters and tilers.	Plasterers.	Painters and decorators.	Plumbers.	All occupations.
London	19.0	9.3	17.0	10.0	10.2	18.4	44.8	4.8	15.2
Northern Counties ...	2.3	4.7	2.6	5.6	1.9	1.8	2.4	1.6	2.7
Yorkshire	3.4	4.6	3.3	3.3	3.6	3.0	5.1	2.0	3.5
Lancashire and Cheshire	3.3	3.3	3.5	2.9	2.9	2.7	3.5	1.9	3.1
North and West Midlands.	5.4	4.6	5.5	5.8	5.4	5.6	6.9	2.5	5.3
Rest of England and Wales.	5.3	7.0	4.2	4.0	4.0	4.1	6.0	2.3	4.5
Scotland	2.2	4.7	3.3	4.0	2.6	2.2	2.7	1.5	2.7
Northern Ireland	3.4	—	4.6	—	—	1.9	2.8	1.9	3.5
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	4.8	5.7	4.9	4.8	3.9	4.1	4.9	2.2	4.4

*A table similar to this, showing the number of journeymen employed per trainee (i.e. apprentice or improver) is contained in the report on the building industry, Vol. II of this series.

The number of journeymen employed to each apprentice varies from 5.7 among masons to 2.2 among plumbers. Among bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, woodcutting machinists and painters and decorators, there is approximately one apprentice to five journeymen, and among slaters, tilers and plasterers one apprentice to four journeymen. One most important feature of the table is the position which it discloses in London with respect to the employment of apprentices, for in that area there is only one apprentice to 15 journeymen as compared with one apprentice to 4.4 journeymen in Great Britain and Northern Ireland; indeed, among painters and decorators, there is in London only one apprentice to about 45 journeymen. It is clear, therefore, that in London building employers rely on recruiting their skilled workmen partly and perhaps mainly from those who have served their apprenticeship in the provinces and partly from young "improvers".

(b) *Ratios of apprentices to journeymen in the Printing Industry (1925-26).*—The Federation of Master Printers and the Newspaper Society have furnished information respecting the numbers of apprentices and journeymen in certain occupations. The ratios calculated from these figures are given in the table below for four of the principal occupations. The sample taken in these four occupations alone covers 9,588 apprentices and 50,662 journeymen, so that the ratios may be regarded as generally representative of conditions in these occupations. Thus in Great Britain there are 5.6 stereotypers, 5.5 compositors, 5.0 lithographers and 4.9 letterpress machine minders of journeyman rank to every one apprentice in each occupation. The proportion of apprentices employed in London is, with the exception of lithographers, less than in any other district. The small proportion of apprentices being trained in London is due, in part, to an agreement* between employers and workers which prohibits the employment of apprentices in composing and machine rooms of daily newspaper offices, but it is noticeable that, even when daily newspaper establishments are ignored, the ratios in London are still less than are found elsewhere. Thus even in the jobbing offices, London compares unfavourably with other districts as regards the training of skilled journeymen.

* The contracting parties to this agreement are the London Master Printers' Association, the London Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the London Society of Compositors.

Printing.—Number of journeymen per apprentice employed.

Occupation.	London.	England and Wales (excluding London).	Scotland.	Great Britain.
Compositors :				
Jobbing	6.0	—	—	—
All	7.5	4.9	5.5	5.5
Stereotypers :				
Jobbing	6.0	—	—	—
All	8.8	4.5	3.9	5.6.
Letterpress machine minders :				
Jobbing	5.1	—	—	—
All	5.6	4.6	4.8	4.9
Lithographers	5.4	4.8	5.6	5.0

For all the above occupations the ratio for Great Britain is one apprentice to 5.3 journeymen.

(c) *Comparison of the estimated with the ascertained ratios in the Building and Printing Industries.*—In the two tables given below, the numbers of journeymen per apprentice ascertained by direct enquiry to be employed in the building and printing industries are compared with those estimated by the process indicated on page 38 above.

(i) *Building.*

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per apprentice.		Number of journeymen per trainee.*	
	Ascertained.	Estimated.	Ascertained.	Estimated.
Bricklayers	4.8	4.9	3.7	3.8
Masons	5.7	5.9	5.1	5.2
Carpenters and joiners	4.9	4.7	4.0	3.8
Woodcutting machinists†	4.8	5.2	4.0	3.8
Slaters and tilers	3.9	4.1	3.3	3.5
Plasterers	4.1	4.8	3.6	4.2
Plumbers	2.2	2.6	1.9	2.3

* Trainee includes apprentices, ex-apprentice improvers and learner-improvers.

† Including woodcutting machinists in machine joinery workshops.

It will be seen that the estimated number of journeymen per apprentice is, in most cases, slightly in excess of the ascertained number. This difference is, however, only what might have been anticipated for various reasons, the chief of which are the difference in the dates, 1921 and 1925, the encouragement given to apprenticeship in the interval by the Government Housing Schemes and a tendency for the Census classification of "skilled workers," as against "other workers," to be slightly exaggerated.

(ii) *Printing.*

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per apprentice.		Number of journeymen per trainee.*
	Ascertained.	Estimated.	Estimated.
Compositors	5.5	5.4	5.0
Stereotypers	5.6	5.9	5.7
Letterpress machine minders	4.9	5.1	4.6
Lithographers	5.0	4.9	4.7
All above occupations... ..	5.3	5.3	4.9

* Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

(d) *Estimated ratios of apprentices to journeymen in industries other than Building and Printing.*—The close correspondence between the ascertained and estimated ratios indicates that the method adopted may be applied with reasonable accuracy to those other trades in which the information does not enable the ratio to be determined by direct methods. The results so obtained show that for the principal occupations in the major apprenticeship industries the ratios are as follows:—

Industry.	Occupation.	Estimated number of journeymen per—	
		apprentice.	trainee.*
Shipbuilding and marine engineering.	Platers and boilermakers	4.2	4.2
	Riveters and holders-up	6.5	6.5
	Machine tool workers	3.9	3.8
	Shipwrights	2.9	2.8
	Fitters	2.5	2.5
	Joiners	1.8	1.8
	Plumbers	1.5	1.5
Engineering (excluding marine engineering).	Boilermakers and platers	4.0	3.6
	Brass finishers	6.1	4.0
	Electricians	4.2	3.2
	Fitters, erectors, millwrights and general and mechanical engineers.	4.8	3.9
	Turners and machine tool workers...	6.0	3.6
	Moulders and coremakers	6.8	4.9
	Patternmakers	3.1	2.6
	Carpenters and joiners	7.1	5.4
	Woodcutting machinists	13.9	4.3
Furniture	Cabinet makers and joiners...	9.7	6.8
	French polishers	11.4	7.1
	Upholsterers	11.5	8.2
	Woodcutting machinists	7.8	2.9

* Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

The estimated ratios show that in the shipbuilding and marine engineering industries the number of apprentices and learners being trained in proportion to the number of journeymen is least among boilermakers and platers and among riveters. The ratios obtained for riveters appear, *prima facie*, to be less than those for boilermakers and platers. Thus there is approximately one apprentice to 6.5 journeymen among riveters and holders-up as compared with one apprentice to 4.2 journeymen among platers and boilermakers, but riveting is an occupation in which journeymen are to a certain extent recruited by a process of upgrading among members of the riveting squad. The relative number of potential journeymen in the occupation may, in consequence, be somewhat in excess of that indicated by the ratio given above, which applies only to those who are recruited under a definite system of training. That the ratio of boys who will become riveters is not, however, appreciably greater than that indicated by the above figure is confirmed by the fact that at the 1921 Census there was only one riveter or holder-up under 21 years of age to 5.7 over that age.

The occupations in the engineering industry, in which the smallest proportions of boys are receiving systematic instruction are (in the following order) smiths and skilled forge workers, carpenters and joiners, moulders and coremakers, woodcutting machinists and boilermakers and platers. It is estimated that among smiths and skilled forge workers only about one boy is employed as apprentice or learner to every 15 journeymen. Journeymen in this occupation are, however, frequently recruited from smiths' assistants or strikers, but even including such workers there is still a relatively small number of boys being trained. Thus the 1921 Census figures show that approximately only one boy under 21 years of age was employed in this occupation to every seven male adults.

Of the purely engineering occupations, the next most important in which relatively few apprentices or learners are being trained are moulding and coremaking. Many engineering firms report a difficulty in recruiting apprentices to these occupations. Further reference is made to this point on page 69 below. Relatively few boys are being trained as carpenters, joiners or wood-cutting machinists in engineering shops, many employers appearing to rely on other industries for the supply of skilled men.

The estimated ratios given above for woodcutting machinists, as for turners and machine tool workers, are also interesting in so far as they indicate a falling away from the stricter forms of apprenticeship in favour of less formal methods of training.

This feature is also exemplified by the ratios applicable in the case of woodcutting machinists in *furniture making*, among whom

there is one apprentice to about eight journeymen, whereas, if learners are included, the proportion is one to three. In the other principal occupations in the furniture-making industry, the proportions of apprentices and learners are relatively small. Thus among male upholsterers, french polishers and cabinet makers and joiners, there are, for each boy in training, 8.2, 7.1 and 6.8 journeymen respectively. The small proportion of boys being trained to upholstery and french polishing may be explained by the transference within recent years of much of this work to women. The relatively small number of boys being trained as cabinet makers and joiners may be attributed to the great increase in the use of machines (c.f. remarks of the Scottish Furniture Manufacturers' Association on page 123).

§13. Is apprenticeship declining?

The best measure of the extent to which apprenticeship or some regular form of training is increasing or diminishing in a particular occupation is afforded by a comparison of the ratio of journeymen to boys in training, as apprentices or learners, at different dates.

Certain information covering 16,863 male apprentices and learners in the principal industries in which apprenticeship is the recognised method of recruitment was collected by the Department in 1909. From that information and from the results of the present enquiry it is possible to make a comparison between the ratios of journeymen employed *per apprentice or learner*, at 1909 and 1925, *in those firms in which apprentices or learners were employed*. The comparative figures, which do not necessarily relate to the same firms, but only to firms in the same industries, are as follows:—

Comparison of the number of journeymen per apprentice or learner in firms employing apprentices or learners in 1909 and 1925.

Industry.	Occupation.	Number of journeymen per apprentice or learner.*	
		1909.	1925.
Building	Bricklayers	5.3	3.8
	Masons	5.2	4.5
	Carpenters and joiners	4.3	3.8
	Painters and decorators	4.2	3.9
	Slaters and tilers	3.4	3.1
	Plasterers	3.9	3.2
	Plumbers	2.0	1.7

* Except in the case of the building industry, this comparison relates to apprentices and learners, and not to apprentices alone, in order to eliminate any differences that may have arisen owing to the terms "apprentice" or "learner" being used in different senses at the two dates by different firms.

Industry.	Occupation.	Number of journeymen per apprentice or learner.*	
		1909.	1925.
Printing ...	Compositors	3.7	4.1
	Stereotypers	2.8	4.6
	Letterpress machine minders ...	2.9	4.0
	Lithographers	5.0	5.0
	Platers and boilermakers	4.0	3.6
Shipbuilding and marine engineering.	Riveters	6.1	3.7
	Shipwrights†	2.0	2.0
	Fitters	2.0	2.2
	Machine tool workers	2.0	3.1
	Joiners	4.5	1.2
	Plumbers	4.1	1.0
	Fitters, erectors, mechanics, etc. ...	2.4	2.8
Engineering (excluding marine engineering).	Turners and machine tool workers. ...	2.6	2.0
	Patternmakers	2.3	1.3
Furniture manufacture.	Cabinet makers and joiners ...	4.3	4.8
	French polishers	4.0	3.9
	Upholsterers	2.8	3.1
	Woodcutting machinists	3.9	1.5

* Except in the case of the building industry, this comparison relates to apprentices and learners, and not to apprentices alone, in order to eliminate any differences that may have arisen owing to the terms "apprentice" or "learner" being used in different senses at the two dates by different firms.

† The figures for shipwrights refer only to shipbuilding.

There is a well-marked increase in the proportion of apprentices employed in most of the principal occupations of the building industry and an almost equally well-defined decrease in the printing industry; in engineering, shipbuilding and furniture making, there are however different tendencies in the several occupations.

In the building industry, practically all the occupations show an increase, but in some the increase is more marked than in others. Thus, in bricklaying the number of apprentices per 100 journeymen employed increased from 19 in 1909 to 26 in 1925 and in plumbing from 50 to 59; in the other main occupations the number of apprentices per 100 journeymen increased in the same period by two (painters), three (masons, carpenters and joiners, slaters and tilers) and by five (plasterers).

In the printing industry apprenticeship or learnership declined in all the principal occupations with the exception of lithography, in which the position was much the same in 1925 as it was in 1909. Thus, the number of apprentices or learners per 100 journeymen decreased from 27 to 24 in the case of compositors, from 36 to 22 in the case of stereotypers and electrotypers and from 33 to 25 in the case of letterpress machine minders.

In the shipbuilding industry the proportion of apprentices or learners to journeymen was not materially different in 1909 from that in 1925 among platers, boilermakers, shipwrights and fitters. There was, however, a marked decline among machine tool workers, and an apparently substantial increase among joiners and plumbers. In the engineering industry there was a slight falling off in the proportion of apprentices to journeymen among fitters, erectors and mechanics and an increase among turners, machine tool workers and patternmakers.

In the furniture industry, a falling off of apprenticeship in cabinet making and joinery is offset by a large increase in the proportion of boys being trained as woodcutting machinists.

§14. The sufficiency of the supply of apprentices and learners to meet the future needs of industry.

The theoretical consideration of the extent to which achievement in the training of apprentices and learners keeps pace with necessity presents problems of unusual complexity. The natural difficulties of the subject are enhanced by the defects of the available information respecting the relative numbers of apprentices and journeymen or of juniors and adults who have in the past entered a particular occupation, and by the uncertainty respecting the future course of any particular industry. The problem of relating the present supply of apprentices to the prospective needs of industry is, however, of such importance that an examination of the available information from this point of view will, no doubt, be welcomed.

The subject attracted considerable attention at the close of the 19th century, when various calculations were made with a view to arriving at the ratio of apprentices to journeymen deemed to be reasonable to meet the ordinary requirements of industry. These discussions generally produced widely different results owing to the adoption of distinct standards. Thus they proceeded sometimes on the basis of ensuring that the proportion of apprentices to journeymen should be the same as that of male persons in the country of apprentice age to male persons of journeyman's age; and at other times on the basis of preserving a constancy in the number of journeymen or alternatively of maintaining a definite percentage increase in the number according to the probable future requirements of industry. Interesting as these exercises were, they suffered from inherent defects in the available information. Thus at that date information was lacking respecting the occupational distribution of employed persons within particular industries. Moreover, in the absence of detailed information, the calculation assumed a uniform length of apprenticeship—in most cases of five years—an assumption far from representing actual conditions.

While the information available to-day is considerably more extensive, it is unfortunately scarcely more satisfactory for the purposes of such a calculation. The changes effected in the occupational classifications at the various Censuses of population introduce difficulties in making accurate comparisons of the number of juniors and adults employed in the occupations of a particular industry at different dates; moreover, the Census figures for most industries in 1921 and for the building industry in 1911 show such abnormal features that it is necessary to use the utmost caution in drawing conclusions from them.

In considering the method of arriving at a ratio of journeymen to trainees which will be sufficient to meet the prospective requirements of industry, it is necessary at the outset to emphasise the importance of dealing with the history and movement of individual occupations. In some occupations the numbers engaged show a constant and pronounced growth, in some a corresponding decline, while in others they are subject to unexpected fluctuation. Only exceptionally do the conditions of growth and decay in a particular occupation correspond even closely with the rate of movement of the general population. Hence the ratio of journeymen to apprentices should be examined, not in relation to the rate of growth of the general population, but to the past history and probable future requirements of the occupation itself. This involves the ascertainment, in the first place, of the ratio (r) of journeymen to trainees which will preserve a constancy in the number of journeymen in the occupation. An adjustment of this ratio is then required, according as it is desired to secure an increase or decrease in the number of journeymen at a specified rate per annum. This may be effected as follows: If r is the ratio of journeymen to trainees which preserves a constant number of journeymen, and l is the average length of apprenticeship, then the ratio necessary to secure a variation in the number of journeymen at the rate of $\pm n$ per cent. per annum may be expressed as

$$\frac{r(100 \pm n)}{100 \pm nlr}$$

The available information does not permit of the computation of a ratio to secure constancy by any one method, which more than any other can be relied upon to provide accurate results. In these circumstances it is necessary to examine the ratios obtained from the various sources, to consider the effect of the various factors determining them and to select the ratio for each occupation which appears to be capable of maintaining the existing number of journeymen.

The information on which the various ratios have been calculated has been derived from two sources.

(1) A certain amount of information is available as to the number of persons of various ages entering or transferring into or leaving for various causes the approved societies dealing with the health insurance of workers in particular occupations. From this information estimates can be formed of the number of trainees entering a particular society each year which is sufficient to support a known increase in membership, and the ratio of journeymen to trainees necessary to maintain a constancy in the number of journeymen can thus be computed. The estimated ratios arrived at on this basis are given in Col. 4 of Table III in the Appendix.

(ii) The Census figures for 1901, 1911, and 1921 provide the relative numbers of adults, of persons of 20 years of age, and of persons under 21 years, employed in the various occupations and furnish alternative methods of arriving at a ratio which will preserve constancy in the number of adults.

(a) From the first two sets of figures it is possible to compute the number of years of actual working life, and by relating that period to the average length of apprenticeship, obtain the ratio of adults to juniors which will maintain the existing number of adults. For such a computation, however, the conditions must be normal, that is, the figures taken must represent the natural intake and output of individuals and must not have been subject over a period equal to the ordinary working life to conditions involving violent changes in the numbers entering or leaving the occupation. The ratios obtained by this method are set out in Col. 5 of Table III in the Appendix.

(b) Moreover, the ratios of adults to workers under 21 years in each occupation, when considered in conjunction with the known intercensal percentage variations in the number of adults (see Col. 6 of Table III in the Appendix) provide some evidence on which it is possible to arrive at the ratios of adults to juniors just sufficient to maintain the number of adults at a constant figure.

After a careful examination of the proportions arrived at by all these methods, the ratios given below are submitted as those which are regarded as capable of maintaining, approximately, the existing number of journeymen. They are based on the best information available, including, as stated above, the results of this enquiry, certain health insurance figures and the Census figures. As regards the last mentioned, it is necessary to remember that it is only since 1901 that comparable data respecting the proportion of adults to juniors in the several occupations have been available; nevertheless the Census figures reflect all the variations that have occurred within that period in the numbers of workpeople employed and take account not only of the number of boy entrants into the various occupations but also of the transfers of adults; in this respect they form what amounts to a condensed history of all the movements that

have taken place in the various occupations over a very considerable period. Moreover, the ratios submitted as likely to ensure the maintenance of the existing number of journeymen have been based solely on the more stable conditions reflected in the various sources of information, all violent departures from obviously normal conditions being ignored. How far they will be applicable in the future depends on the extent to which future events are likely to correspond with the theoretic condition of stability assumed for the purpose of the present calculations.

Number of journeymen per apprentice or learner necessary to maintain the existing number of journeymen.

Building :		Shipbuilding :	
Bricklayers	4.5	Boilermakers and platers ...	5.0
Masons	5.0	Riveters and holders-up ...	5.0
Carpenters and joiners ...	4.5	Shipwrights	5.0
Woodcutting machinists ...	5.0	Fitters	3.5
Slaters and tilers	4.5		
Plasterers	4.5	Printing :	
Painters	5.0	Compositors	4.0
Plumbers	3.0	Stereotypers	4.75
		Letterpress machine minders	4.5
Engineering :		Lithographers	4.25
Boilermakers and platers ...	5.0		
Brass finishers	3.5	Furniture :	
Electricians	3.5	Cabinet makers and joiners	4.5
Fitters, erectors, etc. ...	3.7	French polishers	5.0
Turners and machine tool		Upholsterers	5.0
workers	4.0	Woodcutting machinists ...	5.0
Moulders and coremakers ...	4.0		
Patternmakers	3.5		

The question as to how far the existing ratios will maintain an increase or involve a future decrease in the number of journeymen requires a consideration of the ebb and flow of the numbers employed in the occupations of the several industries.

Building.—In the period between the 1881 and 1921 censuses, the greatest number of male workers in the building and public works contracting industry was enumerated in 1901. Between 1891 and 1901, the building industry grew at a rate far beyond that of the general population, but from 1901 to 1911 the numbers of male workers decreased by 9 per cent. and from 1911 to 1921 by 13 per cent.

The decline probably continued till 1923 since the numbers of male "insured workers" * showed a decrease of about 16 per cent. in the period 1920-23. From 1923 to 1926, the numbers of male insured persons increased by 13.1 per cent. for the building industry and by 29.7 per cent. for public works contracting. It is probable therefore that the recovery in the industry had brought the numbers of workers back again, in 1926, to somewhat the same position as obtained at the 1921 Census.

* The term "insured workers" in this and subsequent paragraphs means persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

Recent changes in the numbers of male "insured workers" in certain occupations in the building industry only (Great Britain) are shown in the following table:—

Occupation.	January, 1914.	July, 1920.	July, 1925.	July, 1926.	July, 1927.
Carpenters	126,800	133,400	111,500	123,570	131,670
Bricklayers	69,000	61,350	64,260	71,090	74,410
Masons	38,900	26,400	23,490	24,810	24,120
Slaters	6,600	5,800	5,210	5,600	5,990
Plasterers	20,200	15,600	17,490	19,220	21,560
Painters	130,900	116,400	107,340	111,550	113,190
Plumbers	36,900	41,100	28,190	31,300	33,640
Labourers to above oc- cupations.	261,400	—	223,730	240,660	261,100
Total of above occu- pations excluding labourers.	429,300	400,050	357,480	387,140	404,580

So far as it is possible to interpret the figures relating to "insured workers," they appear to show that since the turning point in the industry, about 1923, the number of persons engaged has increased at an average rate of about 4 per cent. per annum.

Moreover, substantial changes have occurred since 1901 in the proportion of young workers employed in the industry.

Occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers who were under 21 years—				
	In all industries.			In building only.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Bricklayers	173	48	87	50	100
Masons	160	60	61	63	72
Carpenters and joiners	214	108	142	116	157
Woodcutting machinists	206	203	160	98	137
Slaters and tilers	174	67	94	68	113
Plasterers	203	61	94	55	91
Painters	149	99	94	103	101
Plumbers	288	209	200	221	229

The remarkable decline in the proportion of juniors which took place in all occupations between 1901 and 1911, continued in the case of painters until 1921, but in all other occupations (particularly in bricklaying, plastering and slating) the proportion of juniors substantially increased between 1911 and 1921. Even in

1921, however, the various proportions fell far short of those estimated in 1901. Since 1921, however, and particularly from about 1923, substantial efforts have been made to increase the number of young entrants into the industry. Some indication of the results achieved in this direction may be obtained from the following comparison of the ratio of adults to juniors in 1921 with the ratio of journeymen to apprentices or trainees ascertained in 1925, from which it will be apparent that the recruitment of young workers has substantially increased in all occupations, especially when allowance is made for the fact that juniors probably include others than those being trained under a definite system of apprenticeship or learnership.

Occupation.	Number of—		
	adults per junior, 1921.	journeymen per—	
		apprentice, 1925.	trainee,* 1925.
Bricklayers	9.0	4.8	3.7
Masons	12.9	5.7	5.1
Carpenters and joiners	5.4	4.9	4.0
Woodcutting machinists	6.3	4.8	4.0
Slaters and tilers	7.8	3.9	3.3
Plasterers	9.1	4.1	3.6
Painters	8.9	4.9	4.0
Plumbers	3.4	2.2	1.9

* Trainee includes apprentices, ex-apprentice improvers and learner-improvers.

The ratios necessary to secure a variation in the number of journeymen at a specified rate per annum are given in the following table :—

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per trainee sufficient to maintain a variation in the number of journeymen of (—) per cent. per annum.						
	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	-1	-2
Bricklayers	2.1	2.4	2.7	3.1	3.7	5.9	8.6
Masons	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.3	3.9	6.9	11.3
Carpenters and joiners... ..	2.1	2.4	2.7	3.1	3.6	5.9	8.7
Woodcutting machinists	2.3	2.5	2.9	3.3	4.0	6.7	10.5
Slaters and tilers	2.2	2.4	2.7	3.1	3.8	5.8	8.4
Plasterers	2.1	2.4	2.7	3.1	3.4	5.9	8.7
Painters	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.9	7.0	11.6
Plumbers	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.6	3.6	4.5

If it may be assumed that boys are recruited to the skilled occupations only by way of apprenticeship or improvership, the ratios of journeymen to trainees ascertained at 1925 are sufficient to meet an annual increase in the number of journeymen of about 1 per cent. in the case of bricklayers, plasterers, painters and woodcutting machinists, of rather less than 1 per cent. in the case of carpenters and joiners, of between 1 and 2 per cent. in the case of slaters and tilers, and of between 3 and 4 per cent. in the case of plumbers, while the number of masons should remain fairly constant. It appears, therefore, that in all occupations, except plumbing, the number of apprentices being recruited is insufficient to maintain the present apparent rate of increase in the number of persons engaged in the industry.

Engineering.—The number of male workers engaged in the metal industries, excluding shipbuilding, increased by about 65 per cent. from 1881 to 1911, while the male working population increased by about 38 per cent.; between 1911 and 1921 an increase of 34 per cent. took place in the number of male workers in the engineering and allied industries (including shipbuilding).

According to the statistics of "insured workers" the industry has suffered a decline since 1921. Thus the number of male insured workers at July, 1923, showed a decrease at July, 1924, of 6.2 per cent.; at July, 1925, of 7.1 per cent.; and in the three years from July, 1923, to July, 1926, of 8.9 per cent.

At the time of this enquiry the decrease was at the rate of between 1 and 2 per cent. per annum, but at the present time owing to an improvement in the industry the decrease in numbers has probably been arrested.

The changes that have taken place between 1901 and 1921 in the proportion of young workers employed in the industry are as follows:—

Occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers who were under 21 years—				
	In all industries.			In engineering only.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Fitters, erectors, etc.	247	222	225	239	258
Boilermakers and platers	210	167	212	175	250
Turners and machine tool workers	192	166	234	166	245
Moulders	236	225	223	197	224
Brass finishers	292	260	239	260	261
Electricians	—	255	277	220	356
Patternmakers	274	236	260	205	281
Carpenters and joiners	214	108	142	84	122
Woodcutting machinists	206	203	160	92	178

Between 1911 and 1921 there was a marked increase in the proportion of young workers employed in the engineering industry. The metal working occupations are indeed remarkable for the high proportion of juveniles employed compared with the working population as a whole, of whom 186 per 1,000 in 1911 and 175 per 1,000 in 1921 were under 21 years of age.

The following table compares the proportions of adults to juniors at the 1921 Census with the ratios of journeymen to apprentices and trainees estimated on the basis of this enquiry.

Occupation.	Number of—		
	adults per junior, 1921.	journeymen per—	
		apprentice, 1925.	trainee,* 1925.
Boilermakers and platers	3.0	4.0	3.6
Brass finishers	2.8	6.1	4.0
Electricians	1.8	4.2	3.2
Fitters, erectors, etc.	2.9	4.8	3.9
Turners and machine tool workers ...	3.1	6.0	3.6
Moulders and coremakers	3.5	6.8	4.9
Patternmakers	2.6	3.1	2.6

* Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

On the basis of the ratios for constancy shown on page 48, the ratios necessary to secure a given increase or decrease in the existing number of journeymen are as follows:—

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per trainee sufficient to maintain a variation in the number of journeymen of (—) per cent. per annum.						
	+ 5	+ 4	+ 3	+ 2	+ 1	— 1	— 2
Boilermakers and platers	2.1	2.5	2.8	3.3	4.0	6.9	11.0
Brass finishers	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.6	3.0	4.3	5.7
Electricians	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.6	3.0	4.3	5.6
Fitters, erectors, etc.	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.6	3.1	4.6	6.2
Turners and machine tool workers.	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.3	5.2	7.5
Moulders and coremakers	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.3	5.1	7.4
Patternmakers	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.9	4.3	5.7

Subject to the inevitable limitations governing these calculations already referred to, it would appear that, if recruitment to the skilled occupations takes place only through a recognised system of apprenticeship or learnership, the ratios ascertained during the enquiry, while sufficient to produce a small annual increase (probably about 1 per cent.) in the number of journeymen boilermakers and platers, electricians, turners and machine tool workers, and a slightly greater increase among patternmakers,

are barely sufficient to maintain the existing number of journeymen fitters and may result in an actual diminution in the numbers of journeymen moulders and brass finishers.

Shipbuilding.—Between 1881 and 1911 there was an unascertainable but substantial addition to the numbers of workers employed in shipbuilding and repairing, and an increase of 34 per cent. took place between 1911 and 1921 in the number of male workpeople employed in ironfounding, engineering, boilermaking and shipbuilding. A severe depression, however, then ensued in this industry, which is reflected in the numbers of "insured workers" at different dates since July, 1923. Thus the estimated number of male insured workers declined by 5.0 per cent. in one year, by 10.3 per cent. in two years and by 16.9 per cent. in three years from that date.

The state of employment in the industry has recently shown some signs of improvement, although at February, 1928, there were still over 20 per cent. of the workers wholly unemployed.

Although the total number of workers has recently declined considerably, the depression in the industry has not greatly affected the proportion of juniors to adults. The changes in the proportions for the period 1901 to 1921 are shown in the following table:—

Occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers who were under 21 years—				
	In all industries.			In shipbuilding only.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Boilermakers and platers	210	167	212	147*	214
Riveters and holders-up	277	222	144	222†	150
Shipwrights... ..	191	146	254	151	281
Fitters	247	222	225	191	233

* Boilermakers only.

† Riveters and platers.

The next table gives a comparison between the proportion of adults to juniors in 1921 and the estimated proportion of journeymen to apprentices and trainees on the basis of this enquiry:—

Occupation.	Number of—		
	adults per junior, 1921.	journeymen per—	
		apprentice, 1925.	trainee*, 1925.
Boilermakers and platers	3.7	4.2	4.2
Riveters and holders-up	5.7	6.5	6.5
Shipwrights	2.6	2.9	2.8
Fitters	3.3	2.5	2.5

* Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

These ratios may be compared with the following, which on the basis of the proportions for constancy given on page 48 would secure a given increase or decrease in the number of journeymen :—

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per trainee sufficient to maintain a variation in the number of journeymen of (—) per cent. per annum.						
	+ 5	+ 4	+ 3	+ 2	+ 1	— 1	— 2
makers and platers ...	2·3	2·6	2·9	3·4	4·0	6·6	9·8
Riveters and holders-up ...	2·3	2·6	2·9	3·4	4·0	6·6	9·9
Shipwrights ...	2·3	2·6	2·9	3·4	4·0	6·7	10·0
Fitters ...	1·9	2·1	2·3	2·6	3·0	4·2	5·3

These ratios are of course subject to the general considerations affecting their application to which full reference has already been made, but on this basis it would appear that, if recruitment to the skilled occupations takes place solely by way of apprenticeship or other recognised system of training, the proportions of boys to journeymen ascertained during the enquiry are sufficient to ensure a certain expansion among boilermakers and platers, shipwrights and fitters, but will scarcely maintain the existing number of riveters.

Printing.—The number of male workers employed in printing, bookbinding, etc., increased in the decennium 1901-1911 by 21 per cent. and in the decennium 1911-1921 by 13 per cent. During the same periods, the total male population has increased by 13 per cent. and 7 per cent. respectively. Again, the estimated number of male "insured workers" in this industry increased steadily by a total of 9.6 per cent. in the three years 1923-6. During this and the previous century printing has indeed been an expanding industry, in which the number of male persons employed has increased at a greater rate than the general male population. The recent increases may be estimated to be about 3 per cent. per annum.

Coincident with these variations in the total number of employees, there have been substantial changes in the proportion of juniors to adults employed.

Occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers who were under 21 years—				
	In all industries.			In printing only.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Compositors ...	274	143	92	151	93
Stereotypers and electrotypers ...		152	116	169	115
Letterpress machine minders ...		152	120	201	122
Lithographers ...	223	198	143	154	159

In the 20 years 1901-1921 the proportion of male workers under 21 years per thousand male workers has decreased steadily to a greater extent than has been shown to be normal for the working male population as a whole; the decrease is greatest among compositors and least among lithographers.

The direction in which recruitment is tending is indicated by the figures given below :—

Occupation.	Number of—		
	adults per junior, 1921.	journeymen per—	
		apprentice, 1925.	trainee*, 1925.
Compositors	9·8	5·5	5·0
Stereotypers and electrotypers	7·7	5·6	5·7
Letterpress machine minders	7·2	4·9	4·6
Lithographers	5·3	5·0	4·7

*Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

The following table, constructed to show the ratios necessary to secure a given variation in the number of journeymen on the basis of the ratio for constancy given on page 48, will enable the existing ratios to be compared with the needs of the industry :—

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per trainee sufficient to maintain a variation in the number of journeymen of (—) per cent. per annum.						
	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	-1	-2
	Compositors	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.7	3.2	5.4	8.3
Stereotypers and electrotypers	2.0	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.7	6.7	11.6
Letterpress machine minders	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.9	3.5	6.4	11.0
Lithographers	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.4	5.8	9.3

On the assumption that recruitment to the skilled occupations takes place either by way of apprenticeship or learnership, it may be deduced that the ratios ascertained in 1925 are only sufficient to maintain the existing number of journeymen letterpress machine minders and in respect of the other occupations will result in a diminution.

Furniture and allied woodworking industries.—From 1881 to 1911 the numbers of male workers in this industry increased, the increase in the intercensal period 1901-1911 being 6 per cent.

From 1911 to 1921 there was a decrease of 7 per cent. Since 1921 there is evidence of an improvement in the industry, the number of male "insured workers" at July, 1923, having increased by 5.3 per cent. in one year, by 9.8 per cent. in two years and 16.5 per cent. in the three years from 1923 to 1926.

The recent increases have therefore been at the rate of about 5 per cent. per annum.

The changes in the proportions of young workers to total workers concomitant with the changes in the number of workers during the period 1901-1921 are shown below :—

Occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers who were under 21 years—				
	In all industries.			In furniture only.	
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Cabinet makers and joiners ...	243	170	208	171	231
Woodcutting machinists ...	206	203	160	167	203
French polishers ...	276	162	159	180	175
Upholsterers ...	248	178	192	209	213

The above figures are chiefly notable for the great increases recorded in 1921 in the proportion of young male cabinet makers in the furniture industry; the decline in the proportion of young male french polishers may be partly due to the incursion of girl and women workers into this occupation.

The relation between the proportion of adults to juniors in 1921 and the proportion of journeymen to apprentices and trainees in 1925 is shown in the following table for the principal occupations :

Occupation.	Number of—		
	adults per junior, 1921.	journeymen per—	
		apprentice, 1925.	trainee*, 1925.
Cabinet makers and joiners ...	3.3	9.7	6.8
Woodcutting machinists ...	3.9	7.8	2.9
French polishers ...	4.7	11.4	7.1
Upholsterers ...	3.7	11.5	8.2

*Trainee includes both apprentices and learners.

The ratios necessary to secure a given increase or decrease in the number of journeymen on the basis of the ratios for constancy given on page 48 are as follows:—

Occupation.	Number of journeymen per trainee sufficient to maintain a variation in the number of journeymen of (—) per cent. per annum.						
	+ 5	+ 4	+ 3	+ 2	+ 1	— 1	— 2
Cabinet makers and joiners ...	2·1	2·4	2·7	3·1	3·6	5·9	8·6
Woodcutting machinists ...	2·3	2·5	2·7	3·3	4·0	6·7	10·5
French polishers ...	2·2	2·5	2·8	3·3	3·9	6·9	11·1
Upholsterers ...	2·3	2·5	2·9	3·4	4·0	6·7	10·3

On the basis of these calculations, which are of course subject to the general limitations referred to above, the proportions of boys employed as cabinet makers, french polishers and upholsterers under a regular system of apprenticeship or learnership, as shown by the enquiry, will apparently not maintain the existing number of journeymen in these occupations. Unless other methods of recruitment are in use, the new entrants into the industry would appear to be insufficient to meet the apparent expansion of the industry which is taking place. This position may not be serious except in cabinet making, as in french polishing and upholstery the numbers of women and girls employed are said to be increasing rapidly. The proportion of boys in training as woodcutting machinists will however suffice to maintain an increase of almost 3 per cent. per annum in the number of journeymen, but it may be doubted whether this proportion will maintain the existing rate of expansion in the industry.

All the above calculations presuppose that a sufficient supply of young workers will be available from the schools to maintain either the existing number or the present rate of increase of journeymen in the occupations. This supposition may, however, be materially affected by the cumulative effect of the decline in the birth-rate on the numbers of boys and girls actually available for employment in future years. The extent to which this factor is likely to influence the recruitment of boys and girls as apprentices or learners is discussed in the next section.

§15. Effect of decline of birth-rate on supply of apprentices.

The annual birth-rate of boys and girls in England and Wales reached its highest point in the period 1865-1880, during which it exceeded 35 per 1,000 population. Thereafter it declined by progressive and gradual steps to 23·8 per 1,000 population in 1914.

A further decline took place during the war period and, save for a temporary and sudden spurt in the birth-rate which followed demobilisation, the decline has been consistently maintained, so that the birth-rate in 1927 was almost exactly one-half of what it was 40 years ago.

Births per 1,000 total population (England and Wales).

1914	...	...	23.8	1921	...	...	22.4
1915	...	...	21.8	1922	...	...	20.4
1916	...	...	21.0	1923	...	...	19.7
1917	...	...	17.8	1924	...	...	18.8
1918	..	...	17.7	1925	...	...	18.3
1919	...	...	18.5	1926	...	...	17.8
1920	...	...	25.5	1927†	...	...	16.7

The fall in the birth-rate, though offset to some extent by a decline in mortality, has already begun to manifest itself in the number of children attending the elementary schools, the average number of children on the registers of such schools in England and Wales decreasing from 5,878,792 in the year 1921-1922 to 5,631,560 in 1925-1926, and will most acutely influence the number of boys and girls available for employment in the years 1931-1934.

Tables IV and V in the Appendix illustrate the magnitude of the shortage of boys and girls likely to be experienced about that time.

Table IV gives estimates of the number of boys and girls attaining the ages of 14, 15, 16 and 17 years in each of the years 1926 to 1940. It will be seen that the number of boys of these ages is estimated to decrease from 1,619,000 in 1926 to 1,275,000 in 1933, the year of lowest level and the number of girls of corresponding ages from 1,610,000 to 1,268,000, a reduction of 344,000 in the number of boys and of 342,000 in the number of girls. From 1934 to 1937 the number of boys and girls attaining these ages will slightly increase as the result of the comparatively high birth-rates in 1920 and 1921, but from 1937 onwards the number of boys and girls of these ages will again steadily decline, following the normal fall in the birth-rate from 1921 onwards.

Table V gives estimates of the number of boys and girls of 14 to 17 years of age likely to become "occupied persons" in the years 1926 to 1940. It is based on the assumption that the ratio of "occupied" to total juveniles will remain throughout the term the same as that which existed in 1921. This assumption may not be borne out by events. Factors which might operate to affect such a ratio are, for example, improved or depressed conditions of trade, changes in the inducements offered to young persons to enter industry or alterations in the numbers of boys and girls attending

school after attaining the age of 14 years. Nevertheless the figures are given as affording a close approximation to the kind of shortage that may be expected to arise within the next thirteen years. They show that the numbers of boys and girls likely to be "occupied" in 1933 are respectively 259,000 and 186,000 less than they are to-day, and that there will be a temporary improvement till 1937 after which the numbers will again decline.

In view of the fact that male apprentices number approximately only about one-seventh of male workers under 21 years of age in industrial occupations, it may well be considered that the anticipated shortage of boy and girl labour raises problems in connection with the employment of juveniles generally rather than of apprentices in particular. There are undoubtedly large reservoirs of supply available among boys and girls generally from which the ranks of apprentices may be recruited. Many boys, who would not normally enter the skilled manual occupations, might be induced to do so and others, who would normally be recruited to the skilled occupations at 16 years might enter at earlier ages, if the conditions of apprenticeship were made sufficiently attractive in comparison with those in other occupations for which a prolonged training is unnecessary. Moreover, large numbers of girls are available for employment among those who at present do not normally enter industry at all. Thus the estimated number in 1927 of girls of the above ages (14-17 years) not following occupations for gain is 670,000 as compared with 351,000 in the case of boys. There are indications that increasing attention is being paid in some industries, e.g., engineering, to the possibility of extending the scope of the work on which girls may suitably be employed. While it is improbable that such an increase in the number of girl workers would produce any diminution in the number of boys which industry is capable of absorbing, it may nevertheless result in a considerable modification of the existing proportions of occupied girls and boys.

Though some restriction in the number of boys and girls from whom apprentices are drawn may thus be expected, it is perhaps more probable that the anticipated diminution in the number of juveniles available for employment will produce changes in the conditions of employment of apprentices rather than any undue alteration in their numbers. The competition for juvenile workers between the skilled and unskilled occupations may lead naturally to the establishment of relatively more attractive conditions for apprentices than obtain at present, especially if an industrial revival coincides with the anticipated shortage; otherwise the inducements for boys and girls to enter the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations at the expense of the skilled will be strong.

Should the flow of apprentices be checked by reason of failure to make the adjustments required in order to meet the competition from the unskilled occupations for young workers, such a re-organisation of industrial methods might result as would render prolonged training in many occupations unnecessary and so involve a severe curtailment of the traditional system of apprenticeship.

§16. Proportion of apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship.

It has long been known that there has been a certain loss or "wastage" among apprentices through the failure of a certain number of those entering a regular apprenticeship to complete their term and to qualify as skilled journeymen, but no definite information has hitherto been available which would indicate the extent of this loss or "wastage."

No question on this subject actually appeared in the schedule issued to employers, but certain supplementary enquiries made of representative employers in the principal industries enables some indication to be given of the number of apprentices who drop out of the occupations to which they have bound themselves. The returns cover 332 firms employing 27,394 apprentices (of whom 13,637 are indentured and 13,757 are unindentured) in the shipbuilding, engineering, building, printing and woodworking industries.

Excluding those apprentices who leave to complete their training with other firms, the proportion who fail to complete their apprenticeship with the firms with which they started and are entirely lost to the industry has been ascertained to be about 10 per cent. in shipbuilding, 9.2 per cent. in engineering, 2.2 per cent. in building, 1.3 per cent. in printing, and 1.8 per cent. in woodworking (see table below). In 164 of the 332 firms, all the apprentices complete their term; in 92 firms the proportion of apprentices who fail to qualify as skilled men lies between 1 and 5 per cent., in 37 between 6 and 10 per cent., in 21 between 11 and 20 per cent., and in 18 between 21 and 50 per cent.

In addition, a relatively small number of apprentices leave to complete their training with other firms. These "turnovers," who represent only 1.9, 0.6, 0.7, 0.5 and 0.1 per cent. respectively of all male apprentices in the engineering, shipbuilding, woodworking, building and printing industries, may ultimately be absorbed as journeymen and are not to be reckoned as total "losses" to industry.

Proportion of apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship

Industry.	Number of firms giving information on this subject.	Number of workers employed by such firms.	Number of apprentices employed by such firms.	Percentage of apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship with the firms with which they started.
Shipbuilding ...	52	67,006	8,903	10·0
Engineering ...	113	144,953	14,515	9·2
Building ...	55	16,695	1,323	2·2
Printing ...	88	29,643	2,060	1·3
Woodworking ...	24	5,034	573	1·8
Total ...	332	263,331	27,374	8·3

There is no clear relationship between the form of contract under which apprentices are employed and the proportion of apprentices who fail to complete their term, for the loss appears to occur as much among indentured as among unindentured apprentices. Thus in engineering, for example, the proportion of indentured apprentices is greatest (89·4 per cent.) among those firms in which 16 to 19 per cent. of apprentices fail to qualify as journeymen, and in shipbuilding it is greatest (89·3 per cent.) among those firms in which the proportion of apprentices failing to qualify is 20 per cent. or more.

The reasons given for the failure of boys to complete their apprenticeship differ in each industry and firm, but there are a number to which reference is commonly made. These are the inducement of higher wages paid to boys of corresponding age in unskilled occupations, emigration, the removal of the boys' parents from the district or other domestic reasons, the unsuitability of the apprentice for the work, ill-health, lack of reasonable progress and misconduct.

The majority of boys who leave before completing their training appear to enter unskilled or semi-skilled occupations in other industries carried on in the district, e.g., coal mining, textile or building, though some are said to be attracted to H.M. Forces, the police services or the employment of local authorities.

As the proportion of apprentices who do not complete their training is relatively high in the engineering and shipbuilding industries, it may be of interest to refer to a few typical replies received from employers in these industries.

Engineering.—A firm of marine engineers (Scotland) finds that all apprenticed ironworkers, plumbers and patternmakers complete their training, but that 3 per cent. of apprenticed boiler-makers and 8 per cent. of apprenticed fitters leave the firm before completing their training. This is also the experience of a firm of marine engineers on the Tyne, all of whose apprentices complete their apprenticeship save those employed as boiler-makers and fitters; of the latter, 10 per cent. and 5 per cent. respectively do not qualify as journeymen.

A large firm of motor engineers in Scotland furnishes information respecting the last 100 apprentices whose period of apprenticeship had expired, as follows:—

“Seventy-five apprentices completed their period of apprenticeship; six apprentices left the firm by mutual consent to continue their training in other firms in the same trade, four going abroad; 19 apprentices left the trade altogether and of these two died, four left through ill-health, three were discharged for misconduct and one for unsuitability, one went to the mines, one joined the Army, one went into electrical engineering and one to process engraving, two went into business with their fathers; three left for unknown occupations.”

A firm of marine engineers on the Clyde, 19 per cent. of whose apprentices do not complete their period, gives the following analysis of the factors causing a breach of apprenticeship agreements:—

“Emigration 3 per cent.; removed from district 1 per cent.; joined H.M. Forces 3 per cent.; joined police force 2 per cent.; misconduct and unsuitability 5 per cent.; health reasons 1 per cent.; left without reason 4 per cent.”

A firm of structural engineers in Yorkshire, an abnormally large proportion (40 to 50 per cent.) of whose apprentices do not complete their apprenticeship, explains this as being due to:—

“Not settling to our class of work, which is of a heavy nature, preferring something cleaner and lighter such as the clothing trade. The prospects of the engineering trade in respect to ultimate earnings are also not attractive. A boy may also find he is not physically cut out for structural engineering, which calls for sturdy build.”

A large firm of engineers in the Eastern Counties, few of whose apprentices fail to qualify as journeymen, provides the following explanation of their immunity from the breaking of apprenticeship agreements:—

“We find that one of the most frequent reasons for an apprentice moving from his work is that often necessitated by some changed circumstances at home. . . . We have

very few cases in which there is real indifference as regards learning the trade, general discipline or bad time-keeping. . . . We may add by way of explanation of this record that we first of all take all boys for the first few months on probation and if they are satisfactory we then arrange their work on a programme as far as possible. The foreman's report and technical class results are obtained from time to time, and it is not until we know the lad thoroughly, generally when 17 years of age, that we make regular apprentices by entering into an apprenticeship agreement with them and their parents."

The experience of this firm is to be contrasted with that of a large firm of textile engineers in Lancashire, 25 per cent. of whose apprentices do not complete their period of training and who explain the failure of these apprentices to qualify as follows:—

"Generally dissatisfied and branching off into other occupations which provide bigger pay up to the age of about 19 years. Short time being worked is also a factor, and if other industries are working full time, apprentices leave. . . .

"Some go into coal mines, others into crofts and others into mills; it depends what occupations are busy. All these provide a fairly high rate for youths on the under side of 19 and 20 years. Afterwards they take 'pot luck' and generally take up labouring jobs, machine hands, etc., anywhere they can get. The particular places where they have been working as lads presumably cannot absorb them."

Shipbuilding.—In the shipbuilding industry the abnormal slackness of trade and the heavy nature of the work in certain occupations appear to operate with special force in deterring boys from completing their apprenticeship. The more attractive wages offered to those engaged in the erection of houses appear to have led many painters' apprentices to transfer from the shipbuilding to the building industry; and many boys who commence apprenticeship in the ironworking occupations (in particular, riveting, drilling and rigging) subsequently discover the work to be arduous and heavy and drift into unskilled occupations. The remarks of some of the larger firms on this subject may be of interest, and a few extracts from the returns are quoted below:—

"The usual reasons for the failure of an apprentice to complete his apprenticeship are generally as follows: ill-health, unsuitability for the trade, inducements offered by unskilled or semi-skilled occupations which, while providing higher wages than apprentices receive, are less advantageous in later years than if the apprentice had completed his apprenticeship.

" In the case of drilling and riveting, however, we find great difficulty in getting boys to enter these two trades although the rates paid are higher than in the case of other trades. Owing to the use of drilling and riveting tools, the two trades are of a heavier nature than the other trades employed in a shipyard and boys of better physique are required. Due probably to the higher standard of education now being given boys do not seem to care for occupations such as drilling and riveting.

" In those cases where boys break their apprenticeship to enter other occupations, they usually transfer to the ranks of the unskilled.

" The position in respect of apprentices is growing more difficult. We find that, although the standard of education is higher, the proportion of apprentices who are able to pass the examinations we require prior to entry into certain trades is comparatively small and those boys, who are entered, in many cases come unfitted for employment entailing manual labour. In some cases, probably the fact that boys are able in certain circumstances to obtain benefit through the employment exchanges has a bearing on apprentices leaving their employment." (Lancashire.)

" One difficulty in keeping or attracting apprentices to shipyard trades is the fact there has been no guarantee of continuity of employment during the past few years." (Clyde.)

" During the industrial slump following the Great War, a number of large employers ceased binding apprentices by indenture and subsequently stood them off when reducing hands. This course lowered the dignity of the trade which existed prior to 1914, and the natural result followed that both parents and apprentices lost interest and lads turned to other occupations.

" Another great factor is the financial position of skilled workers generally, whose social status has been undermined by the serious advances accorded to unskilled labour. This factor has a deterring effect on the sacrifices made by parents in placing a lad for apprenticeship, as in the past a trade brought with it a financial benefit over the labouring classes." (East Coast.)

§17. Difficulties in recruiting apprentices.

The general tenor of the replies received from employers in answer to the question contained on the schedule is such as to negative any suggestion that the decline in apprenticeship is due to difficulties in obtaining suitable recruits. The great majority of employers in all industries definitely express themselves as having experienced no difficulty in this respect, and many report that the supply far

exceeds the demand; thus, of employers furnishing information on this subject, those who found the required number of suitable apprentices readily available numbered 90 per cent. in printing, 91 per cent. in building, 77 per cent. in engineering, 71 per cent. in shipbuilding, 95 per cent. in woodworking and allied industries, and in 14 of the industries mainly recruited by apprenticeship the proportion was 88 per cent.

Difficulties in obtaining apprentices are, however, complained of by a substantial number of employers, and since it is desirable that the nature of such obstacles as exist in the way of recruitment should be recognised, an analysis of the main causes explaining the reluctance of boys to enter into apprenticeship agreements has been made.

(a) *Industrial depression and reluctance of boys to enter into binding agreements for a term of years.*—The reluctance of boys to bind themselves for a term of years is a common experience in most industries. It has discriminated however with special force against the recruitment of boys as *indentured* apprentices. Many boys and their parents prefer a verbal rather than a written agreement of apprenticeship, since they consider the former to place fewer obstacles in the way of the apprentices leaving their employers if they find the work distasteful, or if in other respects they can better themselves by changing from one occupation or employer to another. In the building industry it is said that one reason for the preference for verbal agreements is that apprentices so serving can more readily accompany their fathers, or other journeymen with whom they have become associated, in the event of their changing their employer.

The disinclination to enter into binding agreements for a term of years is also accentuated in those industries suffering from severe industrial depression. Several causes operate to produce this result, but the principal are that in such industries the wages offered to apprentices in the skilled occupations are relatively low as compared with those in other occupations while the prospects for the future, both as regards security and remuneration, have been rendered less attractive than in occupations unaffected by impoverished conditions of trade. There is also the effect of industrial depression on the parents themselves, many of whom, acutely in need of augmenting the income in the home and less able to afford a prolonged period of training at relatively low wages, are obliged to place their boys in the occupations most immediately remunerative.

It may be of interest to quote a few of the many observations received on this subject; they emanate mainly from employers in the engineering and shipbuilding industries:—

“The difficulty is to find the right type of boy. The reason of this is that boys usually start at a very small sum per week and parents are anxious to augment their incomes as much as

possible. They are therefore often tempted to put a boy to a dead-end job, because it brings in more per week to the family funds. Sometimes parents are unable to keep a lad over his learning period and are obliged to put him to the most remunerative occupation which can be found." (Building, Surrey.)

"We have had difficulty in securing sufficient apprentices during the last three or four years. We take it that the inducements offered on completion of apprenticeship, as compared with those of any other skilled trade, are not sufficient encouragement to working-class people to allow their sons to go in for engineering." (Engineering, Scotland.)

"There is a disinclination to be bound for five years at a nominal wage. Parents are less inclined and less able to make the necessary sacrifice on behalf of their sons, and possibly view the present state of industry from a pessimistic standpoint." (Shipbuilding, Southampton.)

"Some years ago there was no difficulty in obtaining an adequate number of apprentices, but in the past two or three years very considerable difficulty has been experienced. This, in our opinion, is due to the backward conditions of the engineering industry, the uncertainty of employment and the low rate of wages paid compared with some other branches of employment." (Engineering, Scotland.)

"We have experienced difficulty since about 1923. There seems to be an impression among parents that the shipbuilding and engineering trades, being temporarily in a state of depression, are to be avoided as a profession and trade for their sons. This applies to all classes of parents." (Shipbuilding, Scotland.)

Correlative to this disinclination on the part of the boys to bind themselves is the reluctance on the part of some employers to enter into binding agreements with boys extending over a period of years. This may be due either to the conviction that modern specialisation and subdivision of process can no longer afford to the same extent the industrial training which the employer considers it incumbent upon him to provide—some firms during the war went so far as to release their apprentices for this reason—or alternatively, to the uncertainty of the industrial outlook, which renders it undesirable for the employer to bind himself so far ahead to provide work, wages and training for any considerable number of boys.

(b) *Higher wages in other juvenile occupations.*—As distinct from the relatively poor prospects in some apprenticeship occupations are the greater immediate financial inducements offered to boys entering the semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, and also to boys entering the skilled occupations in industries not affected by bad trade. This is a feature of the apprenticeship problem, which, though of general application, is accentuated in certain districts. Thus, many

employers in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Leicestershire refer to the difficulty of obtaining boys on account of the relatively high wages in the cotton, wool textile or hosiery industries, and in colliery districts many employers find the inducements offered to young workers in the mines influence boys against accepting employment in apprenticeship occupations. In all parts of the country reference is commonly made to the attraction of what are described as the "sheltered" industries, e.g., transport, railway, distributive or municipal services, as operating against the recruitment of apprentices in the skilled occupations. Difficulties of this nature are referred to, by employers, particularly in the engineering and ship-building industries but also in building and printing. Some typical observations are set out below:—

"Up to a few months ago we had no difficulty in finding lads between the ages of 14 and 16, but we are now having trouble. This appears to be due to the high rate of pay now being paid in the building trade as compared to that in engineering, and also to the large amount of money now paid to lads entering blind alley occupations." (Engineering, Suffolk.)

"We have experienced difficulty owing to depression which has continued in this industry since 1920. Skilled engineering workers' wages compare unfavourably with even unskilled workers' wages in municipal sheltered trades and other employment, and youths can get much higher pay in other, possibly blind alley, occupations than apprentice rates. The fact that local students after winning engineering scholarships and going through several years' technical college training, proceed to an altogether unrelated occupation, for example, grocer's apprentice, shows the lack of confidence by the general public in consequence upon the depression in this industry." (Engineering, Yorkshire.)

"Difficulty is experienced in obtaining apprentices owing to the large number of cotton spinning companies in this district. Boys to a great extent appear to prefer this class of work, as there is no need to serve any apprenticeship, and they get good wages when they commence." (Engineering, Lancashire.)

"We have had difficulty during the last two or three years, due to bad trade generally and to high wages inducements in other trades, particularly the textile, where high wages are paid to juvenile labour, which, however, is dispensed with at 18 or 20 years of age." (Engineering, Yorkshire.)

"At present we have great difficulty in obtaining apprentices, due, in our opinion, to the higher wages which are being paid to boys by the shopkeeping section of the community." (Engineering, Scotland.)

“ For some time past we have had difficulty owing to the low rate of wages paid to mechanics. The high rates of remuneration paid in sheltered occupations, such as motor driving, transport work, municipal work, etc., attract the boys of the present period.” (Engineering, Liverpool.)

“ We have difficulty in obtaining suitable apprentices of necessary physique, owing apparently to the latter type obtaining employment as labourers at higher rates of wages; also difficulty in retaining apprentice joiners and plumbers after they have served a year or so owing to their being enticed away to the building trades at higher wages.” (Shipbuilding, Clyde.)

“ A certain amount of difficulty is experienced in obtaining apprentices. Owing to the rate of wages for skilled workers in the shipbuilding industry being lower than that for unskilled workers in many of the sheltered trades, i.e., railwaymen, tramway municipal employees, etc., there is considerable reluctance to put boys to serve an apprenticeship in shipyard trades. Owing to depression in shipbuilding, the number of workpeople employed is considerably below normal, and any difficulty in securing a sufficient number of apprentices is of less adverse effect meantime than will be the case when a normal volume of work has to be dealt with.” (Shipbuilding, Scotland.)

“ The principal difficulty is that many parents will not make any sacrifice for the future of their boys by letting them come at a low wage to learn the trade, preferring their boys to go as errand boys where they can earn more money.” (Building, Sussex.)

“ I find it practically impossible to get any boy indentured by his parents as an apprentice. The much higher rate of wages, usually double, that boys receive from multiple shop stores as errand, etc., boys is too attractive to the parent who, in many cases, does not consider the lad's future prospects.” (Printing, Surrey.)

(c) *Difficulties arising from the nature of the work.*—Under this category are included difficulties stated to be due to a general reluctance on the part of boys to undertake manual occupations or to enter the “ dirtier ” or more arduous occupations. Thus many employers allege that the modern system of education is directed too much towards the production of recruits for clerical or “ black-coated ” occupations. Complaints of difficulty on this account have been received from employers in most industries:—

“ Parents of the most suitable type of boys for the printing trade seem reluctant to have their boys bound, and invariably seek office jobs instead of skilled crafts such as printing, which

is a highly-paid and regular assured occupation." (Printing, Yorkshire.)

"There is difficulty in securing the right type of apprentice, the reason, in our view, being the desire to find an occupation that will allow them to keep their coats on." (Building, Scotland.)

"We have difficulty in obtaining apprentices, as manual labour does not appeal to the rising generation. Ambitious parents desire to see their boys taking professional appointments, and these tenets are frequently inculcated at school." (Building, London.)

"We have difficulty in obtaining apprentices. One of the reasons is that they appear to favour obtaining work in cleaner occupations; also possibly they are influenced by the higher rates of pay which can be obtained in other trades." (Engineering, Yorkshire.)

Some employers have experienced difficulty in recruiting apprentices for specific occupations owing to the nature of the work. Difficulties of this kind occur mainly in the engineering and allied industries in respect of apprentices to moulding and heavy forging, in shipbuilding in respect of riveters, in building in respect of bricklayers and plasterers, and in pottery in respect of glost-placers:—

"Not much difficulty in obtaining apprentices for pattern-making, and learners in tool room and machine shop; unsuccessful attempts have been made over a period of years to obtain foundry apprentices and train them to be skilled moulders; boys prefer to graduate through sand-riddling to machine plate moulding, and although the money obtained at the beginning is more, they never become skilled moulders and are little more than sand-shovellers. The problem of obtaining skilled moulders is a very real and important one, and boys refuse to avail themselves of the opportunities given; it is hard to see where the skilled artisans of the future are coming from." (Engineering, Midlands.)

"It is practically impossible to get boys into moulding shops from a secondary school on account of the nature of the work. The failure of obtaining secondary school boys for moulding and also in other departments is serious; the trade must have better educated boys to fill the former positions." (Engineering, Notts.)

"There is no desire to be apprenticed to (a) heavy flanging work in boiler shops, (b) heavy forge work (hammer)." (Engineering, Yorkshire.)

"We have difficulty in getting apprentices for iron and brass moulding, smithy work and brass finishing. Numerous applications for all other branches in the following order of

popularity : drawing office, pattern shop, fitting and turning, tinsmiths. The clean and less laborious work is obviously much more attractive." (Engineering, Lancashire.)

" We have difficulty in obtaining apprentices in the riveting trade due to the fact that the youths prefer to do labouring work at a much higher rate of pay." (Shipbuilding, Yorkshire.)

" We have no difficulty except in the case of riveters. In many cases this class of apprentice is drawn from heaters and the pay is slightly higher than can be earned by a first-class apprentice." (Shipbuilding, Tyne.)

" We have difficulty in obtaining bricklayers, which is not an attractive trade for boys leaving school. Three boys out of four want to be carpenters." (Building, Kent.)

" There is a difficulty experienced in the dirtier trades as plastering, plumbing, etc. The high rate of wages paid in ' blind-alley ' jobs for boys is one of the causes, in my opinion, and a false sense of the lower standing of the building trade operative." (Building, Surrey.)

" All lads want to be carpenters. Difficult to get bricklayer apprentices. Carpentry is clean work, although their tools, which they have to provide, are expensive. Tools of bricklayers cost about 30s. We cannot get bricklayer apprentices to be bound; usually after two years they leave and go to a district where bricklayers are scarce and get full pay." (Building, Sussex.)

" We have difficulty in obtaining apprentices for the polishing shop, as the trade does not appeal to lads or their parents." (Furniture, London.)

" No difficulty except in glost-placing." (Pottery, Stoke.)

(d) *Difficulties arising from the regulations relating to the school leaving age.*—A considerable number of employers have referred to the provisions of the Education Act, 1918, which requires boys to complete attendance to the end of the term in which they attain the age of 14 years, as being a contributory cause of difficulties experienced in obtaining apprentices :—

" The only difficulty we have is occasioned by the school authorities not allowing a boy to leave school when he is 14 years of age unless it is at the end of one of the three terms." (Printing, Lancashire.)

" The only difficulty is that of boys leaving school at the end of terms; we cannot get boys between terms, which makes gaps in our period of apprenticeship." (Printing, Yorkshire.)

"The principle of only allowing boys to leave school at the end of a term is wrong. Between terms it is extremely difficult to obtain boys. At the end of a term hundreds are released at once." (Engineering, Manchester.)

"We experience difficulty in obtaining apprentices, as the supply is not equal to the demand, due to the Education Authorities' objection to boys leaving school before the end of terms after they are over school age." (Light Castings, Bedfordshire.)

(e) *Length of apprenticeship.*—The long term of apprenticeship required is stated by some employers to deter boys from entering upon apprenticeship. Most of the criticisms in this respect occur in printing, in which the predominant length of apprenticeship is seven years :—

"We incline to the view that, when boys are informed that seven years is necessary for apprenticeship, they are inclined to regard the period as rather long." (Printing, Glasgow.)

"The only difficulty experienced in obtaining boys is that their parents usually consider the term of seven years too long." (Printing, Liverpool.)

"Sometimes a little difficulty is experienced through parents objecting to the long term at small wages." (Building, Scotland.)

(f) *Limitation of numbers by trade union rules.*—Some employers allude to the limitation of the number of apprentices allowed under trade union rules as preventing them from engaging the number of apprentices regarded as necessary for their businesses. The regulation of the number of apprentices by trade unions and the views of certain employers' associations on the limitations so imposed are discussed in paragraphs 24 and 25 of this report. While in some industries (e.g., printing, wool textile, etc.) employers' associations regard the restrictions as placing difficulties in the way of training a sufficiency of skilled men, there is in general no acute difference of opinion between employers' associations and trade unions on the subject. In the engineering and shipbuilding industries, for example, there is no recognition by employers of any limitation of the number of apprentices that may be taken, and very little attempted regulation by the unions of the numbers entering these industries, while in a number of industries (e.g., printing) rules of trade unions on this subject are frequently incorporated in agreements made with the employers' organisations. There is also a substantial amount of evidence to show that in some trades, in which a limitation is imposed, apprentices are not taken up to the numbers allowed under the trade union's rules. Except in the printing industry, the number of individual employers, who have referred during the enquiry to

difficulties in obtaining a sufficiency of boys owing to this cause, is relatively small. Where objection does arise, it is generally in relation to the application of a rule to a particular set of circumstances or to a particular establishment. For example, in the printing industry the limitation of the number of apprentices that may be taken in some of the principal occupations in provincial establishments to eight, and in some instances to six, is considered by the larger and more important firms to act as a deterrent on recruitment of apprentices. Some 85 firms in the printing industry refer to trade union regulation of numbers as creating difficulties in engaging the requisite number of boys:—

“The trade union rules which limit the ratio of apprentices to journeymen prevent us employing as many apprentices as we could find work for. In the case of stereotypers and electrotypers it is almost impossible in Scotland to engage skilled workers. The same applies to lithographic printers.” (Printing, Glasgow.)

Similarly, in the building industry some employers refer to difficulty in recruiting a sufficient number of plasterers owing to regulations of the trade unions interested:—

“The plasterers’ operative trade union restricts the number of apprentices in proportion to the number of skilled plasterers working and their permission must be granted before an employer can start an apprentice. Skilled plasterers cannot be got for many contracts. This union’s rules cause fewer apprentices when more could be learning the trade.” (Building, Edinburgh.)

“Owing to great scarcity of plasterers, a larger proportion of apprentices than that allowed by the unions, viz., one boy to every four journeymen, could be utilised.” (Building, County Durham.)

The quotations given above are not, however, to be interpreted as evidence of any widespread criticism of trade union regulation limiting the number of apprentices, since relatively few of the employers who experienced difficulties attributed them to this cause.

(g) *Other causes.*—A few employers have complained of the restrictions imposed by the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1920, on the employment of boys under 18, and in certain excepted industries under 16 years, on night work as adversely affecting the engagement of apprentices. Objections to these provisions come, curiously enough, mainly from firms in those industries in which the age limit at which night work is permitted is reduced to 16 years. The objection is based on the fact that since the nature of the industry demands continuous production and renders night work for all engaged in it inevitable, firms are precluded from employing boys of 14 and 15 years of age

on work (such as glass bottle blowing) for which nimbleness of fingers is stated to be a prerequisite.

Other contributory causes reported to act as deterrents in obtaining apprentices include such matters as health conditions, cost of kit, lack of interest by journeymen, insufficient educational qualifications, or intermittent employment in certain occupations.

Complaints with regard to the effect of health conditions, lack of interest by journeymen, and intermittent employment emerge mainly from the building industry :—

“ We have no difficulty for joinery but for masonry, owing to the idea that it is a declining trade and also owing to the unhealthy character.” (Building, Yorkshire.)

“ No difficulty except to masonry and stone dressing. The trade is declining, the work is heavy and stone dust unhealthy.” (Building, Cumberland.)

“ I have no difficulty in getting apprentices for carpentry, but there is a difficulty as far as bricklayers are concerned. In the first place boys do not take to it and the men do not care to have them with them.” (Building, Hants.)

“ There are plenty of good boys available, but the great difficulty is to get journeymen to take any interest in apprentices, particularly among bricklayers, who almost refuse to take any hand in instructing or working with apprentices.” (Building, Northumberland.)

“ There has been great difficulty in the past; parents thought the work was so uncertain that it was not worth while putting a boy through a long apprenticeship. Wages were very low and work in the winter very precarious.” (Building, Yorkshire.)

“ The reason for the difficulty in obtaining apprentices is that work is slack in the winter months. There is short time owing to stormy weather.” (Building, Aberdeenshire.)

“ The difficulty in obtaining apprentices is due to irregularity of work and years of experience before becoming efficient to undertake work for themselves.” (Building, London.)

The cost of providing a kit is referred to by some employers in the building industry and in the mercantile marine as placing obstacles in the way of engagement of boys, while a considerable number of employers in the printing industry allude to a difficulty in obtaining boys with educational qualifications of the necessary standard for the occupations in that industry. The following observations on this point are typical of many received :—

“ Boys are reluctant to be bound for a number of years, and suitable boys in an educational sense are difficult to find.

Most boys to-day are bad scholars, especially in writing and spelling." (Printing, Suffolk.)

" Especially as compositors. The reason is the extremely low standard of education of boys willing to enter the printing trade at the present day. Also the reluctance of parents to accept a small wage for boys whilst being taught a skilled trade." (Printing, London.)

" No difficulty in obtaining boys of a sort, but in too many cases their knowledge in reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic is of a very low standard." (Printing, London.)

" From the ordinary Board Schools it is difficult to obtain a boy sufficiently intelligent to go to the composition part of the trade." (Printing, Norfolk.)

" Our difficulty is in finding boys sufficiently educated in Spelling and English Grammar to make successful printers." (Printing, Northampton.)

§18. Age at commencement of apprenticeship and its relation to the school-leaving age.

The great majority of boy apprentices begin their apprenticeship between the ages of 14 and 16 years, about 97 per cent. of the apprentices returned having entered upon their industrial training within these limits of ages (see Appendix, Table VI). As some employers in their returns gave alternative ages of commencement, e.g., 14 or 15 years, the exact proportions of boys commencing at each age cannot be definitely determined, but estimates made with the greatest accuracy possible in the circumstances indicate that nearly 35 per cent. of the apprentices in training in all industries commence at 14 years, 20 per cent. at 15 years, and 42 per cent. at 16 years, the remaining 3 per cent. commencing at 17 years or at 18 years or over.

As between boys of 14, 15, or 16 years, different industries appear to have fairly well-defined preferences. In the shipbuilding industry, 16 years is the predominant age at entry, but in the engineering and iron and steel industries, 14 is almost as common an age of commencement as 16 years; in the precious metal industry, 14 and 15 years are usual, while in the manufacture of other metals, the age at entry is most commonly returned as 14 years. It is mainly 16 years in chemical manufacturing and in glass bottle blowing, 14 years in glass manufacture and in pottery, while the majority of boys in the brick and tile industry commence at 15 years. In building and sawmilling, boys enter equally at 14, 15, or 16 years, but in electrical contracting, the majority begin at 16 years, and in furniture making at either 14 or 15 years. In printing and the manufacture of paper goods and in the boot and shoe industry, apprentices most commonly begin at 14 years,

but such apprentices as are found in the cotton and other textile industries (except wool) and the clothing industry, begin almost as frequently at 16 as at 14 years. In the wool textile, leather and leather goods, food, drink and tobacco industries, and in the mercantile marine, apprentices most frequently begin at 16 years, while boys in the distributive trades enter between 14 and 16 years, though a slight preference for boys of 15 years of age is indicated in the returns.

The age of commencement of apprenticeship in the various districts of the country is, of course, influenced by the character of the industries carried on in each; but there is, nevertheless, a certain discernible difference between districts as regards the usual ages at which training begins. Apprenticeship usually begins at later ages in Scotland and the Northern Counties of England than in other districts. Thus, for example, the apprentices returned as commencing at 14 years of age (excluding those for whom alternative ages of commencement are given) number about 11 per cent. in the Northern Counties, and 15 per cent. in Scotland, as compared with 49 per cent. in Lancashire, 39 per cent. in Yorkshire, 32 per cent. in the Midlands, and 24 per cent. in London and the Southern Counties (see Appendix, Table VII). Similarly, those commencing at 16 years number about 67 per cent. of apprentices in the Northern Counties and 44 per cent. in Scotland as compared with 25 per cent. in London, 21 per cent. in Yorkshire, and 16 per cent. in Lancashire.

It is estimated that of the 315,000 male apprentices employed in the various industries, about 110,000 commenced their apprenticeship at 14 years, 64,000 at 15 years, 131,000 at 16 years, and 10,000 at 17 years of age or over. Similarly, of the 110,000 male learners in all industries other than textiles, about 67,500 began at 14 years, 19,700 at 15 years and 19,800 at 16 years, the remaining 3,000 entering at 17 years of age or over.

The number of male apprentices entering all industries in each year is, on the average, 56,500, of whom about 17,000 are 14 years, 11,500 are 15 years, and 26,000 are 16 years of age; similarly, the average number of male learners entering each year all industries except textiles is 18,000, of whom about 10,000 are 14 years, 3,500 are 15 years and 4,000 are 16 years of age. Thus the number of boys who enter upon some form of industrial training (i.e., apprenticeship or learnership) in any one year is 74,500, of whom 27,000 enter at 14 years, 15,000 at 15 years, and 30,000 at 16 years of age.

It is important to consider these figures in relation to the number of boys of different ages leaving school in each year. Accurate figures applicable to Great Britain are not available on this subject, but a close approximation to them may be made. It appears that

in each year rather more than 350,000 boys leave the elementary* and secondary schools in Great Britain and become available for industrial occupations. Of these, about 300,000 leave at the age of 14 years, 20,000 at 15 years, and 19,000 at 16 years. Thus boys entering as apprentices at 16 years in any year exceed those leaving school at that age by about 37 per cent., while those entering as apprentices or as learners at 16 years exceed the school-leavers of that age by about 58 per cent. Compare also the estimated number of "occupied" boys of 14, 15 and 16 years with the estimated number of apprentices and learners of these ages, as given in the table below:—

Comparison of the estimated number of "occupied" boys of specified ages with the estimated number of boy apprentices and learners of the same ages.

	14 years.	15 years.	16 years.
Estimated number of "occupied" boys (1926).	258,000	259,000	372,000
Estimated number of boy apprentices...	17,000	28,500	54,500
Estimated number of boy learners (excluding textiles).	10,000	13,500	17,500
Estimated number of boy trainees (excluding textile learners).	27,000	42,000	72,000
Ratio of apprenticed to non-apprenticed boys at each age.	1 to 14.2	1 to 8.1	1 to 5.8
Ratio of boy trainees (i.e., apprentices and learners) to boys not under training at each age.	1 to 8.5	1 to 5.2	1 to 4.2

All the above figures lead to the clear inference that a considerable number and probably the great majority of boys commencing apprenticeship at 16 years of age actually leave school at 14 years of age and, in some cases, at 15 years. In respect of such boys, there is an hiatus between the date of leaving school and entering skilled employment. This interval they spend in one of several ways. Some of them enter unskilled occupations as, e.g., shop boys or in running errands, either in the industries in which they are ultimately apprenticed or in other industries, with the intention of commencing their training in the skilled occupations whenever their age permits of their recruitment; others are unemployed.

This lag between the date of leaving school and taking up skilled work is a feature of modern apprenticeship which has frequently been deplored by those interested in the question of juvenile

* For the purposes of this report, "elementary" schools are to be regarded as including the "primary" schools in Scotland.

employment. While it cannot be denied that there may be some advantages attaching to the practice of allowing boys to be engaged for a short preliminary period on ancillary work before commencing their actual training, in so far as they obtain some experience of factory organisation and discipline and some knowledge of nomenclature and tools, the disadvantages implied in the discontinuity of training between school and apprenticeship are obvious and, in some respects, serious. There is, for example, the loss of such habits of industry and concentration as have been acquired at school, which may affect the whole of a boy's industrial life, while the relatively high remuneration accorded to young boys engaged on work of an unskilled character gives them a certain temporary or fleeting independence, induces a reluctance to submit to the initial reduction in their standard of living which apprenticeship involves and deters parents from taking a long, rather than a short, view of the boys' industrial prospects. The demoralising effect of unemployment on those boys who fail to get work is too well known to require detailed reference.

The tendency of recent years as regards age of entry has been in the direction of apprenticing boys at a later age than formerly. A comparison of the commencing ages obtaining in 1909 and 1925 in 16 of the principal industries shows that, approximately, 40 per cent. of all the apprentices returned commenced at 14 years of age in 1909 as compared with 34 per cent. in 1925, 30 per cent. as compared with 20 per cent. at 15 years and 26 per cent. as compared with 43 per cent. at 16 years of age. The tendency towards recruitment at the later age of 16 years is especially prominent in the following industries, in which the proportion of apprentices definitely returned as commencing at 16 years (i.e., excluding those for whom a range of years is quoted) is given for 1925 and 1909: engineering (34.7 per cent. commencing at 16 years in 1925 as compared with 27.7 per cent. in 1909), ship-building (73.0 per cent. as compared with 16.2 per cent.), building (23.4 per cent. as compared with 12.7 per cent.), sawmilling (28.2 per cent. as compared with 15.6 per cent.), and printing (10.3 per cent. as compared with 4.5 per cent.). Further confirmation of the upward tendency in the age at entry may be obtained by reference to the comparative figures given in the Appendix, Table VIII.

There are a number of influences operating in determining the age at which boys are apprenticed. Some of these arise from statutory regulations. The Education Act of 1918 abolished all existing forms of exemption from school attendance below the age of 14, including half time, and required children attending elementary school to continue their attendance at school to the end of the term in which they reach the age of 14 years. Under the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act,

1920, also, boys may not be employed on night work under the age of 18 years. In industries in which continuous working is essential and night work inevitable, the age at which boy apprentices may be taken is thus restricted, though in some cases the age has been reduced by regulation to 16 years.

There are also within the industries themselves factors tending to determine the age of recruitment. For work of a heavy character or involving great expedition or an element of risk or requiring the exercise of great caution lest valuable material may be spoiled, older boys are obviously more suitable. While there is evidence that some employers prefer younger boys of 14 and 15 years of age, whose dexterity and nimbleness they regard as necessary for certain types of work, there are unmistakable indications that employers in increasing numbers are demanding higher educational qualifications in their apprentices than is usual among boys from the elementary schools and are looking more and more towards older boys from the secondary schools for the right type of entrant into the skilled occupations.

Age at entry is also affected by trade union regulation. The regulations on this subject may be explicit or they may be implied in the number of years of apprenticeship required to be served before qualifying as a skilled journeyman on the attainment of some specified age, e.g., 21 years. They are of several types; thus regulation may take the form of a minimum or maximum commencing age or of both, with a variety of methods for dealing with exceptional cases. A full description of the provisions of trade unions on this subject is given below on page 133.

An explanation of the later age of commencement of apprenticeship now in general operation may be found in the fact that the majority, if not all, of the factors determining the age of entry and referred to above tend to raise the age at which boys enter employment. The extent of these influences may be illustrated by the effect produced by the regulations governing the school leaving age on the proportions of boys and girls leaving at certain ages. Thus, for example, exemptions from attendance at school under the age of 14 years were discontinued from 1st July, 1922, without prejudice to exemptions granted before that date. The effect of this was to decrease the number of partial exemption pupils (boys and girls) in England and Wales from 32,000 in 1921-22 to 193 in 1923-24 and to involve the total disappearance of this class in 1924-25. There has also been, *pari passu*, with the upward movement of the age of entry into apprenticeship, a general raising of the school leaving age. Thus, of the total number of boys leaving public elementary schools in England and Wales, the proportions leaving were in 1920: 46.8 per cent. at 13 years and under, 52.1 per cent. at 14 years, 1.0 per cent. at 15 years, 0.1 per cent. at 16 years and over, as compared with

22.3 per cent. at 13 years and under, 75.4 per cent. at 14 years, 2.0 per cent. at 15 years and 0.3 per cent. at 16 years and over in 1926.

The later age of leaving the secondary schools is even more pronounced; thus the proportion of boys in England leaving such schools at 14 and 15 years of age declined from 55.1 per cent. in 1920 to 31 per cent. in 1926, the proportion leaving at 16 years and over increasing in the same period from 44.9 per cent. to 69 per cent.

The results of the enquiry emphasise the importance of continuity in the two periods of scholastic and workshop training. The difficulties which may occur in preserving such continuity in a degree favourable to both educational and industrial efficiency may be sufficiently indicated by reference to two only of the many factors which exert a definite influence upon the date of entry of boys into industrial employment. Thus, for example, the age at which boys leave school is governed largely by the temperamental differences of the boys themselves as well as by the preferences and the financial circumstances of their parents; again the age at which boys are engaged as apprentices is naturally designed to accord with the particular requirements of each industry and with the character of the occupations concerned.

While it must be conceded that during the interval between leaving school and beginning their regular training for the skilled occupations many boys are occupied in work which serves as a useful introduction to apprenticeship, in many instances this intermediate period is spent either in a state of unemployment or in occupations which, however remunerative, tend to unfit rather than to prepare them to take their places as skilled workers.

The enquiry has not revealed any shortage in the supply of apprentices resulting from the prevailing upward tendency of the age at which boys leave school, but in some cases at least the limitations of age set by agreement or custom for the commencement of apprenticeship may react to the detriment both of employers and of prospective apprentices by the exclusion of certain types of boys from particular occupations. Thus, where the commencing age is rigidly fixed below 15½ years, boys from the central and technical schools may be excluded from occupations subjected to this limitation; in the same way, boys from the secondary schools may be kept out of occupations in which apprenticeship must begin before the age of 16½ years.

§19. Length of apprenticeship, and its relation to the age of apprentices on termination.

Although instances are reported of boys being apprenticed for as long as nine years and as short as one year, apprenticeship usually extends for periods of five, six or seven years, all but about 9 per

cent. of the apprentices being bound for one or other of these periods (see table below).

The period most frequently served is five years, nearly twice as many boys serving for this period as for seven years, the period next most commonly reported. Of the 104,649 apprentices covered by the enquiry, 6.7 per cent. are serving for four years, 48.4 per cent. for five years, 7.6 per cent. for six years and 24.2 per cent. for seven years. Periods varying from five to seven years according as the age of commencement is 16 or 14 years and arranged so that the apprenticeship terminates on the attainment of the age of 21 years, are served by 10.9 per cent. of the apprentices. Periods of three years or less are served by only 1.9 per cent. and of eight or nine years by only 0.3 per cent. of apprentices.

Five years is the customary term served in the following industries, the figures in brackets representing the percentage of boys serving for that period : shipbuilding (92.3), glass bottle manufacture (85.7), chemicals (71.7), electrical contracting (69.6) and miscellaneous metals (59.4); five years is the period usually served by boys in the following industries, though the predominance of the period is considerably less pronounced; leather and leather goods (54.6), textiles (other than cotton and wool) (52.7), sawmilling (51.0), furniture (49.7), engineering (47.7), pottery (43.2), clothing (43.0), iron and steel (42.6) and building (42.1).

Industries which do not conform to the general rule of a five years' apprenticeship include printing, in which 70.4 per cent. of the apprentices serve for seven years, the manufacture of paper and paper goods, in which almost as many boys serve for seven years as for five, the cotton and wool textile industries, in which periods of three or four years are almost as common as periods of five years, boot and shoe manufacture in which nearly half of the relatively few apprentices employed serve for eight or nine years and the mercantile marine, in which about 96 per cent. serve for four years. Six years' periods are served mainly in the building (21.2) and brick and tile (27.0) industries.

Periods of seven years are found to a considerable extent in the pottery (31.9), glass (30.1), engineering (26.1), saw-milling (23.3), cotton (22.8), furniture (20.1) and building (19.2) industries. Periods varying between five and seven years, according as the age of commencement is 16, 15 or 14 years are served by a substantial proportion of apprentices, notably in the manufacture of glass (48.2) and in the iron and steel (32.6), engineering (17.9), precious metal (14.5) and food, drink and tobacco (11.4) industries. Apprenticeship extending beyond seven to eight or nine years is found in relatively few industries, e.g. clothing (16.9), boot and shoe manufacture (48.3) and in certain maintenance occupations in mining and quarrying (12.6).

Apprenticeship for four years prevails only to a minor extent, except in the mercantile marine, where it is the rule; it occurs however with some frequency in the wool textile (40.5), distributive (38.6), boot and shoe (21.8), sawmilling (16.4), furniture (11.9) and pottery (11.6) industries. Periods of three years or less occur mainly in the cotton (38.6), distributive (26.7) and brick and tile (14.3) industries.

**Length of apprenticeship of boy apprentices.*

Industry.	Number of apprentices.	Average number of years served.	Percentage of apprentices returned as serving a period of apprenticeship within the under-mentioned limits.						
			3 years or less.	4 years.	5 years.	5 to 7* years.	6 years.	7 years.	8 or 9 years.
Metal :									
Engineering	43,923	5.7	0.5	1.1	47.7	17.9	6.7	26.1	—
Shipbuilding	13,315	5.0	1.1	2.0	92.3	1.2	1.6	1.8	—
Iron and steel	2,491	4.9	—	0.5	42.6	32.6	5.5	18.8	—
Precious metal	221	5.7	0.9	3.6	43.5	14.5	13.1	24.4	—
Other metal	4,565	5.6	0.6	1.5	59.4	3.0	7.8	25.7	—
Chemical and Allied :									
Chemical	833	5.3	3.1	0.6	71.7	10.7	3.1	10.8	—
Pottery	968	5.6	1.1	11.6	43.2	—	12.2	31.9	—
Glass and glass bottle	883	5.8	0.2	3.4	36.3	31.1	4.5	23.9	0.1
Brick and tile	63	5.2	14.3	6.3	36.5	—	27.0	15.9	—
Building and Woodwork- ing :									
Building	10,599	5.5	2.7	7.0	42.1	7.8	21.2	19.2	—
Electrical contracting...	1,731	5.2	1.0	4.9	63.6	4.6	12.2	7.7	—
Furniture and allied ...	1,192	5.4	2.1	11.9	49.7	4.6	11.6	20.1	—
Sawmilling	518	5.4	0.2	16.4	51.0	—	9.1	23.3	—
Printing and Paper Mak- ing :									
Printing... ..	10,209	6.5	0.6	1.4	15.2	5.6	6.8	70.4	—
Paper and paper goods	230	5.9	0.4	2.6	47.0	4.3	3.5	42.2	—
Textile and Clothing :									
Cotton	215	4.6	38.6	4.2	33.5	—	0.9	22.8	—
Wool textile	740	4.6	4.6	40.5	40.5	4.9	6.1	3.4	—
Other textile	874	5.0	6.3	29.0	52.7	—	8.4	12.5	0.1
Boot and shoe	87	6.2	4.6	21.8	14.9	3.5	—	6.9	48.3
Other clothing	421	5.6	7.4	5.4	43.0	8.3	12.1	6.9	16.9
Miscellaneous :									
Leather and leather goods.	121	4.9	14.0	9.1	54.6	7.4	8.3	6.6	—
Food, drink and tobacco	985	5.4	1.4	5.6	61.0	11.4	7.7	12.9	—
Distributive	2,698	4.2	26.7	33.6	26.5	0.2	2.0	5.0	1.2
Mercantile marine ...	2,897	4.0	3.7	95.9	0.4	—	—	—	—
Other	3,370	6.5	4.4	9.2	41.7	3.6	11.7	25.6	3.8
All above industries	104,649	5.6	1.9	6.7	48.4	10.9	7.6	24.2	0.3

*According as the apprentice commenced at 16, 15 or 14 years of age.

The average length of apprenticeship for all industries is 5.6 years; it ranges from 6.5 years in the printing industry to 4.2 years in the distributive trades and to 4.0 years in the mercantile marine. There are variations in the periods served in the various districts of the country, which correspond closely with the variations found in the usual age of commencement in each district. Thus in Scotland and the Northern Counties of England, in which the predominant age at entry is 16 years, the great majority (about 80 per cent. in one case and 68 per cent. in the other) of apprentices serve for five years and relatively few for six or seven years (see Appendix, Table IX). So also periods of seven years are served more commonly than any other period by apprentices in Lancashire and Yorkshire, in which the most usual age at entry is 14 years.

Length of apprenticeship varies also by occupation. Within the limits of this volume a reference to some only of the occupations in the principal industries can be made, but full particulars of the occupational variations may be obtained from the sectional reports. Thus in *engineering*, five years is the predominating period in all apprenticeship occupations. In *shipbuilding*, too, five years is almost uniformly worked in all occupations, but in some establishments shipwrights, plumbers, painters, fitters and boat builders serve for six or seven years; a large proportion of drillers serve for three or four years and some holders-up for three years. In *printing*, a seven years' apprenticeship is predominant among most of the principal classes of workers, e.g., compositors, machine minders, lithographers, stereotypers, bookbinders and machine rulers and copper-plate engravers, but process and photogravure workers, warehousemen, manufacturing stationers and monotype casters usually serve for five years. Music and copper-plate engravers frequently serve for six years and almost as many journalists serve for four years or less as for five years. In *building*, the period of apprenticeship is predominantly five years among bricklayers, masons, carpenters and joiners, slaters and tilers, plasterers and electricians, but woodcutting machinists, cabinet makers and heating and domestic engineers serve more frequently for seven years, and painters and decorators and plumbers for six years than for any other period.

The importance of 21 years of age in relation to the termination of apprenticeship may be illustrated by an alternative presentation of the proportions of apprentices commencing at the specified ages who serve for the various periods. Thus 89 per cent. of the boys serving for seven years are returned as beginning at the age of 14 years (excluding those returned as commencing at 14 or 15 or 14 to 16 years); 52 per cent. of the boys serving for six years began at 15 years and 63 per cent. of those serving for five years at 16 years.

Similarly, of the boys returned as commencing at the definite age of 14 years, 76.7 per cent. are serving for seven years; of those commencing at 14-16 years, 62.5 per cent. are serving from five to seven years, according to age of commencement, so that they terminate their apprenticeship at 21 years; of those commencing at 16 years, 89.7 per cent. are serving for five years. The relationship existing between age at entry and the period of training required is set out in full in Table IX in the Appendix, in which the proportions of boys serving for the specified periods are set out according to their age of entry into training. The alternative ages at entry and periods served by some apprentices preclude the definite ascertainment of the numbers actually terminating at each age, but it is estimated that the apprenticeship period extends beyond the age of 21 years in the case of only 6 per cent. of boy apprentices, that about 72 per cent. of apprentices complete their apprenticeship on the attainment of or in the year following their twenty-first birthday and about 22 per cent. prior to their twenty-first birthday. Of the latter, nearly two-thirds complete their apprenticeship at 20 years of age, and the remainder at 19 years or under.

It is also estimated that, including those boys in respect of whom alternative ages at entry are given, the average length of apprenticeship is 6.5 years for boys entering at 14, 5.4 years for boys entering at 15 and 4.9 years for boys entering at 16 years.

The length of apprenticeship is frequently stated to depend on the time required for the apprentice to learn his craft. That it has been largely influenced by its traditional character cannot be doubted, for the original practice of engaging boys as apprentices at 14 years for a period of seven years was so well established as to leave an indelible impression on the subsequent development of the system. But so far as the modern type of apprenticeship is concerned there appears from the evidence collected to be little support for the view that the period of apprenticeship has any direct relationship to the time actually required for learning, for on the one hand the diversity of period required for apprentices in the same occupation and on the other the similarity in the periods required for different occupations demanding widely varying degrees of manual skill point to the determination of the length of apprenticeship on an arbitrary principle rather than on one of design.

Length of apprenticeship appears to be determined mainly by the factors influencing the age at entry, in conjunction with the legal character of the relationship which makes its termination at the age of 21 years desirable, since on the attainment of that age it is open to the apprentice to repudiate the contract. Thus a fixed age on conclusion, together with a variable age at entry on apprenticeship, account for the extraordinary diversity of periods of training.

If this hypothesis is correct, a curtailment of the length of apprenticeship corresponding with the later age of entry is to be

expected. A comparison between the periods served in 1909 and 1925 in 16 of the principal apprenticeship industries shows that such an abbreviation of the period of training has in fact occurred (see Appendix, Table X).

Of the apprentices in the industries included in the comparison, 38.9 per cent. served for five years in 1909 as compared with 50.1 per cent. in 1925, 13.4 per cent. for six years as compared with 7.9 per cent. and 30.6 per cent. for seven years as compared with 26.1 per cent. There has thus been a certain turnover from apprenticeship for six and seven years to apprenticeship for five years. This turnover does not appear to have operated uniformly in one direction in the various industries, but it is peculiarly noticeable in shipbuilding where the percentage serving for seven years decreased from 28.2 in 1909 to 1.8 in 1925, in building where it decreased from 26.9 to 19.2 and in printing where the decrease was from 84.4 to 70.4. There has been comparatively little movement in pottery, engineering and sawmilling in which the proportions serving for the various periods show on the whole a remarkable uniformity as between the two dates.

It is of interest to compare the proportion of apprentices affected by this curtailment of the length of apprenticeship with the proportion whose age at entry has undergone a corresponding change. Thus the proportion of apprentices commencing at 14 or 15 years diminished from about 70 to 55 per cent. between 1909 and 1925; in the same period the proportion of apprentices serving for six or seven years decreased from 44 to 34 per cent. Similarly an increase of 17 per cent. in the number commencing at 16 years between the two dates is offset by an increase of 12 per cent. in the number serving for five years.

These facts point to the conclusion that the curtailment of the length of apprenticeship has been effected less by any directed movement towards a reduction of the length of training following on the increased specialisation or subdivision of work which has taken place, than by a general raising of the age at entry in conjunction with a fixed age at termination.

Concurrently with the introduction of a generally higher age of entry into apprenticeship, there are of course other factors which might be expected to effect alterations in the duration of apprenticeship. There has been, for example, a general raising of the standard of education among boys leaving school; considerable modifications have been introduced in the methods of work and of training in the workshop, and greatly increased facilities for technical instruction whether at day or evening classes have been provided. These may to some extent explain some of the great variations which the enquiry discloses in the periods required to be served by apprentices.

§20. Improvership on completion of apprenticeship.

Industrial training does not necessarily cease immediately on completion of apprenticeship, for the practice of requiring apprentices to serve a further term of improvership before qualifying for the full journeyman's rate is widely adopted. Thus, it is estimated that of the 315,000 boy apprentices in Great Britain, about 180,000 (57 per cent.) will be required to serve an additional period of improvership.

The prevalence of the practice varies considerably by industry. In the metal industries (other than shipbuilding and the precious metal industries), the great majority of apprentices are expected to serve such a term; thus the practice affects about 92 per cent. of all apprentices and learners in the iron and steel industry, 90 per cent. in the engineering and 62 per cent. in allied engineering industries; in shipbuilding the proportion drops to about 16 per cent. (see Appendix, Table XI). Other industries in which substantial numbers of apprentices and learners serve a further period of training include the electrical contracting (79 per cent.), paper and paper goods (71 per cent.) and brick and tile (63 per cent.) industries.

In the building, furniture and sawmilling industries, about one-third, and in the printing and glass industries about one-tenth of apprentices and learners serve as improvers on completion of apprenticeship, but there is no improvership in the mercantile marine and in the pottery industry and relatively little in the boot and shoe (3 per cent.), leather and leather goods (5 per cent.), and clothing (6 per cent.) industries.

Where periods of improvership are served, they range from three to sixty months, but twelve months is the period most commonly required in all industries with the exception of the shipbuilding, boot and shoe, and distributive industries, in which the usual periods are respectively six, twenty-four and thirty-six months.

§21. Selection and recruitment of apprentices.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the methods of selection and recruitment of apprentices actually in use, reference must be made to certain considerations of a general character, which influence and, in some cases, determine choice of employment. The initiative in finding work usually rests with the boy or his parents, and choice of employment is influenced by considerations other than actual fitness for the work. Thus the boy in search of employment will incline to follow the occupation of his father or his companions, or will prefer work which offers high wages or other immediate advantages, or will have his choice determined by the proximity of a large industry, which so frequently in this country dominates an entire district.

The replies to the question on selection and recruitment in the returns show that in none of the industries concerned is there any one method which is favoured by employers as a means of ensuring that boys shall be chosen who are specially adapted to the requirements of their prospective occupations. The returns, however, give evidence that many employers are giving increasing attention to this important matter. The advantages of a careful, rather than a fortuitous, choice of recruits are obvious. The number of failures emerging where proper care in the choice of recruits is not exercised is probably considerable and as every unsatisfactory recruit involves the employer in a substantial loss, in respect of the time given by foremen and journeymen to his tuition, of poor work and spoiled material and of overhead charges, the total losses due to inadequate care in selection are probably very large.

The traditional methods of selection may be distinguished from those which have a more or less scientific background. The former are of two types, viz :—

(a) Selection by the employer

- (i) Preference being given to sons of employees.
- (ii) On personal interview.
- (iii) On references or recommendation.
- (iv) After preliminary period of probation.

(b) Delegation of choice to foremen.

While these methods possess certain advantages, they are nevertheless imperfect in so far as they are based on considerations of character and physique rather than on industrial fitness, provide no body of experience on the basis of which the errors of the past may be avoided, and give rise to certain inequalities or abuses. Thus they may tend to discriminate against the children of unskilled workers, since the influence of a parent in a skilled occupation in placing his boy in an apprenticeship occupation is greater than that of the parent who is unskilled; so also they may frequently introduce into the selection of apprentices considerations of personal influence rather than of fitness or merit. That the defects of such methods are being recognised is clear. Thus, for example, a Committee appointed by the Council of the North East Coast Institution on the education of apprentices in its report (June, 1917) reached the following conclusion :—

“ To secure this preferential appointment (i.e., apprenticeship) the whole system of the selection of apprentices must be radically changed. It is obviously necessary that nepotism in this connection, undoubtedly existent, should be eradicated. The selection of apprentices should be made by a competent member of the works and the administrative staff acting in close consultation with the Headmasters of the Junior Day Technical Schools.”

Many firms who adopt these methods of selection engage boys in the hope that they will be able to determine their industrial fitness during a preliminary *period of probation*, but this rather obvious and necessary safeguard is by no means universally applied. Thus, of the apprentices and learners employed in engineering 36.6 per cent., in shipbuilding 17 per cent., in building 47 per cent., and in printing 60 per cent. are required to serve a period of probation, and among all apprentices and learners the proportion does not exceed 36 per cent. The probationary periods included in the returns range from one month to two years, but periods of one to six months are the most usual. It is customary to include the period of probation in the ultimate term of apprenticeship; some doubt may, however, be expressed as to the adequacy of some of the shorter periods in enabling a satisfactory judgment to be formed of a boy's fitness for a particular occupation.

For some occupations, *physique* is the natural and sole test applied by many employers. While most employers regard physical fitness as a prerequisite for apprenticeship occupations, the demand for "strong" or "well-grown" boys is, not unreasonably, insistent in those occupations of the more arduous type which involve exposure to weather, heavy work or an element of risk, as, e.g., work at a height. One large shipbuilding firm, for example, in its rules only requires that "boys should be physically strong and not mentally deficient." In order to ensure that suitable boys of the required physique are obtained, an increasing number of employers are requiring applicants to pass a medical examination.

There may be distinguished from the above traditional or empirical forms of selection those which are based on vocational selection according to industrial fitness or on the application of some recognised standard, e.g. :—

- (a) Selection based on educational qualifications.
- (b) Selection by written examination or other test.
- (c) Selection through Juvenile Employment or Juvenile Advisory Committees.
- (d) Selection from among those engaged on unskilled work.
- (e) Selection as part of a scheme of welfare supervision.
- (f) Selection according to the principles of industrial psychology.

These methods, it is important to observe, are not necessarily mutually exclusive; they are in fact frequently adopted in combination.

(a) *Selection based on educational qualifications.*—The majority of apprentices are recruited from boys who have passed through the elementary schools, but there is ample evidence in the returns of a preference entertained by many employers, particularly in the

engineering and shipbuilding industries, for boys from the secondary schools. In many firms in these industries, it is the recognised practice to recruit *trade* apprentices from elementary schools, *engineering* apprentices from secondary and technical schools, and *student* apprentices from technical colleges and universities. The distinction drawn between these three classes may be illustrated by quotations from a few returns :

“ Boys are selected from three classes which may be broadly indicated as follows :—

(1) Boys, chiefly 15-16, who wish to become mechanics (turner or fitter, etc.) who have left school some time back and had temporary employment, prior to going to a trade—these are usually not students at any continuation school.

(2) Youths of 16-17 from day technical college classes (three years' course), and boys from secondary schools.

(3) Youths 17-18 from day technical college classes (six to seven years' course).

The first of these classes usually trains for one occupation only and that is manual. From the other two, we recruit for special departments, such as drawing office, progress, inspection, tool room, jig, etc., and give training in shop routine and management, with working turns in various departments, including foundry. These have the opportunity to train as departmental foremen and managers, and in suitable cases, for commercial office or as salesmen or travelling experts.”
(Engineering, Yorkshire.)

A typical example of the recruitment of classes of apprentices according to educational qualifications is contained in the scheme of apprenticeship adopted in a large engineering establishment. (Bedfordshire.)

“ Class 1.—‘ Engineering Students ’—will be drafted from boys who have had a sound secondary or technical education. The required standard is high and this class of apprentice will go the whole round of the Shops, including the Drawing Office. The training given has in view the fact that from this class will proceed the future responsible heads of departments, works managers, designers, etc.

Class 2.—‘ Trade Apprentices ’—is drafted from boys who possess a sound elementary education. They will be taught one of the trades specified hereafter, considering these in the broad sense. The best apprentices of this class will be drafted into the Tool Room, a department of the greatest importance, demanding the very highest class of mechanic. From time to time, promotion will be made as a result of examination, of boys of this class to the student class. .

Class 3.—' Operator Apprentices '—is intended to allow for the utilisation in Engineering Works of boys who in the ordinary way would fall into blind-alley occupations.

The purpose of this class of apprenticeship is to enable suitable boys to be trained as efficient machine operators and in other specialised classes of work not regarded as complete trades."

A large shipbuilding firm on the Tyne also recruits boys of three types :—

" (1) Boys of elementary school type suitable for trades such as riveters, caulkers, drillers, blacksmiths, etc.

(2) Selected boys with ability above the average suitable for platers, shipwrights, cabinet makers, patternmakers, joiners, plumbers, machinists, painters, polishers, etc.

(3) Vacancies in highly skilled trades such as engineers, electricians, etc., are usually filled by students from the technical school."

The principle of differentiation according to educational qualification is followed by those firms in whose establishments systematic and enlightened schemes of apprenticeship are in operation and real craft training is afforded, but that it does not receive universal acceptance in firms in which extreme specialisation and subdivision of process occur may be illustrated by the view expressed by a firm of engineers. (Leicestershire) :—

" We obtain boys direct from the elementary school as near 14 years as possible. In these days of repetition engineering, we have not, broadly speaking, experienced any great benefit by taking boys at a later age, say 16, from a secondary school."

While the number of employers who thus select several types of apprentices according to educational attainments is on the whole relatively few, there is a considerable number who adopt the principle in a less systematic way. Thus many employers, when engaging apprentices, take into consultation headmasters of local elementary, secondary, or technical schools, or require a minimum educational standard to have been attained, e.g., the passing of the Standard VI examination, or require candidates to produce a satisfactory school report; and after apprenticeship has commenced, some employers determine the promotion of apprentices partly at least by the progress made in evening school or other continuation classes.

(b) *Selection by written examination.*—This method of selection is the rule in the majority of the public services in which apprenticeship is found.

Candidates entering the Royal Navy or H.M. Dockyards by open competition are selected upon the results of examinations in

arithmetic, English, history and geography, elementary science and drawing; in the Royal Ordnance Factories *trade apprentices* are selected after passing a qualifying examination of the Standard VII type, and *engineering apprentices* are required to pass an examination of a higher standard; apprentices in the Royal Air Force must pass an entry examination in composition, English, and general studies, elementary mathematics and elementary science.

The method is adopted by relatively few private employers, but isolated instances occur, e.g. in the printing, engineering and shipbuilding industries, in which some sort of educational test is applied. For example, a large London printing firm recruits apprentices:—

“ Usually from sons of employees, private recommendations, or from Juvenile labour exchanges; elementary school children chosen who have passed the seventh standard. A simple test given in arithmetic, spelling and memory. They have also to pass our own doctor for physical fitness.”

A Clyde shipbuilding firm reports:—

“ Entry to works as apprentice is through a competitive examination, duly advertised at main gate of works.”

So also some large engineering firms require an entrance examination to be passed, e.g.:—

“ Satisfactory references regarding character must be furnished, and an examination in respect of general education passed before the applicant is accepted.” (Engineering, Midlands.)

“ A register is kept of boys applying for apprenticeship or other employment in the works. As vacancies occur, each lad has to pass an entrance examination. Although not a severe one, it does enable us to form some opinion of the boy's early training and general mentality.” (Engineering, Lancs.)

The general opinion of those with experience of this method of selection is that it has been attended with eminently satisfactory results. The value of such tests is recognised by many employers in so far as the *promotion* of apprentices is frequently determined partly on the results of examinations in continuation classes and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the extension of the method to the initial selection of apprentices would be attended with equally satisfactory results.

(c) *Selection through Juvenile Employment and Juvenile Advisory Committees.*—Under this heading, it is necessary to refer briefly to the public arrangements made for advising boys and girls and placing them in employment.

Advisory committees on juvenile employment, commonly known as Juvenile Advisory Committees, were appointed in some areas

under the Labour Exchange Act, 1909, to advise on the management of the exchanges in relation to juvenile applicants for employment and to give information and advice to boys and girls and their parents regarding choice of employment.

In other areas, Local Education Authorities made similar arrangements under the Choice of Employment Act, 1910, the provisions of which were embodied in Section 107 of the Education Act, 1921. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, contained provisions similar to those of the Choice of Employment Act, 1910, but only one authority (Edinburgh) took advantage of these provisions. Section 6 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923, provided that an Education Authority should not after 31st March, 1924, exercise "Choice of Employment" powers under Section 107 of the Education Act, 1921, unless they also administered unemployment insurance in respect of juveniles on behalf of the Minister of Labour.

The existing arrangements thus provide for the work relating to choice of employment being undertaken in some districts by Juvenile Advisory Committees, assisting local officers of the Ministry of Labour, and in others by Juvenile Employment Committees of Local Education Authorities. The extent to which the work is so shared may be indicated as follows:—There are in England and Wales 362 Exchange Areas, in 151 of which the Local Education Authority is responsible, and in 211, the Ministry of Labour. The number of insured juveniles in areas administered by the former was, in 1927, 387,150 as compared with 481,910 in areas in England and Wales directly administered by the Ministry of Labour. The whole of Scotland is under the administration of the Ministry of Labour, except that in Edinburgh the Ministry of Labour and the Education Authority share in a joint scheme for advising boys and girls.

The main functions of these Committees have been summarised in the Report of the Committee on Education and Industry (England and Wales)* as follows:—

(i) Advice and information furnished to boys and girls while still at school. This may take the form of school conferences or of individual interviews conducted by members and officers of the Committee, and is designed primarily to help school pupils and their parents to a sound appreciation of the character and prospects of various types of employment.

(ii) Collection of particulars from Head teachers as to employment obtained by pupils before leaving school and as to boys and girls who desire the Committee's assistance in obtaining employment, together with reports as to the character, ability and physical capacity of the juveniles concerned.

(iii) The interviewing of applicants who have been registered for employment.

(iv) The securing and maintenance of relations with employers and the registration of the vacancies notified by them.

(v) The selection and submission of juveniles for such vacancies.

(vi) Such assistance as may be practicable for keeping in touch with young persons generally and in particular with those who have been placed by the Committee, so that their careers will be known and the suitability of their employment may be tested."

Juvenile Employment and Juvenile Advisory Committees usually include, in addition to representatives of the local education authority, representatives of employers and workpeople in the more important industries in the locality in which juveniles are employed, teachers and others interested in or with expert knowledge of the problems of juvenile employment. They therefore combine knowledge of the child's school history with an expert acquaintance with the conditions and requirements of local industry. While in the aggregate the employers who recruit their apprentices and other juvenile workers through these agencies are numerous, the proportion who do so is as yet relatively small; and of young workers of all occupations and classes it has been estimated that probably less than 20 per cent. are placed in employment through these public agencies.

(d) *Selection from among those engaged on unskilled work.*—The method of selecting apprentices from those engaged on unskilled work does not, generally speaking, obtain wide acceptance. Some printing firms promote to apprenticeship boys taken on as layers-on and machine-feeders, some engineering firms promote messenger and odd-job boys, some shipbuilding firms recruit riveters from boys employed as rivet catchers, and heaters and platers from markers, or, as a Clyde shipbuilding firm expressed it, "from template boys, rivet heaters, catch boys, hammer boys, and boys in various shops," but whatever the reason may be, whether it be due to a reluctance on the part of the boy to accept temporarily lower wages on entry into apprenticeship after experience of relatively high wages on unskilled work or on the part of the employer to remove the boy from work at which he has become adept, the fact remains that promotion of boys from unskilled work to apprenticeship is comparatively unusual.

(e) *Selection as part of a scheme of welfare supervision.*—In some firms apprentices are selected by special apprentice supervisors or welfare officers. Such officers follow the progress of apprentices throughout the whole of their industrial training, superintend their technical education and report on their attainments

and capabilities both in the factory and in the technical school. Experienced officers of this type acquire a wide experience in the selection of boys according to their industrial fitness.

(f) *Selection according to the principles of industrial psychology.*—Applicants may be tested in accordance with the principles of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology either by the Institute's own experts or by an apprentice supervisor trained by the Institute. The Institute has been for some time and still is engaged in the examination of the problems of vocational fitness from the point of view of vocational guidance and vocational selection. The former entails the examination of the intelligence and aptitude of those about to enter upon occupations with a view to discovering the most suitable occupation for a given individual with given abilities; for this purpose, the Institute has devised a large number of psychological tests. Similarly, selection tests have been elaborated with the object of choosing the best workers for a given job, of recruiting workers to occupations for which their natural aptitudes fit them, and of ensuring the increased productivity which follows from such a basis of selection.

The researches of the Institute on these aspects of the problem form an interesting experiment, the results of which may have important consequences on the methods now in use for selecting suitable entrants into the skilled manual occupations.

§22. Training.

No less important than the proper selection of apprentices is the provision of an adequate industrial training. The methods adopted in attaining this object are as varied as those which obtain in the choice of apprentices. This is due both to the different methods of work which obtain in individual establishments and to the changing character of the work demanded of many classes of skilled operatives. The simplification undoubtedly introduced in some processes by the supersession of hand by machine methods has been, to some extent at least, offset by the introduction of new difficulties occasioned by the need for acquiring proficiency in the use of a much greater variety of tools and materials and by the enormous increase in the types of articles now made.

These conditions have given a new orientation to the problem of determining the most appropriate method of industrial training; they often demand, for example, a deeper knowledge of the scientific principles underlying various constructive processes and of the uses to which finished products are to be applied.

Hence there has been an appreciable trend in the direction of combining workshop training in the factory with technical training in a technical school. The latter type of training may consist of either full-time training in a pre-apprenticeship Junior Day Technical School or part-time education in day continuation classes or

at evening classes. Exceptionally, some employers train their apprentices on the "sandwich" system, i.e., by alternate periods in the factory and in the technical schools. Examples of this are found in various industries. Thus, one large engineering firm alternates a period of five months in the workshop with one of five months in the technical school; some shipbuilding firms permit certain apprentices to attend University or Technical College day classes during the winter months, the period of attendance at such classes being included in the term of apprenticeship providing satisfactory certificates of progress and attendance for each session are obtained; so also a large electrical supply undertaking sends its drawing office apprentices to the technical school for one week in three.

The dual character of apprenticeship training is thus receiving ever widening recognition, and from the returns received there is ample evidence that the great majority of employers in all industries fully realise the importance and value of technical education in any scheme of industrial training for apprentices.

(A) Training in the Workshop.

The following types of workshop training applicable to *apprentices* may be distinguished :—

- (i) Training by attaching the apprentice to a journeyman.
- (ii) Training under the supervision of foreman, manager, or employer.
- (iii) Training in the capacity of mate.
- (iv) Training a group of boys under a teacher.
- (v) Training in an apprentices' shop.
- (vi) Systematised schemes of training.

These are not mutually exclusive types, but each emphasises some aspect of training. Type (iii), for example, is only a special case of type (i), and under systematised schemes of training any of the other types may be included.

The first three types may be regarded as the traditional methods of training; the others are of relatively modern origin and practice.

(i) *Training by attaching the apprentice to a journeyman.*—By far the commonest method of training apprentices is by attaching the apprentice to a journeyman to work alongside him and be supervised by him. Thus of the employers with apprentices, the proportion who definitely state that they adopt this method is, for example, 68 per cent. in engineering, 80 per cent. in shipbuilding and in building, and 46 per cent. in printing. Even under this system, the foreman doubtless gives a friendly eye to the apprentice and so there is an approximation to type (ii).

For the first few months of their apprenticeship, boys are frequently called upon to act as messengers. Thereafter they are put to progressively more difficult work under the supervision of the journeymen until they are able, in the last year of their apprenticeship, almost to stand alone.

The training of apprentices in engineering workshops has been described as follows:—

“ The method of training apprentices varies according to occupation but in all occupations definite instructions are given to the foremen that special attention is to be paid to the apprentices.

Taking the apprentices generally, during the whole of the period of apprenticeship they are employed on work directly connected with the trade which they are learning.

In the case of apprentices to turning, they are handed over to a skilled turner whose special duty is to look after the welfare of the turner apprentice in his department. They start at once on simple operations on the lathe, being transferred from lathe to lathe on work slightly more skilled as their training develops.

In the case of apprentice fitters, they are attached to a journeyman during practically the whole of their apprenticeship, but again, either a leading hand in the department or a junior foreman is given special charge of the apprentices and it is his duty to see that they are carefully trained. A number of apprentice fitters also do outside erection work but invariably under the charge of a journeyman erector. As far as possible firms avoid putting apprentices on repetition work so that they spend the whole training time in learning.”

The training of a carpenter and joiner by a firm of building contractors is thus described:—

“ For the first three months, the apprentice is engaged in squaring up pieces of wood, in ‘ trueing ’ and in planing.

“ During the next two years, i.e., up to the end of his second year, he learns to make joints, and to joint articles together, to cut mitres and to make small articles, such as ledge doors and door frames. In his third year, he learns to cut rafters, to fix skirtings, to lay floors and generally to do inside fixing work on a contract job. In his last year of apprenticeship, he returns to the bench and learns to make door panels, sash frames and to do staircase work, which is considered to be an advanced stage of joinery.

“ During his improvership period, he works more or less as a journeyman, but until he has served five years he is supervised all the time by a journeyman or by the foreman.”

Opportunities for learning vary according to whether the shop is large or small. In a small shop, many operations are performed by hand which, in a large one, are performed by machine. Further, owing to the greater specialisation in large establishments they often afford a less general training than those in which work is less subdivided. Thus in the small shop an apprentice may be taught both fitting and turning, whereas in a large one he may be confined solely to one of these occupations.

Against these disadvantages a large shop can, and often does, arrange definitely for an all-round experience for its apprentices and learners as, for instance, in furniture making where the apprentice may be definitely taught two trades—cabinet making and french polishing. So also in the printing industry, the large shop may arrange for its compositor apprentices to have experience on lino-type operating, and in engineering, moulders may be given experience of patternmaking.

Many large firms have systematised schemes of training in operation which aim at comprehensive instruction in two or more occupations (see type (vi)). An example of this appears among the larger undertakings in the electricity supply industry, in which apprentices are rotated through the different branches of the business. Thus some apprentices pass one week on the generating side, one week on the distribution side, and one week under the maintenance engineer, and so on; others spend $1\frac{1}{2}$ years on the generating side, $1\frac{1}{2}$ years on the distribution side, and 1 year in the sales section.

(ii) *Training under the foreman, manager or employer.*—Next to attachment to a journeyman, the commonest type of training consists in placing the apprentice directly under the foreman or manager, or, in the case of small establishments, under the employer himself. Probably in a proportion of cases reported under this heading, the apprentice is still attached to a journeyman for actual work; and it would be a mistake to draw a hard and fast line between methods (i) and (ii). The foreman watches the apprentice's progress, sometimes making periodical reports to the employer and sometimes, at his discretion, changing the apprentice from one journeyman to another in such a way as to broaden his training.

(iii) *Training in the capacity of mate.*—This method is in operation among such classes of workers as plumbers and electricians where working experience has to be obtained largely not in the workshop but on customers' premises. It is characteristic of it that the apprentice helps in a subordinate, even in an unskilled, capacity to begin with, and gradually picks up from his journeyman the rudiments of the trade. Then he gradually acquires the use of the tools of the trade and so in time becomes the finished craftsman. Particularly in electrical contracting, the apprentice may be changed from one journeyman to another, and with a firm

undertaking all kinds of work he may, in this way, become skilled in a great variety of operations, such as, for example :—wiring installations of all kinds for lighting and power; telephone and electric bell installations; erection and upkeep of electrical motors, accumulators, generators, etc.; erection and connection of switchboards, etc.; construction and repair of industrial and domestic electrical appliances; and work in connection with supply mains.

So far as these traditional methods are concerned it would be idle to assert that they have failed in their primary purpose of providing workmen with the required standard of skill, but in so far as they may tend under modern conditions to specialisation in one particular occupation and do not generally provide for any ordered progression of the apprentices from stage to stage they are to be contrasted with the definite schemes of training in operation in some establishments, of which examples are given below. Schemes of this nature are usually designed to ensure that the apprentices receive graduated instruction in the processes peculiar to their own occupation and they frequently also provide apprentices with a working knowledge of other closely allied occupations and processes.

(iv) *Training a group of boys under a teacher.*—This method consists in placing a group of boys under a specially selected journeyman who is solely responsible for their supervision and instruction. It is found in some firms, mainly in the engineering, shipbuilding, building and pottery industries, and may be illustrated from the returns made by some of these firms :—

“ For the first two or three years our apprentices all work under the supervision of a skilled man who devotes all his time to training them. As the boys gain experience, they are drafted into the main shop and work alongside the other skilled men.” (Engineering, Northants.)

“ Special experienced men are set aside to teach learners.” (Brassfounding, Yorkshire.)

“ In certain departments (e.g., machine shop) apprentices are grouped into a special training section for the first year of apprenticeship.” (Engineering, Bedfordshire.)

The advantages of this method in providing an intensive course of instruction are obvious. It is possible to frame and work to definite courses of instruction instead of the more or less haphazard character of the instruction given in the ordinary workshop, and it enables the employer to put in charge of the boys some person who has special aptitude as a teacher. On the other hand, there is a danger, with these special classes, of not working under typical

workshop conditions and of creating a special technique of the instructional class instead of the normal technique of the trade.

(v) *Training in an apprentices' shop.*—This method goes further than the last one in that a special shop or part of the works is set aside for instructional purposes. It partakes of the advantages and disadvantages of the previous method intensified in degree, that is to say, the facilities of special courses of instruction are increased and, on the other hand, so is the danger of establishing different technique from that of the industry as a whole. It has, however, other advantages as well; it enables instruction in theory to be related in the closest possible way with practice, and since all the apprentices work under unified control and supervision, enables a comparison of the aptitudes of different boys for work of a particular character to be the more readily made. It is generally considered that this method gives the best results when the apprentices are engaged on productive work and when the conditions of work approximate as closely as possible to those in the workshops, as only thus can the necessary interest and proper sense of factory procedure and discipline be created in the minds of the apprentices.

The method may be exemplified by the provision made by a gas undertaking for training a large number of apprentices. The company has elected a workshop fitted with all necessary plant and apparatus for the purpose of giving thorough practical and theoretical instruction; the scheme also provides that in the first year the apprentices shall attend a technical institute on four afternoons per week. After 12 months in the workshop, the apprentices go out with the journeymen. They, however, continue to attend the technical classes on three half-days per week. In the following year, another six months are spent in the workshop for further practical experience and training.

Additional examples of the "apprentices' shop" are given in the following section.

(vi) *Systematised schemes of instruction.*—Schemes of instruction devised with a view to securing the thorough and progressive instruction of apprentices are in operation in the establishments of many of the larger firms, and there are also many excellent examples of such schemes in the industrial establishments conducted by Government Departments, where the conditions for the adoption of such schemes are of course peculiarly favourable. They may embody any or all of the following characteristic features: rotation of boys through different jobs so as to give an all-round training; encouragement of part-time continuation classes; allocation of marks for progress often with corresponding changes in wage rates; periodical reports on progress. Some selected schemes of training are described in detail below:—

(1) *H.M. Dockyards*.—The 1,500 apprentices in the Royal Dockyards are apprenticed for a period of five years. The training consists partly of practical instruction in the chosen trade, and partly of a course of education in the dockyard schools. A selected workman is assigned to act in the capacity of instructor (while continuing to perform productive work) to each apprentice for the first four years. According to their place in the entrance examination, apprentices are allowed to choose their trade and are sent to the upper or lower school, although boys who do exceptionally well in the lower school may subsequently be sent to the upper school. Upper school apprentices receive 12 hours' instruction each week (six inside and six outside working hours), and lower school apprentices seven (three inside and four outside working hours). The curriculum of the upper school is set out in the following table :—

First Year.

For apprentices of all trades :—
 English.
 Practical Mathematics.
 Elementary Science.
 Mechanics.

Second Year.

For apprentices of all trades :—
 English.
 Practical Mathematics.
 Mechanics.
 Heat and Metallurgy.
 Mechanical Drawing.

Third Year.

For apprentices of all trades :—
 Practical Mathematics.
 Applied Mechanics.
 Electricity.
 Mechanical Drawing.

Fourth Year.

For apprentices of all trades :—
 Practical Mathematics.
 Applied Mechanics.
 Electricity.
 Mechanical Drawing.
 Heat and Metallurgy.

Professional Subjects :—

For engine fitter apprentices and those of kindred trades and electrical fitters :
 Steam and Heat Engines.
 For engine fitter apprentices and those of kindred trades :
 General Engineering.
 For shipwright apprentices and those of kindred trades :
 Naval Architecture.

Professional Subjects :—

For engine fitter apprentices and those of kindred trades :
 Steam and Heat Engines.
 General Engineering.
 For electrical fitter apprentices only :
 Electrical Engineering.
 For shipwright apprentices and those of kindred trades :
 Naval Architecture.

The curriculum of the lower school is on much the same lines as that of the upper school, though the work is more elementary.

All the apprentices attend school for the first year. At the end of the year, those who have done creditably attend school for a second year, while the remainder go back to their tools. At the end of the second and third years, there is a similar selection and only the most promising lads remain for a fourth year. Fourth year apprentices who have made satisfactory progress in their trade and in school receive special instruction in drawing, and apprentices who show special aptitude in drawing are employed in the drawing office for six months.

(2) *The Royal Air Force Camp at Halton Park.*—The 2,000 apprentices in the Royal Air Force Camp at Halton Park undergo a three-years' course of training divided into two sections— theoretical education in school, and practical training in the workshops. For the former, a staff of 40 civilian instructors is maintained, all highly qualified men with University or equivalent degrees. The boys are taught history and geography and general literature. The technical subjects include engineering, drawing, statics, dynamics, theory of internal combustion engines and magnetos, aeronautics, metallurgy and electricity, and cover in general the various aspects of engineering which come into the designs for aeroplanes and their accessories. Each boy spends eight hours a week in school, and 16 hours in the workshops. Owing to the high standard of knowledge required at the entrance examinations, it is possible for the boys to specialise almost immediately they arrive at Halton. The classes they attend and the practical work they are taught are therefore both directed to making them efficient in one trade, the trades taught being woodwork, fitting, copper-smithing, electrical and wireless and instrument making. For the first year, they are taught the general work of their trade and during the remaining two years, while still continuing to receive general instruction, they learn, at the same time, the special application of the trade to aeroplanes.

(3) *A prominent firm of electrical engineers** has special courses of instruction for three different classes of apprentices, namely, trade, engineering and student apprentices.

(a) *Trade apprentices.*—The course for apprentices of this class aims at training a boy to be a skilled artisan with the possibility of becoming a foreman or an inspector if he shows the necessary ability. Generally speaking, he will have had little beyond an elementary school or central school education. It is emphasised that during each course an opportunity is given to the apprentice of seeing at first-hand how his work is related with that of an allied trade. For example, a moulder must serve for a few months in the pattern shop and a pattern maker for a few months in the

* The English Electric Company, Ltd.

foundry. The courses for the various trades are definitely laid down as follows :—

*Course 1.**Fitter and Erector.*

<i>Department.</i>	<i>Months.</i>
Machine shop	12
Inspection (gauging)	6
Assisting marking off	6
Fitting	6
Erection	12
Fitting	18
	—
	60
	—

*Course 2.**Turner.*

Machine shop	12
Inspection	6
Turning	6
Erection	6
Turning	30
	—
	60
	—

Selected Apprentices may receive a course in Testing or Machine Drawing in substitution for a portion of the above course.

*Course 3.**Tool Maker.*

Machine shop	18
Fitting	15
Turning	12
Inspection	3
Tool design	6
Heat treatment	6
	—
	60
	—

*Course 4.**Millwright.*

Assisting millwright	9
Machine shop	12
Blacksmith's shop	3
General maintenance	36
	—
	60
	—

*Course 5.**Electrical Winder.*

<i>Department.</i>	<i>Months.</i>
Insulating	6
Small coil winding	12
Small cores	6
Commutators	6
Large cores and general fitting	6
Large winding and winding shop test	24
	—
	60
	—

*Course 6.**Moulder and Core Maker.*

Foundry	24
Pattern shop	6
Works chemist	3
Foundry	27
	—
	60
	—

*Course 7.**Pattern Maker.*

Pattern shop	24
Foundry	6
Pattern shop	30
	—
	60
	—

Selected Apprentices may receive a course in Machine Drawing in substitution for a portion of the above course.

*Course 8.**Sheet Metal Worker.*

Small drill and shears	6
Hammering and soldering small work	6
Assisting on larger jobs and welding	24
Marking out and planning	12
Working on own account	12
	—
	60
	—

Course 9.

Wood Machinist.

Department.	Months.
Office work and lists ...	6
Assisting marking out ...	6
Easy machining ...	18
Sawing, planing, tenoning, and tool grinding	18
Turning and spindlework	12
	—
	60
	—

Course 10.

Electrical Switch Fitter.

Capstan lathe and small machining ...	18
Regulators, starters, etc.	6
Circuit breaker assembly	6
Oil switch and knife switch assembly ...	6
Switchboard assembly of all sorts ...	24
	—
	60
	—

Course 11.

Car Builder.

Department.	Months.
Gluing and bolting up...	12
Assisting erection ...	24
Bench work ...	12
General building ...	12
	—
	60
	—

Course 12.

Coach Painter.

Common brush-work ...	6
Varnish room ...	12
Assisting coach painting...	18
Lining, pencil work and varnishing ...	24
	—
	60
	—

Course 13.

Body Finisher.

Bench work in cabinet shop ...	12
Common erection ...	12
Assisting finishing ...	12
Fixing furniture and fittings ...	12
Fitting up insides ...	12
	—
	60
	—

(b) *Engineering apprentices.*—These must have attained a standard of general education equivalent to a matriculation examination. The course is one of four years or until the apprenticeship is 21, whichever is the longer. Two alternative courses of training are included in the scheme of Engineering Apprenticeship; these are known as the "Electro-Mechanical" and "Mechanical" courses respectively. Engineering apprentices are compelled to attend evening technical classes. The courses are made up as follows:—

(A) *Electro-Mechanical Course.*

Department.	Months.
Commutator and core building ...	6
Winding ...	9
Pattern shop ...	4
Foundry ...	4
Machining and turning...	6
Fitting and erection ...	6
Testing ...	9
Drawing office ...	4
	—
	48
	—

(B) *Mechanical Course.*

Department.	Months.
Machining and turning ...	6
Inspection ...	3
Fitting and erection ...	9
Pattern shop ...	5
Foundry ...	6
Testing ...	6
Outside erection ...	9
Drawing office ...	4
	—
	48
	—

(c) *Student apprentices.*—These require to have reached a University standard of education. The course is one of two years for graduates or for those holding diplomas and three years for others. It is made up as follows:—

<i>Department.</i>	<i>Two-Year Course. Months.</i>	<i>Three-Year Course. Months.</i>
Commutator and Core-building	3	3
Winding	6	6
Pattern Shop	—	3
Foundry	—	3
Machining	6	6
Erection	—	3
Testing	9	9
Drawing Office	—	3
	24	36

The *Erecting Engineer*, working as he often has to do in isolation and being therefore thrown upon his own resources, requires a more general experience than is necessary to the foreman or inspector in the works, for whom competent advice is immediately available. To ensure that there shall be no lack of men with this type of qualifications, the Company has arranged a special scheme, under which apprentices are trained for positions on the Outside Staff. The pupils are drawn for the most part from among the Engineering Apprentices, but a strictly limited number of Trade Apprentices also may be selected each year. The course lasts normally for two years, beginning when the apprentice has about one year of his indenture to serve. Those selected are sent to other Works of the Company to spend the year in the Assembly and Testing Departments. At the end of that time they are examined in practical engineering by the Company's Chief Inspector, and on the result of this examination the best of the men are taken for a year's further training in the Outside Departments of the three principal Works, spending four months in each.

(4) *A large soap manufacturing firm* has established a staff training college for the technical training of its young employees. It provides certain educational classes for all junior employees of 14 to 16 years of age in the factory and for junior employees from 14 to 18 years of age in the offices and for apprentices to skilled trades during their term of apprenticeship. These classes are held in the Company's time without deduction from wages. In addition, evening classes are held during the winter months for adults. A small fee is charged for these classes, but is returnable at the end of the session to those who have attended regularly.

Certificates are awarded at the close of apprenticeship periods to those apprentices who, by satisfactory conduct and progress in work, obtain certain percentages of marks, which are assessed periodically,

under the following heads :—general conduct ; manual ability ; regularity and punctuality ; and technical education. First-class certificates are awarded to those apprentices who obtain a final average of 85 per cent. of marks or over. Second-class certificates are awarded to those apprentices who obtain a final average of 70 per cent. of marks.

(5) *A well-known shipbuilding firm has an elaborate system of marks.* At the end of September of each year each apprentice is awarded marks for work done at evening classes in accordance with the progress made during the year and the results of approved examinations in science or in mathematics ; in addition, for time-keeping, a maximum of 120 marks is allowed, and for good conduct, industry, progress in the workshops, a maximum of 60 marks. All apprentices obtaining 160 marks receive a bonus. For marks in excess of 160, the bonus is proportionately increased. The apprentice in each shop having the highest number of marks may choose any other shop he wishes for advancement, provided there is a vacancy therein. Bonus is paid at the rate of 20s. per 100 class marks and at rates varying from 10s. per 100 in the first year to 18s. per 100 in the fifth year for time-keeping and industry.

(6) *A large firm of engineers distinguishes its apprentices as Trade, Engineering, and Student Apprentices.*

All trade apprentices start their apprenticeship with a three or four months' course in the Works' School. In the School they are in the charge of a specially selected foreman. The boys are instructed in the use of the tools of their trade, taught to use a file properly, to work on lathes, slotting and the milling machines, given experience on the marking-off table, brazing and blading work, general fitting work, and generally given a good grounding before transfer to the shops. Lectures are given on suitable engineering subjects, the firm's products are explained, whilst machine drawing and the reading of drawings are taught. Subsequently, as part of the training in the workshop, an opportunity is given to the apprentice of seeing how the work is connected with an allied trade ; patternmakers are given some foundry experience, turners some fitting experience and vice versa.

The engineering apprentices are given fairly frequent transfers to the various shops up to about the age of 19 years. On attaining this age, it is judged that an apprentice should have formed fairly definite ideas as to his future, and for the last two years of his apprenticeship he is placed, if possible, in the shop or department most suitable for the attainment of his object.

Student apprentices are taken for a course of three years. They are given a comprehensive training in practical engineering, which goes a long way towards fitting them for senior positions in designing and drawing offices or on engineering, commercial and erecting staffs.

(7) An electricity supply undertaking maps out a 4-year course for its apprentices as follows :—

<i>Department.</i>	<i>Months.</i>
Boiler House	6
Fitting and Erection	9
Outside Power Supply	6
Mains	4
Sub-station	6
Boiler House (Testing Department)	3
Power Station Switchboard	6
Drawing Office	4
Electrical Fitting	4

The apprentices must attend a suitable course of classes at a Technical School, and a report of progress signed by the Headmaster must be supplied annually.

(B) Technical Instruction.

Technical instruction may be either instruction in those scientific and mathematical principles which are related to the workshop training, or it may be manual instruction in the actual use of the tools of the craft. It possesses the following advantages :—

(a) It may help to bridge the gap that obtains between the school-leaving age and the age of entry into various industries.

(b) It gives a general scientific background to the ordinary work of the workshop, and so broadens the point of view of the operative.

(c) It may provide an all-round training in cases where there is over-specialisation in the workshop. Thus, for example, in the boot and shoe manufacturing industry, where workshop training tends to be confined to the use of a particular machine, the students at technical classes are required to make a complete boot from start to finish.

(d) It may provide training in higher branches of a craft than workshop training does in certain cases as, for example, decorative work in plastering, the finer display work in printing, the use of the newest machines in boot and shoe manufacturing.

(e) It may provide training for a higher job, distinct from the job followed in the workshop, e.g., draughtsman.

Technical training is given in :—

(a) *Junior and senior full-time day technical schools.*—The junior day technical schools act as pre-apprenticeship schools (in the case of girls they often take the place of apprenticeship) and, where they exist, fulfil admirably the function of bridging the gap between the school-leaving age and the age of entry into industry. The

number of boys and girls in England and Wales attending full-time junior technical schools before entering employment is about 12,700 of whom about 10,700 are boys.*

(b) *Part-time classes and courses, mostly in the evening for students of all ages from 14 upwards.*

In 1925-26, part-time instruction was given in England and Wales in 4,367 schools to over 700,000 pupils, whose age distribution was as follows:—

Number of Students :	<i>Boys and Men.</i>	<i>Girls and Women.</i>
Under 16	121,882	97,174
16 and under 18	95,355	54,472
18 and under 21	75,540	41,312
21 and over	96,857	128,070
	389,634	321,028

There were also, in England, 71 Day Continuation Courses (34 of which constituted separate schools) attended by 11,761 boys and 12,547 girls, of whom over 9,074 and 9,848 respectively were under 16 years of age.

It is estimated that 25 per cent. of boys and 22 per cent. of girls who leave elementary schools without passing on to any other full-time school begin part-time education. It is unfortunately not possible in the above statistics to distinguish students of cultural, commercial or recreational subjects from those of technological subjects, but some indication of the distribution of courses in England and Wales will be gained from the figures of classes. Thus, there were 11,346 classes in English, 15,587 classes in mathematics, 2,021 classes in general science, 1,329 in chemistry, 1,622 in physics, 2,015 in manual instruction (wood), 3,959 in engineering, 1,441 in electrical, 1,464 in building construction, 1,008 in coal mining, 584 in cotton spinning and weaving, 6,063 in shorthand, 4,934 in book-keeping and accounting, 1,811 in typewriting.

In Scotland, the total number of students attending evening continuation classes or courses in 1924-25 was 142,538, of whom it is estimated that about 35,000 were studying subjects specially described as technological. There were also about 9,000 evening students in technical colleges.

(c) *Classes and courses in higher technical institutions or colleges of University rank.*—The intake of the Universities and the University colleges in Great Britain in 1924-25 was approximately 12,000, about 9,750 in England and Wales and 2,350 in Scotland.

* These figures and those given below are extracted from Statistics of Public Education for the year 1925-6 issued by the Board of Education and from the report of the Committee on Industry and Trade (Factors in Industrial and Commercial Efficiency).

Of the 42,000 full-time students in these institutions about one-sixth were enrolled in faculties of pure science and about one-tenth in technological faculties. Of the 4,205 students of technology, over 3,000 were studying engineering, 140 metallurgy, 280 applied chemistry and 275 mining.

The character of the instruction given in part-time continuation classes may be deduced from the following examples :—*

Engineering.—In part-time courses for the more ambitious students the subjects of study are mainly mathematics, mechanical drawing and such parts of the sciences of mechanics and heat as are most applicable to the industry. In the later years, mathematics may disappear except for its applications, mechanical science is subdivided and the individual student may specialise in some parts and omit others, and mechanical drawing becomes a part of mechanical design. A full-time course differs mainly in the inclusion by the student, who has more time available, of additional subdivisions of mechanical science and of study of more of the allied sciences of physics, chemistry and elementary metallurgy. Sometimes a foreign language is also studied.

Building.—The general building course is intended for office employees, builders' sons or craftsmen aspiring to promotion to the ranks of foremen, clerks of works, managers or master builders. Details of courses are as follows :—

Course for Builders.

Year 1.—Construction and Drawing, Building Mathematics, and Geometry, Building Science (each one evening).

Years 2 and 3.—Construction and Drawing (two evenings), Building Science (one evening).

Course for Carpenters.

Year 1.—Trade Knowledge, Drawing, Workshop (each one evening).

Year 2.—As in first year.

Furniture Trades.—The High Wycombe Technical Institute may be taken as a representative institution providing complete instructional and practical training. The courses of the Institute comprise both pre-apprenticeship, apprentice and improver classes. The pre-apprenticeship course includes both educational and practical training in day classes in the Junior

* The following examples, except that relating to the furniture trades, are taken from the Report of the Board of Education for the School Year 1924-25, Cmd. 2696.

Day Technical School. Courses for apprentices and others already engaged in the trade comprise evening instruction in :—

- (a) Craft work in all branches.
- (b) Drawing and designing, including working drawings and the study of furniture styles; and
- (c) Calculation work, such as costing, specifications and the marking-out and measurement of timber.

The Institute also allows the boys free access to a library of 700 books on appropriate subjects. A leaving certificate is given to boys who pass the final test, for which the practical work is examined by the Technical Advisory Committee.

One of the questions contained in the schedule issued during the enquiry was designed to ascertain the facilities afforded by employers in order to encourage apprentices to supplement their practical with technical training. The various methods adopted differ widely in scope and effectiveness; excluding mere exhortation in this direction, the practical methods most frequently adopted may be placed in the following order of importance :—

(1) *Payment of fees.*—Many employers pay or refund class fees (or part thereof) to those apprentices who can produce a record of satisfactory attendance at evening classes, and some employers, particularly in the building industry, also pay necessary fares. In addition to, or as an alternative to paying class fees, some firms provide apprentices who are undergoing a course of technical education with the necessary books or lend instruments.

Thus, of the employers with apprentices the proportion who state that they pay or refund class fees is as high as 36 per cent. in the chemical and gas industries, 25 per cent. in the iron and steel industry, 22 per cent. in the building and printing industries, 20 per cent. in the textile industries, 17 per cent. in engineering, and 10 per cent. in shipbuilding.

(2) *Time-off allowed.*—A number of employers allow time-off during the ordinary working day, usually with pay, in order that apprentices may be able to attend evening or part-time day classes. The adoption of this practice is definitely referred to in the returns of 21 per cent. of the firms with apprentices in engineering, 11 per cent. in shipbuilding, 14 per cent. in building and 23 per cent. in printing.

(3) *Facilities for attendance at day classes.*—Some firms provide facilities for attendance at day technical classes, releasing the apprentices, usually in the initial years of training, for one or two days or half-days per week, generally with pay, for this purpose. Of the firms with apprentices, those which provide such facilities number 10 per cent. in the textile industries, 7 per cent. in shipbuilding, 6 per cent. in engineering and printing, and rather less

than 2 per cent. in building. In the great majority of these cases, attendance at day classes is a compulsory term of the apprenticeship agreement.

(4) *Prizes or bonus given.*—A proportion of employers encourage attendance at evening classes by giving extra pay or bonus, according to the standard attained by apprentices in such classes. Thus, 25 per cent. of the firms with apprentices in the iron and steel industry, 15 per cent. in the gas industry, 9 per cent. in engineering, 2 per cent. in building and about 1 per cent. in printing state that they promote in this way the technical education of apprentices. Some examples may be quoted. A large engineering firm, besides refunding fees, provides for an increase in the wages of apprentices at the rate of 6d. per week for every first-class pass obtained in the elementary stages and of 1s. per week for every first-class pass in the advanced stages.

A large shipbuilding firm pays an extra amount weekly as follows :—

s.	d.			
6		per week for success in the	preparatory course.	
1	0	"	"	introductory course.
1	6	"	"	first year course.
2	0	"	"	second year course.
2	6	"	"	third year course.
3	0	"	"	fourth year or any higher course.

So also a large electricity supply undertaking gives an extra 2s. 6d. per week in wages to those apprentices who attain proficiency in evening class work.

(5) *Attendance at evening classes a condition in the apprenticeship agreement.*—A proportion of firms resort to compulsion, that is, they compel their apprentices or learners to attend evening classes and they effect this by making attendance at evening classes a condition of the apprenticeship agreement. This practice was followed according to the returns by 4 per cent. of the firms with apprentices in engineering, 3 per cent. in shipbuilding, 2 per cent. in the textile industries, and 1 per cent. in building and printing.

A clause of this kind is usually incorporated in the apprenticeship agreements included in the more important schemes of apprenticeship.

Thus, for example, the River Thames Dry Dock Proprietors and Ship Repairers' Association, as part of their agreed scheme of apprenticeship, provide for compulsory evening classes on at least two evenings a week during the first two years of apprenticeship. So also the Joint Industrial Council in the printing industry in its model scheme of apprenticeship provides that all apprentices indentured under the scheme shall, up to 16 years and where such facilities are provided, attend a suitable day school, or technical school, or school of art, for not less than one whole day

per week (or a minimum of eight school hours per week as may be found convenient to the employer), without deduction from wages, and the apprentice must also attend the school two evenings per week. Where there are no facilities for day instruction, the apprentice must attend evening classes on not less than two evenings per week. From 16 to 18 years of age, the apprentice must attend evening classes on at least two evenings per week.

A large firm of engineers with an elaborate scheme of training for apprentices compels apprentices to attend evening classes, allows time spent at classes to count in the making-up of time lost during any given year of apprenticeship, refunds the fees paid for attendance at the classes to apprentices who obtain a certificate for the year, arranges for periodical reports from the principals or teachers of the technical schools and pays a bonus to apprentices who obtain a certificate during each year in connection with the course.

(6) *The establishment of classes in the works or "works schools."*—A few employers arrange for technical instruction to be given in classes held in the works. These classes may be organised in connection with an apprentices' shop or trade school (see page 98 above) either by the firm itself or by the local education authority or by the firm under the direction of the local education authority. The employers included in the returns who made this provision number 33 out of 1,573 with apprentices in engineering, 17 out of 3,052 in building, 8 out of 194 in ship-building, 6 out of 93 in the gas industry, 5 out of 2,720 in printing, and 5 out of 470 in the textile industries.

(7) *The adoption of the "sandwich" system.*—This system has already been described (see page 94 above).

Many more firms, of course, support the classes by recommending them to their apprentices and learners, and often the recommendation is so strong that it cannot well be disregarded. There are, however, instances where firms are willing to recommend technical education but find that suitable instruction relating to the industry is not available in the district. Lack of facilities in this direction are reported, for example, by 19 per cent. of employers with apprentices in printing, 11 per cent. in building, and 7 per cent. in engineering.

On the whole it would appear that, in spite of the wide recognition of the advantages of technical training for apprentices or learners, numbers of the boys engaged in industry, even in the skilled manual occupations, either do not take advantage of the classes provided or are without the necessary facilities.

§23. Wages of boy apprentices.

There are two main theoretical considerations underlying the fixation of the wages of apprentices. The first of these is that in the earlier years of apprenticeship the apprentice receives more

by way of training than he gives by way of production and his wages in consequence are determined on the basis of his being a liability rather than an asset during that time; the second is that in the later years of apprenticeship his remuneration is fixed so as to allow a certain compensation to the employer for the inevitable financial loss sustained in the earlier years of training.

But in practice these theoretical considerations often suffer a considerable distortion through the operation of other influences outside or within the industry itself. Of the external influences reference may be made to local conditions, including the presence of other industries competing for the supply of juvenile labour. In some districts, and particularly in those which may be described as self-contained, there is an aggregation of industries able to absorb large numbers of boys or girls in relation to the total of workpeople; where these conditions obtain, the amount of wages paid to apprentices is influenced to a degree beyond the normal by the wages paid in less skilled occupations. Another factor consists in the more attractive inducements offered to juveniles in those industries experiencing a period of comparative prosperity.

Within the industries themselves there are other causes tending to influence the wages of apprentices. There is, for example, the degree to which workers in an industry are organised, or alternatively, the extent to which workers' organisations have given attention to the wages of apprentices; there is also the character of the industry itself, which may lend itself to the payment of piece rates to apprentices or which may require apprentices to enter at a comparatively late age at relatively high wages.

The conflict of all these forces produces wide divergencies in the amounts received by apprentices by way of wages and tends to conceal the effect of the theoretical and equitable considerations to which reference has been made above. From the great variety of wages paid, one principle does however emerge, namely, that both in the first and last years of apprenticeship the wages of apprentices are uniformly less than those of youths of comparable ages in the less skilled occupations. This point is dealt with fully on page 114 below.

Apprentices are usually employed on a time work basis throughout the whole of the term. In a great majority of apprenticeship agreements there is a specified or implicitly understood weekly wage prescribed for each year of apprenticeship; sometimes, but less frequently, the weekly wages vary according to the age of the apprentice. The weekly wages advance each year, usually by increments irregular in amount, smaller advances being due in the earlier years and more substantial advances in the later years of apprenticeship; less usually, increments equal in amount are given each year. Occasionally, the rates in each year are definite proportions of the journeyman's rate, but this practice is more frequently found among the relatively small number of apprentices who are employed on piece work.

The practice of placing apprentices on piece work is only adopted to any appreciable extent in a few industries and then only in certain occupations, since in most occupations employment on piece work is not regarded as being compatible with the proper instruction of the apprentice. Apprentices paid on a piece work basis are found among riveters, holders-up, platers, caulkers, drillers, blacksmiths and angle iron smiths, in the shipbuilding industry; among moulders, dressers and fettlers, wire drawers, electricians, etc., in the engineering and allied industries; among casters, pressers, mould makers, polishers, packers, printers, and indeed in most of the occupations in the pottery industry. A certain number of apprentices are also employed on piece work in the glass, glass bottle and clothing industries and in the cigar section of the tobacco industry, while many textile learners are employed on piece work within a few weeks of their entering a mill. In these cases the usual practice is to employ the apprentice on time work for a short period (usually about one year) after commencement and thereafter to pay a proportion of the journeyman's piece rate, the proportion increasing in each subsequent year. The usual proportions so paid are from one-half to two-thirds of the journeyman's piece rate; less usually, the full piece rate may be paid throughout the whole term of the employment on piece work.

Apprentices are nearly always paid direct by the principal employer, but in a few cases they may be paid by the journeyman out of the joint earnings or they may receive a proportion of the joint earnings of a gang. These exceptional practices occur, for example, among gold and silver smiths, leather finishers, and in the cutlery industry; an interesting survival of the system is found among lighterage apprentices, who are sometimes paid a proportion (usually 25 per cent.) of the earnings of the boat.

The wages of apprentices in the first and last years of training show wide differences even in individual occupations, for in addition to the factors already mentioned, the varying practices of firms as regards the ages at which they take boys as apprentices and as regards the length of the apprenticeship period operate to produce great divergencies.

The subject of wages is one which demands treatment by occupation rather than by industry, and reference must be made to the sectional reports on the various branches of industry for full information on the subject. In this volume it is only possible to give the wages paid to apprentices in the different industries and in a few of the principal occupations and to compare such wages with those paid to other classes of workers.

In the table below, there are set out for each industry the usual ranges of wages and the average wages ascertained during the enquiry to be paid to apprentices in the first and last years of training. The usual range for this purpose covers about 75 per

cent. of the apprentices, the wages of apprentices at the extreme lower and upper ends of the scale being disregarded.

Wages of boy apprentices.

Industry.	Number of male apprentices.	First year.				Last year.											
		Number of piece workers.	Time workers.			Number of piece workers.	Time workers.										
			Average weekly wages.	Usual range of wages.			Average weekly wages.	Usual range of wages.									
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.							
Metal:																	
Engineering ...	43,923	7	10	7	8	0	to	12	0	37	25	8	20	0	to	32	0
Shipbuilding ...	13,315	606	10	0	8	0	"	12	9	930	20	3	17	0	"	24	6
Iron and steel	2,491	9	10	8	8	9	"	12	0	9	27	2	18	0	"	32	0
Precious metal ...	221	—	9	3	6	0	"	10	0	—	25	8	20	0	"	30	0
Other metal ...	4,555	213	12	6	9	0	"	15	9	672	31	7	22	0	"	39	0
Chemical and allied:																	
Chemical ...	833	—	14	0	11	9	"	17	6	—	33	7	25	0	"	37	6
Pottery ...	958	406	21	11	10	0	"	35	9	485	46	11	31	6	"	65	3
Glass and glass bottle.	883	69	15	9	11	6	"	20	0	190	36	3	31	0	"	41	3
Brick and tile ...	63	—	16	0	12	3	"	20	0	—	35	5	24	0	"	40	0
Building and wood-working:																	
Building ...	10,599	—	10	10	8	0	"	15	0	—	33	5	20	0	"	47	8
Electrical contracting.	1,731	—	8	9	6	0	"	11	9	—	26	4	20	0	"	31	3
Furniture and allied.	1,192	—	9	7	6	0	"	12	3	—	31	1	22	0	"	41	6
Sawmilling ...	518	3	11	9	10	0	"	16	0	8	35	0	24	6	"	47	9
Printing and paper making:																	
Printing ...	10,209	—	12	4	10	0	"	15	0	—	37	5	25	0	"	45	0
Paper and paper goods.	230	—	12	6	10	0	"	17	6	—	33	7	20	6	"	48	0
Textile and clothing:																	
Cotton ...	215	1	20	1	10	0	"	34	0	1	36	9	24	0	"	46	6
Wool textile ...	740	8	15	7	11	0	"	24	6	25	33	8	24	0	"	45	0
Other textile ...	874	85	12	8	8	0	"	18	0	57	28	5	20	0	"	40	9
Boot and shoe ...	87	—	12	3	8	0	"	16	0	—	42	9	22	0	"	53	0
Other clothing ...	420	81	13	6	9	0	"	20	0	187	34	8	30	6	"	37	6
Miscellaneous:																	
Leather and leather goods.	121	3	14	10	10	0	"	20	0	3	31	9	20	0	"	41	0
Food, drink and tobacco.	989	7	15	11	10	0	"	22	6	73	43	7	29	0	"	60	0
Distributive ...	2,698	—	11	9	7	6	"	15	0	—	26	2	14	0	"	40	0
Mercantile marine	2,897	—	3	6	2	0	"	4	7	—	7	8	4	7	"	13	10
Other ...	3,066	5	12	2	9	0	"	16	9	24	32	7	20	0	"	45	9

The influence of age in determining the wages of apprentices may be illustrated by reference to a few of the principal apprenticeship industries. Thus the usual range of weekly wages in the first

year of training is, in *engineering*, from 6s. to 12s. at 14 years, from 7s. to 13s. at 15 years and from 8s. to 14s. at 16 years; in *shipbuilding*, from 4s. to 11s. at 14 years, from 7s. to 11s. at 15 years and from 8s. to 12s. 9d. at 16 years; in *printing*, from 9s. to 14s. at 14 years, from 10s. to 15s. at 15 years and from 11s. to 17s. 6d. at 16 years; in *building*, from 8s. to 13s. at 14 years, from 9s. to 14s. at 15 years and from 10s. to 15s. at 16 years. These examples demonstrate a principle which runs consistently through all the industries, namely a steady and uniform progression in the first year wages paid according to the age of the apprentices at entry into the industry.

The inducements offered to apprentices by way of wages are of such importance in determining a boy's choice of employment that it is advisable to examine, so far as the available information permits, the relationship existing between the wages paid to apprentices and those paid in other callings. The questions that naturally arise are, how do the wages at present paid to boys in apprenticeship occupations compare with those paid in other less skilled occupations, and how do the changes that have been made in apprentices' wages compare with those that have occurred in the wages of other classes of workers.

Comparison of the wages of boy apprentices with those of boys in other occupations.—The relationship existing between the wages paid in apprenticeship and other occupations can best be illustrated by a comparison of the rates of wages, applicable to each class, recognised by employers' associations and trade unions or contained in Orders made under the Trade Boards Acts. The rates applicable at 1st March, 1928, to apprentices under such agreements or orders are set out according to age in Table XII in the Appendix.

In industries in which rates have definitely been fixed both for apprentices and for other juvenile workers, apprentices' rates are in general lower than those fixed for juveniles or for learners. The comparable rates at the assumed age of commencement and at the age of 18 or 19 years in these industries were, on 1st March, 1928, as follows:—

Comparison of agreed rates of wages of apprentices and of other juvenile workers.

Industry.	Age.	Apprentices.	Other Juveniles.
Penmaking (Birmingham) ...	15 years	9s. 4d.	12s. 0d.
	19 years	24s. 4d.	31s. 4d.
Woollen manufacture (Scotland)	16 years	11s. and 12s. 6d.	19s. and 22s.
	19 years	24s. and 27s. 6d.	37s. 6d. and 39s.
Lace Designers and Draughtsmen* Lace and Net Dressing† (Nottingham).	14 years	12s.*	13s.†
	19 years	30s.*	28s.†

Industry.	Age.	Apprentices.	Other Juveniles.
Textile making-up and packing (Manchester).	16 years	17s. 6d.	19s. 6d.
	19 years	36s. 9d.	36s.
Glovemaking (England)...	17 years	15s. to 21s. 6d.	25s. and 27s.
	19 years	23s. to 31s.	35s. and 37s.
Boot and Shoe repairing (Great Britain).	14 years	5s. and 6s.	12s. † and 18s. 6d.
	19 years	30s. and 33s.	33s. † and 41s. 6d.
Brush and Broom	16 years	9s., 12s., and 16s.	18s. and 19s.
	19 years	piece rates	33s.
Flax and Hemp ...	16 years	13s. 5d.	15s. 6d.
	19 years	30s. 9d.	32s. 8d.
Fur... ..	16 years	12s.	24s.
	19 years	30s.	44s.
Retail Bespoke Tailoring	16 years	3s. to 7s. ●	13s. 6d. to 17s. 6d.
	18 years	10s. to 15s.	25s. 6d. to 34s.

† Learners' rates.

Moreover, an examination of the rates agreed for apprentices and other juvenile workers in some 84 industries shows that for boys of comparable ages the ranges extend as follows:—

Range of weekly time rates of wages of apprentices and other juvenile workers, according to age.

Age.	Apprentices.		Other Juveniles.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
14 years	5 0	to 13 6	6 0	to 22 6
15 "	8 0	" 18 0	9 0	" 28 4
16 "	8 0	" 23 6	9 6	" 35 4
17 "	8 6	" 30 10	15 6	" 39 2
18 "	10 0	" 47 0	19 9	" 49 11
19 "	16 0	" 47 1	22 3	" 56 9

The available information thus points to the conclusion that the general level of apprentices' wages tends to be fixed considerably below that of other juvenile workers not employed under a definite system of training.

Variation between 1909 and 1925 in the time rates of wages of apprentices and journeymen.

The following table shows the average time rates of wages paid in 1909 and 1925 to apprentices in the first and last years of training and to journeymen in a selected number of occupations. In comparing these figures, it is important to observe that, although piece

work is, save perhaps in the later years of training, somewhat exceptional for apprentices, there are in many of the occupations considerable numbers of journeymen employed on a piece work basis whose earnings are considerably above the nominal time rates quoted; in addition, the rates quoted for apprentices are based on rates actually paid, while those for journeymen are based on standard rates of wages which are usually the agreed or recognised minima.

Average time rates of wages per week of journeymen and apprentices.

Industry and occupation.	Apprentices.				Journeyment.	
	First year.		Last year.		Oct., 1909.	July, 1925.
	1909.	1925.	1909.	1925.		
Building:	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Bricklayers	5	0	11	7	36	10
Masons	5	3	11	11	38	3*
Carpenters and joiners	4	0	10	5	33	6
Plumbers	4	0	10	4	29	0
Plasterers	5	5	11	4	35	1
Painters	4	8	10	10	32	3
All skilled occupations	4	5	10	10	33	5
Labourers	—	—	—	—	25	10*
Engineering:						
Fitters	4	10	10	3	24	10
Turners	4	11	10	6	26	1
Patternmakers	4	10	10	4	24	9
Ironmoulders	5	1	11	5	26	4
All skilled occupations	5	1	10	7	25	8
Labourers	—	—	—	—	20	10
Shipbuilding:						
Platers	7	11	10	10	12	2
Riveters	7	6	10	7	11	7
Shipwrights	4	6	10	4	12	0
Ship joiners	4	3	9	10	10	7
All skilled occupations	5	7	10	0	11	10
Labourers	—	—	—	—	20	3
Printing:						
Compositors	5	4	11	8	35	3
Bookbinders	4	9	12	0	38	7
All skilled occupations	5	5	12	4	37	5
Furniture:						
Cabinet makers	3	11	9	1	30	3
French polishers	4	1	8	8	30	0
Upholsterers	3	5	9	1	29	5
All skilled occupations	4	0	9	7	31	1
					37	7
					35	5
					36	0
					—	—
					74	6
					74	3
					73	4
					—	—

* Based on Summer Hours.

† The average rates for journeymen quoted above are based on the following number of towns or districts:—Building, 39 towns; Engineering—Skilled men, 16 districts, labourers, 11 districts; Shipbuilding, 9 districts; Printing—compositors, 26 towns, bookbinders, 25 towns; Furniture—cabinet makers, 20 towns; french polishers, 20 towns, upholsterers, 13 towns.

It will be observed that the average time rate of wages in the last year of apprenticeship is usually about 40 to 50 per cent. of the journeyman's rate. An improvership period ensues on completion of apprenticeship in the case of about 57 per cent. of apprentices and in such cases it is common for the improver to be paid 75 per cent. of the full rate for a period of six months followed by a further period of six months at 85 per cent. of the full rate; alternatively the improver is often paid 10s. per week below the journeyman's rate, receiving increments of 2s. 6d. per week every three months until the full rate is reached.

§24. Employers' associations and apprenticeship.

In the course of the enquiry, a questionnaire was issued to federations or associations of employers, in which the views of the associations were invited on the adequacy of the methods at present adopted for the recruitment and training of workers, to provide skilled men with the necessary qualifications in the numbers required to meet the present and future needs of the industries. Information was also sought as to how far the various associations had entered into agreements with trade unions governing the conditions of employment of apprentices or had prepared, either jointly with the trade unions, or independently for the use of their own members, a form of indenture or agreement of apprenticeship.

On the subject of agreements with trade unions, many associations, even among those holding the view that apprenticeship is desirable or essential in their industry, have no agreements with trade unions governing the conditions of apprenticeship, some associations considering the question to be a domestic matter with which trade unions have no concern. Thus in certain large industries, for example, engineering and shipbuilding, there are, with a few minor exceptions, no agreements affecting the employment of apprentices, but in other industries some of the principal associations are parties to such agreements. A summary of these agreements is given in paragraph 26 of this report, p. 141, *et seq.*, and a full account is given in each of the sectional reports.

With regard to indentures or other agreements of apprenticeship, the replies show that it is by no means the general practice of associations, in the industries where apprenticeship is in operation, to issue forms of indenture, either in agreement with trade unions or otherwise, the terms of the apprenticeship agreement being usually left to individual arrangement between the employer and the apprentice and his parents or guardians. Certain associations have however devoted attention to the matter. Model indentures drawn up jointly with trade unions have been issued by the London Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the Newspaper Society, the Midland Lock and Latch Manufacturers' Association and by the Master Silversmiths' Association, while indentures have

been issued independently for the use of their own members by the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation, the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, the Federation of Master Printers, the Wallpaper Manufacturers Employers' Association, the National Federation of Master Painters and Decorators, the National Federation of Master Painters in Scotland, the Electrical Contractors' Associations, the National Employers' Association of Vehicle Builders, the Shipping Federation, the Allied Pianoforte Industries Committee, the Federation of Master Organ Builders, the Manufacturing Silversmiths' Association, the Drapers' Chamber of Trade, etc. Specimen forms of indentures will be found appended to the various sectional reports.

As regards the adequacy of existing methods of recruitment to provide a sufficiency of men with the requisite degree of skill, the great majority of associations express themselves as being satisfied that no departure from present arrangements is necessary. In some industries, however, the associations have commented on important aspects of the recruitment and training of apprentices, and their views have been summarised in the following paragraphs.

Printing.—The Federation of Master Printers and the Newspaper Society refer to the effect of trade union limitations and the necessity for improving the methods of training linotype operators.

The Federation expresses the view that :—

"The present methods adopted for the recruitment of apprentices are considered adequate to provide satisfactory skilled workers . . . but the limitation of the number of apprentices is considered too rigid to allow sufficient skilled workers being trained to meet the prospective requirements of the industry. In some sections there is now a difficulty in obtaining sufficient skilled workers."

and the Newspaper Society states :—

"There would seem to be little doubt that the newspaper and printing industry can attract by ordinary methods of recruitment boys of a standard of education and intelligence to provide skilled workers (granted proper training) but this fact is modified by certain restrictions by the trade unions of the number of apprentices to be employed, with the result that in several classes of skilled work there is undoubtedly at the moment a shortage of competent men, with the natural result that a good many men on skilled jobs have not received the proper training to make them thoroughly efficient.

The methods of training which have worked adequately in the past are considered to be capable of improvement and the Joint Industrial Council for the industry has a committee considering this question. In addition, the Newspaper Society and the Federation of Master Printers have under consideration the possibility of co-operating with various technical schools in the provinces for the purpose of improving present methods of training linotype operators."

Building.—In the building industry some doubt is expressed by certain associations as to the adequacy of existing methods to produce journeymen with the requisite skill and in such numbers as will meet the present and future needs of the industry. The views of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers are of interest in this connection :—

“ It is known that present methods of recruitment are not adequate for either purpose. Steps are being taken to improve present methods—

(a) By advocating and assisting in the formation of day or evening technical classes, and

(b) By regarding the question of apprenticeship as one of national importance requiring constant consideration of the Federation and by urging our members to train their full complement of apprentices.

With these objects in view the Federation has appointed an Education and Apprenticeship Committee, which has the matter under present consideration.”

On the other hand, the Scottish National Building Trades Federation and the National Federation of Master Painters in Scotland (referring to the house painting trade) regard the existing methods of recruitment and training as being satisfactory. The National Federation of Master Painters and Decorators of England and Wales are of the definite opinion that :—

“ Indentured apprenticeship plus part-time training in a craft class at a School of Art is the most desirable means of ensuring an adequate supply of skilled painters and decorators. The principal objection is the unfair incidence of unemployment and health insurance on both the employer and the indentured apprentice. If steps could be taken to remove this burden (possibly by the approval of the form of indenture by the Ministry of Labour), it would do much to increase the numbers of indentured apprentices in the painting and decorating trade.”

The view that the maintenance of a system of apprenticeship is necessary and desirable is shared by the National Federation of Plumbers and Domestic Engineers and the Institute of Plumbers.

“ So far as any formal scheme of recruitment and training of apprentices can of itself provide a worker with the necessary skilled qualifications, the present national apprenticeship scheme appears to be proving satisfactory. So far as it is unsatisfactory, the fault appears to lie more with the inadequate facilities for technical education which are available and with the inadequate knowledge of elementary science, which the entrants into the trade appear to possess.”

As regards the training of skilled men in electrical contracting, the Electrical Contractors' Association states that the present method of training apprentices does not fully provide for the requirements of skilled workers. While the supply of workers is apparently adequate, the Association is not altogether satisfied that the workers can be classed as thoroughly skilled. It regards the maintenance of a system of indentured apprenticeship as absolutely essential, and is endeavouring to overcome the practice, adopted in various parts of the country, of taking apprentices without indentures.

"The only satisfactory way of giving a boy a proper training is to indenture him, as this gives the boy a sense of security to learn his trade, and the master is not faced with the possibility of the boy leaving at any moment after he has devoted time and money in the apprentice's interests."

The Electrical Contractors' Association of Scotland does not enter into agreements with trade unions covering the conditions of apprentices, maintaining that "it is the right and duty of electrical employers to lay down all terms of employment for apprentices in the trade, which terms are communicated to the apprentice when he starts on his employment. No outside union should interfere in the relations of master and pupil." The Association, however:—

"Considers the maintenance of apprenticeship an essential item to the continued success of the industry as it is only under such apprenticeship that a young man can obtain a complete system of practical training. The Association supports strongly apprentices attending evening classes to learn the basic ideas of electrical knowledge so that they may have a reasonable and practical grip of the scientific side. The Association has investigated the syllabuses of the various classes available and in some cases has represented the views of the practical trade on the subject. The tendency in some of these classes has been, in the opinion of contractors, to insist on too high a level of mathematical knowledge, as the majority of boys have not had a full secondary school training to lead them up to such a high level. The contractors consider that a great deal of instruction in electricity can be given to boys who have no high mathematical attainments . . . We recommend attendance at evening classes. It is found practically impossible to give boys hours away from work to attend classes as that unduly interferes with the whole routine of the contract on which the boy may be working. In view of the amount of country work that is carried out by a large number of contractors, it is difficult enough to arrange for apprentices being kept in town during the winter season when their evening classes are usually carried on."

Engineering and Miscellaneous Metals.

(i) *Engineering.*—The Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation is of opinion that the maintenance of some form of apprenticeship or training is necessary, but states that :—

“ alternative methods of training may be adopted as the development of the industry may require. The methods of selection and training of apprentices are continually under the observation of the Federation and have a tendency to change from time to time according to the demands and requirements of the industry. These methods have hitherto produced a sufficient number of craftsmen of the required degree of skill to meet existing demands although some difficulty is experienced in certain directions due to causes unrelated to the method of selection or training.

Should difficulties in this respect arise in the future alternative methods of procedure will be adopted to meet changed conditions.

It is recognised that there may be a restriction of supply a few years hence owing to the declining birth-rate, but this restriction will be a general one not applying to the engineering industry more than to other industries.”

(ii) *Light Castings.*—The National Light Castings Ironfounders' Federation regards the maintenance of a system of apprenticeship as necessary for the purpose of creating an adequate supply of skilled workers and states that it was with that end in view that apprentices' rates were fixed at the comparatively high level at which they stand. The existing methods of recruitment and training of apprentices in the industry are considered by the Federation to be sufficient to meet future demands for skilled workers except in the grinders section. For a considerable time there was a distinct shortage of skilled workers in the grinders section, and the Federation fears that when business is brisk the supply of skilled labour will not be sufficient to overtake the work. If congestion takes place in this section all departments of the work are affected. The Federation states :—

“ The Grinders' Union limits the number of apprentices in training to one for every four journeymen employed, and while in practice the number of apprentices in training has seldom, if ever, exceeded the proportion, the principle is not one which the Federation has officially recognised. In this connection to get over the shortage, negotiations which were carried on for twelve to eighteen months were entered into with the Union for the purpose of introducing a system of payment by results. A scheme on these lines has been tentatively agreed and is in operation in two foundries but does not appear to have found general favour from either side.”

(iii) *Metal Screw Manufacture*.—It is the view of the Metal Thread Screw Manufacturers' Association that "the maintenance of a system of apprenticeship is neither necessary nor desirable . . ." and that "the ordinary methods of employment of boy and girl workers are the most appropriate and effective methods which can be adopted for the recruitment and training of skilled workers."

(iv) *Precious Metals*.—The Manufacturing Silversmiths' Association regards the maintenance of apprenticeship as desirable. A shortage of skilled men is already stated to be manifest owing to the policy of the trade union in limiting the taking of apprentices. The number allowed is specified in an agreement with the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades (London Branch) as one apprentice to each five men employed.

"The policy of the trade union in the past since the war in not permitting apprentices to be taken in view of the unemployment in the trade and their present policy authorising only one apprentice to five men is likely to cripple the industry in the future as there would not be enough skilled workers provided when trade revives and the industry returns to normal conditions as the shortage of skilled workers has already made itself manifest in the case of some firms."

Furniture.—The National Federation of Furniture Trades refrains from making any observations on the subject of recruitment and training, but the Scottish Furniture Manufacturers' Association regards the methods at present adopted as generally providing skilled workers of the necessary qualifications and suggests no variation in these methods. The Association, however, suggests that a period of improvership would be advantageous at the conclusion of apprenticeship.

"It would be of advantage if a time-expired apprentice were required to serve, say, one year of improvership before attaining journeyman status. Apprentices are inclined to be irresponsible and inattentive until the last part of their apprenticeship and are, in many cases, 'inefficient' at its conclusion. On expiry of apprenticeship, the employer cannot afford to pay the full minimum to the inefficient and cannot offer him less. His most attractive opening is then the non-union foreign employer turning out low grade work for which he is sufficiently skilled. The improvership period would overcome this, and might also prevent the 'inefficient' leaving an employer voluntarily for the same low grade employment on expiry of apprenticeship to obtain a higher wage which the non-union employer frequently pays for longer hours and bigger output than the unions permit. Both these influences, associating the ex-apprentice immediately with low grade work,

set a low standard of craftsmanship for him at the beginning, above which he never rises. It is felt that a period of improvership would tend to prevent all this by emphasising that his training was still incomplete, and that it would be looked on as a time during which the apprentice had to strive to consolidate his training and secure a standing in this craft. The wage for the improvership period would, of course, be fixed fairly high, say, at a minimum of 80 per cent. of the journeyman's minimum, rising gradually."

The same Association comments on the effect of the agreed ratio of apprentices to skilled workers on the maintenance of an adequate supply of workers to meet the present requirements of the industry and states that their

"apprenticeship agreement provides for the ratio of one apprentice to three skilled workers being applied to each factory as a whole and not to each department by itself. By this agreement, a ratio of rather more than one apprentice to three skilled workers is operated in some departments, particularly the women's departments, while a lesser ratio is applied in others, notably among carvers, for whom the demand is limited and decreasing. The present ratio of one to three is, in the opinion of the Association, sufficient if applied to the whole factory but not by departments, and it is quite inadequate in the women's departments because of the constant wastage in these departments through women giving up work on marriage or on account of changed domestic circumstances or merely on tiring of their employment. The view of the Association that the present methods of recruitment and training provide an adequate supply of skilled workers is therefore specially based on their freedom to average the ratio of one apprentice to three skilled workers over the whole factory. Were this ratio applied to each department separately their view would be that the present methods are inadequate, particularly in respect that the ratio of one apprentice to three qualified women would not provide an adequate supply of skilled women workers.

Further, the present methods are adequate to supply only the present demand for skilled workers and would not supply sufficient to meet any future substantial increase in the trade. The Association consider, however, that the supply will adjust itself to any increase in demand that is likely to be experienced and that no future demand for workers comparable with the demand in the past 20 years is likely unless there is a reversal of fashion to the more elaborate designs of the past. Present designs are characterised by simplicity and small size, involving machine work to a much greater extent and requiring craftsmanship to a much less extent than formerly. These new characteristics are in great part conditioned by the small size

of houses now favoured, and it is therefore unlikely that any substantial reversal will take place, so that the Association feel that although present methods would not supply skilled workers to meet a substantial future expansion of the trade there is little likelihood of such expansion in the immediate future, and no steps to meet it could be reasonably suggested at present."

On the subject of technical education, the Association desire to place on record that their principle is to discourage pre-apprenticeship *practical* training, particularly that now given in many local elementary schools during the last year or two of attendance.

" This principle is based on the considered opinion that the practical work which can be embraced in such pre-apprenticeship training is of no value to prospective apprentices. That is our actual experience. One reason suggested for it is that one instructor training a number of pupils cannot convey to each the same detailed instruction as may be obtained by the pupil afterwards in a factory, but, indeed, frequently conveys inaccurate methods which are afterwards to be 'unlearned.' Further, the instructor himself is handicapped by not being in daily contact with the practice and progress of the craft. An additional reason is that school authorities usually desire, and quite properly, that all persons giving instruction to pupils should possess a good standard of general educational attainment apart altogether from technical ability; and the supply of persons who have acquired not only a good general education but also a sound training as a tradesman is necessarily very limited.

The Association, therefore, discourage pre-apprenticeship practical work, but they favour the allocation of time to specialised trade training in Schools provided it is devoted to introducing the pupil to the more educational side of the trade, for example, training in free-hand drawing and elementary art, and in arithmetic and elementary mathematics, all as applied to the trade, and so on. Such pre-apprenticeship training tends to direct the mind of the apprentice to the wider aspects of his craft in the opening years of apprenticeship, thus making it easier to induce him then to take advantage of the technical education available.

In distinction to pre-apprenticeship practical work, the Association encourage apprentices to take full advantage of all technical education facilities within their reach during apprenticeship, including practical work, their experience being that the high standard of practical training usually available in such technical classes, as distinguished from school classes,

is very beneficial, more particularly as it is obtained by the apprentice concurrently with the corresponding training in the workshop."

Vehicle Building.—The two largest employers' organisations in the vehicle building industry are the National Federation of Vehicle Trades and the National Employers' Association of Vehicle Builders. The latter Association looks upon apprenticeship as a domestic matter between the employers and the boys' guardians, and there is no arrangement or scheme with the trade unions; they have, however, an indenture of their own framing for the use of their members. The National Federation has endeavoured to reach agreement with the trade unions on the subject, which, however, has not materialised owing, it is understood, to difficulties arising out of the ratio of apprentices considered to be desirable to meet the requirements of the industry. The Secretary of the Federation states:—

"The unions have so far refused agreement, although at one time we thought that it would be accepted. The stumbling block appears to be . . . that there was to be no restriction for a period of two years as to the percentage between journeymen and apprentices. This, we thought, was absolutely necessary because at the present moment so many employers are not taking apprentices, whilst others are perhaps taking their quota. The unions, I believe, persisted in the proportion of one apprentice to five journeymen. . . . It would take many years under this percentage to make good the normal wastage, and therefore we thought that for two years at least to get the scheme into thorough working order the unions should waive this particular regulation of theirs, which we consider is unworkable."

Pottery.—The methods at present in use for the recruitment and training of apprentices in the pottery industry are considered by the British Pottery Manufacturers' Federation sufficient to provide an adequate supply of skilled workers except in the case of one or two particular occupations. The whole question of apprenticeship is, however, under consideration by the Federation and the National Council of the Pottery Industry, and it is hoped that a scheme now under consideration, dealing with the entry and training of apprentices, will, when completed, "be the means of meeting requirements of the industry in regard to apprentices in the future."

Glass.—In the glass industry the Sheet and Plate Glass Manufacturers' Association regards the present methods of recruitment and training as being sufficient. This is also the view of the British Flint Glass Manufacturers' Association so far as glass cutters and decorators are concerned, but as regards glassmakers the Association refers to certain difficulties arising from the "Employment

of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1920." The Association makes the following observations :—

" Prior to the Act restricting the night employment of boys under 16 years of age, there were no difficulties. The members of this Association consider that this restriction is seriously hampering them to-day. Owing to the fact that boys are unable to enter glass houses until they attain the age of 16 years they suffer in skill by reason of this shorter period of training. Owing to the same Act of Parliament an adequate supply of labour is not available, as boys cannot wait until after they are 16 years of age to find a job. The Association thinks a system of apprenticeship very desirable, and as it is not advisable to apprentice a boy until he has been at least two years in a glass house the apprenticeship is necessarily very short, and therefore the apprentice does not acquire the same skill as formerly."

Boot and Shoe Industry.—The needs of this industry, in which apprenticeship is of comparatively rare occurrence, are regarded, by the Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, as being met by the present system. The Associations state :—

" There seems to be no anxiety as to an adequate supply of qualified operatives now and in the future, although there is a feeling in Leicester that the present methods are not altogether adequate. There is some doubt, too, as to future foremen and managers being sufficiently highly qualified, but it is expected that the establishment of the National Institution will help to remedy this weakness in time. It is generally held that the maintenance of a system of apprenticeship is neither necessary nor desirable, and it is only regarded as practicable in the clicking department and not really necessary there. The Leicester Manufacturers' Association are, however, considering some scheme for vocational training with the Leicester Junior Technical College."

Textile Industries.—In the various textile industries, the existing arrangements, which mostly consist of a system of learnership, are generally considered, by the associations, to provide a sufficient number of skilled workers with the necessary qualifications. Apprenticeship is only regarded as necessary for some of the more highly skilled operatives, such as, for example, wool sorters and weaving overlookers in the wool textile industry and in the card-rooms and blowing-rooms of cotton spinning mills.

Some doubt is, however, expressed by the Wool (and Allied) Textile Employers' Council as to the supply of a requisite number of apprentices. It is stated that :—

" There are considerable practical obstacles placed in the way of male young persons entering into certain occupations

in the wool textile industry. The trade unions, representing skilled occupations, have rules regulating the age of entering into apprenticeship and the number of apprentices who may be trained by groups of their members. These rules are not the subject of agreement with employers' organisations. This industry has been under a trade depression for several years, and during the depression the policy of these trade unions appears to have been not to allow their members to teach new apprentices while a skilled craftsman is unemployed. The normal period of apprenticeship is four to five years, and the effect of this policy is already making itself felt in the case of the warp twisters, in which occupation a slight revival of trade will reveal an actual shortage of labour, and in the case of the other skilled occupations, a definite shortage of craftsmen will be revealed if an appreciable revival takes place. Thus the policy of the unions in question in placing obstacles upon the entrance of young people into these skilled occupations is quite likely to cause unemployment in other occupations in the future."

Tanning, Currying and Leather Dressing.—In this industry, the existing methods of recruitment, which are largely of an informal character, are regarded as satisfactory. Thus, owing to some extent to the lack of uniformity of process and of product in the various firms, apprenticeship is not regarded by the Leather Producers' Association as necessary for obtaining an adequate supply of skilled workers. The association states:—

"A very high degree of skill is required for the administrative and managerial functions. In many cases young men who are relatives of employers in the industry are taken on and given a thorough training which in due course enables them to take up appointments as they become available.

"The informal system under which boys who enter employment in the lower classes of work have the opportunity of developing and, if satisfactory, of becoming foremen, seems in practice to work very well, and there is no general demand among employers for an apprenticeship system."

Distributive Trades.

The majority of the associations regard the maintenance of a system of apprenticeship or learnership as desirable, especially when coupled with a properly directed scheme of technical education. Considerable attention is being directed by the associations to this aspect of apprenticeship training. Thus, one of the principal objects of the Institute of Certificated Grocers is the promotion of technical education among shop assistants. The following extract from a letter received from the Scottish Federation of

Grocers' and Provision Merchants' Associations is of interest in this connection :—

“ This Federation is in very close touch with educational authorities and the technical classes throughout Scotland. Most of the classes are held under our auspices and we take a very close interest in the welfare of the students. We have a register of employers requiring assistants, also of assistants requiring situations or advancement and we make it our business to look after the interests of all students attending technical classes throughout Scotland. In this way, we are not only able to provide an adequate supply of skilled workers to meet the present and future requirements of the trade, but we are able to assist young men in acquiring or taking over businesses for themselves.”

The National Chamber of Trade deprecates the absence of indentures. The Secretary states :—

“ In so far as the experience of members of my Board is concerned, there is no great difficulty in getting apprentices, but the unfortunate absence of indentures results in many cases in the apprentice or his parents becoming satisfied with his obtaining a partial training, and then leaving his employer before becoming properly qualified, in order to secure temporary advantage in remuneration which in such cases possesses greater attractions than such continuance of training as would ensure at least a fair standard of proficiency.”

The National Federation of Meat Traders' Associations considers that modern conditions in the trade are not favourable to apprenticeship and that it is rather to the development of technical education in the industry that they must look for the provision of skilled workmen. With this object in view, the Federation has instituted a scheme of technical education in the industry.

Farriery and General Smithing.

The National Master Farriers' and Blacksmiths' Association alludes to the probable effect on the future supply of skilled men and of the anticipated return to horse-haulage for short distance work.

“ For such work many firms who had adopted mechanical transport are returning to horses. If this goes on to a great extent, there may be a scarcity of skilled men in a few years time. We do not regard a system of indentured apprenticeship as necessary and are of opinion that probably the best means of obtaining learners for the trade is by being able to show that when the training is complete, the wages to be earned in industrial areas are higher than those in many

other skilled trades. We are further of opinion that some system of examination and registration of farriers ought to be instituted, so that a young man, on completing his period of learning, should have something to show that he is a fully qualified man in the farriery branch of the trade."

§25. Trade unions and apprenticeship.

To those trade unions whose members are engaged in the skilled occupations the subject of apprenticeship is one of obvious importance, for the number of apprentices entering an occupation, the wages paid to them and the obligation of training them are all matters which directly or indirectly affect the economic welfare of the journeymen members of the union. Accordingly, among the rules drawn up by such unions for the guidance of their own members, it is customary to find references or provisions relating to the conditions of employment of apprentices.

Although the rules of most unions contain such references, only some of the unions admit apprentices to membership or at least to full membership. Some admit apprentices to a junior or apprentice section of the union at reduced rates of contribution and with limited benefits; some do not admit apprentices at all until they are in the last six months (or three months) of their apprenticeship period, while others receive apprentices as members within a period of three months after completion of apprenticeship.

In order to ascertain the extent and character of the provisions relating to apprenticeship in the rules of trade unions, schedules were issued to the great majority of the unions affected. Replies were received from 451 unions. Of these, 194 have neither rules nor agreements with employers' associations bearing on apprenticeship; 257 (estimated membership 2,355,000) have rules which in some way touch upon the employment of apprentices, and in the case of 107 of these (estimated membership 1,002,000) the rules (or at least certain of the rules) are the subject of agreement with employers' associations.

A full description of the rules of trade unions on apprenticeship appears in the sectional reports; to these reference must be made for detailed information. It is only possible within the confines of this report to deal generally with the attitude and purpose of the provisions relating to apprenticeship and to give a general description of the various subjects with which the rules deal.

This analysis is subject to certain limitations. It is confined to the unions of workers in the skilled occupations; thus there have been excluded unions of unskilled workers and unions of workers (e.g., transport, railway and professional workers) who are

not recruited by way of apprenticeship; secondly, it must be supplemented by reference to the "collective agreements" section of this report in respect of rules which are the subject of agreement; thirdly, it merely summarises the rules as they appear in the rule books of the unions and does not purport to estimate the extent to which they are enforced or are operative; in this connection indeed it is important to observe that in some industries, the rules of trade unions are not recognised by the employers' associations concerned.

For the purpose of this analysis the rules may conveniently be classified according as they affect:—

- (a) Entry upon apprenticeship.
- (b) Age at entry.
- (c) Length of apprenticeship.
- (d) The training of apprentices.
- (e) The ratio of apprentices to journeymen.
- (f) The relation of apprentices to journeymen.
- (g) The wages of apprentices.

(a) *Entry upon apprenticeship.*—

(i) *Classes of workers who may be apprenticed.*—It has already been mentioned that the initiative in entering on apprenticeship generally rests with the boy himself or with his parents or guardians. The great majority of trade unions do not in any way circumscribe the field from which apprentices may be recruited, but some unions endeavour to confine apprentices to the sons of craftsmen already in the industry or to give a preference over other candidates to the sons of craftsmen or to certain classes of operatives. For example, in the rules of the United River Thames Ship Caulkers' Society it is stated that each apprentice shall be the son of a journeyman, and that no member shall have more than one apprentice, unless his own son, during his lifetime.

Similarly a number of unions direct their members that in the engagement of apprentices preference must be given to members' sons. The majority of such rules consist of a simple statement that members' sons or journeymen's sons are to be preferred, but in some cases a more elaborate provision is made. For example, a rule of the Sheffield Amalgamated Union of File Trades is as follows "a son of a file forger shall be given preference wherever possible, and each forger in the shop shall be given equal opportunities of teaching his son or of fixing the system of choice. No member will be allowed two sons as apprentices except where the other forgers in the shop have had opportunity to place one son each as apprentice."

But while many unions thus favour the sons of members, some at least provide that the number taken must not be in derogation of the ratio of apprentices to journeymen laid down in the rules

and at least one union (the Journeymen Hatters' Fair Trade Union) directs its members "not to teach their sons in an unauthorised manner."

A few unions encourage the taking of apprentices from among certain classes of operatives. Thus, for example, in the cotton industry the various associations of beamers, twistors and drawers usually provide that preference in learning the trade shall be given to teachers.

(ii) *Method of application for apprenticeship.*—While some unions make no provision at all as to the mode of application to be adopted by boys desiring to be apprenticed, a considerable number, particularly in the textile industries where apprentices or learners are often engaged direct by the journeyman, include in their rules a clause providing that the application shall be submitted to the executive committee of the union or that the applicant shall appear before the committee or that members in need of apprentices shall obtain them through the local branch of the union; some unions charge the Secretary with the duty of keeping a register of all apprentices entering the trade.

Rules of a similar nature are also found among associations of workers in other industries, such as coopers, roller coverers, edge tool workers, gold and silversmiths, etc.

A few typical examples may be quoted:—

"Intending learners must apply to the Committee through the medium of the man with whom he intends to learn, supported with the approval of two-thirds of the overlookers working at the mill at which he desires to learn, to decide that such learning will not injure another workman, learners not to exceed 5 per cent. of membership." (Loom Overlookers, Darwen and District.)

"A learner must not be under 18, have a frame to go on to, a qualified member to teach him and the sanction of other members employed. Applications to be considered by the committee. He must become a member of the Society as soon as he commences to learn. No member allowed to take a learner unless he has been a dresser for six years." (Warp Dressers and Warpers, Nelson.)

"No member shall take an apprentice or boy without sanction of the men in the shop, and the executive committee of the district or branch. No member under 25 years shall teach or take an apprentice." (National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades.)

Rules requiring the secretary or branch secretaries of the union to keep a register of apprentices and requiring members to furnish information necessary are of frequent occurrence.

In the rules of the Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers, for example, the following provision appears:—

“General Secretary to be informed where apprentice to be engaged, with particulars as to age, name and address. Information must be forwarded before indentures are signed, in order to give General Secretary or branch officers an opportunity of writing to the parents or guardians of such apprentice to dissuade them from such action, if necessary, or to advise as to the form of indenture.”

Where an application has been accepted by a trade union, the apprentice is frequently required to pay certain entrance fees, which vary considerably in amount.

(iii) *Form of apprenticeship agreement.*—There are many trade union rules which deal with the form of the apprenticeship agreement. In some of these rules it is provided that “apprentices shall be indentured.”

Rules of this character may be exemplified by a quotation from the regulations of the Paper Mould and Dandy Roll Makers’ Union, one of whose objects is to re-establish the use of properly and legally binding articles of apprenticeship.

“It shall be the duty of all the members in each factory to decide how many apprentices shall be duly articulated to that factory and to see that they are duly articulated in a proper and legal manner.”

Similar rules have been made by certain associations of slaters and tilers, plasterers, hatters, litho’ music printers, map engravers, lithographic printers, lithographic artists, coopers, glass bottle makers, lightermen and watermen, ivory and bone brush makers and wicker furniture makers. Some unions while encouraging indentures recognise alternative forms of training as a prerequisite for full membership; others do not attempt in any way to influence the form of agreement under which apprentices or learners should be employed.

(iv) *Period of probation.*—Reference is sometimes made in rules to the preliminary period during which an apprentice may be employed before being bound. Thus a period of not more than four weeks is recognised by the Journeymen Hatters’ Fair Trade Union; of not more than three months by the National Association of Coopers, the Typographical Association, the National Flint Glass Makers’ Sick and Provident Society, and of not more than six months by the Scottish National Operative Plasterers’ Federal Union.

(v) *Apprenticeship agreement to be made with employer direct.*—Apprentices are usually bound direct to the principal employer

though in some industries (for example the cutlery and edge tools and textile industries) the journeyman is responsible for engaging and training the apprentice or learner. Some trade unions definitely discourage the practice of binding apprentices to anyone except the employer himself. Thus, for example, the Journeymen Hatters' Fair Trade Union does not permit a journeyman member to pay an apprentice wages while he is being taught and the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society (London) prohibits members from having apprentices bound to them.

(b) *Age at entry into apprenticeship.*—The great majority of unions have rules which deal explicitly or implicitly with the age at which boys enter upon apprenticeship. The limits of age recommended in the rules may be set out in definite terms or they may be implied in the number of years required to be served before attaining the adult age. Where the age is explicitly stated it may take the form of specifying a minimum age or a maximum or a combination of both.

The rule most frequently encountered is that which states that apprentices shall not be taken after 16 years, or after the 17th birthday; it applies, among others, to certain associations of brass and metal mechanics, coppersmiths and metal workers, painters, glass workers, roll turners, coopers, railway vehicle builders, glaziers, litho' music printers and wool sorters. Scarcely less common is the rule which provides that boys shall not be taken as apprentices after 15 years or after the 16th birthday or only allows entry under 16 years of age; this is a rule of the National Association of Plasterers, the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders and of a number of smaller associations of workmen, e.g., shuttlemakers, flaggers, packing case makers, skip, basket and hamper makers, carpet weavers, etc.

Some trade unions, e.g., the Scottish National Operative Plasterers' Federal Union and certain associations of wire drawers, leather workers and warp dressers, do not approve entry after 17 years or later than the 18th birthday, while entry after 18 years is not sanctioned by, among others, the Amalgamated Slaters' and Tilers' Provident Society, and the Amalgamated Union of Block Printers.

Unions which provide in their rules that apprentices or learners shall not begin under a certain age include many unions in the textile industries. Some of these do not approve, for example, of learners to beaming, twisting and drawing beginning under 16 years; in power-loom overlooking 16 years of age and in some cases 18, 20 and 21 years are laid down as minimum ages of commencement.

Unions which specify a minimum and a maximum age at entry include the Original Society of Papermakers (not under 14 and not

over 15), the Scottish Union of Bakers and Confectioners and the Managers' and Overlookers' Society (not under 16 and not over 18), the Amalgamated Society of Silk Twisters (not under 18 and not over 19) and the Trade Society of Machine Calico Printers (over 18 and under 25).

(c) *Length of apprenticeship.*—The terms of apprenticeship stated in the rules include periods varying from two and a half to seven years. The periods usually specified are five and seven years and of these two, five years is by far the more common. The shortest period of two and a half years appears in a rule of a union of skip and basket makers in Lancashire and Cheshire; and not less than three years is the period stated in the rules of the Amalgamated Slaters' and Tilers' Provident Society, the Amalgamated Union of Quarry Workers and Sett Makers and certain other smaller unions of pianoforte tuners, handmill and horizontal warpers (Glasgow) and cocoa-nut mat and matting weavers (Suffolk).

Periods of four years appear in the rules of only a relatively small number of unions, among whom are, for example, the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists, the United Patternmakers' Association, the Pressed Glass Makers' Society, the National Woolsorters' Society, the Amalgamated Union of File Trades (Sheffield), the Ivory and Bone Brush Makers and certain societies of loom overlookers and tuners in Yorkshire. Six years is the period specified in the rules of the Scottish Brass Moulders' Union and by certain of the smaller associations of workers in the printing industry such as the London Society of Music Engravers and the Map and Chart Engravers' Association. Apprenticeship for seven years is provided for mainly in the rules of unions in the printing and calico-printing industries, e.g., the Typographical Association, the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, etc., the Original Society of Papermakers, the Amalgamated Union of Block Printers, the United Society of Engravers and the Trade Society of Machine Calico Printers; other unions specifying this period include the Barge Builders' Trade Union, the United River Thames Ship Caulkers, the United Operative Plane Makers' Trade Society and certain unions of wood packing-case makers.

All other unions whose rules contain references to the length of apprenticeship adopt a five years' period. Such unions include most of the important unions in the shipbuilding, engineering and building industries.

With a view to discouraging or preventing boys from leaving their employers before completing their period of apprenticeship many unions have strict provisions dealing with apprentices who during the course of training endeavour to change from one employer to another. Regulations on this subject usually take the form of
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another. Sometimes the rule is dictated by considerations affecting the number of apprentices in any one district, apprentices not being allowed to change from one district to another without consent of the union.

Some typical examples of rules of this character may be given. The United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship-builders provides that apprentices, while learning their trade, before leaving one yard or shop to go to work in another shall first obtain the sanction of the nearest branch or district committee. An interesting rule of the Typographical Association states :—

“ To discountenance the pernicious effects of runaway apprentices, branch secretaries must immediately inform the general secretary when a turnover is introduced to an office or an apprentice leaves in search of work, with particulars as to whether the boy is liberated by death, failure or retirement of employer.”

The Trade Society of Machine Calico Printers requires journeymen to report if an apprentice is taken away from his trade and is put on other work and does not permit an apprentice to change his situation, until he has served his seven years, without consent of his district and the district to which he wishes to go.

The Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists requires apprentices “ to serve full time at the shops at which they are first put except with the permission of the branch committee.”

The Amalgamated Slaters' Society of Scotland charges its members with the duty of endeavouring to make “ absconded apprentices and improvers ” return to their former employers ; a rule of the National Glass Workers' Trade Protection Association provides that no apprentice or youth leaving the trade after having commenced at the stage of gathering or gathering and blowing may re-enter the trade except by permission of the executive committee.

The majority of unions usually stipulate that the full recognised journeyman's rate of wages is to be paid immediately on completion of the apprenticeship period or alternatively on attaining the age of 21 years. Though a period of improvership is thus generally discouraged, there are some notable exceptions. Thus the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship-builders has a permissive clause in the rules to the effect that an apprentice out of his time may remain in the same shop one year to get his full money ; so also the United Patternmakers' Association leaves each branch or district to make its own arrangements as to the date on which young workers shall receive the standard rate of wages, provided that the period does not exceed one year after completion of apprenticeship, and the National Union of Vehicle Builders allows apprentices coming out of their time one year to obtain the standard wage rate of the district.

(d) *The training of apprentices.*—Some rules are directed toward ensuring the proper and efficient instruction of apprentices; the provisions on this subject are of great variety and extend from an authorisation to institute proceedings against employers who default in the matter of giving instruction to recommendations of a general character as to the kind of instruction which the apprentice shall be expected to receive. The various kinds of provisions can best be exemplified by some typical quotations from the rules of the unions concerned. The London Saddle and Harness Makers' Trade Protection Society provides that the union may take proceedings against employers who teach apprentices only part of their trade, leaving them at the end of their apprenticeship fit only to do inferior work. The Sheffield Amalgamated Union of File Trades requires a forger taking an apprentice to guarantee to teach him the trade. The National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers stipulates that apprentices shall be employed in "branches of work which will enable the apprentice to obtain a good general knowledge of the sheet metal working industry." The United Society of Engravers imposes on members and shop stewards the duty of ensuring that apprentices are duly taught and are not insubordinate.

In order to ensure that proper instruction shall be given some unions have made rules which define the time which they consider should elapse before the apprentice is put on piece work, or the stages of work that should be taught at a given time. Some require their journeymen members to report on the progress made by apprentices. Thus, the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders has a rule that "an apprentice, when commencing to serve his time, should work the space of two years on time work previous to commencing on piecework," while a rule of the Typographical Association is to the effect that all indentures shall contain a provision precluding apprentices from being put upon piece work or task work of any kind until the last year of apprenticeship and that in offices where equipment does not permit of a general training no apprentice shall be allowed.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Skip and Basket Makers stipulates that no member shall take an apprentice to instruct for less than 2½ years, that the apprentice must be on skips in the second year of apprenticeship and that no member shall have more than one apprentice at one time, while the Trade Society of Machine Calico Printers requires the progress of apprentices to be reported on by the journeymen each year.

The rules of some unions contain definite provisions with regard to time to be spent in technical schools in the day time. Thus, in the woollen industry, the Managers' and Overlookers' Society has a rule that an approved apprentice shall be allowed to attend a technical school in the day time, such period to count in the term.

Similarly, with a view to encouraging the proper training of apprentices, the rules of the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists encourage the apprentice to undertake technical courses of instruction and authorise the Society to pay any fees necessary for this purpose and also provide that apprentices shall be entitled to receive instruction from any member working in the same place.

(e) *The ratio of apprentices to journeymen.*—Among the stated objects of some trade unions is the regulation of apprenticeship with a view to preventing any undue increase in the number of apprentices entering an occupation, and many unions have either agreements with employers' associations or rules specifying the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. The methods by which trade unions seek to secure this object vary but there are three principal devices, the fixation of a uniform ratio (e.g., 1 apprentice to 4 journeymen), of a variable ratio (1 apprentice to 4 journeymen, 2 apprentices to 10 journeymen and so on), or of a uniform or variable ratio subject to an overriding maximum of apprentices, whatever the number of journeymen employed may be.

Only in the printing industry has a rule been found definitely prohibiting the employment of apprentices in certain establishments. Thus, under an agreement between the London Master Printers' Association and the London Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the London Society of Compositors, no apprentices are allowed on hand composition on daily newspapers.

(i) *Uniform ratios.*—Uniform ratios, i.e., ratios which are simple proportions, are the most common of all. They vary from 1 apprentice to 3 journeymen to 1 apprentice to 12 journeymen, but in the great majority of rules the ratio is 1 apprentice to 3, 4 or 5 journeymen. The latter proportions are of almost equal occurrence. The more important unions recognising a ratio of 1 apprentice to 3 journeymen include the Amalgamated Slaters' and Tilers' Provident Society, the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, the Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers and certain associations of gilders, cloggers, glass cutters, spindle makers and packing case makers.

A ratio of 1 apprentice to 4 journeymen is sanctioned by the Society of Lithographic Artists, etc., the Amalgamated Society of Railway Vehicle Builders, the Amalgamated Society of Brassworkers, and certain associations of shuttlemakers, spring makers, reedmakers, cutlers, wire drawers and hosiery workers.

The more important unions whose rules specify a ratio of 1 apprentice to 5 journeymen include the United Patternmakers' Association, the United Society of Boilermakers, etc., Associated Society of Moulders, the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers, the National Union of Vehicle Builders and certain

associations of hatters, glass bevellers, glass bottle workers (London), silk twistors and brush makers.

A ratio of 1 apprentice to 6 journeymen is recognised by the Associated Blacksmiths, Forge and Smithy Workers, the Operative Mule and Ring Spindle Makers and the National Union of Sign, Glass and Ticket Writers and Kindred Trades; of 1 apprentice to 7 journeymen by certain associations of power loom overlookers and tuners in the wool textile industry and by the Amalgamated Union of Block Printers; of 1 apprentice to 10 journeymen by the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers in the gas meter industry and of 1 apprentice to 12 journeymen by the Denton Silk Hat Trimmers.

A provision stating that learners shall not be engaged when there are already five per cent. of learners in a district occurs in the rules of some local associations of overlookers in the cotton industry.

(ii) *Variable ratios.*—Ratios which come within this category generally provide for a diminishing proportion of apprentices according as the number of journeymen increases. Thus they favour the small shop and discriminate against the larger establishments. A considerable number of unions, particularly in the printing industry, adopt variable ratios; they include, in addition to many of the printing unions, the Trade Society of Machine Calico Printers, the Scottish Union of Bakers and Confectioners and certain associations of coopers, engravers, etc. The scales adopted show great variety and can best be exemplified by reference to individual cases. Thus in the rules of the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society the scale is:—1 apprentice to 5 journeymen, 2 apprentices to 6 to 8 journeymen, and 1 additional apprentice for every 4 journeymen up to 40, and 1 apprentice to every 8 journeymen over 40. So also the scale of the United Society of Engravers is:—1 apprentice to 3 journeymen, 2 apprentices to 8 journeymen, 3 apprentices to 15 journeymen and so on in fives in each branch.

(iii) *Uniform or variable ratios with an overriding maximum.*—A considerable number of unions; particularly in the printing industry, specify in their rules the maximum number of apprentices for any one shop. Thus the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, etc., the London Society of Litho' Music Printers and the Pattern Card Makers' Society, set the maximum number at eight; the National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers at six; the National Society of Glass Workers and the Yorkshire United Society of Skip, Basket and Hamper Makers at five; the Walsall and District Gig Saddlers' Union at four and the United Operative Plane Makers' Society and the Book Edge Gilders' Trade Society at three apprentices. A few unions set the maximum at two apprentices and, in some cases, at one apprentice in a shop irrespective of the number of men employed in the

shop. In addition to the rules analysed above, there are certain working rules, particularly in the printing and building industries, agreed between employers' associations and trade unions, which regulate the number of apprentices to journeymen that may be employed. For these agreed working rules reference should be made to paragraph 26 of this report.

(f) *The relation of apprentices to journeymen.*—Some rules attempt to define the relationship of apprentices to journeymen, or in some way to safeguard the interests of journeymen from the competition of apprentice labour. Rules of this kind are common among unions in the glass industry. Thus some unions of glass bottle makers do not permit apprentices to do journeymen's work or work with a journeyman until at least twelve months after commencement or to learn bottle finishing until the last six or twelve months of apprenticeship.

Examples of rules of this character are also found outside the glass industry. Thus the Power Loom Carpet Weavers (Kidderminster) do not allow a member of the association to teach or permit any person to be taught weaving or to be at the front of the loom, or otherwise doing the work of a weaver; so also a rule of the Hinckley Trimmers' Union states that a lad shall not hold a press until over 19 years of age.

Certain of the rules are directed towards conserving the interests of journeymen, so that apprentices may not be employed to the detriment of journeymen in times of slackness of work. Thus the Original Society of Paper Makers provides that no apprentice shall be taken when the mill is not working and the Amalgamated Packing Case and Woodworkers of Scotland Trade Society have a rule that no fresh apprentice shall be started while any remain on the idle roll, without first obtaining consent. So also a rule of the Managers' and Overlookers' Society (woollen industry) is to the effect that an apprentice must not undertake a full overlooker's share in case of emergency for more than six days, while the rules of two unions of glass bottle makers stipulate that apprentices are not to be advanced to higher stages of work when work is being shared, i.e., when men are being suspended in rotation, or when journeymen are being discharged. So also a rule of the National Flint Glass Makers' Society provides that if an employer advances a footmaker or servitor while there are suitable men unemployed, he shall not be entitled to an extra apprentice to fill the vacancy.

Analogous to rules of this character are those which are designed with a view to securing the observance, generally, of trade union conditions throughout an industry. Thus, the Society of Skip and Basket Makers (Lancashire), excludes any member who apprentices his son or ward in a "black" shop. The National Cigar Makers and Tobacco Workers' Union imposes a fine

on any member who apprentices a child in a shop not recognised, and if the offence is repeated, leaves the member to be dealt with by a general meeting of the union, while the Journeymen Hatters' Fair Trade Union has a regulation that any apprentice being bound in a "foul" shop shall lose such time as he may have served.

Other rules are directed to secure that apprentices may not be taken in undue proportion by young journeymen. Thus, some unions do not allow their journeymen members under 25 years of age to take an apprentice, while other unions require their journeymen members to have completed a certain number of years out of their time (seven years in the case of the River Thames caulkers) before being allowed to engage an apprentice.

(g) *Wages of apprentices.*—Wages of apprentices are fixed in some cases under agreements or working rules agreed with employers' associations (see paragraph 26), but where no such agreement exists, they are generally left to individual arrangement between the employer and the apprentice and his parents or guardians. There are relatively few unions which attempt in their rules to define in any way the remuneration of apprentices, but a few exceptional cases occur. Thus the working rules of the Signwriters and Allied Trades contain a scale of wages for apprentices, which are not the result of agreement.

Attitude of trade unions to apprenticeship as expressed by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

As apprenticeship has been the subject of enquiry by a sub-committee of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress within the last five years, it may be appropriate to refer briefly at this stage to the attitude of organised labour to the subject, as expressed in the reports presented to Congress in 1922 and 1923.

As regards the period of apprenticeship, the number of apprentices and the recognition or otherwise of a probationary period after termination of apprenticeship the Committee inclined to the view that these are matters of detail domestic to the unions themselves, but as regard the payment of apprentices the Committee recommended that "the rate of pay of apprentices should not be nominal in character but should bear a definite relation to the cost of subsistence of the apprentice throughout the period of apprenticeship."

The Committee made certain proposals for a constructive policy, which are summarised in the following extracts from their report:—

"A true apprenticeship system should, in our opinion, satisfy at least three conditions, viz. :—

(1) It must guarantee the adequate supervision and training of the young person as regards physical, moral, and mental development until 18 years of age.

(2) It must supply means of effective training, both general and specialised, in the industry in which the young person is engaged.

(3) It must provide to the young person on completion of apprenticeship a reasonable chance of employment in the form of occupation for which definite preparation has been given;

and, therefore, we suggest that regulations on the lines outlined below would result in the realisation of the essential purpose of apprenticeship :—

(1) The gradual and complete instruction of the apprentice.

(2) The full and effective supervision of the terms of the contract of apprenticeship by a competent authority, and the supervision of the mutual relationship of master and apprentice, and the arbitration of disputes arising between them by a competent authority.

(3) The fixing of the proportion of apprentices to adults based on a comprehensive survey of the requirements of the industry.

(4) The provision of rates of pay which shall not be nominal in character, but which shall bear a definite relation to the cost of subsistence throughout the period of apprenticeship.

(5) The provision for keeping records of the work and experience of the apprentices.

(6) The provision for conditions of transfer of apprentices from shop to shop and department to department to ensure continuity and completion of training.

(7) The provision for alternative opportunities.

An apprentice who may not appear likely to become competent for one branch of an industry may prove quite capable for another, and, therefore, every endeavour should be made to ascertain for what particular branch of the industry the apprentice is most fitted and alternative opportunities provided."

§26. Apprenticeship and collective agreements.

In some of the industries which recruit skilled workmen by way of apprenticeship, such as engineering, shipbuilding,* and electrical contracting, the conditions of employment of apprentices are not the subject of joint agreement between employers' and workers' associations; there are, however, in other industries a considerable number of agreements affecting large numbers of apprentices, and a brief account of the more important of these is given below. They usually deal with one or more of the following subjects—

* There are, however, a few agreements in ship-repairing.

age at entry, the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, the wages of apprentices and also the apprentice's right to receive the full journeyman's wage or a stated proportion of it on completion of apprenticeship.

Building.—National craft schemes have been agreed and are operative in plumbing, heating and domestic engineering, plastering, painting and decorating and mosaic work.* In addition, six of the ten Regional Joint Committees of the National Joint Council for the Building Industry have agreed working rules containing regulations governing apprenticeship. The areas where no such working rules exist are the Midlands, South Wales, Southern and South Western Regions. These agreements usually require the commencing age to be on or before the 16th birthday and the period of service to be not less than five years. The agreements provide for the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, but on Government Housing Schemes all such agreements are superseded by an overriding proportion of 1 apprentice to 3 skilled men in each area. The agreements also commonly provide wage scales varying according to age and require the payment of the full standard journeyman's rate at the conclusion of apprenticeship. Exceptions to the latter rule are in the Northern Region, Weymouth and Gloucester, where provision is made for a year's work as improver in certain occupations at less than the journeyman's rate.

In Scotland the regional joint working rules do not apply to apprenticeship in plastering, painting and glazing, while certain exceptions to the rules are made in plumbing. In the Scottish painting and decorative branch of the industry, apprenticeship conditions have been left to each district for settlement and are the subject of local agreements, which generally provide for a six years' apprenticeship commencing at 14 years; in plastering and glazing, employers and operatives have agreed on national apprenticeship schemes.

In London, a joint committee of employers' and operatives' representatives has recently formulated and put into operation a detailed scheme of apprenticeship for all occupations except plastering. The scheme provides for a minimum age at entry of 15 years, for a period of training of not more than five and not less than four years and for the attendance of apprentices at day technical classes without deduction of wages. In a number of towns, including, among others, Bristol, Southampton, Exeter, Manchester, Liverpool and Sunderland, local Apprenticeship Committees, composed of representatives of the Building Industry and other interested persons, meeting under the auspices of the Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment, have also drawn up special schemes of apprenticeship.

* See paragraph 27, Special Schemes, pages 151-2.

Furniture making.—The agreements are on a district basis. The districts covered by agreements affecting apprenticeship include London, Liverpool, Manchester, North East Lancashire, Yorkshire, Sheffield, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Bath, Plymouth and High Wycombe. In Scotland, a national agreement operates, except in Edinburgh and Aberdeen where local agreements are in force.

The agreements commonly provide for the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, most usually 1 to 3. The usual term is five years, and the maximum commencing age is commonly set at 16 years. Most districts fix wages scales.

Sawmilling.—Agreements are on a district basis, the districts including Bristol and Cardiff, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, East Anglia, North East Coast and Scotland. The trade union concerned is the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists. The agreements cover the occupations of sawyer and woodcutting machinist and are more or less uniform in character. They fix wages scales and limit the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. Usually 1 apprentice to 3 journeymen is allowed but in Liverpool the proportion is 1 to 5, with a maximum of 5 apprentices in any one shop. In Manchester the ratio is 1 apprentice to 3 journeymen up to a total of 18 journeymen; over that number the proportion is 7 to 24, with a maximum of 8 apprentices in any one shop, except by agreement. Some agreements fix the age at entry at not under 16 and not over 17 years, and the term of training at not less than four years.

Box and packing case making.—Agreements have been entered into on a district basis, the districts including London, Birmingham and Manchester. The contracting trade union is the local branch of the National Union of Packing Case Workers except in Birmingham where it is the Workers' Union. The Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists is also a party to the London and Manchester agreements. All the agreements fix wages scales and the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. In London the proportion is 1 apprentice to 5 journeymen, in Birmingham 1 to 6, and in Manchester a variable ratio has been fixed.

Printing.—There are agreements in which some provision is made for apprentices with the following trade unions:—

Typographical Association.

Scottish Typographical Association.

London Society of Compositors.

National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants.

National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, Machine Ruling and Paper Workers.

Society of Women employed in Bookbinding and Printing Trades.

- National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers.
 Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers and
 Auxiliaries.
 Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and
 Process Workers.
 London Society of Music Engravers.
 Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society.
 Amalgamated Type Founders' Trade Society.
 National Union of Press Telegraphists.
 National Union of Journalists.

The subjects covered by the agreements are limitation of the number of apprentices, length of apprenticeship period and entering age, wages during apprenticeship, and wages on completion of apprenticeship; generally full wages must be paid on completion but the Society of Lithographic Artists allows an improvership of one year.

The Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades has drawn up a scheme for apprenticeship (see page 152 below) providing for the training and education of apprentices along certain lines and for the compulsory attendance of apprentices at continuation classes.

Paper making.—Agreements between employers' associations and trade unions fix minimum rates of wages for apprentices in hand-made paper mills and for junior workers in other sections of the industry.

Wallpaper making.—The conditions governing the employment of apprentices and other juvenile workers are determined in an agreement negotiated on the Wall Paper Makers' Joint Industrial Council. The agreement fixes the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, the rates of wages during apprenticeship and improvership and also prescribes a scale of wages for juveniles other than apprentices.

An apprenticeship of seven years is required for block cutters and engravers, of five years for machine printers and normally of four years for block printers. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen is 1 to 3, 2 to 7, 3 to 12, and 1 apprentice to each additional 4 journeymen in the case of engravers, colour mixers and machine printers; 1 apprentice to 3 to 5 journeymen, and so on, in the same proportion for block cutters and 1 apprentice to 7 journeymen for block printers.

Miscellaneous metal industries.—There is a comprehensive agreement governing apprenticeship conditions in the light castings industry. Basic rates of wages for a week of 47 hours are prescribed for each year of a five years' apprenticeship in the various occupations, with an additional bonus varying according to the

age of the apprentice. An improvership period of one year is provided for in all occupations, except patternmakers (Falkirk) for whom the period is two years.

Agreements, the provisions of which in some way affect apprentices are also in operation in the sheet metal industry (Aberdeen and Dundee), heating and domestic engineering, shuttlemaking and in the manufacture of card clothing, gold, silver and electro-plate (Sheffield and London), military musical instruments (London), surgical instruments, pens (Birmingham), locks, latches and keys. These agreements mostly fix rates of wages for apprentices but only two prescribe a maximum age of commencement of 15½ or 16 years. Five of the agreements fix the term of apprenticeship at five years, while in six the number of apprentices that may be taken is limited as follows: 1 apprentice to 1 journeyman (sheet metal, Dundee), 1 to 3 (surgical instruments, silver, etc. (Sheffield)), 1 to 4 (card clothing, locks, etc.) and 1 to 5 (military musical instruments).

Chemicals.—There are no apprenticeship agreements in the chemical industry, as apprentices are not employed on process work, but the various Joint Industrial Councils established in the several branches of the industry, namely, chemical manufacture; match making; paint, colour and varnish manufacture; seed crushing and compound cake making; and soap and candles manufacture have (with the exceptions of chemical manufacture and seed crushing) agreed scales of wages for juvenile workers. None of the agreements deals with age at entry or the ratio of juniors to adults. In the drugs and fine chemicals section there is an agreement between the employers' association and the trade union which regulates the wages of juvenile workers.

Glass, and glass bottles.—Agreements exist between various employers' associations and seven trade unions. The agreements, which are operative mainly in the glass bottle and glass decoration branches of the industry, commonly provide for limitation of apprentices, age of entry and wages scales. In the glass bottle branch, the number of apprentices is usually restricted to a given number of apprentices to each hole or chair, e.g., 4 apprentices to 5 holes (North of England), 4 to every 7 chairs (Yorkshire), etc. In this industry, in particular, some of the agreements also contain detailed provisions governing the advancement of apprentices from stage to stage and defining the relationship between apprentices and journeymen.

Pottery.—There is a series of agreements between the National Union of Pottery Workers and the employers' associations, fixing scales of wages for male and female apprentices in various occupations, e.g., decorators, engravers, warehousemen and women, packers' assistants, handlers, potters' attendants and the electrical

fittings trade. These agreements are confined to the young workers' rates during apprenticeship and (in some cases) their right to the full journeyman's rate on reaching a certain age or after an apprenticeship of so many years. The question of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen is not touched.

Iron and steel.—The only agreement affecting workers other than maintenance workers is that between the British Roll Turners' Trade Society and the Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association, fixing the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, as 1 apprentice to 1 journeyman, 2 to 5, 3 to 9, and 4 to 13.

Maintenance apprentices are covered by a variety of agreements. One between the South Wales and Monmouthshire Iron and Steel Manufacturers' Association and various trade unions provides for the proportion of apprentices to journeymen (1 to 4) and for an improvership period of one year on completion of training at 10s. per week less than the full journeyman's rate. Another agreement between the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and four employers' associations fixes the proportion of apprentices as 1 to 3 among bricklayers and masons. In Scotland this trade union has an agreement with the Scottish Steel Makers' Wages Association, now merged in the Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association, laying down scales of wages. An agreement between the last mentioned Association in Sheffield and the engineers', patternmakers' and electricians' trade unions provides for an improvership period of one year at rates less than the full journeyman's rate.

Cotton.—Agreements regarding the conditions of employment of apprentices and other young workers in the cotton industry are not very common, but there are a few of some importance to which reference should be made. There is an agreement dealing with apprentices in Card and Blowing Rooms which fixes the proportion of apprentices as 1 to 3, provides that the employment of apprentices shall not reduce to the employer the price per card or machine, describes in detail the duties of a card room apprentice and fixes rates of wages. It provides for the full list wages on completion of apprenticeship. The agreement does not apply to the Bolton province.

There is also an agreement between the Federation of Master Packers and various trade unions fixing the age of entry (16), the period of apprenticeship (five years), the proportion of apprentices to journeymen (1 to 3) and the proportion of the journeyman's wage to be paid in each year of training and requiring full rates to be paid on completion of apprenticeship. So also in the Colour Weaving trade in the West of Scotland the District Joint Industrial Council has made an agreement fixing age of entry (16), period of apprenticeship and the proportion of apprentices to journeymen (5 per cent.).

Wool textiles.—The main agreement affecting apprentices is that governing the conditions of young workers employed by firms which are members of the Scottish Woollen Trade Employers' Association. This agreement fixes the period of apprenticeship at four years (except warpers and dressers, three years), fixes wages scales for apprentices and provides that, on expiry of apprenticeship, the apprentice shall be entitled to a journeyman's wage in the event of his obtaining a journeyman's job and an assistant's wage if employed as an assistant.

Lace.—In the lace industry a number of agreements fix rates of wages for male and female learners. Thus the Nottingham agreement fixes a proportion of 1 learner to 7 men in the curtain and levers branches and 1 to 6 in the plain net branch; and fixes a training period of four years in the levers, three years in the plain net, and two years in the curtain branches. Learners receive a proportion of the full piece rates, which increases as their learnership progresses. Wages scales are also agreed for a large number of auxiliary workers. Thus dyers have a wages scale subject to a cost-of-living bonus.

Silk.—In the manufacture of silk, the wages of male and female learners are largely regulated by agreement; this applies, e.g., to junior silk workers (Macclesfield), women workers (Leek), braid, spinners, throwers, reelers and knitting departments (males, Leek), dyers and glossers (Leek), silk dyers and finishers (Macclesfield). There are, in addition, a number of agreements of special interest as regards apprentices and learners.

An agreement between the Macclesfield Silk Trade Employers' Association and the Macclesfield Hand Loom Weavers' Association makes provision for apprentices and learners to hand loom weaving. Apprentices or learners are allotted to firms in the proportion of 1 to every 10 weavers, the commencing age of apprentices is 16 to 18 years, there is a scale of time rates for the first three years of apprenticeship and 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. respectively of earnings on piece rates plus bonus are to be paid in the fourth and fifth years.

An agreement between the Leek Manufacturers and Dyers' Association and the Amalgamated Society of Silk Twisters fixes the proportion of apprentices to journeymen (1 in 3), while an agreement between the Macclesfield Silk Trade Employers' Association and the National Silk Workers' Association determines the numbers of designer apprentices allowed and their conditions of employment.

Hosiery.—Various agreements in the hosiery industry fix rates of wages for young workers; included within this group are, for example, an agreement made by the Midland Joint Industrial Council, fixing rates of wages for male juvenile "wet workers," and an agreement covering Leicester, Loughborough and Hinckley

setting out minimum rates for time workers engaged as auxiliary workers and menders, in each case on a sliding scale based on the cost-of-living index number.

Two agreements are of special interest in so far as they apply to apprentices. The first of these is a Hinckley agreement, relating to counter-men and warehouse workers, providing for a five years' apprenticeship not to commence under the age of 15 years, and fixing the proportion of apprentices to journeymen and wage rates; on the completion of the apprenticeship list prices are to be paid. The second is an agreement between the Hawick Hosiery Manufacturers' Association and the National Union of General Workers (Hosiery Branch), fixing a scale of wages for apprentices for four years.

Carpets and rugs.—There are two collective agreements affecting apprentices in Scotland. An agreement made by the Jacquard Section of the Scottish District Council for the Carpet Trade fixes the proportion of apprentices to looms (1 to 15) and provides that boys coming into the factory shall serve for two years as loom boys and shall not start their apprenticeship before they are 18 years of age and shall serve three years. It also fixes time rates of wages during the first 12 months of apprenticeship and piecework rates thereafter.

An agreement in the tapestry section relating to male apprentice weavers makes provision for the remuneration of the teacher.

Sailmaking.—An agreement between the Humber branch of the National Sailmakers Employers' Association and the Humber branch of the Federation of Sailmakers of Great Britain and Ireland provides for a five years' apprenticeship ending at 21 years of age.

Textile bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing.—Rates of wages, usually based on a cost-of-living sliding scale, are agreed and are in operation for the great majority of young workers employed in this industry. An agreement between the Federation of Calico Printers and the Federated Board of English and Scottish Machine Calico Printers, fixes a scale of wages for apprentices covering an apprenticeship of seven years, the rates in each year varying according to age at commencement.

Electricity supply.—The only national apprenticeship scheme in the industry relates to electrical power engineers and provides for a period of training covering at least six years, and for the examination, certification and registration of engineers on completion of training at an age of not less than 23 years.

No agreement has been made by the National Joint Industrial Council for the industry but several of the 13 District Councils have entered into agreements which contain provisions affecting

one or more of three classes of workers, i.e., apprentices, probationers and other juniors. In several districts limitations have been imposed on the number of apprentices in the case of probationary switch-board attendants.

Coopering.—There is a National Joint Industrial Council for the industry, which has devoted considerable attention to apprenticeship, and although the task of drawing up agreements has been left to the Joint District Councils, the National Council has taken steps to obtain some uniformity in the agreements and on the question of apprenticeship has recommended the adoption of indentures. Many district agreements are in operation. Generally they provide for a proportion of 1 apprentice to 3 or 4 journeymen and for apprenticeship to commence at 15 or 16 years and to continue for not less than five years. Wages are prescribed for each year of apprenticeship, usually as proportions of the journeyman's rate.

Leather and leather goods.—Few of the agreements governing the conditions of employment in leather manufacture make special provision for apprenticeship or learnership. A general agreement between the Leather Producers' Association and the Amalgamated Society of Leather Workers prescribes minimum basic rates of wages for young workers but specifically excludes apprentices serving under indentures.

So also in the roller leather tanning section, an agreement between the Roller Leather Manufacturers' Association and the Amalgamated Society of Leather Workers includes, in addition to a youth's wages scale, a scale of "apprentice allowances," under which a decreasing percentage of the piecework earnings of apprentices aged 18 to 20 years is deducted from their wages and divided equally between the employer and the workers teaching the apprentices.

Jewel case making.—An agreement between the jewel case makers' section of the National Leather Goods Manufacturers' Association and the London Jewel Case Makers' Trade Protection Society determines the general conditions of apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is to be under indenture for five years and must not extend beyond adult age. No apprentice leaving one employer may be taken as an improver by another employer. Apprentices may be employed in the proportion of 1 to 4 journeymen or less, and 1 to 4 thereafter until a maximum of 5 apprentices is reached.

Lighterage.—An agreement between the Association of Master Lightermen and Barge Owners (Port of London) and the National Amalgamated Stevedores Union limits the number of apprentices to be employed to 1 apprentice to every 4 lightermen working for a particular firm, exclusive of those apprentices employed on tugs.

Trade Board trades.—All the Trade Boards established under the Trade Boards Acts, 1909 and 1918, have fixed minimum rates of wages for apprentices, learners or juvenile workers. Those which have fixed rates for learners include the Trade Boards established in the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring, wholesale mantle and costume, retail bespoke tailoring, dressmaking and women's light clothing, hat, cap and millinery, shirtmaking, corset, lace finishing, fur, ostrich feather and artificial flower-making, made-up textiles, boot and shoe repairing, paper box and paper bag making, brush and broom and general waste materials reclamation trades.

Minimum rates of wages and the conditions of employment for apprentices have also been determined by the Trade Boards established in retail bespoke tailoring, fur, boot and shoe repairing, brush and broom, flax and hemp and tobacco trades. The provisions made by the boards sometimes cover, in addition to minimum rates of wages, the length of the apprenticeship period, the limitation of the number of apprentices to journeymen, and a requirement that the apprentices shall be indentured in a prescribed form or alternatively in a form which meets with the approval of the Trade Board.

§27. Special schemes of apprenticeship.

In some industries special schemes of apprenticeship have been drawn up with the object of fostering the system of apprenticeship and of ensuring the proper training and instruction of the requisite number of skilled men. Most of these schemes are the result of agreement between employers' and workers' representatives in the industry, but there are a few, such as the schemes of the River Thames Ship Repairers and Dry Dock Proprietors' Association and of the Hull Iron Trades Employers' Association, which have been originated and adopted by the employers independently.

From collective schemes of this nature, there must be distinguished those in operation in numerous individual establishments, particularly in the engineering and shipbuilding industries, of which several examples are given in pp. 98 to 105 of this report.

Building.

(a) *Paviors.*—For paviors and for other occupations in public contracting work, the Public Works Conciliation Board for the London Area, established in 1923 a scheme of apprenticeship which provides for a commencing age of 14 to 17 years and an indentured period of service terminating at 21 years of age. Employers are required to "give facilities to apprentices to attend

a school and encourage such attendance." A scale of wages is fixed.

(b) *Mosaic workers*.—With a view to increasing the supply of skilled craftsmen from Great Britain and thus rendering the trade independent of foreign workers, a joint scheme has been prepared for the systematic training of British boys in mosaic work. The scheme provides for indentured apprenticeship for four or five years according as the boy commences at 16 or 15 years of age, and fixes a scale of wages. The employer undertakes to allow the apprentice to attend the technical school on two half-days per week, without deduction of pay, while the apprentice binds himself to attend evening classes on two evenings per week.

(c) *Plastering*.—The National Joint Council for the Plastering Industry approved in August, 1926, a new scheme of apprenticeship providing for seven, six or five years' apprenticeship according as the starting age is 14, 15 or 16 years, the period to conclude at the 21st birthday. During the first two years of apprenticeship the employers allow the apprentice one whole day or two half-days per week without deduction of wages to attend day technical classes. The apprentice is also bound during the first four years to attend evening classes on two days a week. A wages scale is also fixed.

(d) *Painting*.—In 1920 there was formed the National Painters' and Decorators' Joint Education Committee. The Joint Committee ceased to exist in November, 1925, owing to the resignation of the operatives' representatives, but the employers are continuing the work of the Education Committee with certain modifications. The main objects of the Education Committee are to assure adequate facilities for training of a practical character approved by the craft, to co-operate with and advise education authorities on all matters affecting training and to organise a national competition and exhibition annually together with a travelling exhibition of selected work; money prizes, local certificates and national diplomas are awarded.

(e) *Plumbers*.—The National Apprenticeship Council of the Plumbing Trades has drawn up a comprehensive scheme of apprenticeship. Area councils have been set up and are adapting the national scheme to local circumstances. Employers undertake to sanction attendance at a technical school on not less than two half-days a week without deduction from wages, and the apprentice is bound to attend an evening course on two evenings each week. An examination board will conduct examinations for apprentices at the beginning of the fourth and fifth and at the end of the sixth or seventh years of apprenticeship, the last examination being the qualifying examination for registration. The period of apprenticeship, rates of wages to be paid, hours of work and working conditions will be determined by the local apprenticeship council.

(f) *Heating and domestic engineers.*—The Heating and Domestic Engineers' Joint Industrial Council has formed an Education Committee, with local committees in London and Birmingham, where lectures are arranged in co-operation with the local authority on technical education. A scale of wages of apprentices is defined.

(g) *Government Housing Scheme.*—In order to provide an adequate supply of skilled labour for the carrying out of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1924, a scheme of apprenticeship was recommended by the National Building Industry Committee.

The scheme provides for the temporary waiving of the restrictions as to the number of apprentices, which any one employer may have, so long as the total number of apprentices in a given district, when compared with the total number of craftsmen in that district, does not exceed the ratio prescribed by existing rules. In all housing contracts with local authorities the contractor is required to employ under indentures, or other written agreement approved by the Committee, a number of apprentices not less than one-third of the building trade craftsmen, provided that he does not employ such a number of apprentices as would make the total number of apprentices employed in the area exceed one-third of the building trade craftsmen in the area. Provision is also made for the extension of the age limit (usually 16 years) at which apprentices may be taken to 20 years and for the introduction of adult apprentices from the ranks of men with experience of the building industry (e.g., labourers). Apprentices are to be indentured and registered with the local committees and a wages scale, varying according to age at entry, is specified, certain proportions of the standard rates applicable being payable each half-year during the apprenticeship.

Electricity Supply.—A special scheme has been agreed for electrical power engineers by the National Joint Board of Employers and Staff. The scheme provides for a period of training covering at least six years, part of which must be spent in a manufacturing engineering works, followed by a period of not less than two years in an electricity supply undertaking of more than 8,000 kilowatt capacity. The scheme also provides for the examination, certification and registration of engineers on completion of training at an age of not less than 23 years.

Printing.—A special committee of the Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades has formulated a scheme for the education and training of apprentices. The scheme recommends the establishment of local committees composed of employers and workers in equal numbers for the purpose of "improving, co-ordinating and encouraging the education and training of apprentices." The functions of the local committee are defined as being to arrange for addresses and for the distribution of appropriate

literature to boys in the schools upon the possibilities of the trades within the industry, to recommend suitable boys to employers, to ensure that apprentices are receiving the right kind of training, to consult with the local education authority in regard to the selection of instructors, curriculum, etc., at the technical institutions, and to encourage advanced training in suitable cases where capacity is shown for positions of responsibility in the industry.

Apprentices indentured under this scheme are required under the terms of their indenture (up to 16 years of age, and where facilities are provided) to attend a suitable day or technical school, or school of art, for not less than one whole day or two half-days a week, without deduction of wages. The apprentices are also required to attend evening continuation classes on two evenings a week up to the age of 18 years.

Engineering and Shipbuilding.—The Hull Iron Trades Employers' Association has adopted a scheme of apprenticeship training; it is not confined to engineering, but applies generally to the iron trades, including shipbuilding, carried on in the district. The principal features of the scheme are as follows:—apprentices in the engineering and shipbuilding departments are to be bound under the indenture recommended by the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation or that of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. The normal period of apprenticeship is between the ages of 16 and 21. Boys may be employed as probationers from 14 years of age. It is recommended that apprentices should be selected from an apprenticeship register kept at the Technical College, preference being given to boys who have entered upon attendance at evening classes immediately upon leaving the day schools. Apprentices are required to attend classes at the technical college or its affiliated schools. Class fees are repaid by the employer on production of the student's sessional record. Overtime is discouraged. Rewards for successful work at the classes take various forms; thus in selecting boys for promotion to the drawing offices, the record of their college work is taken into consideration; the association awards annually a gold medal and books or instruments (value £10 10s.) to the best student of the year, service in the workshops being taken into consideration in making the award; a bonus of £2 per annum is paid to apprentices who have a satisfactory college and workshop report. It is understood that apprentices are not to be put on short time "except at periods of great stress," in which case arrangements are made for the technical college to provide temporary accommodation in its full-time department.

The River Thames Dry Dock Proprietors and Ship Repairers' Association has made uniform arrangements for apprentices, which provide for a five years' indentured apprenticeship, not to start before the age of 16 years. Apprentices are bound to attend

evening continuation classes for at least two evenings per week during the first two years of apprenticeship. A wages scale is set out and the proportion of apprentices to journeymen is specified.

Vehicle building.—The National Federation of Vehicle Trades (employers) has drawn up a scheme of apprenticeship training, providing for the indenturing of all apprentices in wood and metal vehicle building under a standard form of indenture as from the age of 16 years (from 15 years by mutual consent) until the age of 21 years. A scale of wages is suggested commencing at 17½ per cent. of the journeyman's rate in the case of apprentices of 16 years (12½ per cent. at 15 years) and rising to 50 per cent. of the journeyman's rate in the last year. Where a premium is paid, the employer is to pay one-quarter of the cost of tools purchased with his consent and approval by the apprentice during the first two years and is to refund fees to the apprentice for satisfactory attendance at technical classes. Other special provisions included in the scheme deal with the employment of the apprentice on overtime, piece work and on night shifts and with the suspension of the apprentice during such time as the works may be at a standstill owing to accident.

Belting and leather hose pipes.—A scheme of apprenticeship training has been arranged by a sub-committee of employers' and workers' representatives in the leather belting section of the industry. Entrance to the trade is to be by apprenticeship for a minimum period of four years, no starting age is specified, but an apprentice is not to be considered skilled before he attains the age of 21 years. Apprentices are to be taught all operations except cutting which is left to the discretion of the employer, and the ratio of apprentices to journeymen is defined.

Retail distribution.—The Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors (comprising most of the large departmental stores in London and the provinces) in conjunction with the London County Council has framed a joint scheme of training in retail distribution. The main features of this scheme are that students, ranging in age from 14½ to 17 years, are selected from applicants by representatives of the association and before acceptance are required to pass a general knowledge test. The students attend a course of instruction at a special school. At least one year's training is essential for beginners but two years' training is advised. Every student satisfactorily completing the course is assured of a position with one of the leading stores. A certificate is granted to successful students.

Local Authorities.—In Cardiff a municipal apprenticeship scheme defines the conditions for apprentices in the workshops of the Public Works Department and the Education Committee. Applicants must be between the ages of 14 and 16 years and serve for five years (plumbing, six years). A probationary period of four

weeks and a wages scale are included in the scheme, which also provides that boys remaining in a secondary or day technical school up to 15 years have the term of apprenticeship reduced by one year and at commencement are paid the wages fixed for the second year of apprenticeship. Attendance at technical classes is compulsory on two evenings per week and for one whole day per week during the first and second years; fees are paid by the local authority.

§28. Girl apprentices.

As regards girls, training by way of apprenticeship, whether under written or verbal agreement, is relatively unimportant, since the great majority of those in training for skilled occupations are employed under a system of learnership. Thus, of the 41,530 girls in training of whom particulars are available, 35,465 (85.4 per cent.) are learners, 4,805 (11.6 per cent.) are apprentices under verbal agreement and 1,260 (3 per cent.) are indentured apprentices (see table below), and of the 6,065 girl apprentices 78 per cent. appear in three industries—pottery (988), clothing (1,004) and distributive (2,747).

Proportion of female apprentices under written or verbal agreements and of learners in each industry.

Industry.	Number of female trainees (apprentices and learners) returned.	Percentage number of female trainees who are—		
		apprentices under—		learners.
		indentures or other written agreements.	verbal agreements.	
Engineering	62	—	—	100.0
Shipbuilding	29	—	100.0	—
Precious metal	57	17.5	—	82.5
Other metal	562	0.4	—	99.6
Pottery	1,252	6.8	72.1	21.1
Furniture, sawmilling and allied.	187	3.2	56.2	40.6
Printing	1,608	2.2	15.3	82.5
Paper and paper goods	2,910	0.5	1.4	98.1
Cotton	2,139	—	—	100.0
Wool	1,355	5.1	14.3	80.6
Other textile	5,044	1.0	4.3	94.7
Boot and shoe... ..	1,314	3.1	4.3	92.6
Other clothing	16,886	1.8	4.2	94.0
Leather and leather goods	386	—	0.8	99.2
Food, drink and tobacco	1,562	3.1	2.0	94.9
Distributive	4,391	11.7	50.9	37.4
Other	1,786	4.7	2.4	92.9
All above industries	41,530	3.0	11.6	85.4

The girls returned as apprentices are mainly employed as french polishers and upholsterers in shipbuilding, as decorators, gilders, transferers, painters and enamellers in pottery, as bookbinders, machine rulers and folders in printing, as lookers and examiners in the woollen industry, as machinists and closing room operatives in boot and shoe manufacture, as machinists and finishers in the clothing industry, as cigar makers in tobacco manufacture, and as sales assistants in the distributive industries.

The great majority of *indentured* apprentices are employed in the clothing and distributive industries. In the former they are found mainly in certain branches of the ready-made tailoring trade in the Manchester district, and in the latter as sales assistants.

Girl apprentices commonly begin at 14 or 15 years of age, but 14 years is the more frequent age at entry, more than 50 per cent. of the total number of female apprentices returned commencing at that age. In the pottery, furniture, printing, textile (other than cotton and wool), clothing and the food, drink and tobacco industries; 14 years is the predominant and in some cases almost the universal age at entry. Girl apprentices in the shipbuilding industry (polishers and upholsterers) enter at 16 years, those in the paper goods industry mainly at 15 years, while in the woollen, boot and shoe and distributive industries almost all enter at either 14 or 15 years.

The period of training for girl apprentices is usually much shorter than for boys, three or four years being usual, as compared with five, six or seven years for boys. In the majority of cases the period is arranged so as to terminate at 18 years, but in some cases it extends to 21 years. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the girl apprentices complete their period of training at 18 years of age or under, and the remainder, with a few exceptions, at 19 and under 21 years of age.

Periods of three or four years predominate in all industries, except the shipbuilding and food, drink and tobacco industries, where the usual period is five years, boot and shoe manufacture where it is six years, and pottery where it is seven years. A fair proportion of girl apprentices in the clothing, textile and distributive industries serve for two years or less.

Average wages in the first year of apprenticeship range from 6s. 8d. per week in the clothing industry to 12s. 9d. in the wool textile and the food, drink and tobacco industries. The average wages in some of the principal apprenticeship industries are as follows:—pottery 8s. 1d., printing 9s. 4d. and distributive 8s. per week. In the last year of training the average wages in the main apprenticeship industries are as follows:—distributive 14s. 11d., clothing 22s., pottery 22s. 6d. and printing 27s. 2d. per week. In the pottery industry piece work is common, both in the first and last

years of training, while a fair proportion of apprentices are on piece work in the last year of training in the woollen, clothing and tobacco industries.

The wages of girl apprentices, both in the first and last years of training, are in the majority of industries appreciably lower than those of boy apprentices and slightly lower than those of girl learners.

The various ages at entry, periods of apprenticeship and rates of wages of girl apprentices in the industries in which they are employed are given in detail in Tables XVI, XVII and XX of the Appendix.

Trade union rules and collective agreements rarely prescribe conditions of apprenticeship training for girls, but there are a few agreements covering girl apprenticeship in the furniture, precious metal, pottery and wool textile (Scotland) industries. These agreements usually regulate age at commencement, period of service or wages. In addition, Orders made under the Trade Boards Acts specify the conditions of employment for girl apprentices in the fur and retail bespoke tailoring trades.

§29. Learnership.

Reference has already been made (see page 8 above) to the distinction drawn between the terms "apprentice" and "learner." For the purposes of the enquiry, the term "learner" is defined as a worker who, not being an apprentice, is specifically engaged by the employer for a recognised period of training in the capacity of learner and is provided by the employer with instruction or with definite facilities for learning a branch or process of the industry. Thus learnership may vary from something which is almost informal apprenticeship down to employment during good behaviour, with the promise of opportunity to learn the trade. A boy may, without any agreement expressed verbally or otherwise between himself and his employer, be promoted from errand boy to the bench and enter on a period when he is definitely given facilities for learning the trade.

Learners are commonly trained by being given a definitely graded series of jobs of increasing difficulty. Thus, in upholstery, the learner may be put consecutively to the following processes:—tacking on webbing, fixing in springs, first stuffing, second stuffing, inner covering, and finally outer covering; so also in sawmilling there is often promotion from machine to machine.

Similarly, in engineering, starting with the slotting and milling machines, the learner may be put on a succession of machines. Machine minders of this type are really semi-skilled men; they are commonly found in the engineering and boot and shoe industries, where they are mainly employed on automatic machine

work, but sometimes they may be promoted to intricate machines, for which the degree of skill required may be such that they may be classed as skilled workers.

The vagueness of the term "learner" and the different senses in which it is used have occasioned some difficulty in the compilation of the returns. Thus, in the textile industries learnership is the recognised method of entry into most occupations, but it differs from the term as defined above in so far as there is no generally recognised period of training (the duration of training being conditioned by the occurrence of vacancies) and in so far as the onus of training rests on the journeyman or journeywoman rather than on the employer.

So also in the building industry, the term "learner" is not generally used. Entry into the industry is usually by apprenticeship and less commonly by improvership. The term "improver" in this connection denotes the youth who, having entered the trade as a boy on unskilled work, has evinced sufficient aptitude and physical ability to be employed in a skilled occupation.

(a) *Boy learners.*—Boy learners number about 24 per cent. of the boys in training and between 8 and 9 per cent. of the male workpeople under 21 years of age. It is estimated that, excluding those in the textile industries, there are about 110,000 learners, the great majority of whom are found in the engineering and allied industries, the distributive, clothing and boot and shoe industries, and in the building industry as improvers.

In several industries certain occupations are recruited by learnership rather than apprenticeship, although the latter method obtains generally in the industry concerned, e.g., among machine men, instrument makers, coach trimmers and finishers in the engineering and allied industries, woodcutting machinists generally, copyholders and layers-on in the printing industry and fancy leather goods workers. These occupations are for the most part concerned with the tending of machines, or involve simple hand work of a repetitive nature.

Learnership is much more favoured as a method of training in the Midlands and in London than in other districts. Thus, the proportion of boys in training who are returned as learners varies from 47.2 per cent. in the North and West Midland Counties, 42.6 per cent. in London and 34.6 per cent. in the South Midland and Eastern Counties to 8.0 per cent. in Wales, 6.6 per cent. in Scotland and 3.9 per cent. in the Northern Counties.

A distinguishing feature of learnership, as compared with apprenticeship, is the earlier age at entry and the longer period of training.

Of the boy learners in the several industries, about 61 per cent. enter at 14 years, 18 per cent. at 15 years and 18 per cent. at

16 years, the corresponding estimated percentages for apprentices being, respectively, 35, 20 and 42. The industries in which 14 years is the predominant age at entry include boot and shoe, clothing and brick and tile manufacture, while relatively few learners begin at 14 years in the shipbuilding and chemical industries where the customary commencing age is 16 years. In the engineering and allied industries, the pottery, furniture, food, drink and tobacco and distributive industries, between 50 and 60 per cent. of the learners are definitely returned as entering at 14 years of age.

Correlative to the earlier age of entry of learners is the longer period of training usually served by learners. Thus, the average length of learnership is 6.1 years as compared with 5.6 years in the case of apprenticeship and while there is a general predominance of terms of five years among apprentices, the majority of learners serve for seven years. Exceptions to this rule appear among learners in the shipbuilding, chemical, sawmilling, printing, paper and food industries where a considerably greater proportion of the learners serve for five years than for other periods.

Periods of eight years or over predominate in the boot and shoe and clothing industries, and of less than five years occur most frequently in the leather and leather goods (34.1 per cent.), pottery (31.1 per cent.), brick and tile (30.7 per cent.), distributive (28.6 per cent.), furniture making (27.6 per cent.), electrical contracting (26.6 per cent.) and food, drink and tobacco (22.9 per cent.) industries.

The average wages of boy learners in all industries (other than building and textiles) range in the first year of learnership from 9s. 11d. per week (clothing) to 20s. per week (food, drink and tobacco), and in the great majority of the industries they fall between 10s. and 12s. per week (see Appendix, Table XV). They are also generally higher than the corresponding wages paid to apprentices. Thus the average weekly wages of learners in engineering are 11s. 1d. as compared with 10s. 7d. for apprentices, in electrical contracting 11s. 1d. as compared with 8s. 9d., in furniture making 11s. 11d. as compared with 9s. 7d., in sawmilling 16s. 7d. as compared with 11s. 9d., in distributive industries 12s. 2d. as compared with 11s. 9d., and in food, drink and tobacco 20s. as compared with 15s. 11d. In comparing the wages of apprentices and learners, it must be noted that learners are generally younger than apprentices in the first year of training and that age for age the difference in wages is probably greater than is represented by the figures given above.

The average rates of wages during the last year of learnership range between 23s. 6d. per week (shipbuilding) and 47s. 9d. (sawmilling) and in all industries save pottery, brick and tile and food, drink and tobacco are higher than the corresponding average rates

for apprentices. In the principal industries in which learners are found, the average weekly wages are as follows:—engineering 30s. 9d., distributive 33s. 2d., clothing 36s. 7d., food, drink and tobacco 37s. 9d., and boot and shoe manufacture 46s. 5d., during the last year of training.

(b) *Girl learners.*—The method predominantly adopted for the training of girls is learnership. Thus, of the 41,530 girls in respect of whom particulars were obtained during the enquiry, 35,465 (85 per cent.) are being trained under this system. The great majority are employed in two large industries, clothing and textiles; other industries in which substantial numbers of girl learners are employed include the paper and paper goods, printing, food, drink and tobacco and distributive industries. Girl learners are employed in the clothing industry mainly as machinists and finishers, in textiles as spinners, weavers, winders, lookers, examiners and preparers, in printing as bookbinders, layers-on, folders and warehousewomen, in paper and paper goods making as paper box and paper bag makers, paper finishers and manufacturing stationers and in engineering and allied industries as assemblers and machine operators. Girl learners usually enter employment at 14 years of age, nearly 80 per cent. being returned as commencing at that age. This is the usual practice in all industries save engineering, in which 15 years is equally common as a starting age, and the furniture and distributive industries, in which substantial proportions also commence at 15 or 16 years of age.

Four years is the usual term of learnership, about 70 per cent. of the girls serving for that period. This is the rule in most industries, but there are some exceptions. Thus in the engineering and allied industries periods of five, six and especially of seven years are frequently served and periods of seven years predominate in pottery, of six years in boot and shoe manufacture and of five years in leather and leather goods manufacture; most of the girl learners in the distributive and a substantial number in boot and shoe manufacture and the metal industries serve for three years or less. In the textile industries learnership has a somewhat different connotation and frequently extends for relatively short periods of only two weeks to three months.

In the great majority of cases learnership ceases at 18 years of age; it is estimated that about 87 per cent. of girl learners complete their term of training at 18 years or under and the remainder with a few exceptions at 19 to 21 years.

The average wages of girls on time work during the first year of learnership range from 7s. 1d. per week (clothing) to 12s. per week (engineering), but in the majority of industries the average falls between 9s. and 10s. per week. It is usually higher than that of girl apprentices in the same industries. During the last year of learnership the average wage on time work varies from 19s. 10d. per week (distributive) to 30s. 10d. (boot and shoe).

The average is above 25s. per week in all industries save the distributive (19s. 10d.), pottery (21s. 1d.), leather and leather goods (22s.), precious metal (23s. 4d.), other metal (23s. 11d.), and clothing (24s. 1d.) industries.

The incidence of the various commencing ages, periods of learnership and rates of weekly wages for girl learners in each industry is given in Tables XVIII, XIX and XX of the Appendix.

Certain conditions of the employment of girl learners are prescribed in collective agreements covering some sections of the printing industry and in Orders under the Trade Boards Acts, in the boot and shoe repairing, brush and broom, chain making, lace finishing, jute, flax and hemp, clothing (corset making, dress-making and women's light clothing, fur, hat, cap and millinery, retail bespoke tailoring, wholesale mantle and costume), paper bag and paper box, ostrich and fancy feather and artificial flower making industries. These Orders usually define the term "learner" and generally require facilities for learning a branch or process of the trade to be given; they also specify the minimum rates of wages applicable to each age or stage in the period of learnership.

§30. Upgrading.

Upgrading has already been described (see page 9 above) as the practice of promoting, usually to the semi-skilled or the less skilled tasks, labourers or other unskilled operatives, who have acquired some knowledge of methods and processes in use by working in association with skilled men. What distinguishes this method of training from others is that there is no attempt to teach the unskilled labourer skilled operations and he is not attached to a journeyman primarily for purposes of instruction. He is either placed on a comparatively simple machine from which he is promoted to more difficult machines or he assists the more experienced workmen as a member of a gang, so "picking up" a knowledge of the work of the senior workmen of the gang and being gradually advanced therein by the foreman.

Upgrading by promotion from machine to machine is most commonly encountered in those industries in which automatic or semi-automatic machinery has reduced the amount of skill required; examples of this are found among machinemen in the engineering industry and to some extent in the highly specialised machine processes in boot and shoe manufacture. But the system probably reaches its highest development in industries such as those engaged in the manufacture of chemicals and in the extraction of metals, in which much of the work is performed by groups or gangs.

The system is described in the following extract from a statement by the Employers' National Council for the Clay Industries :

"The usual custom is to take boys as they come from school and employ them as carry-off boys, etc., in charge of the moulder. By this means they are in constant touch with the moulders for two or three years. They then gravitate to the next stages almost automatically either as

(a) 'temperers,' that is, youths who temper the clay mixture ready for the moulders, which is the step previous to making moulders of them, or

(b) assistants in kiln setting and drawing.

When the youths reach about 20 years of age, they are then put to skilled work, in the cases above (a) of moulding or (b) kiln setting and drawing or kiln firing. It is really an automatic rate of progress from carry-off boys to the most important and skilled jobs in the works. There is nothing to stop a lad of the right sort getting to be a skilled workman or even a foreman."

In the chemical industry, boys and girls are taken direct from school and assist the process workers in various ways, gradually gaining experience by working in proximity to the plant. In the drug and fine chemical branch of the industry, for example, "practically all such juveniles, on attaining adult age, enter Grade III (or II in the case of females) occupations and enter into competition with existing Grade III workers for promotion to higher grades as vacancies occur."

Typical instances of upgrading appear in the iron and steel industry. In pig iron manufacture (blast furnaces), boys under 18 years of age are rarely of sufficiently strong physique to be employed upon the heavy work at the furnace, but they may enter the furnace section as sweepers, as carriers of samples to the laboratory or as labourers. They usually enter the works as assistants to the engine men, or at the hoists. If assigned permanently at a later stage to furnace work, they become loaders and handymen at the furnaces, rising by several stages to be furnace keepers, as vacancies occur among the skilled and semi-skilled workers, and according to their individual physique and seniority. Those who do not find places at the furnaces may become engine drivers, hoistmen or gantry men, employed in the transport of materials in the works or they may transfer to the maintenance staff. There is no systematic course of training, and progress depends on the speed at which they "pick up" the various jobs of the department to which they have been assigned. In the puddling, steel smelting and iron and steel rolling and forging sections of the industry, such boys as are employed commence work generally in the mill or forge departments as errand boys, scrap boys, faggoters, markers or labourers. In the rolling mills they may assist the men employed on the hot saw, hook

billets etc. across the rollers, remove superfluous metal, or work levers. On attaining adult age, and if they are capable of working in the melting shops, they begin as labourers or wheelers of metal or ashes, and gradually learn to assist at a furnace with the possibility of becoming first hand melters.

The tinplate industry also affords a good example of the system. Boys commonly enter at 14 or 15 years as bundlers; at 16 to 18 they become behinders, at about 20 second helpers; later they may become first helpers or furnacemen. Some furnacemen attain the position of doublers and eventually of rollermen. Other boy bundlers become picklers and later annealers. In the tin house, boys commonly begin as dusting machine boys, becoming risers at about 16 years, attenders at from 18 to 21 years, and subsequently tinmen, from whom assorters and foremen are usually selected.

So also in the manufacture of artificial stone and of cement, there is a gradual progression from unskilled to semi-skilled and occasionally to skilled work.

Some such system as upgrading has long been in operation in those industries in which apprenticeship (or learnership) has never been the customary method of recruitment. There is no information available as to whether the system is expanding or contracting, but it is perhaps not without significance that the method has encroached on the regular systems of training in those industries in which apprenticeship or some alternative and recognised form of training has hitherto been practically the only method of entry.

§31. Summary of results and conclusions.

The results of the enquiry serve to emphasise that apprenticeship is still of supreme importance in the modern industrial system and that it is still the recognised and by far the most systematic method of entry into the ranks of skilled men in the most important industries of the country. Those who desire its retention and development must be regarded therefore as being moved not by a mere affectation for an archaic institution, but by a proper appreciation of its place among modern methods of industrial training.

It is estimated that there are about 315,000 boy apprentices and 110,000 boy learners in training for skilled occupations in Great Britain. Substantial as these numbers are, it has to be recognised that only about one-seventh of the youths under 21 in industrial occupations are serving a recognised apprenticeship and that, excluding the textile industries, only about one-fifth are undergoing systematic industrial training as apprentices or learners, the great majority of the remainder being employed as labourers, clerks, transport workers, or otherwise picking up a knowledge of industrial processes.

Modern apprenticeship is, however, vastly different from that apprenticeship to which it is the traditional successor. Only about

28 per cent. of the boys in training are apprenticed under indentures or formal written agreements. Apprenticeship in its stricter forms is indeed showing some decline. Thus a comparison of the proportion of indentured apprentices in some 16 industries shows that the proportion of boys in training who were serving under indentures decreased from about 36 per cent. in 1909 to 30 per cent. in 1925.

Indentured apprenticeship is most widely adopted in printing, shipbuilding, in certain occupations in the glass and chemical industries, and in the mercantile marine, and with the exception of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland, where it still persists to a great extent, it is much more common in southern than in northern districts.

Premium apprenticeship on the other hand is no longer widely adopted, only between 6 and 7 per cent. of apprentices coming within this category. It occurs mainly in the mercantile marine and in shipbuilding, but instances of premium apprenticeship are found in most of the industries in which recruitment occurs by way of apprenticeship; it is, however, mainly confined to the Midlands and South of England.

The burden of training apprentices is undertaken by the smaller rather than by the larger firms. The contribution of many large firms to the training of skilled men varies inversely with their size and importance; such firms depend on meeting their need of skilled craftsmen from those who are trained in the smaller shops. This failure to train the proper quota of skilled men, which appears more particularly among some of the larger firms in the bigger centres of population, may presage difficulties for the future and is unfortunate in so far as training is denied to boys in many establishments with equipment and resources which could be adapted, with the happiest results, for this purpose.

The proportions of apprentices to journeymen in the various occupations show wide differences. In the building industry, the number of journeymen employed to each apprentice varies from 5.7 among masons to 2.2 among plumbers; in the industry as a whole there are roughly 2 apprentices to every 9 journeymen, but there are 15.2 journeymen to each apprentice in London as compared with 2.7 in Scotland and the Northern Counties of England. In the printing industry there are approximately 2 apprentices to 11 journeymen among compositors and stereotypers and 1 apprentice to 5 journeymen among letterpress machine minders and lithographers. In shipbuilding and marine engineering the number of apprentices and learners being trained in proportion to the number of journeymen is least among boilermakers and riveters and greatest among plumbers and joiners; in engineering other than marine engineering it is least among smiths, moulders and coremakers, boilermakers and platers.

The question whether apprenticeship is increasing or declining can best be answered by a comparison of the ratio of apprentices to

journeymen at different dates. Unfortunately, the information available in the past on this important subject is not very complete, but in so far as comparative figures are available, they indicate a well-marked increase in the proportions of apprentices employed in most of the principal occupations of the building industry and an almost equally well-defined decrease in all the occupations of the printing industry with the exception of lithography. In shipbuilding and engineering, the various occupations show different tendencies; thus in shipbuilding the proportion of apprentices to journeymen has decreased among machine tool workers but among joiners and plumbers it has increased, while in the engineering industry there are relatively fewer fitters', erectors' and mechanics' apprentices and relatively more turners', machine tool workers' and patternmakers' apprentices in 1925 than in 1909.

How far the existing ratios of apprentices to journeymen will meet future requirements is a question which depends largely on the rate at which the industries themselves continue to expand or contract. In all skilled occupations in the building industry except plumbing and in the principal occupations of the printing industry, it appears unlikely that the existing proportions are sufficient to maintain the present rate of expansion in these industries, while the existing proportions in the case of moulders and brass finishers (engineering) and riveters (shipbuilding) are probably insufficient to maintain the number of journeymen now in the industries.

A factor of some importance in the consideration of the numbers of apprentices required to meet the future needs of industry is the decline which has taken place in the birth-rate, although this is, of course, offset to some extent by a decline in mortality. The birth-rate reached its highest point in the period 1865 to 1880, during which it exceeded 35 per thousand population. Thereafter it gradually declined to 23.8 per thousand population in 1914. A further decline during the war period took place and, apart from a temporary increase which followed demobilisation, the decline has been consistently maintained so that the birth-rate in 1927 was almost exactly one-half of what it was 40 years ago. The effect of this decline on the number of young persons available for employment will be most pronounced in 1933. It is estimated that the numbers of boys and girls likely to be occupied in 1933 will be 259,000 and 186,000, respectively, less than to-day. This shortage in the number of boys and girls available for employment may perhaps be considered likely to affect the employment of juvenile workers rather than of apprentices in particular, but it may nevertheless have important reactions on the conditions which it may be necessary to offer in order to attract boys and girls into apprenticeship occupations.

Another important factor arises from the failure of a proportion of apprentices to complete their training. It is found that in shipbuilding about 10 per cent., in engineering 9 per cent., building

2 per cent., and in printing and woodworking between 1 and 2 per cent. of apprentices fail to complete their term with the firm with which they started and are definitely lost to these industries. The majority of such boys appear to enter unskilled or semi-skilled occupations in other industries carried on in the district, but some are said to be attracted to H.M. Forces, the police services or the employment of local authorities. In addition to these, a relatively small number transfer to other firms, but these are not necessarily to be regarded as "losses" to industry. The general experience of employers is that boys present themselves in sufficient numbers as applicants for apprenticeship occupations, but a substantial number allude to particular difficulties in this respect. Thus some report a reluctance on the part of boys to bind themselves for a term of years owing to the uncertain outlook and the industrial depression in certain industries; some complain of a difficulty in obtaining recruits owing to the attraction of higher wages in other occupations. Others allude to a reluctance to enter upon occupations involving work of a heavy or dirty character, some difficulty being experienced in recruiting boys to moulding and heavy forging in engineering, to riveting in shipbuilding, to bricklaying and plastering in building, and to glazing in pottery.

As regards the age at entry, the majority of boys commence their apprenticeship between the ages of 14 and 16 years, but more commonly at 16 years than at any other age. This implies that in many cases there is discontinuity between training in the school and in the workshop. It is true that in some of these cases boys take up intermediate employment of a character calculated to prepare them for subsequent apprenticeship, but in many instances the interval is spent either in a state of unemployment or under occupational conditions unfavourable to eventual success as apprentices. In addition, where there are limitations set by custom or agreement which govern or determine the age at entry upon apprenticeship, there is a possibility that this may in some cases affect the recruitment of particular classes of boys in so far as they may operate to exclude, from the occupations to which they apply, certain suitable types of boys emerging from central, technical or secondary schools.

Apprenticeship usually extends for periods of five to seven years, but most commonly for five years, the practice varying according to the industry. There is a great diversity of period in individual occupations, pointing to the conclusion that the length of the term is determined chiefly by custom or tradition. Some shortening of the apprenticeship period is taking place, but it appears to be due to the later age of entry into apprenticeship together with a fixed age of conclusion, i.e., 21 years, and not to be the result of any definite adaptation of the period to the conditions of industry. The introduction of a greater uniformity of period in each of the respective occupations would be advantageous in so

far as it would afford a measure of the length of training generally deemed to be necessary for the acquisition, by apprentices, of the requisite degree of skill.

The methods of selection of boys for apprenticeship occupations still most widely adopted are the traditional methods. They consist in selection by the employer, or in some cases by the foreman, after interview or after a preliminary period of probation; in the choice of apprentices preference is sometimes given to the sons of employees or to boys who are personally recommended to the employers. In some establishments these methods are being superseded by others, based on vocational selection according to industrial fitness, or on the application of some recognised standard, such as selection by educational qualifications, by written examination or other test.

So also the traditional methods of training which usually include attaching the boy to a journeyman, or placing him under the supervision of a foreman, or employing him as a mate, are being challenged by more systematic methods, such as training a group of boys under a teacher, or in a special apprentices' shop, or under a systematic scheme of training providing for the regular progression and advancement of the apprentice according to carefully planned courses of work, or by regular stages.

There is also an increasing recognition by employers of the advantages to be obtained from a correlation of technical instruction to workshop training. Thus substantial proportions of employers with apprentices pay or refund class fees to those apprentices who produce a record of satisfactory attendance at evening classes, or grant time-off during working hours, usually without deduction of wages, in order that the apprentices may attend evening or part-time day classes, or provide facilities for attendance at day technical classes by releasing the apprentice for one or two days per week for this purpose. So also many employers encourage attendance at evening classes by giving extra pay or bonus, according to success attained in technical classes. Some employers make attendance at evening classes a condition of the apprenticeship agreement, some arrange for technical instruction to be given at classes held in the works, while others adopt the "sandwich" system under which boys are allowed to spend alternate periods in the works and in attendance at technical schools or colleges or universities. Despite all that is being done in this direction, there is evidence in the returns that in some districts facilities for technical instruction are not available. Even where such classes are available, there is room for the establishment of a closer relationship between technical and workshop training; thus, for example, under existing arrangements it is the exception rather than the rule for any distinction to be made in the length of the period of training required to be served by those apprentices who attend for technical instruction and those who do not.

The wages of apprentices are, in general, lower than those paid to juveniles of comparable ages in other occupations, but, on the other hand, their wages would appear to have increased to a relatively greater extent than those of journeymen in the same trades. In the great majority of cases, wages in the last year of apprenticeship are probably between 40 and 50 per cent. of the journeyman's rate.

The replies received from employers' associations indicate that generally they consider the existing methods of recruitment, whether by apprenticeship or learnership, adequate to provide a sufficiency of men with the requisite degree of skill for their particular industries and that no departure from present arrangements is necessary, but in the building, printing, wool textile, furniture, and glass industries, certain doubts are raised as to the adequacy of existing methods.

The great majority of trade unions have rules relating to apprenticeship dealing with such subjects as entry upon apprenticeship, age at entry, length of apprenticeship, training of apprentices, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen and the wages of apprentices. Some complaint is made of the restrictive effect of these rules in so far as they affect the number of apprentices to journeymen that may be employed. Such objections emanate mainly from employers' associations in the printing and wool textile industries, but, except for a limited number of references to the application of the rules to particular establishments, there are relatively few allusions in the returns from individual employers to difficulties experienced in recruiting a sufficiency of skilled men from this cause.

In addition to numerous agreements containing provisions relating to apprenticeship, there are a considerable number of special apprenticeship schemes (which may be either agreed between employers' associations and trade unions or drawn up independently by employers' associations) prepared with a view to securing the proper instruction of apprentices. Agreed schemes of this nature occur notably in the building, printing, electricity supply and belting and leather hose pipe industries; schemes originated by employers' associations themselves are in operation, e.g., in the engineering and shipbuilding (Hull), shipbuilding (Thames) and vehicle building industries; in addition, provision for the training of apprentices is made in a number of industries coming within the scope of the Trade Boards Acts.

When regard is paid to the field covered by such schemes and to the numerous systematic courses of training prepared and adopted by individual firms, of which ample evidence was received in the course of the enquiry, it is apparent that much thought and consideration, unco-ordinated though it often is, is being directed towards the discovery of the methods best adapted for the proper instruction of apprentices.

APPENDIX.

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- I.—Number and proportion of boy apprentices in each industry required to pay premiums.
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 - XVIII.—Age at which girls begin learnership in each industry.
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 - XX.—Wages of girl apprentices and learners in each industry.
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APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF BOY APPRENTICES IN EACH INDUSTRY REQUIRED TO PAY PREMIUMS.

Industry.	Number of boy apprentices.	Number not paying premiums.	Number paying premiums of the undermentioned amounts.													Total number paying premiums.	Percentage number paying premiums.		
			Under \$5.	\$5.	Over \$5 and under \$10.	\$10.	Over \$10 and under \$15.	\$15.	Over \$15 and under \$20.	\$20.	Over \$20 and under \$25.	\$25.	Over \$25 and under \$50.	\$50.	Over \$50 and under \$100.			\$100.	Over \$100.
Engineering	48,928	41,418	479	1,818	6	244	34	5	4	31	—	105	106	55	74	18	31	2,505	5.7
Shipbuilding	18,815	11,099	854	1,277	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	18	27	—	17	—	10	2,316	16.6
Iron and steel	2,491	2,418	—	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	78	2.9
Other metal	1,022	947	—	10	—	18	—	—	3	2	—	—	15	24	—	6	2	75	7.3
Building	10,599	10,340	12	2	1	43	9	28	10	78	1	35	32	5	3	—	—	259	2.4
Electrical contracting	1,781	1,569	24	1	—	2	—	3	—	21	—	37	31	30	12	—	1	162	9.4
Furniture and allied ...	1,192	1,165	—	—	9	11	—	5	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	27	2.3
Sawmilling	518	498	—	—	—	17	—	1	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	4.8
Printing	10,209	9,930	4	3	—	108	1	10	10	60	1	23	55	8	—	1	—	279	2.7
Distributive	2,698	2,625	—	—	—	10	—	1	—	10	13	5	10	18	5	—	1	73	2.7
Mercantile marine ...	2,397	1,827	—	—	—	529	—	—	—	45	—	43	108	150	193	—	—	1,070	36.9
Gas and electricity supply.*	2,126	2,072	—	27	—	1	—	1	—	20	—	1	2	1	—	1	—	54	2.5
Other	11,928	11,870	9	7	—	14	—	2	3	3	1	9	6	2	—	2	—	58	0.5
All above industries	104,649	97,778	1,882†	2,711	16	1,010	44	56	30	278	16	278	393	288	306	28	45	6,876	6.6

* Electricity Supply :—Total apprentices, 580 : Premiums, 3 only, viz. 1 at \$10, 1 at \$25, 1 at \$43.

† Includes 825 at £2.

TABLE II.—NUMBER OF FIRMS, IN EACH INDUSTRY AND DISTRICT, REQUIRING PREMIUMS, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF MALE WORKPEOPLE EMPLOYED.

Industry.	Firms employing the undermentioned numbers of male workpeople.								Total number of firms requiring premiums.
	Under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	50 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 500.	500 and over.	
Engineering	2	5	5	16	14	11	23	18	94
Shipbuilding	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	5	11
Iron and steel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Other metal	—	4	1	—	1	4	4	2	16
Building	25	20	24	28	10	3	2	—	112
Electrical contracting	6	18	13	9	3	—	—	—	49
Furniture and allied	1	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	6
Sawmilling	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	3
Printing	12	11	20	16	6	3	1	3	72
Distributive	2	1	5	5	4	1	—	—	18
Mercantile marine	—	—	—	—	4	2	6	12	24
Gas and electricity supply	—	—	1	—	1	3	2	1	8
Other	4	1	1	3	3	6	3	2	23
District.									
Scotland	—	—	—	2	2	1	7	3	15
Northern Counties	—	—	—	1	—	2	5	3	11
Yorkshire	—	2	3	1	2	1	—	2	11
Lancashire and Cheshire	1	2	—	4	4	2	3	8	24
North and West Midland Counties.	8	14	11	19	7	6	4	4	73
South Midland and Eastern Counties.	12	9	16	15	7	6	7	4	76
London	11	10	17	19	19	10	10	8	104
Southern Counties	18	18	22	17	7	5	4	6	97
Wales	1	3	—	1	2	5	3	3	18
Northern Ireland	1	2	2	—	—	—	—	4	9
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	52	60	71	79	50	38	43	45	438

TABLE III.—NUMBER OF JOURNEYMEN PER APPRENTICE OR TRAINEE IN CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS.

Industry and occupation.	Number of journeymen ascertained or estimated to be employed in 1925 per		Number of journeymen per trainee required to maintain existing number of journeymen based on—				Ratio of adults to juniors together with the percentage increase or decrease in the number of adults in the interannual period.						
	apprentice.	trainee (apprentice or learner).	entrants and exits from approved societies, 1921-24.	average working life of journeymen divided by length of apprenticeship.			Ratio, 1901.	Interannual (1901-11) increase or decrease of adults (per cent.).	Ratio, 1911.	Interannual (1911-21) increase or decrease of adults (per cent.).	Ratio, 1921.		
				1901.	1911.	1921.							
Col. 1.	Col. 2.	Col. 3.	Col. 4.	Col. 5.			Col. 6.¶						
Building:							Occ.		Occ.	Ind.		Occ.	Ind.
Bricklayers	4.8	8.7	†	4.8	*	*	4.8	+ 2.0	19.7	19.0	- 18.4	10.4	9.0
Masons	5.7	5.1	†	5.5	*	*	5.8	- 27.9	15.6	14.9	- 34.8	15.5	12.9
Carpenters and joiners ...	4.9	4.0	4.8	4.8	*	*	8.7	- 10.5	8.8	7.6	- 5.8	6.0	5.4
Woodcutting machinists ...	4.8	4.0	5.3	5.5	*	*	8.9	+ 24.8	3.9	2.8	- 4.6	5.2	6.8
Slaters and tilers	8.9	8.8	†	5.1	*	*	4.7	- 8.2	14.0	18.8	- 88.8	9.6	7.8
Plasterers	4.1	8.6	5.5	4.4	*	*	8.9	- 5.1	15.4	17.1	- 24.9	9.8	9.1
Painters	4.9	4.0	†	5.2	*	*	5.8	+ 21.3	9.1	8.7	- 8.6	9.6	8.9
Plumbers	2.2	1.9	4.7	8.1	*	*	2.5	+ 11.2	8.8	8.5	- 28.6	4.0	3.4
Shipbuilding:													
Boilermakers and platers ...	4.0	8.5	5.2	5.4	5.5	4.9	8.8	+ 10.9	5.0	—	- 6.7	8.7	8.7
Riveters and holders-up ...	6.5	6.5	†	5.2	4.6	5.3	2.6	†	3.7	—	- 16.9	6.0	5.7
Shipwrights	2.9	2.8	†	5.6	5.2	4.8	4.2	+ 7.4	5.9	—	†	2.9	2.6
Fitters... ..	2.5	2.5	5.6	8.9	3.7	3.6	8.0	+ 10.5	8.5	—	+ 14.6	5.5	3.8
Engineering:													
Boilermakers and platers ...	4.7	4.2	5.2	5.4	5.5	4.9	8.8	+ 10.9	5.0	—	- 10.6	8.7	8.0
Brass finishers	6.1	4.0	†	3.1	5.4	—	2.4	- 25.4	2.9	—	+ 28.4	3.2	2.8
Electricians	4.2	3.2	2.2	†	3.5	3.8	—	†	2.9	8.9	+ 25.3	3.0	1.8
Fitters, erectors, etc. ...	4.8	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.7	3.6	3.0	+ 10.5	2.5	—	+ 14.6	3.5	2.9
Turners and machine tool workers.	6.0	3.6	3.6	4.4	5.8	3.6	4.2	+ 30.4	5.6	—	†	3.8	5.1
Moulders and coremakers ...	6.8	4.9	3.6	3.7	4.0	5.1	3.2	‡+ 7.1	3.4	3.4	+ 88.6	3.5	3.5
Patternmakers	3.1	2.6	3.7	4.1	3.5	4.6	2.6	+ 22.0	3.2	3.1	+ 7.0	2.8	2.6
Printing:													
Compositors	5.5	5.0	4.4	†	4.1	*	2.7	+ 23.8	6.0	5.6	†	9.8	9.8
Stereotypers	5.5	5.7	†	†	4.8	*							
Letterpress machine minders	4.9	4.5	5.7	†	4.4	*							
Lithographers	5.0	4.7	†	3.8	4.2	*							
Furniture:							3.5	+ 23.2	4.1	—	†	6.0	5.3
Cabinet makers and joiners	9.7	6.8	†	4.8	6.0	5.7	3.1	+ 5.7	4.9	4.9	- 28.7	3.8	3.3
French polishers	11.4	7.1	†	3.8	6.9	7.1	2.6	+ 20.8	5.2	5.0	- 0.8	5.4	4.7
Upholsters	11.5	8.2	†	4.5	5.9	5.6	3.1	+ 7.0	4.8	4.5	+ 12.6	4.3	3.7
Woodcutting machinists ...	7.8	2.9	5.5	5.5	5.8	6.1	3.9	+ 24.8	8.9	—	- 4.6	3.2	3.9

* Conditions too abnormal.

† No information available.

‡ No comparable figures.

§ Ironfounders.

¶ The occupational ratios (Occ.) given in Column 6 are obtained from the numbers of adults and juniors employed in all industries in 1921; the industrial ratios (Ind.) from those in the occupation in the industry concerned. The latter figures are only available for 1921 and for some industries in 1911.

GREAT BRITAIN.

TABLE IV.—ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF JUVENILES ATTAINING THE AGES OF 14, 15, 16 AND 17 YEARS DURING EACH OF THE 15 YEARS, 1926 TO 1940, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE 1921 MORTALITY AND THE AVERAGE MIGRATION OF THE YEARS 1921-1925 ARE EXPERIENCED.

Age.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	1939.	1940.
MALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	399	401	400	390	361	335	292	298	444	409	401	373	356	351	347
15 ...	400	397	399	398	388	359	334	290	298	441	408	398	371	355	350
16 ...	407	398	395	397	396	387	357	332	290	296	439	406	397	368	353
17 ...	413	404	396	393	395	394	384	355	330	288	294	437	404	394	366
Totals ...	1,619	1,600	1,590	1,578	1,540	1,475	1,367	1,275	1,362	1,434	1,542	1,614	1,528	1,468	1,416
FEMALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	394	401	403	391	357	332	291	294	434	402	395	367	353	347	342
15 ...	399	393	400	401	389	356	331	290	294	433	400	393	366	351	345
16 ...	405	398	392	398	400	388	355	330	290	293	431	399	391	364	350
17 ...	412	404	396	390	397	398	386	354	328	288	291	430	398	390	363
Totals ...	1,610	1,596	1,591	1,580	1,543	1,474	1,363	1,268	1,346	1,416	1,517	1,589	1,507	1,452	1,400
MALES AND FEMALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	793	802	803	781	718	667	583	592	878	811	796	740	709	698	689
15 ...	799	790	799	799	777	715	665	580	592	874	808	791	736	706	695
16 ...	812	796	787	795	796	775	712	662	580	589	870	805	788	732	703
17 ...	825	808	792	783	792	792	770	709	658	576	585	867	802	784	729
Totals ...	3,229	3,196	3,181	3,158	3,083	2,949	2,730	2,543	2,708	2,850	3,059	3,203	3,035	2,920	2,816

GREAT BRITAIN.

TABLE V.—ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF JUVENILES AGED 14-17 YEARS ESTIMATED AS LIKELY TO BE "OCCUPIED" IN EACH OF THE 15 YEARS 1926-1940, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE RATIOS OF "OCCUPIED" JUVENILES TO TOTAL JUVENILES IN THE YEARS IN QUESTION WILL BE THE SAME AS IN 1921.

Age.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	1939.	1940.
MALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	258	259	259	252	234	217	189	193	287	265	259	241	230	227	225
15 ...	259	257	258	257	251	232	216	188	193	285	264	257	240	230	226
16 ...	372	364	361	363	362	354	326	302	265	271	401	371	363	335	323
17 ...	377	369	362	359	361	360	351	324	302	263	269	400	369	360	335
Totals ...	1,266	1,249	1,240	1,231	1,208	1,163	1,082	1,007	1,047	1,084	1,193	1,269	1,202	1,152	1,109
FEMALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	176	179	180	175	160	148	130	132	194	180	177	164	158	156	153
15 ...	178	176	179	179	174	159	147	130	131	194	179	176	163	157	154
16 ...	298	283	279	283	286	276	253	235	206	208	306	284	278	259	249
17 ...	298	288	282	278	283	283	275	252	233	205	207	306	283	277	258
Totals ...	935	926	920	915	902	868	805	749	764	787	869	930	882	849	814
MALES AND FEMALES (Thousands).															
14 ...	434	438	439	427	394	365	319	325	481	445	436	405	388	383	378
15 ...	437	433	437	436	425	391	363	318	324	479	443	433	403	387	380
16 ...	660	647	640	646	647	630	579	537	471	479	707	655	641	594	572
17 ...	670	657	644	637	644	643	626	576	535	468	476	706	652	637	593
Totals ...	2,201	2,176	2,160	2,148	2,110	2,029	1,887	1,756	1,811	1,871	2,062	2,199	2,084	2,001	1,923

These Tables have been prepared by the Ministry of Labour after consultation with the Registrars-General of England and Wales and of Scotland.

Industry.	Number of boy apprentices.	Percentage of boy apprentices returned as commencing their apprenticeship within the undermentioned limits of age.									
		14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	15 to 18 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.	18 years and over.
Metal :											
Engineering	43,923	28.4	6.0	15.6	0.4	8.7	4.5	0.5	34.7	0.9	0.3
Shipbuilding	13,315	1.4	—	2.8	6.1	1.9	9.6	0.4	73.0	2.7	2.1
Iron and steel	2,491	23.4	3.2	35.2	—	2.7	12.7	—	22.7	0.1	—
Precious metal	221	26.2	19.9	24.4	—	14.0	2.3	—	10.9	1.8	0.5
Other metal	4,565	58.4	5.6	8.8	0.3	9.4	3.1	0.2	12.2	0.4	1.6
Chemical and Allied :											
Chemical	833	11.4	6.7	3.5	—	7.1	1.5	—	69.0	0.8	—
Pottery	968	34.6	—	5.7	—	15.3	—	—	24.4	4.7	15.3
Glass and glass bottle	883	25.0	2.8	29.7	—	5.5	1.8	—	33.0	2.2	—
Brick and tile	63	25.4	3.2	4.8	3.2	42.8	6.3	—	12.7	1.6	—
Building and Woodworking :											
Building	10,599	29.0	8.1	8.5	0.5	21.5	6.4	1.3	23.4	1.0	0.3
Electrical contracting	1,731	12.3	4.9	4.6	—	20.1	9.0	0.9	47.2	1.0	—
Furniture and allied	1,192	42.4	10.2	5.0	—	24.4	1.3	—	13.5	3.2	—
Sawmilling	518	28.4	7.9	9.7	—	13.1	7.0	3.5	28.2	2.1	0.1
Printing and Paper Making :											
Printing	10,209	54.2	10.9	7.4	0.2	12.9	2.0	0.1	10.3	0.9	1.1
Paper and paper goods	230	53.0	4.8	7.4	—	12.2	7.0	—	15.6	—	—
Textile and Clothing :											
Cotton	215	44.6	0.9	2.8	—	4.7	2.8	—	27.9	6.5	9.8
Wool textile	740	10.9	5.5	9.3	—	11.4	6.4	0.1	34.1	18.2	4.1
Other textile	874	35.5	3.1	3.8	—	15.1	2.4	—	32.8	2.0	5.3
Boot and shoe	87	55.2	10.3	—	—	17.2	1.2	3.5	5.7	6.9	—
Other clothing	421	28.0	1.9	8.6	1.4	17.3	2.6	6.4	33.3	0.5	—
Miscellaneous :											
Leather and leather goods	121	10.7	3.3	9.9	—	11.6	14.1	—	38.0	5.8	6.6
Food, drink and tobacco	989	16.0	3.4	9.3	—	8.8	4.9	3.4	34.3	1.6	18.3
Distributive	2,698	20.3	8.4	10.6	0.7	29.9	8.7	0.7	17.2	3.5	—
Mercantile marine	2,897	0.4	0.3	3.9	0.8	11.8	7.4	17.5	43.0	14.9	—
Other	3,866	43.5	4.7	8.9	0.5	16.4	1.3	0.2	22.1	1.8	0.6
All above industries	104,649	28.0	5.6	11.3	1.1	10.9	5.3	1.0	34.0	1.8	1.0

TABLE VII.—AGE AT WHICH BOYS BEGIN APPRENTICESHIP IN EACH DISTRICT.

District.	Number of boy apprentices.	Percentage of boy apprentices returned as commencing their apprenticeship within the undermentioned limits of age.									
		14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	15 to 18 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.	18 years and over.
Scotland...	24,102	15.3	3.0	7.2	3.4	16.8	6.2	0.5	44.2	2.3	1.1
Northern Counties ...	12,915	11.2	1.7	7.1	0.2	7.7	1.9	0.6	67.5	1.2	1.0
Yorkshire ...	10,694	38.8	5.6	20.4	0.1	8.8	2.7	0.3	21.2	1.4	0.7
Lancashire and Cheshire ...	22,213	49.0	7.6	15.0	0.1	4.9	6.8	0.5	15.9	0.3	0.4
North and West Midland Counties.	12,296	31.7	10.6	11.3	1.5	10.4	3.6	1.2	26.2	1.7	1.8
South Midland and Eastern Counties.	3,539	32.5	7.0	7.1	0.1	13.6	4.0	0.4	30.2	3.9	1.2
London ...	7,739	23.6	7.6	11.4	0.7	15.4	4.0	3.3	25.5	6.6	0.9
Southern Counties ...	6,479	23.5	8.1	7.6	0.5	12.7	9.7	0.4	36.0	1.3	0.2
Wales and Monmouthshire ...	1,948	19.3	3.5	4.5	1.4	13.3	6.9	14.1	35.1	1.9	—
Northern Ireland ...	2,814	11.4	0.7	13.9	—	7.7	17.0	0.9	41.4	0.6	6.4
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	104,649	28.0	5.6	11.3	1.1	10.9	5.3	1.0	34.0	1.8	1.0

TABLE VIII.—COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE NUMBERS OF BOY APPRENTICES COMMENCING THEIR APPRENTICESHIP AT SPECIFIED AGES IN 1909 AND 1925.

Industry.	1909.									1925.										
	14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	15 to 17 years.	16 years.	16 to 16 years.	16 years and over.	14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	15 to 18 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.	16 years and over.
Engineering	29.9	3.0	8.7	—	28.1	3.0	—	27.7	1.5	0.1	28.1	6.0	15.6	0.4	8.7	4.5	0.5	34.7	0.9	0.3
Shipbuilding	12.0	9.0	9.2	—	16.8	13.9	—	16.2	28.7	0.2	1.1	—	2.3	6.1	1.9	9.6	0.4	73.0	2.7	2.1
Precious metal	46.8	9.2	3.6	—	8.5	21.3	—	10.6	—	—	26.2	19.9	24.4	—	14.0	2.3	—	10.9	1.8	0.5
Pottery	19.4	2.8	8.3	—	20.4	—	0.9	25.0	21.3	1.9	34.6	—	5.7	—	15.3	—	—	24.4	4.7	15.3
Glass (including bottles)	21.3	9.5	0.5	3.2	19.3	1.0	—	41.2	4.0	—	25.0	2.8	29.7	—	5.6	1.9	—	33.0	2.2	—
Building	86.7	10.6	7.0	0.3	24.7	5.2	0.7	12.7	1.9	0.3	29.0	8.1	8.5	0.6	21.5	6.4	1.3	23.4	1.0	0.3
Furniture	34.4	12.9	8.8	—	23.6	1.9	—	13.9	4.5	—	42.4	10.2	5.0	—	24.4	1.3	—	13.5	3.2	—
Sawmilling	39.4	11.7	0.9	—	22.5	8.6	0.9	15.6	0.4	—	23.4	7.9	9.7	—	13.1	7.0	3.5	28.2	2.1	0.1
Wooden vehicle building	28.1	30.7	2.6	—	19.0	5.2	—	13.1	1.3	—	32.8	18.7	—	—	21.9	6.5	—	18.7	1.6	—
Printing	60.6	13.7	8.5	—	10.6	2.0	—	4.5	—	0.1	54.2	10.9	7.4	0.2	12.9	2.0	0.1	10.3	0.9	1.1
Wool textile	1.2	0.6	3.6	—	3.8	5.5	1.2	16.9	63.8	4.2	10.9	5.5	9.3	—	11.4	6.4	0.1	34.1	18.2	4.1
Boot and shoe	45.6	4.6	8.8	—	17.6	1.8	—	17.0	4.6	—	55.2	10.3	—	—	17.2	1.2	3.5	5.7	6.9	—
Clothing	34.6	11.3	8.2	—	16.6	2.3	1.6	23.0	1.9	0.5	28.0	1.9	8.6	1.4	17.3	2.6	6.4	33.3	0.5	—
Leather and leather goods	21.8	13.7	21.0	—	26.6	0.8	—	14.5	0.8	0.8	10.7	3.3	9.9	—	11.6	14.1	—	38.0	5.8	6.6
Baking	17.1	5.6	4.0	—	14.7	7.6	—	34.3	6.0	10.7	6.8	—	2.3	—	4.9	1.8	—	45.4	2.7	36.1
Electricity supply	9.6	—	4.2	—	16.1	10.1	3.0	42.3	13.6	1.2	28.6	—	1.9	1.9	13.5	1.2	0.7	45.3	4.7	2.2
All above industries	33.9	8.1	7.6	0.2	21.0	4.6	0.3	18.9	5.0	0.4	27.2	5.9	11.3	1.3	10.1	5.1	0.6	35.9	1.5	1.1

TABLE IX.—LENGTH OF APPRENTICESHIP OF BOY APPRENTICES IN EACH DISTRICT AND IN RELATION TO AGE AT ENTRY.

District.	Number of boy apprentices.	Average number of years served.	Percentage of boy apprentices returned as serving a period of apprenticeship within the undermentioned limits.							
			3 years or less.	4 years.	5 years.	5 to 7 years.*	6 years.	7 years.	8 or 9 years.	
Scotland	24,102	5.1	2.2	5.4	79.9	0.1	6.1	6.1	0.2	
Northern Counties	12,915	5.3	0.8	5.1	67.9	7.4	7.3	10.4	1.1	
Yorkshire	10,604	6.0	0.8	3.1	24.4	25.8	9.6	35.9	0.4	
Lancashire and Cheshire	22,213	6.2	0.7	3.2	22.6	16.1	8.9	48.5	—	
North and West Midland Counties.	12,296	5.8	1.7	3.6	36.6	21.3	8.4	28.3	0.1	
South Midland and Eastern Counties.	3,539	5.4	5.8	12.3	46.5	5.9	5.5	23.7	0.3	
London	7,739	5.5	3.4	21.7	32.2	6.3	9.1	27.3	—	
Southern Counties	6,479	5.2	5.8	11.2	55.7	8.1	5.7	13.5	—	
Wales	1,948	4.9	6.2	30.4	43.7	1.4	3.8	14.5	—	
Northern Ireland	2,814	5.3	0.5	2.9	69.8	11.6	6.9	8.0	0.3	
Age at commencement of apprenticeship.										
14 years	29,291	6.5	0.9	3.3	14.8	—	3.3	76.7	1.0	
14 or 15 years	5,856	5.9	2.4	3.0	16.9	48.1	13.6	16.0	—	
14 to 16 years	11,777	5.7	0.9	4.4	19.7	62.5	7.8	4.7	—	
14 to 18 years	1,163	5.2	2.8	4.6	67.7	16.8	5.8	2.3	—	
15 years	11,414	5.4	3.0	8.6	45.0	0.1	36.4	6.9	—	
15 or 16 years	5,526	5.1	3.8	7.2	63.1	17.3	6.1	2.5	—	
15 to 18 years	1,052	4.5	3.0	56.6	30.6	3.5	5.1	1.2	—	
16 years	35,591	4.9	1.2	6.3	89.7	—	1.9	0.9	—	
16 to 18 years	1,896	4.3	9.6	50.4	38.3	—	0.2	1.5	—	
18 years and over	1,083	4.4	27.0	8.4	60.4	—	2.9	1.3	—	
Totals	104,649	5.6	1.9	6.7	48.4	10.9	7.5	24.2	0.3	

According as the apprentices commenced at 16, 15 or 14 years of age.

TABLE X.—COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE NUMBERS OF BOY APPRENTICES SERVING FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS IN 1909 AND 1925.

Industry.	1909.							1925.						
	3 years or less.	4 years.	5 years.	5 to 7* years.	6 years.	7 years.	8 years.	3 years or less.	4 years.	5 years.	5 to 7* years.	6 years.	7 years.	8 or 9 years.
Engineering	0.1	0.9	53.5	10.0	8.0	27.5	—	0.5	1.1	47.7	17.9	6.7	26.1	—
Shipbuilding	0.2	—	53.0	0.6	18.0	28.2	—	1.1	2.0	92.3	1.2	1.6	1.8	—
Precious metal	0.7	—	19.1	27.7	12.8	39.7	—	0.9	3.6	43.5	14.5	13.1	24.4	—
Pottery	—	10.2	29.6	9.3	12.0	38.9	—	1.1	11.6	43.2	—	12.2	31.9	—
Glass (including bottles)	—	13.6	45.2	7.5	27.9	5.8	—	0.2	3.4	36.8	31.1	4.5	23.9	0.1
Building	0.7	5.1	33.8	12.1	21.4	26.9	—	2.7	7.0	42.1	7.8	21.2	19.2	—
Furniture	2.3	15.2	39.9	15.7	16.9	10.0	—	2.1	11.9	49.7	4.6	11.6	20.1	—
Sawmilling	1.7	7.8	45.9	5.6	14.3	24.7	—	0.2	16.4	51.0	—	9.1	23.3	—
Wooden vehicle building	—	3.1	28.5	22.4	30.2	15.8	—	4.7	18.7	20.3	11.0	17.2	28.1	—
Printing	—	—	4.2	6.6	4.8	84.4	—	0.6	1.4	15.2	5.6	6.8	70.4	—
Wool textile	4.8	62.1	22.9	8.4	0.6	1.2	—	4.6	40.5	40.5	4.9	6.1	3.4	—
Boot and shoe	1.4	32.2	25.1	20.8	8.5	12.0	—	4.6	21.8	14.9	3.5	—	6.9	48.3
Clothing	7.8	12.1	51.8	5.9	12.8	9.6	—	7.4	5.4	43.0	8.3	12.1	6.9	16.9
Leather and leather goods	1.6	8.9	29.0	27.4	11.3	21.8	—	14.0	9.1	54.6	7.4	8.3	6.6	—
Baking	8.8	25.9	51.8	0.8	9.1	3.6	—	1.0	3.9	79.3	2.3	11.4	2.1	—
Electricity supply	17.8	17.3	58.9	5.4	0.6	—	—	4.8	8.6	60.0	—	4.8	21.8	—
All above industries	1.2	5.9	38.9	10.0	13.4	30.6	—	1.0	2.9	50.1	11.9	7.9	26.1	0.1

*According as the apprentices commenced at 16, 15 or 14 years of age.

TABLE XI.—PROPORTION OF BOY APPRENTICES AND LEARNERS REQUIRED TO SERVE A PERIOD OF IMPROVERSHP.

Industry.	Number of boy apprentices and learners.	Number of apprentices and learners required to serve a period of improvershp.	Percentage number required to serve a period of improvershp.	Usual period of improvershp. (months.)
Metal :				
Engineering	58,647	52,981	90.3	12 to 24
Shipbuilding	13,432	2,142	15.9	3 to 24
Iron and steel	2,554	2,358	92.3	12
Precious metal	487	198	40.7	12 to 36
Other metal	8,370	5,195	62.1	12 to 24
Chemical and Allied :				
Chemical	1,155	671	58.1	12
Pottery	1,216	—	—	—
Glass and glass bottle ...	883	91	10.3	12 to 18
Brick and tile	200	127	63.5	24
Building and Woodwork- ing :				
Building	10,599*	3,220	30.4	6 to 24
Electrical contracting ...	1,998	1,583	79.2	6 to 24
Furniture and allied ...	1,781	680	38.2	6 to 24
Sawmilling	638	209	32.8	12
Printing and Paper Mak- ing :				
Printing... ..	11,594	1,236	10.7	12 to 24
Paper and paper goods	991	767	71.3	6 to 12
Textile and Clothing :				
Cotton	688	101	14.7	12 to 24
Wool textile	1,194	180	15.1	12 to 24
Other textile	1,417	557	39.3	9 to 24
Boot and shoe	1,103	33	3.0	24
Other clothing	1,986	127	6.4	12 to 24
Miscellaneous :				
Leather and leather goods.	209	10	4.8	—
Food, drink and tobacco	1,311	289	22.0	6 to 24
Distributive	4,759	2,094	44.0	12 to 30
Mercantile marine	2,897	—	—	—
Other	4,879	2,806	57.5	6 to 36
All above industries ...	134,988	77,595	57.5	12 to 24

Apprentices only.

TABLE XII.—TIME RATES OF WAGES OF APPRENTICES 14 TO 19 YEARS OF AGE AT 1ST MARCH, 1928.

I.—Rates recognised by Employers' Associations and Trade Unions.

Industry or occupation.	District.	Weekly full time rates of wages of apprentices at ages						Remarks.
		14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.	
Building trade	North-east coast	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	} The weekly rates are based on a week of 44 hours. Assuming in this case entry into trade at 16 years. do. do. Assuming entry into trade at 15 years.
		8 6	8 6	11 4	13 7	17 0	22 7	
	to	to	to	to	to	to		
	8 11	8 11	11 11	14 4	17 11	23 10		
	Yorkshire	8 5	9 9	11 9	14 8	19 7	29 4	
		to	to	to	to	to	to	
	Certain towns in Lancashire and Cheshire.	10 3	11 11	14 4	17 11	23 10	35 9	
		11 2	13 11	17 5	20 11	24 5	27 10	
	Midlands	to	to	to	to	to	to	
		11 5	14 4	17 11	21 5	25 0	28 7	
Eastern Counties	10 1	12 1	15 2	20 2	24 2	30 3		
	to	to	to	to	to	to		
Scotland—Carpenters	11 11	14 4	17 11	23 10	28 7	35 9		
	—	—	9 2	11 0	18 9	18 4		
do. Plasterers	—	—	to	to	to	to		
	—	—	11 0	13 2	16 6	22 0		
Light castings manufacture.	England and Scotland	—	—	11 4	13 7	17 0	22 7	
		—	—	to	to	to	to	
	—	—	11 11	14 4	17 11	23 10		
	—	—	12 0	15 0	20 0	30 0		
England and Scotland	—	13 10	15 10	18 10	22 10	34 9		
	—	to	to	to	to	to		
—	—	15 10	17 10	20 10	24 10	36 9		

TABLE XII.—TIME RATES OF WAGES OF APPRENTICES—*continued.*

Industry or occupation.	District.	Weekly full time rates of wages of apprentices at ages						Remarks.
		14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.	
Shuttle making	Lancashire	s. d. 11 10	s. d. 14 6	s. d. 17 1	s. d. 19 9	s. d. 22 4	s. d. 25 0	
Penmaking	Birmingham	—	9 4	11 4	16 0	20 4	24 4	
Lock, latch and key making	Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Willenhall, Walsall, London, Liverpool, Bolton and Wigan.	—	15 0	16 6	18 9	28 6	31 6	
Silver and electro-plate	Sheffield	8 5	9 10	11 2	14 0	18 10	19 7	
Woolen manufacture	Scotland	—	—	11 0 and 12 6	14 0 and 16 0	18 0 and 21 0	24 0 and 27 6	The higher rate is paid at the half-year, i.e., 16½, 17½, etc., assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
Hosiery manufacture	Hawick	—	—	10 3	12 8	16 4	20 8	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
Lace designers and draughtsmen.	Nottingham	12 0	14 0	17 0	20 0	25 0	30 0	
Machine calico printing	Great Britain	—	—	—	—	42 8	47 1	
Textile making-up and packing.	Manchester	—	—	17 6	22 9	29 9	36 9	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
Glove making	England	—	—	—	15 0 to 21 6	20 0 to 25 6	23 0 to 31 0	Assuming entry into trade at 17 years.
Printing trade :— Bookbinders and machine rulers.	England and Wales	10 6 to 13 6	12 6 to 16 0	15 6 to 20 0	21 0 to 26 6	25 0 to 32 0	29 6 to 38 0	The rates vary according to locality.

Compositors and bookbinders.	Scotland...	...	...	12 0	17 0	22 0	27 0	32 0	37 0	Assuming entry into trade at 14 years.
Lithographic artists	do.	...	...	9 0	12 0	17 0	23 0	30 0	37 0	do.
Stereotypers	do.	...	...	13 0	18 0	23 0	28 3	33 6	38 9	do.
Stationers	do.	...	...	—	11 0	12 6	15 6	20 6	25 0	
Electrotypers and stereotypers (day-work).	London (Newspaper Offices).	...	...	—	—	—	—	50 0	60 0	
Coopering	Burton-on-Trent	...	...	—	16 0	20 0	24 0	28 0	40 0	
	Liverpool	...	...	—	—	12 5	16 7	24 10	33 1	
	Leeds	...	...	13 0	15 0	17 6	20 0	23 6	27 6	
	Edinburgh	...	...	—	—	14 6	18 6	22 0	35 0	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
	Nottingham	...	...	—	16 5	21 11	27 5	32 10	38 4	
Furniture making	Yorkshire	...	...	—	—	11 7	13 11	17 5	23 3	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years. The lower rate is paid during 1st half year and the higher during 2nd half.
	Sheffield	...	...	—	—	10 0	15 0	21 0	27 0	
						and	and	and	and	
						12 0	18 0	24 0	30 0	
	N.E. Lancashire	...	...	Not fixed.	12 7	15 1	18 11	21 3	28 4	Assuming entry into trade at 14 years. The lower rate is paid during 1st half year and higher during 2nd half.
								and	and	
								23 7	33 1	
	Liverpool	...	...	—	—	13 0	15 0	19 0	25 0	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years. The lower rate is paid during 1st half year and higher during 2nd half.
						and	and	and	and	
						14 0	17 0	21 0	27 6	
	Manchester	...	...	—	—	11 8	15 6	19 5	27 2	do.
						and	and	and	and	
						13 7	17 5	21 4	32 11	
	Birmingham and District	...	...	—	—	10 1	17 8	30 10	47 0	Apprentices entering trade at 16 years.
	do.	do.		8 10	13 3	22 3	30 10	47 0	—	Apprentices entering trade at 14 years.

TABLE XII.—TIME RATES OF WAGES OF APPRENTICES—continued.

Industry or occupation.	District.	Weekly full time rates of wages of apprentices at ages						Remarks.
		14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.	
Furniture making—cont.	Nottingham	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years. The lower rate is paid during 1st half year and higher during 2nd half. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. do.
		11 9	14 1	17 8	23 6	28 2	35 3	
	High Wycombe... ..	—	—	10 3	13 8	19 6	26 9	
				and 11 8	and 16 1	and 22 4	and 31 2	
	Glasgow—Machinemen's apprentices.	—	—	14 6	21 9	29 0	36 3	
				and 18 8	and 25 4	and 32 7	and 39 10	
	Other apprentices.	—	—	10 10	14 6	21 9	29 0	
					and 18 1	and 25 4	and 32 7	
	Dundee—Machinemen's apprentices.	—	—	13 9	20 7	27 5	34 3	
				and 17 2	and 24 0	and 30 10	and 37 8	
	Other apprentices.	—	—	10 3	13 9	20 7	27 5	
					and 17 2	and 24 0	and 30 10	
	Aberdeen—Machinemen's apprentices.	—	—	12 4	16 1	18 10	22 10	
Other apprentices.	—	—	9 3	12 4	15 1	18 10		
Edinburgh	—	—	10 3	11 11	14 4	17 11		

Sawmilling	Manchester	11 5	15 3	19 1	26 9	30 6	38 2	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
	Scotland	—	—	14 1	21 2	28 2	35 3	
Packing case making ...	Liverpool	—	—	19 0	21 0	26 0	31 0	do.
	London	—	—	23 6	26 5	35 3	38 2	do.
	Liverpool	—	—	No standard.	21 0	26 0	31 0	do.
Vehicle building	Manchester	10 10½	14 6	18 1	23 6½	30 9½	38 0	do.
	Birmingham	11 0	13 0	16 0	20 0	25 0	31 0	
	Scotland	—	—	12 4	15 10	19 5	26 5	
Baking	Aberdeen	—	—	12 0	15 0	19 0	25 0	do.
	Dundee	—	—	12 4	16 6	21 0	28 6	do.
	Edinburgh	—	—	14 8	18 5	24 6	36 9	do.
	Perth	—	—	12 0	16 0	20 0	28 6	do.
	Coatbridge	—	—	14 8	18 5	24 6	36 9	do.
	Ayrshire	—	—	14 0	17 6	23 4	35 0	do.
	Olydebank	—	—	15 0	18 9	25 0	37 6	do.
	Inverness	—	—	11 0	14 8	19 8	26 2	do.
	Brechin	—	—	13 7	17 0	22 8	34 0	do.
Glasgow (Co-operative Societies)	—	—	15 0	18 9	25 0	37 6	do.	
Glass staining, etc.	Glasgow	—	12 0	14 0	17 0	21 0	30 0	Assuming entry into trade at 15 years.
Glass bevelling, etc. ...	Liverpool	9 6	11 6	13 6	15 6	18 6	21 6	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years. The higher rate is paid at the half- years 16½ and 17½.
	London	—	—	15 0 and 17 0	19 0 and 22 0	26 0	35 0	

TABLE XII.—TIME RATES OF WAGES OF APPRENTICES—continued.

II.—Minimum Time Rates fixed by Orders of Trade Board.

Industry, or occupation.	District.	Weekly full time rates of wages of apprentices at ages						Remarks.
		14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.	
Boot and shoe repairing ...	Great Britain ...	s. d. 6 0	s. d. 10 0	s. d. 15 0	s. d. 20 0	s. d. 25 0	s. d. 30 0	Indentured before 11th May, 1925.
		5 0	8 0	12 0	18 0	25 0	33 0	Indentured on or after 11th May, 1925.
Brush and broom making...	Great Britain ...	—	—	9 0	13 0	18 0	piece rates.	Hand finishing and boring.
		—	—	11 0 and 15 0	18 0 and piece rates.	piece rates.	piece rates.	Bone brush drilling. Assuming entry into trade at 16 years. The higher rate is paid at the half year.
Flax and hemp ...	Great Britain ...	—	—	18 5	16 10	20 2	30 9	Assuming entry into trade at 16 years.
Fur trade ...	Great Britain ...	—	—	12 0	16 0	22 0	30 0	do.
Retail bespoke tailoring ...	England and Wales ...	—	—	8 0 to 7 0	6 6 to 10 6	10 0 to 15 0	16 0 to 22 6	Lower rates are fixed where board and lodging are provided. The rates in England and Wales vary according to locality.
	Scotland ...	—	—	7 0	10 6	15 0	22 6	

TABLE XIII.—AGE AT WHICH BOYS BEGIN LEARNERSHIP IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Number of boy learners.	Percentage of boy learners returned as commencing their learnership within the undermentioned limits of age.										
		14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	15 to 18 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.	18 years.	Over 18 years.
Metal :												
Engineering	14,724	49.3	9.1	16.1	3.2	8.8	0.8	1.0	10.2	1.2	0.3	—
Shipbuilding	117	14.5	10.3	—	—	17.1	3.4	—	51.3	—	3.4	—
Iron and steel	63	39.7	3.2	53.9	—	3.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Precious metal	266	64.7	14.3	2.2	—	7.5	—	—	9.4	1.9	—	—
Other metal	3,805	59.0	2.9	6.8	—	9.6	8.9	1.3	11.0	—	0.5	—
Chemical and Allied :												
Chemical	322	24.2	1.2	—	—	18.3	4.7	—	51.6	—	—	—
Pottery	248	57.7	—	—	—	11.3	—	—	23.8	2.0	5.2	—
Brick and tile	137	77.4	4.4	5.8	—	5.1	—	—	7.3	—	—	—
Building and Woodworking :												
Electrical contracting	267	21.7	19.9	11.2	—	15.3	11.2	—	19.9	0.4	0.4	—
Furniture and allied	589	56.9	6.5	7.0	—	10.2	0.5	8.1	9.3	0.7	—	0.8
Sawmilling	120	33.3	3.3	4.2	—	—	—	—	59.2	—	—	—
Printing and Paper Making :												
Printing	1,385	43.4	8.9	3.9	—	12.0	1.4	—	25.8	1.7	0.6	2.3
Paper and paper goods	761	31.1	4.5	15.2	—	6.7	0.3	—	42.1	0.1	—	—
Clothing :												
Boot and shoe	1,016	88.1	4.5	2.0	—	1.7	—	—	3.5	0.2	—	—
Other clothing	1,565	79.1	5.8	3.4	0.5	5.0	1.4	1.0	3.1	0.3	—	0.4
Miscellaneous :												
Leather and leather goods :	88	62.5	—	8.0	—	13.6	6.8	—	9.1	—	—	—
Food, drink and tobacco	322	54.0	1.9	0.6	—	4.0	3.7	—	9.0	11.2	1.6	14.0
Distributive	2,061	56.8	12.0	4.1	—	8.6	1.3	1.1	10.4	5.4	0.2	0.1
Other	1,013	60.8	3.0	5.7	3.0	15.7	0.8	—	9.3	1.3	—	0.4
All above industries	28,869	53.6	7.6	10.9	1.7	8.9	2.1	1.0	12.2	1.3	0.4	0.3

TABLE XIV.—LENGTH OF LEARNERSHIP OF BOY LEARNERS IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Number of boy learners.	Average number of years served.	Percentage of boy learners returned as serving a period of learnership within the undermentioned limits.							
			2 years or less.	3 years.	4 years.	5 years.	5 to 7* years.	6 years.	7 years.	8 years and over.
Metal :										
Engineering	14,724	6.3	—	0.9	2.7	14.1	23.7	7.8	50.8	—
Shipbuilding	117	5.6	—	3.4	3.4	53.8	9.4	0.9	29.1	—
Iron and steel	63	6.2	—	—	—	14.3	42.8	3.2	39.7	—
Precious metal	266	6.1	4.5	3.0	5.3	11.3	13.5	4.1	58.3	—
Other metal	3,805	6.2	0.4	1.5	4.2	22.3	9.3	9.0	53.2	0.1
Chemical and Allied :										
Chemical	322	5.5	—	1.5	1.9	56.8	—	20.5	19.3	—
Pottery	248	5.1	14.9	10.9	5.3	26.2	—	2.0	39.5	1.2
Brick and tile	137	4.8	11.7	6.6	12.4	39.4	—	16.8	13.1	—
Building and Woodworking :										
Electrical contracting	267	5.2	—	15.4	11.2	24.7	12.8	24.7	11.2	—
Furniture and allied	589	5.3	4.9	4.4	18.3	29.3	4.9	3.9	34.3	—
Sawmilling	120	5.5	—	—	6.7	60.0	—	8.3	25.0	—
Printing and Paper Making :										
Printing	1,385	5.4	2.1	5.2	6.4	44.4	2.8	14.2	24.9	—
Paper and paper goods	761	5.9	0.1	0.5	0.3	42.6	18.6	7.0	30.9	—
Clothing :										
Boot and shoe	1,016	6.8	9.0	—	6.7	4.5	0.5	3.3	13.2	62.8
Other clothing	1,565	7.4	1.8	1.5	1.1	3.4	2.7	3.7	11.8	74.0
Miscellaneous :										
Leather and leather goods	88	5.2	—	26.1	8.0	19.3	6.8	4.6	35.2	—
Food, drink and tobacco	322	5.1	14.3	4.3	4.3	45.7	0.3	1.3	27.0	2.8
Distributive	2,061	5.4	7.5	15.2	5.9	16.8	—	15.6	36.6	2.4
Other	1,013	5.6	4.0	7.1	6.4	27.1	5.0	17.2	24.6	8.6
All above industries	28,869	6.1	1.7	2.9	4.0	18.9	14.8	8.8	42.2	6.7

According as the learners commenced at 16, 15 or 14 years of age.

TABLE XV.—WAGES OF BOY LEARNERS IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Number of boy learners.	First year.				Last year.			
		Number of piece workers.	Time workers.		Number of piece workers.	Time workers.			
			Average weekly wages.	Usual range* of weekly wages.		Average weekly wages.	Usual range* of weekly wages.		
Metal:			s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Engineering	14,724	54	11 1	9 9 to 14 0	161	50 9	26 0 to 36 0		
Shipbuilding	117	4	10 3	4 1 " 15 0	32	23 6	18 0 " 30 0		
Iron and steel... ..	63	—	10 8	9 0 " 12 0	—	30 0	24 0 " 32 0		
Precious metal	266	—	10 8	8 6 " 13 3	—	29 0	22 6 " 40 0		
Other metal	3,805	65	11 8	9 0 " 15 0	182	32 1	25 0 " 39 0		
Chemical and Allied:									
Chemical	322	—	13 9	12 6 " 16 0	—	34 11	35 3 " 45 0		
Pottery	248	20	15 7	11 0 " 34 6	32	30 7	15 3 " 45 0		
Brick and tile	137	—	14 8	12 9 " 19 0	—	28 5	21 0 " 36 0		
Building and Woodworking:									
Electrical contracting... ..	267	—	11 1	6 0 " 17 6	—	33 1	22 6 " 47 0		
Furniture and allied	589	—	11 11	10 0 " 16 0	—	44 2	25 0 " 59 6		
Sawmilling	120	—	16 7	10 0 " 25 0	—	47 9	35 0 " 55 0		
Printing and Paper Making:									
Printing	1,385	—	12 7	8 0 " 17 6	—	38 10	25 0 " 50 0		
Paper and paper goods	761	—	16 6	12 0 " 22 0	—	43 1	40 9 " 44 6		
Clothing:									
Boot and shoe	1,016	—	11 4	8 0 " 13 0	93	46 6	23 0 " 53 0		
Other clothing	1,547	—	9 11	9 0 " 12 0	—	36 7	36 0 " 44 0		
Miscellaneous:									
Leather and leather goods	88	4	11 11	7 6 " 15 0	12	33 5	20 0 " 45 0		
Food, drink and tobacco	322	—	20 0	12 6 " 31 6	—	37 9	31 6 " 47 3		
Distributive	2,055	—	12 2	10 0 " 15 0	—	33 2	20 0 " 44 0		
Other	1,013	—	14 10	10 0 " 20 0	37	46 1	26 0 " 65 6		

* The "usual range" covers about 75 per cent. of the learners in each case, excluding those in approximately equal numbers, whose wages appear at the two extremes of the scale.

TABLE XVI.—AGE AT WHICH GIRLS BEGIN APPRENTICESHIP IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Number of girl apprentices.	Percentage of girl apprentices returned as commencing their apprenticeship within the undermentioned limits of age.								
		14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.	
Pottery	988	85.9	—	—	—	4.4	—	9.8	0.4	
Furniture and allied	111	73.0	—	10.8	—	16.2	—	—	—	
Printing	281	65.5	7.1	7.1	—	17.8	—	2.1	0.4	
Paper and paper goods	55	10.9	27.3	—	—	61.8	—	—	—	
Wool textile	263	30.0	18.3	25.5	—	22.8	0.4	3.0	—	
Other textiles	269	74.3	13.8	—	—	11.9	—	—	—	
Boot and shoe	97	50.5	49.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Other clothing	1,004	88.9	2.3	0.6	—	7.3	—	0.3	0.6	
Food, drink and tobacco	80	87.8	11.0	—	—	—	—	1.2	—	
Distributive	2,747	22.0	12.4	11.0	2.8	32.8	6.9	7.6	4.5	
Other	170	27.1	7.7	0.6	—	10.6	3.5	37.6	12.9	
All above industries	6,065	50.5	9.1	6.7	1.3	20.8	3.2	6.9	2.6	

TABLE XVII.—LENGTH OF APPRENTICESHIP OF GIRL APPRENTICES IN EACH INDUSTRY AND IN RELATION TO AGE AT ENTRY.

Industry.	Number of girl apprentices.	Average number of years served.	Percentage of girl apprentices returned as serving a period of apprenticeship within the undermentioned limits.						
			1 year or less.	2 years.	3 years.	4 years.	5 years.	6 years.	7 years.
Pottery	988	6.4	—	2.0	2.9	3.9	10.8	3.4	77.0
Furniture and allied	111	3.3	—	1.8	2.7	80.2	0.9	6.8	8.1
Printing	281	4.2	0.7	5.3	2.8	67.3	13.9	4.3	5.7
Paper and paper goods	55	3.5	—	—	45.5	54.5	—	—	—
Wool textile	263	3.2	—	6.5	73.0	13.7	6.8	—	—
Other textile	269	3.6	—	14.1	13.0	66.9	1.5	—	4.5
Boot and shoe	97	5.4	—	—	—	26.8	—	73.2	—
Other clothing	1,004	3.6	1.4	18.7	12.4	63.1	2.6	1.8	—
Food, drink and tobacco	80	4.7	—	—	—	32.9	64.6	—	2.5
Distributive	2,747	3.1	2.5	26.0	37.2	26.4	5.5	0.9	1.5
Other	170	3.1	2.4	25.3	43.5	14.1	14.7	—	—
Age at commencement of apprenticeship.									
14 years	3,061	4.5	0.6	13.9	10.9	38.3	6.6	2.5	27.2
14 or 15 years	555	3.2	0.9	25.0	44.0	19.5	2.1	7.6	0.9
14 to 16 years	407	3.1	1.2	17.5	55.5	23.1	2.7	—	—
14 to 18 years	78	3.7	—	—	29.5	70.5	—	—	—
15 years	1,230	3.4	3.7	16.3	30.6	37.3	8.4	3.7	—
15 or 16 years	195	2.7	—	32.8	62.1	5.1	—	—	—
16 years	383	3.4	1.3	17.8	44.1	11.5	25.3	—	—
16 to 18 years	156	3.4	6.4	44.2	12.2	36.6	—	—	0.6
Totals	6,065	3.1	1.5	17.1	24.9	32.9	7.1	2.7	13.8

TABLE XVIII.—AGE AT WHICH GIRLS BEGIN LEARNERSHIP IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Number of girl learners.	Percentage of girl learners returned as commencing their learnership within the undermentioned limits of age.							
		14 years.	14 or 15 years.	14 to 16 years.	14 to 18 years.	15 years.	15 or 16 years.	16 years.	16 to 18 years.
Engineering	62	19.4	80.6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Precious metal	47	89.4	—	—	—	10.6	—	—	—
Other metal	660	63.7	24.8	0.4	—	9.3	—	2.3	—
Pottery	264	76.9	—	—	—	7.2	—	15.9	—
Furniture and allied	76	32.9	25.0	23.7	—	16.4	—	—	—
Printing	1,327	75.1	6.8	8.4	—	5.1	—	4.2	0.4
Paper and paper goods	2,355	88.5	7.3	1.4	3.3	4.4	—	—	0.1
Cotton	2,139	84.3	8.8	2.1	2.2	0.8	—	1.0	0.8
Wool textile	1,092	69.6	2.7	5.9	4.0	4.8	0.4	6.1	6.5
Other textile	4,775	52.9	9.5	21.7	0.7	2.3	0.9	11.1	0.9
Boot and shoe	1,217	97.5	1.0	—	—	—	—	1.5	—
Other clothing	15,882	89.8	2.5	3.5	0.5	2.4	0.5	0.7	0.1
Leather and leather goods	383	94.8	3.9	—	—	0.8	—	1.0	—
Food, drink and tobacco	1,482	77.8	18.7	—	—	2.0	—	1.2	0.8
Distributive	1,644	34.5	7.4	9.7	—	18.7	6.9	20.5	2.3
Other	1,660	88.6	4.1	3.2	—	3.1	—	0.4	0.6
All above industries	35,465	79.3	5.8	5.9	0.8	5.5	0.7	3.4	0.6

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TABLE XIX.—LENGTH OF LEARNERSHIP OF GIRL LEARNERS IN EACH INDUSTRY AND IN RELATION TO AGE AT ENTRY.

Industry.	Number of girl learners.	Average number of years served.	Percentage of girl learners returned as serving a period of learnership within the undermentioned limits.						
			1 year or less.	2 years.	3 years.	4 years.	5 years.	6 years.	7 years.
Engineering	82	5.4	—	—	9.7	29.1	—	30.6	80.6
Precious metal	47	5.5	6.4	2.1	19.1	—	8.5	10.7	53.2
Other metal	560	4.9	7.7	9.7	11.4	19.2	14.1	4.6	39.3
Pottery	264	5.8	—	18.6	—	4.2	14.8	5.7	61.7
Furniture and allied	76	5.0	—	6.6	2.6	27.6	16.4	52.9	11.9
Printing	1,327	4.0	0.5	4.2	4.0	81.7	6.7	0.4	3.5
Paper and paper goods	2,855	3.6	5.5	6.9	7.0	78.9	1.8	—	0.4
Boot and shoe	1,217	4.7	5.8	18.7	3.1	7.9	1.9	62.4	0.2
Other clothing	15,882	3.7	7.3	4.4	4.2	83.8	0.1	—	0.2
Leather and leather goods	383	4.3	5.8	12.0	12.8	11.3	34.2	24.0	—
Food, drink and tobacco	1,482	4.6	0.1	1.1	15.8	55.9	—	0.2	26.9
Distributive	1,644	3.7	4.1	24.3	28.0	14.8	6.5	12.2	10.1
Other	1,660	3.8	2.6	2.2	8.3	81.3	3.6	—	1.8
Age at commencement of learnership.									
14 years	23,032	3.7	5.2	5.0	2.5	76.7	1.8	4.6	4.7
14 or 15 years	1,401	3.6	6.3	5.3	30.5	48.2	5.1	2.3	2.0
14 to 16 years	944	3.0	17.2	21.8	13.4	41.7	3.6	1.7	0.6
14 to 18 years	168	3.4	16.1	1.2	13.7	68.0	—	—	—
15 years	1,040	3.3	3.6	13.2	47.6	26.2	4.1	5.0	0.8
15 or 16 years	196	3.4	—	15.3	34.2	42.4	8.1	—	—
16 years	593	3.2	7.2	27.0	26.7	18.2	20.7	—	0.2
16 to 18 years	85	2.7	20.0	10.6	55.3	14.1	—	—	—
Totals	27,459	3.9	5.7	6.5	7.0	70.4	2.2	4.2	4.0

TABLE XX.—WAGES OF GIRL APPRENTICES AND LEARNERS IN EACH INDUSTRY.

Industry.	Total number of girl—		First year.					Last year.												
	appren- tices.	learners.	Number of time workers.	Number of piece workers.	Time workers.			Number of time workers.	Number of piece workers.	Time workers.										
					Average weekly wages.	Usual range* of weekly wages.				Average weekly wages.	Usual range* of weekly wages.									
						s.	d.				s.	d.	s.	d.						
Engineering	—	62	62	—	12	0	8	0	to	16	3	62	—	27	9	25	0	to	28	0
Precious metal	—	47	47	—	8	7	7	0	"	10	0	47	—	23	4	14	0	"	26	0
Other metal	—	560	555	5	10	9	6	6	"	13	9	555	5	25	11	17	0	"	28	0
Pottery	988	—	604	384	8	1	5	3	"	10	6	196	792	22	6	23	0	"	25	0
Furniture and allied ...	111	384	212	52	9	11	6	0	"	14	0	84	180	21	1	18	0	"	24	0
Printing	—	76	111	—	7	7	6	0	"	8	0	111	—	21	2	16	9	"	21	9
Paper and paper goods...	281	—	76	—	9	8	5	9	"	11	6	76	—	26	1	20	0	"	30	3
Wool textile	—	1,327	281	—	9	4	8	0	"	10	0	281	—	27	2	23	0	"	29	6
Other textile	—	1,327	1,327	—	9	5	7	6	"	12	0	1,327	—	28	6	22	6	"	32	6
Foot and shoe	55	—	55	—	10	8	10	0	"	11	6	55	—	25	2	21	0	"	28	0
Other clothing	—	2,853	2,853	—	9	9	9	0	"	11	0	2,853	2	27	9	22	6	"	34	0
Leather and leather goods	263	—	263	—	12	9	11	9	"	15	0	195	68	20	4	19	0	"	22	9
Food, drink and tobacco	269	—	269	—	9	8	10	0	"	10	3	269	—	19	6	12	0	"	20	9
Distributive	97	—	97	—	9	3	7	6	"	10	6	97	—	26	9	15	0	"	31	0
Other	—	1,217	1,217	—	10	10	9	6	"	13	0	798	419	30	19	31s.	0d.			
Engineering	1,004	—	976	28	6	8	5	6	"	8	6	970	34	22	0	16	0	to	25	0
Precious metal	—	15,882	15,867	15	7	1	6	0	"	9	0	15,767	115	24	1	22	6	"	25	0
Other metal	—	383	383	—	9	1	7	6	"	10	0	357	26	22	0	17	0	"	27	0
Pottery	80	—	56	24	12	9	12	6	"	14	6	4	76	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Furniture and allied ...	—	1,432	1,432	50	11	4	10	0	"	14	0	1,225	257	28	0	24	0	to	36	0
Printing	2,747	—	2,747	—	8	0	4	0	"	12	0	2,747	—	14	11	10	0	"	24	0
Paper and paper goods...	—	1,644	1,644	—	9	4	5	0	"	13	0	1,644	—	19	10	10	0	"	30	0
Wool textile	—	170	170	—	7	11	8	0	"	10	0	170	—	19	7	10	0	"	30	0
Other textile	—	1,660	1,660	—	9	10	8	0	"	11	9	1,614	46	25	9	19	6	"	26	0

For definition see footnote to Table XV, page 189.

1920 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

A REPORT

ON

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE PUNJAB.

(BEING THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR IN
COUNCIL BY PUNJAB GOVERNMENT,
HOME DEPARTMENT, RESOLUTION
No. 4920, DATED 16TH FEBRUARY
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A Report on Unemployment in the Punjab.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL.

THE appointment of our committee by the Governor in Council was announced in Punjab Government, Home Department, resolution No. 4920, dated 16th February 1927. As originally constituted the committee consisted of the following members :—

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON, Kt., C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab,—*President*.

Lala HARKISHAN LAL, Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. E. D. LUCAS, Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore.

Khan Bahadur Saiyad Sir MEHDI SHAH, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

Pandit NANAK CHAND, M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. R. C. RAWLEY, Director of Industries, Punjab.

Captain Sardar SIKANDER HYAT KHAN, M.B.E., M.L.C.

Sardar UJJAL SINGH, M.L.C.

Chaudhri ZAFARULLAH KHAN, M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. J. G. BEAZLEY, I.C.S., Secretary to Government, Punjab, Transferred Departments,—*Secretary*.

The death of Sir Mehdi Shah deprived the committee of one of its most valuable members, and the committee suffered a further serious loss owing to Sir George Anderson's being placed on special duty and then proceeding on leave before the committee was in a position to review the evidence obtained by it or consider its report. Mr. J. G. Beazley was appointed President of the committee in place of Sir George Anderson.

The terms of reference.

2. The terms of reference of the committee were—

To investigate and report—

- (i) the extent of the existence of unemployment among (a) the educated, and (b) the uneducated classes of the community in the Punjab ;

- (ii) the causes of unemployment ; and
- (iii) the possible remedies for unemployment.

8. As most of the members of the committee were also members of the Legislative Council

Proceeders of the committee.

it was found difficult to arrange a meeting till the end of February. A

preliminary meeting was then held at which it was agreed that *prima facie* there was no reason for believing that there was unemployment among uneducated classes of the community on a scale that merited the attention of Government. It was, however, decided to confirm this view by enquiries from all Deputy Commissioners. The general lines on which a questionnaire as to unemployment among the educated classes should be drafted were also agreed upon at this preliminary meeting, and at a subsequent meeting the questionnaire, of which a copy is attached to this report as Appendix A, was adopted. This was issued to 24 organized social and political associations besides all district Bar Associations, to all heads of Government departments, 10 members of the Legislative Council representing different well-defined interests, all Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, all heads of colleges in the province and a number of individuals who had offered to give evidence or were thought likely to be able to furnish the committee with valuable information or advice. Replies were asked for within a month, if possible, and it was hoped that it would be possible to hold another meeting of the committee before Government moved up to Simla. Replies however came in very slowly and the response to the committee's invitation was disappointing. Only about 20 private individuals and associations sent in answers to the questionnaire and the great bulk of the evidence obtained by the committee was derived from officials of various departments of whom about 120 submitted replies. In addition, the committee examined Mr. Woolner, Secretary to the Punjab University Appointments Board, orally. The evidence thus obtained is forwarded, in original, with this report. Many of the replies were not received until July, and pressure of other work prevented the President and Secretary from attending to them until September, when it was decided that the only practicable procedure was to circulate the volumes of evidence received to all the members of the committee for perusal before another meeting was called. This was accordingly

done, and a meeting was then held towards the end of October after Government had returned to Lahore. At this meeting it was decided that the replies to the questionnaire which had been received furnished sufficient evidence both as to the extent and as to the causes of unemployment and that it would serve no purpose to examine any further witnesses orally. It therefore remained only to consider the form and substance of the committee's report, and it was agreed that each member should set down his views and forward them to the President by the 15th December, so that a report which was likely to recommend itself to all or at any rate the majority of the members might be drafted for discussion. A draft report was thus prepared and circulated to the members, and after further discussion at several meetings the present report was finally adopted at a meeting held on 2nd April 1928.

CHAPTER II.—UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE UN-EDUCATED CLASSES.

4. The replies received from most Deputy Commissioners confirmed our preliminary view that there was no unemployment worthy of mention among the uneducated classes. This general statement, however, requires some qualification. In some districts, notably Shahpur,¹ there are reports of unemployment among weavers, but this is rather unemployment as weavers than absolute unemployment; for members of the weaving class find alternative employment in agriculture. We believe that the problem of enabling handloom weavers in the Punjab to compete with foreign manufacturers is being tackled upon the right lines by the Department of Industries, but the question is not really one of unemployment so far as the weavers themselves are concerned, though the revival of this industry may have an important bearing on the question of finding openings for members of the educated classes. Several Deputy Commissioners² also refer to unemployment among ex-soldiers who are not disposed to return to agriculture after leaving the colours. Recruitment being now only for five years, this is likely to become a serious problem, and we recommend that the Punjab Government should take the matter up with the Army Department of the Government of India. We recognize that the solution of the question is not easy, for though there might be no difficulty in arranging for some vocational training of soldiers during service, there could be no guarantee that the men who had received such training would find employment at the end of their service. We further recognize that the question of unemployment among retired soldiers is part of the general question of pressure on the land in certain districts, a question which appears hardly to come within our terms of reference. A third matter to which reference is made in the replies of Deputy Commissioners is the seasonal unemployment of cotton-ginning factory hands. So far as the unskilled labour employed in such factories is concerned we have received no evidence as to whether such persons are

¹ Page 23 of volume III of the evidence and vide also page 17 *ib.*

² *Q.* page 26 of volume III of the evidence.

able to find other work during the off-season if they want it, or not : indeed, as the cotton-ginning season only lasts four or five months it would appear to be more correct to say that the cotton-ginning season is the off-season for their other employment. We are further inclined to think that in some districts there is considerable distress among the classes who formerly subsisted by money-lending and petty shop-keeping but whose activities have been somewhat curtailed by the march of events in recent years. These classes have not as yet been able to readjust themselves to modern conditions, but we do not think we are competent to make any recommendations as to how such a readjustment could be effected. The only case of unemployment in the true sense of the word that has been brought to our notice is the unemployment among men formerly employed in the railway workshops at Lahore.¹ These people, however, are reported to come chiefly from the North-West Frontier Province and the United Provinces, and they present no problem, from the point of view of unemployment, that the Government of this province need concern itself with, though the fact that they are said to live by crime for want of other employment constitutes an administrative problem of another description.

¹ Page 144 of volume III of the evidence.

CHAPTER III.—EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

5. The rest of this report is concerned with unemployment among the educated classes, but as a preliminary to any examination of the question it is necessary to be clear as to the senses in which the terms "unemployment" and "educated classes" are used. The replies received to our questionnaire leave no doubt as to what our witnesses mean by the "unemployment" which all agree exists on a very considerable scale. They do not mean that there are large classes of men like the unemployed in Great Britain, who are starving for want of work or who would starve but for unemployment insurance benefits or poor relief, though it may be true that but for the social structure of the province there would be much more actual physical distress than there is : they mean that there are large numbers of young men who have failed to obtain salaried posts in Government or private service or any other employment outside the ancestral occupations for which by reason of their 'education' they have become unfitted or disinclined or in which a decent living is no longer to be made; they also include among the 'unemployed' those who, though in possession of salaried posts or practising a profession, are unable to make a decent living or are qualified by their educational attainments for better positions. By "educated classes" they mean those who have at least completed the full vernacular or anglo-vernacular course. We have accepted these definitions of the terms "unemployment" and "educated classes" as we apprehend that it was the intention of Government that "unemployment among the educated classes" in this sense, which is the sense in which it has been given prominence also in discussions in the Legislative Council and in the Press, should be investigated.

6. As to the extent of such employment among the educated classes it is hardly necessary to refer to the evidence of any of our witnesses. Most of them indeed, as was to be expected, are unable to do more than express a general conviction that such unemployment exists on a very considerable scale, but for the justification of this conviction it is only necessary to refer to the

Extent of unemployment proved by educational statistics.

statistics of the outturn of educational institutions. The following figures speak for themselves :—

YEAR.	Number of students at Arts Colleges.	Number of students who obtained B. A. and B. Sc. degrees.	Number of candidates for Matriculation and School-leaving certificates.	Number of successful candidates out of those in column 4.
1	2	3	4	5
1922 ..	4,508	676	6,276	4,521
1927 ..	8,882	907	13,020	6,904

From these figures it is clear that the annual addition to the 'educated classes' has more than doubled in the last five years, and though there has in the same period been a considerable expansion of some departments of Government, the increase in the number of posts thus made available for the 'educated classes' cannot have been commensurate with the increase in the number of competitors for such posts, and there has certainly not been any such expansion of the commerce and industry of the province as could absorb the surplus. This general conclusion is supported, so far as graduates are concerned, by the evidence given by Mr. Woolner¹ in his capacity of Secretary to the Punjab University Appointments Board. Careful enquiries made by the Board in 1915-16 led to the conclusion that the annual output of graduates was just about being absorbed. At that time about 400 B.As. and B.Scs., were graduating each year, but the average annual outturn is now between 700 and 800, and Mr. Woolner estimated that this number was about 200 in excess of requirements. It must however, be observed that this general conclusion that there is unemployment on a large scale among the educated classes relates to those whose education has been for the most part purely literary and who have proceeded to higher education through the anglo-vernacular course. The question of unemployment among those, on the one hand, who have received their higher education in one or other of the professional educational institutions and among those, on the other hand, who have been content with the full vernacular course of education, requires separate consideration.

¹ Page 46 of volume II of the evidence.

7. As regards the profession of law, there is a considerable body of evidence to the effect that the profession is over-crowded and that many of those who follow it are unable to make a decent living; that it is a *pis aller* resorted to in many cases

Unemployment in the profession of Law.

merely in order to postpone the evil day when employment must be sought for and that it is readily abandoned if any sort of appointment can be obtained. That this impression is correct receives strong support from statistics. In 1917 the number of advocates and pleaders shown in the Civil List was 1,698: in the Civil List for January 1928 the number is 3,613, yet the total number of civil and criminal cases of all sorts including appeals and revisions was actually slightly less in 1926 (479,516) than in 1916 (479,637).

8. The medical profession also shows signs of being over-crowded. It is true that the licentiates turned out by the Medical School have no difficulty in obtaining posts under Government or local bodies. During the period from 1922 to 1926 the number of students who qualified was 114, while the number of those who obtained employment as sub-assistant surgeons was 171, so that the outturn of previous years was also absorbed and there are now only 13 men on the waiting list. In addition 67 Punjabis who have passed out of medical institutions in other provinces have obtained employment, and there are only 6 such men on the Inspector-General's waiting list. The position as regards medical graduates is, however, not so satisfactory. Of these 256 were turned out by the Medical College in the period 1922 to 1926 and only 32 have obtained employment, and even of these 27 have accepted appointments as sub-assistant surgeons, and there are 219 men on the Inspector-General's waiting list. The conclusion which the Inspector-General¹ draws from these figures is that independent medical practice does not afford a decent living wage, and evidence to the same effect is given by three private medical practitioners at Lahore², who refer to the fact that urban areas are over-crowded by medical practitioners, while rural areas are served by the public dispensaries. We are, however, inclined to think that there are ample openings for private practitioners in rural areas if such practitioners would adapt themselves to existing conditions.

¹ Page 116 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 66 of volume I of the evidence.

9. The position as regards graduates of the Lyallpur Agricultural College is satisfactory to this extent that with few exceptions they are successful in obtaining remunerative employment. It appears, however, from the evidence of the Director of Agriculture¹ that many of them obtain appointments in the Revenue, Co-operative, Irrigation and other departments for which their training in scientific agriculture, though useful, is not essential. As regards men who have gone through the Veterinary College there is apparently no unemployment at present, as all employable men are at once absorbed in the Civil Veterinary Department.² There are however, reported³ to be a few men with the British diploma of M. R. C. V. S. who have been unable to obtain employment, but though their case may be hard, their number is not so large as to constitute a serious problem.

10. In the case of the engineering profession the mass of evidence given by officers of the Public Works Department would show that so far from there being any unemployment among qualified men there is a great shortage of properly qualified candidates for employment except, possibly, in the higher ranks of the service.

11. We have left to the last the teaching profession, in connection with which we have to consider not only unemployment among those who have received professional education but also unemployment among those who have been content with the full vernacular course of education. On these subjects Sir George Anderson, before he left, recorded for our benefit a most valuable note which is reproduced in Appendix B. After examining the statistics referred to in paragraph 6 above, Sir George quotes figures to show that the profession of teaching is offering an increasing scope of occupation to men and women in the Punjab. The number of teachers in 1920-21 was 19,512 but by 1926-27 it had risen to 32,470, and allowing for vacancies created by death, retirements and other causes about 5,000 additional teachers are required each year. In 1925-26 there were 28,926 teachers, of whom 19,210, were trained, 1,618,

¹ Page 96 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 90 of volume I of the evidence.

³ Page 106 of volume I of the evidence.

were untrained but certificated and 8,103 neither trained nor certificated. A large proportion of the 8,103 untrained teachers were women and the rest were oldish men who would not benefit by training or young men who were gaining experience before their period of training. Of the total number 2,093 were graduates, 4,000 intermediates or matriculates, 22,833 in possession of vernacular qualifications. Sir George states that the Education Department is generally of opinion that neither the matriculate nor the intermediate meets its requirements. The matriculate is usually unsuited for occupation in a village as a village teacher: he has spent a large portion of his time at school in an unsuccessful attempt to learn English, and thus is imperfectly equipped in those subjects which form the distinctive feature of the vernacular course. On the anglo-vernacular side of the educational system, the admission to the junior anglo-vernacular course of training is now limited almost entirely to intermediates and there is therefore very little scope for the matriculate in this direction. Educational authorities are moreover inclining to the opinion that even the improved intermediate qualification is insufficient, and that much of the work now carried on in schools by the junior anglo-vernacular teachers should be entrusted to others. English teaching in the junior classes is more important and difficult than such teaching in the senior classes and should be entrusted to trained graduates, while the general subjects in the junior classes which are taught through the medium of the vernacular should be entrusted to senior vernacular teachers who have received a two-years' course of training. The conclusion to which these considerations lead us is that so far as intermediates and matriculates rely on the teaching profession for employment there is bound to be in the future even more unemployment among these classes than there is at present. On the other hand Sir George shows that the number of candidates completing the vernacular course and passing the vernacular final examination is barely sufficient to meet the existing demands of the Education Department and is wholly insufficient to meet the increasing demands of rural development. In this class therefore there is at present no unemployment and there need be none for some years to come.

CHAPTER IV.—CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE EDUCATED CLASSES.

12. In the last chapter we have quoted facts and figures

The fact that candidates for appointments outnumber the appointments available not by itself sufficient explanation of unemployment.

that seem to indicate that the immediate cause of unemployment among certain of the educated classes is the fact that the number of posts available for members of those classes has not increased

in anything like the same ratio as the number of possible competitors. With the intermediates and matriculates or failed matriculates of whom this is true we may class also the large number of those who have qualified themselves for practice in law but are unable to make a living out of the profession. This situation, however, itself requires explanation, for on the face of it there is no reason why young men who had hoped to obtain appointments or to make a living out of the law should, if disappointed in their hopes, fail to obtain employment of some other sort. If such failure is inevitable, then either there is no other employment obtainable or the young men in question are unemployable in any other capacity, and if either of or both these propositions are true, the further question presents itself as to why parents put their boys into such a position. From the replies received to our questionnaire it is not easy to disentangle the evidence relevant to these particular questions. Certain propositions are however clearly established by the evidence and we shall proceed first to set them forth and shall then consider how they bear upon the questions which require an answer if the existing situation is to be explained.

13. One of our witnesses¹ attributes the existing situation to Lord Macaulay's system of education which "was meant to create a class of translators to serve purely as interpreters. Education has let these

Education intended only to produce clerks and regarded merely as an avenue to Government service.

interpreters remain as interpreters and no more, with the addition that anything real is gone and the rest is all imitation and chaff where there is no place for anything conducive to make a human being of an Indian." This picturesque

¹ Page 34 of volume I of the evidence.

if somewhat obscure, pronouncement contains, in our opinion, a considerable measure of truth. Sir George Anderson himself admits¹ that the present system of education in its very inception was moulded with the special objects of preparing boys for external examinations and of training them for clerical vocations, and he describes² the matriculate product of the system as "a derelict, a wanderer on the face of the earth, unemployed because he is unemployable." In any case whatever the intentions of those responsible for the beginnings of our present system of education may have been, it is clear that "education" very soon came to be regarded simply as a means of obtaining a salaried appointment under Government. "It is true that a desire for literary education is prompted by a desire for Government service³." "In India in vast majority of cases education after the matriculation stage is not received for the sake of culture and enlightenment, but merely because it is somehow supposed to be the magic passport to success in the way of obtaining Government service⁴." "In fact almost everybody went in for education merely for Government service. We have not even up till the present time reached the stage when education is received for the sake of education alone⁵." "Children are educated to seek employment in offices⁶." "For many years the one ambition of every Indian parent, of whatever position, caste or creed, has been to get his sons into Government service. The easiest way to do this has been to get the boy through the entrance examination and obtain a post for him in the clerical or other establishment, of one of the many departments for which this is the minimum qualifications⁷." "The education given merely turns out clerks⁸." "There seems to be a general idea that any one who has passed entrance has a claim on the Government that they should provide a job for him and has a cause of grievance if they do not⁹." "The desire for literary education is of course promoted by a desire for Government service¹⁰." "The present education turns out no better stuff than indifferent

¹ Paragraph 18 of his note, Appendix B.

² End of paragraph 12 of his note, Appendix B.

³ Page 58 of volume I of the evidence.

⁴ Page 62 of volume I of the evidence.

⁵ Page 113 of volume I of the evidence.

⁶ Page 133 of volume I of the evidence.

⁷ Page 141 of volume I of the evidence.

⁸ Page 167 of volume I of the evidence.

⁹ Page 189 of volume I of the evidence.

¹⁰ Page 194 of volume I of the evidence.

-office babus'." "The aim of the educated class is only service up to this time¹." "Nearly every boy who receives higher education hopes to obtain Government employment²." "The desire for Government service is innate with almost cent. per cent. of the boys attending schools and colleges³."

14. Not only does the present system of education produce nothing but clerks, but according to many of our witnesses it renders the unfortunate recipients of education unfit to follow even their ancestral occupations, let alone any other form of occupation. "Parents of a number of the educated young men drawn from the rural areas complain, when their sons do not find some service, that the school or college education has left their sons unfit even for the profession of their forefathers⁴." "Throughout the 15 years of a boy's life which he spends at school and college before he is turned into a full-fledged graduate he is not even for a single day called upon to handle any sort of implement connected with agriculture or any other industry.....by the time a young man leaves college he cannot for a minute picture himself stooping so low as to earn his living with his hands." "As more time passes in the school he adopts habits which make him more and more averse to his parents' occupation, with the result that after finishing his education he does not feel happy if he is obliged to live and work in the family profession⁵." "I have frequently met matriculated sons of zamindars who were unable to milk a cow or guide a plough and were horrified at the idea of touching a spade⁶." "The sons of competent artisans instead of sticking to their trade get a smattering of education and become fifth-rate clerks. As such they are generally unemployed, if not unemployable⁷." "The present education is quite unsuitable for agriculturists and instead of making them follow their own profession, it drives them from it altogether⁸." "An excessive number of boys who receive only a literary form of education which, in some cases not

¹ Page 214 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 225 of volume I of the evidence.

³ Page 252 of volume I of the evidence.

⁴ Page 258 of volume I of the evidence.

⁵ Page 151 of volume I of the evidence.

⁶ Pages 30 and 31 of volume I of the evidence.

⁷ Page 114 of volume I of the evidence.

⁸ Page 135 of volume I of the evidence.

⁹ Page 173 of volume I of the evidence.

¹⁰ Page 214 of volume I of the evidence.

only fails to do them good, but actually unfits them to follow their hereditary calling¹." "It is of course true (especially of agriculture) that higher education keeps a boy so much away from his hereditary occupation that he is frequently less fitted for it than an uneducated man²." "After undergoing privations and the expenses of high school and college education people find their sons not fit for doing anything properly except some kind of clerical work as they have not the training for anything else and have lost respect for the work of their forefathers³." "They invariably state when asked why they do not make their son carry on with the hereditary profession of agriculture, that the boy has no aptitude for it and no desire for anything but a seat at a desk. From many I have gathered also that they have a physical incapacity for work on the land after they have spent some years at school and that they can no longer face hard work in the sun as their fathers did and do⁴." "The plight of entrance-failed students is still worse. They can neither find any employment nor are they fit or willing to go back and work as tiller of the soil or as village menial, viz., smith, potter, etc."⁵

15. In our questionnaire we enquired as to the extent to which unemployment was due to an aversion from, or a physical incapacity for, any form of manual labour even if it involves skill. On this subject there is some difference of opinion among our witnesses, but the majority are agreed that among certain classes of the population the idea of undertaking any sort of manual labour, even labour requiring skill, is regarded with abhorrence. "This aversion does not arise ordinarily from physical incapacity but from tradition, up-bringing and the home influence, all of which are, generally speaking, unfavourable to any form of manual work."⁶ "There is undoubtedly a tendency to look upon manual labour or any form of occupation involving skill with hands as of an inferior status, and the sons of subordinates and mistris who for generations past have been able and efficient workers are insisting upon clerical and semi-clerical employment rather than the actual carrying out of

¹ Page 230 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 251 of volume I of the evidence.

³ Pages 263 and 264 of volume I of the evidence.

⁴ Page 272 of volume I of the evidence.

⁵ Page 280 of volume I of the evidence.

⁶ Page 84 of volume I of the evidence.

works themselves¹." "..... public opinion, which considers this form of employment [manual labour] as inferior in social scale to that of service²." "An educated man would feel far more happy on a very small pay as a clerk or a babu but would consider it below his dignity even though much higher pay is offered, if he has to do any manual labour³." "Educated Indians look upon labour as undignified and will not do any work other than clerical work⁴." "With the Hindus the low caste man has always been the manual labourer. The higher castes form the majority of the educated and the inherited aversion from manual labour persists⁵." "For centuries manual labour has never been done by certain families. There is no hope that the sons of these families will ever do manual work⁶." "The idea that it is derogatory to one's dignity to work with one's hands is deep-rooted⁷." "It is considered to be below one's dignity for an educated man to do it [manual labour]."⁸ "Unemployment among educated classes is chiefly due to aversion from any form of manual labour as degrading⁹." "Unemployment among the educated classes is due to their deep-rooted prejudice that any form of manual labour is derogatory to their self-respect¹⁰." "Since all manual labour in India barring agriculture is normally, to the best of my knowledge, performed by persons of low social status, and since it is the laudable object of aspiring parents in educating their sons to raise the social prospects of the family, an aversion from manual labour is inevitable among the educated classes¹¹." "Unemployment is due mostly to an aversion from manual labour. In this country education has always been accompanied by this kind of aversion¹²." "The educated classes come mostly from towns and have no experience of manual labour. They also have a traditional idea that it is undignified¹³." ".....the social customs of the country whereby manual labour has been regarded from time immemorial as

¹ Page 93 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 99 of volume I of the evidence.

³ Page 112 of volume I of the evidence.

⁴ Page 136 of volume I of the evidence.

⁵ Page 141 of volume I of the evidence.

⁶ Page 143 of volume I of the evidence.

⁷ Page 172 of volume I of the evidence.

⁸ Page 206 of volume I of the evidence.

⁹ Page 227 of volume I of the evidence.

¹⁰ Page 233 of volume I of the evidence.

¹¹ Page 242 of volume I of the evidence.

¹² Page 269 of volume I of the evidence.

¹³ Page 339 of volume I of the evidence.

the work of low classes."¹ "In the opinion of this Association [of Headmasters] the educated community of the Punjab is averse to all kinds of manual labour."² "It is a long established tradition of the country that a man who has learned to read and write should not labour or otherwise employ his hands except for writing."³ "An educated man is not supposed to work with his hands, and if he does he is sure to be ridiculed."⁴ "They regard clerkships more honourable than jobs in which young men have to take off their coats and dirty their hands. The adoption of the latter may render a lad liable to lose his respect in society and to remain a bachelor for his whole life, for few are willing to offer the hands of their daughters to artisans."⁵ We have quoted thus at length from the evidence received by us as we consider that the existence of this prejudice against manual labour has an important bearing on the question of unemployment. We do not of course hold that manual labour is the only alternative to clerical work, but we have no doubt that the aversion to manual labour is a potent reason why certain classes do not take to professions or trades which necessitate working with the hands in the early stages of their acquisition if they are to be thoroughly mastered, and why advantage is not taken of certain avenues of employment which do exist. We recognize, however, that conditions in this respect are changing and that this aversion is being overcome by sheer necessity.

16. In our questionnaire we suggested that the popularity of Government service was due to its security, the *izzat* attached to it and the fact that its emoluments are thought to be much greater than the mere rates of pay would indicate. Opinion is somewhat divided in respect of the third of these reasons, but we do not consider the matter is worth pursuing. We wish however to explain what was our object in making this suggestion. It appeared to us that if in fact illegitimate sources of income were so considerable as to make the pecuniary rewards of Government service one of its chief attractions, one remedy for the unemployment caused by the desire for Government service would be the purification of that service. The

Why Government service is so popular.

¹ Page 368 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 5 of volume II of the evidence.

³ Page 51 of volume II of the evidence.

⁴ Page 66 of volume II of the evidence.

⁵ Page 80 of volume II of the evidence.

evidence which we have received, however, has convinced us that Government service would retain its great attractiveness even if its pecuniary rewards were limited to the official rates of pay. That Government service is popular on account of its security and the *izzat* attaching to it is admitted by most of our witnesses, but other reasons are given too. Perhaps the chief of these is that there are no other avenues of employment. Some of our witnesses even consider that Government service is not attractive in itself, but only because it affords the only "respectable" occupation available.¹ Other reasons advanced are that in Government service a man has an easy life with short hours and plenty of holidays, regular promotion and no particular need for efficiency,² and that facilities for training for any other career are very limited. Reference may also be made to one other reason given. "At present an average *zamindar* thinks rightly or wrongly that he can save himself from every day insults heaped upon him by Government officials by taking to some sort of Government service and leaving his ancestral profession."³ A similar reason is expressed by another witness⁴ who refers to "the very marked desire among agriculturists (especially Rajput Hindus) to end what they regard as the urban domination in the administrative machine." That a feeling of this sort has come into existence cannot, we think, be denied, though we may observe that since the administrative offices are chiefly located in towns the administration is bound to remain "urban" whether the persons who staff it came originally from the towns or the country: the feeling is, however, of importance not only as an explanation of the popularity of Government service, but still more as constituting one of the reasons why unemployment among the educated classes has of recent years become such a pressing problem, an aspect of the question which we shall now proceed to consider.

17. The witnesses to whom we have referred at the end of the preceding paragraph explain the desire for Government service among agriculturists as a desire to obtain a share of the power hitherto monopolized by the urban classes. This is undoubtedly one of the causes

Cf. pages 17, 159 and 278 of volume I of the evidence.

Cf. pages 33, 43, 80, 84, 100, 137, 168 and 200 of volume I of the evidence.

Page 31 of volume I of the evidence.

Page 260 of volume I of the evidence.

of the demand made by agriculturists for the expansion of educational facilities in rural areas, but other witnesses are, in our opinion, also correct in attributing this demand partly to the pressure of the population on the land and the desire of the agricultural classes to find other means of livelihood and to better themselves. Both these desires are, moreover, shared by the poorer urban classes who were previously content with their traditional occupations, and it is because so much has been done in recent years to put these two classes in a position to realize their desires that the number of candidates for Government appointments has increased so enormously. The demand made by these classes was indeed fair and was recognized as such not only by Government but by the privileged classes who have suffered by its being met. It is, however, to say the least of it, unfortunate that before these new classes were placed in a position to compete, the inevitable result was not foreseen and arrangements were not made either to restrict the number of possible competitors from all classes, new and old, or to ensure that unsuccessful competitors should be fit for other occupations or at least not rendered unfit for their ancestral occupations.

18. Before leaving the subject of the causes of unemployment a few remarks are called for in respect of the special case of unemployment among members of the medical profession. This has, we think, rightly been attributed by our witnesses to the reluctance of medical graduates to settle in rural areas and their concentration in the larger towns. This in its turn is largely due to the fact that the people have been so habituated to the receipt of gratuitous medical relief that it is almost impossible for a private practitioner to make a living in competition with the medical officers in charge of public hospitals and dispensaries. In respect of surgeons this is particularly the case owing to the fact that in this province there are no arrangements such as exist in other countries under which private practitioners may make use of the operating facilities provided in the public hospitals. The reluctance to settle in rural areas is also, no doubt, largely due to the absence of social and material amenities in the villages.

CHAPTER V.—REMEDIES FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

19. Sir George Anderson observes in his note¹ that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the rush to join anglo-vernacular classes with a view to preparation for the matriculation examination is most inadvisable, at any rate from the point of view

Facilities for higher education should be provided only for the markedly able or for those who can pay its full cost.

of unemployment, and he therefore suggests that unpromising and needy boys should not be tempted into this dangerous path by easy examination standards and by excessively cheap education. Similar suggestions are made by several of our witnesses. "In India there is comparatively less of elementary education which everybody ought to have and there is more of higher education which should be restricted and brought to a level where the number of the graduates produced every year may be almost equal to the number which can be absorbed in the country in Government service and other engagements."² "It is obvious that the obtaining of the usual degrees in India is ridiculously easy and that the standard is ridiculously low. If only the competent could obtain degrees, professions would not be so hopelessly overcrowded as at present."³ "The only remedy would seem to be drawing a clear dividing line between elementary and higher education and only permitting the really hopeful boys to proceed to the latter."⁴ "The only way to effect it seems to be to make literary degrees and diplomas much more difficult to obtain, raise the standard required for Government jobs and make the education for agriculture and existing industries as cheap and easy as possible."⁵ "The facilities for higher education in the Punjab are already such that it is fatally easy for a boy with no particular ability and no financial backing to become a matriculate or even graduate. Thus, while in England it is still to a great extent the case that a boy cannot go beyond the primary stage unless he has marked ability or reasonably wealthy parents, in the Punjab the economic limitations are relatively less strong, and the market is flooded with unwanted young men who have

¹ Paragraph 14 of Appendix B.

² Page 113 of volume I of the evidence.

³ Page 153 of volume I of the evidence.

⁴ Page 174 of volume I of the evidence.

⁵ Page 133 of volume I of the evidence.

neither the ability to make a way for themselves nor the means to enable them to wait. The public see the facilities (there are twenty-three high schools in this district alone) and fail to see the folly of spending money on the higher education of boys who are not particularly clever and have no employment in view. There is no getting away from the basic fact that the present educational system bears no relation to the economic needs of the country.¹ "This has led to an almost universal demand for one type of education through which all students are forced, to come out at the end unemployable too often for life. Until the child of the people is not expected to go through a literary education but to pass through the eight standards of the vernacular school and then look about immediately for employment even as a shop boy on a few rupees per mensem, unemployment must increase in the province. The easiness of university examinations tempts, to further profitless study, boys who should be hunting for employment and settling down to learn a trade."² The point of view illustrated by the quotations given above is developed at considerable length by the Principal of one of the new Intermediate Colleges.³ "What other country in the world," pertinently asks this witness, "gives a high school and college education, mainly at the public expense, to thousands of boys annually of third rate ability, sons of petty farmers and shop-keepers or even of humbler folk, who contribute in the way of fees only an infinitesimal portion of the cost? Can rich western countries afford this? If not, how can India?" This witness would reform the whole system of education and would have only two types of school, first in every village a village school in which education would be free and compulsory, purely vernacular and with a vocational outlook leading direct to employment: the other type, leading to further secondary, university and professional education, to which no one should be admitted unless he pays the entire real cost of his education or unless he is well above the average in ability, in which case the State should finance his education by providing liberal scholarships or in other ways. We are of opinion that this point of view is substantially sound and that the present organization of educational facilities involves an enormous waste of time.

¹ Pages 249 to 261 of volume I of the evidence.

² Page 54 of volume II of the evidence.

³ Pages 15 to 27 of volume II of the evidence.

labour and money. At the same time we recognize that if the system were changed merely so as to effect a reduction in the number of possible aspirants for "black-coated" employment, this would not provide a solution of the entire problem. In so far as the existing demand for the extension of educational facilities is dictated by the desire of parents that their children should better themselves, steps taken to prevent large number of boys from being put in a position to compete for Government and other similar appointments would, unless accompanied by other measures calculated to satisfy the legitimate demand of all classes for opportunities to better themselves, merely substitute for the grievance of unemployment the grievance of want of opportunity. In fact the resentment which such a policy would create would render the policy incapable of being enforced in practice. While therefore we strongly recommend that higher education should be reorganized as soon as possible so as to ensure that only those who are capable of benefiting by it and who would be subsidized by the State, or those who are able to pay for it in full, shall receive it, we are of opinion that this reorganization should be accompanied by such a revision of the whole system of education as will ensure that the youth of all classes shall be given opportunities of such education and training as will enable them to find useful and reasonably lucrative employment in other spheres.

20. A corollary of our recommendations that the facilities for secondary education should be limited is that the educational qualifications required of candidates for certain Government appointments should be lowered. This may seem strange at first sight, and it may be objected that the net result of making higher education more difficult to obtain but lowering the educational qualifications for appointment will be to leave competition for appointments in much the same position as at present. To this, however, we would reply that in our opinion there are many posts reserved for graduates or matriculates for which such qualifications, if they implied the same standard of education as they imply in other countries, would be quite unnecessary, while there are other such posts for which there is good reason for believing that these qualifications, even such as they are, are not only unnecessary but undesirable. Thus Mr. Woolner¹ expressed

If higher education is made more difficult to obtain the qualifications for certain Government appointments should be lowered.

the opinion that much waste could be avoided if Government would announce that for certain posts matriculates or intermediates who had passed tests in précis writing, dictation, shorthand, etc., would be preferred to graduates who had not. Similarly a Deputy Commissioner states that he is more or less bound to recruit matriculates who know little English and are sometimes not particularly proficient in Urdu for posts for which a really good knowledge of Urdu is the best qualification, and that if recruitment to certain posts were thrown open to men with high vernacular qualifications, something would be done towards checking the rush for the less practical English education. Sir George Anderson too has shown that in a large number of teaching posts at present filled by men who have been through the anglo-vernacular course, senior vernacular teachers could more profitably be employed. Government has itself recognized that the matriculate as such too often does not possess the qualifications required of a good clerk and has instituted post-matriculation clerical classes, but we are not aware that any announcement has been made that those who are successful in obtaining the diploma awarded at the end of such courses will be preferred to graduates who are not in possession of the diploma, or that any alterations have been made in the rules requiring candidates for certain posts to be graduates. We agree also with the Deputy Commissioner whose opinion we have quoted above that much greater use might be made of well educated vernacular clerks, and it appears to us that English qualifications are required of candidates for many posts of which the work could be just as well, if not better, done in vernacular, and that it is only the very imperfect acquaintance of many officers with the vernacular that makes it necessary to employ English-knowing clerks. We are convinced that if the time now wasted on acquiring English were devoted to really sound vernacular education, a much more useful type of public servant would be obtained. It is true that whatever standards are adopted the number of youths to be recruited for the public service will not be affected and that unemployment will, from this point of view, present the same problem, but we consider that it is a matter of the first importance that the period of education should not be unduly prolonged by the requirements of Government in respect of candidates for its service, and that the education

which aspirants to Government service receive should not be such as to render them unfit for any other career.

21. The recommendations made above are made on the assumption that it is possible to reform existing educational methods in such a way as to make education in its early stages a real education fitting its recipients to proceed either to higher literary or professional education or to industrial or commercial training or enabling them to take up their ancestral occupation, at any rate under no handicap, if not with better equipment than they would have possessed if they had not received it. Sir George Anderson's note affords ample evidence that it is now the aim of the higher authorities of the Education Department thus to make education a reality and not a sham. "Education should therefore be more of a reality and less of a mystery to the pupils. The teaching should be in greater harmony with the actual things of life and with the actual surroundings of the boys. The pupils in the ordinary schools should be encouraged to appreciate the dignity of labour, to make good use of their spare time and to acquire an earnest spirit of service. We should strive to engender in the boys those qualities and characteristics which are always welcome to the employer. This objective cannot be attained by a mere revision of the courses and curricula and by the preparation of new text books. The proper interpretation of a course is far more important than the course itself, and the proper interpretation can only be given by those teachers who understand the spirit of the new learning. Efforts are now being made by the Education Department to encourage that spirit."¹ Many of our witnesses have expressed the belief that the cure for all ills will be found in the incorporation of industrial and technical training in the curricula of ordinary schools, but others with more experience are insistent that no attempts should be made to impart actual training for industrial occupations until the foundation of a good general education has been laid. At the same time it is essential that the inclination for industrial and technical occupations should be fostered by all possible means during the preliminary period of general education, and that every effort should be made to eradicate the idea that education neces-

¹Appendix B, paragraph 19.

arily unfits its recipient for any occupation involving work with the hands, or that such work is beneath the dignity of the educated person. For this reason we are of opinion that manual training of some sort, though not vocational training, should be compulsory throughout the preliminary period of general education, and further that during this period all such "chores" as boys would be expected to do at home if they had not gone in for education should be done by boys at school.

22. We recognize that the measures advocated above will not solve the problem of unemployment; they may make boys better fitted for existing avenues of employment and readier to take up new forms of employment, but they will not by themselves increase spheres of employment or enable parents to satisfy their desire, which is at the bottom of the demand for education, that their boys should better themselves. Indeed on the face of it no system of education can create new avenues of employment, and when we drafted our questionnaire we were inclined to think that the provision of greater facilities for professional and industrial education would merely result in the production of large numbers of unemployed young men qualified for employment instead of large numbers of young men who are unemployed because they are unemployable. The evidence which we have received, however, and a reconsideration of the matter have convinced us in the first place that there are existing avenues of employment of which much greater advantage could be taken, and secondly, that the existence of large numbers of trained young men will give an impetus to the development of industries at present non-existent in the province. It is clear for instance that if the Government School of Engineering at Rasul were enlarged or another such institution were founded, the outturn would be readily absorbed, and the same is probably true of the MacLagan Engineering College, at any rate in respect of the B Class of students. In fact wherever sound technical instruction is given those who have received it find no difficulty in obtaining employment, and there is every reason to believe that if the number of such institutions were multiplied they would do much to solve the problem of unemployment. It is true that the so-called "industrial schools" of which a considerable number have been in existence for years have

The provision of increased facilities for technical and industrial education is necessary.

been for the most part egregious failures, but the reason for this was not far to seek, and the new type of industrial school on which, we understand, the Department of Industries is now concentrating should be able to play a much more valuable part. It has been suggested to us that there are various industries such as the printing industry and its subsidiary branches, and the industries of soap-making, button-making, etc., etc., for which trained men are in demand or which could profitably be started if trained men were available, but we do not wish to offer any opinion as to the precise industries for which training facilities should be provided. Government has indeed constituted the Punjab Development Board to explore the possibilities of industrial expansion in the province, and we have not as a committee such qualifications as would entitle us to make suggestions for the consideration of that Board. We do, however, feel that the evidence which we have received justifies the opinion that the provision of greatly expanded facilities for technical and industrial education is an essential condition of the industrial development of the province and will thus provide at any rate a partial solution of the problem of unemployment.

23. Though we do not wish to make detailed

Extensions of professional education:

(a) Architecture.

recommendations in respect of industrial education we would invite the attention of Government to suggestions which have been made to us for the creation of institutions for training in certain professions for which at present no facilities exist. One such profession is that of Architecture, for which we are of opinion that there is very considerable scope in the province, not only with a view to improving the appearance of buildings but also for the purpose of ameliorating health conditions in our towns. Much avoidable sickness is due to badly planned houses, and the efforts of public health authorities would be greatly assisted if there were a sound school of architecture turning out men capable of designing healthy houses suitable to Indian conditions. A necessary accompaniment of such a school would be the provision of training for architectural draftsmen also.

24. Another profession for which there ought to be plenty of openings is that of dispensing

(b) Pharmacy.

chemist. On this subject we may refer to the evidence of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals.¹

* Outside Government hospitals no insistence is laid on dispensers employed for example in chemists' shops and private dispensaries possessing any certificate of training. At the present time the training of dispensers employed in hospitals run by Government or local bodies rests solely with Civil Surgeons in charge of districts, and the standard and duration of the course of training vary with individual officers in charge of such training. There is a very great demand for qualified dispensers with the expanding needs of the province with regard to medical relief and the time is ripe for standardizing the education of dispensers and insisting upon all private and State agencies employing only such dispensers as have an adequate course of training and apprenticeship." Colonel Bakhle anticipates that about 500 dispensers will be required during the next five years and looks forward to the time when no one except a certified pharmacist will be permitted to dispense the prescriptions of practitioners either in a dispensary or a chemist's shop. This proposal appears to us to be desirable both on its own merits and as affording an avenue of honourable and useful employment to considerable numbers of educated young men. We think also that it might be made to have an important reaction on the question of unemployment in the medical profession. We are aware that most local bodies profess to charge for medicines supplied to well-to-do persons treated at the public hospitals and dispensaries, but the figures with regard to receipts from sales of medicines contained in the annual reports on the working of local bodies show that in practice such charges are hardly ever made. We think, however, that if, in places where there were chemists' shops with certificated pharmacists, medical officers were forbidden to allow the dispensing of medicines in the hospital or dispensary except for persons who were obviously unable to afford to pay for their medicines, this would not only be economical for the authorities in charge of public hospitals and dispensaries, but would be a stimulus to the business of chemists and would divert to private practitioners many who now resort to the public dispensaries largely because they there obtain free medicines. In order further to cope with unemployment in the medical profession we would recommend also that the system of subsidizing private practitioners in rural areas, which we understand was tried for a short time a few years ago, should be revived.

25. It has been suggested to us that if the public were encouraged to have the drafting of legal documents done by competent and trained conveyancers a considerable amount of litigation due to defective and inefficient drafting and conveyancing might be avoided. We are of opinion that this suggestion is a sound one and that arrangements should be made for the training of graduates in law in the art of conveyancing with a view to the eventual abolition of the system of deed-writers and petition-writers. We would suggest also for the consideration of the profession that arrangements should be devised for the training of law graduates in the offices of senior lawyers before they are allowed to take up independent practice. These measures would on the one hand enlarge the sphere of work of those who adopt the profession of law and on the other hand tend to eliminate from the profession those who are not likely to be successful.

26. Another direction in which we would suggest that an advance might be made with a view to providing new avenues of employment is in the sphere of co-operative production and distribution, both agricultural and industrial. Many of those who advocate the expansion of facilities for industrial training have expressed the opinion that if such training were provided there are many small industries that could profitably be started. We are however inclined to think that without co-operation such industries will be unable to compete with large organized industries, and that the Co-operative Department should now be considerably strengthened by the addition of men with practical experience of co-operative production and distribution. The matter is one in respect of which sound technical knowledge is essential and we doubt whether the Co-operative Department as at present organized would be capable of affording the requisite guidance.

27. We have left for separate notice the question of the great industry of agriculture, and here again we feel that it is not for us to attempt to make any detailed recommendations. In our questionnaire indeed we mooted the question of the establishment of certain industries subsidiary to agriculture, but on all such matters authoritative recom-

(c) Conveyancing.

Co-operative production and distribution.

Agriculture in relation to unemployment.

mendations will no doubt be made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and we would submit for the consideration of Government only certain general aspects of the question. In the first place we would draw attention to the demand which has frequently been voiced in the Legislative Council and the Press for opportunities to be given for the diversion of the educated classes to agriculture. This demand has probably, we think, been suggested by passages in Mr. Calvert's book "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" in which he points out the advantages to be gained by the application of capital and brains to agriculture, and we consider that it might with advantage be met to a limited extent so as to provide opportunities for showing what can be done with small holdings by the use of modern methods by intelligent persons or by the application of such holdings to purposes to which they are not devoted at present, such as poultry-farming, rose-growing, tobacco-growing, etc. This would provide a means, though on a small scale, of solving the pressing problem of keeping the educated agriculturist on the land and preventing him from swelling unemployment in the towns. Another way to attain this end is to ensure so far as possible that education shall not make a boy unfit for agriculture and shall not create in him a distaste for the life of an agriculturist. As regards this we have already made certain suggestions in a previous paragraph, but we must also here refer to the opinion of several of our witnesses who hold that while conditions of life in the villages remain so sordid it is inevitable that young men with education should wish to escape from them. From this point of view therefore the importance of what has come to be called village "uplift" work cannot be over-emphasized, not only from the point of view of the effect on village conditions which should result from it but also as affording a field for public service for the educated agriculturist. In this connection also we would invite attention to the importance of encouraging rural sports and pastimes. It is now two or three years since Government announced its views on this subject and promised a certain amount of financial assistance, but so far as we are aware very little has as yet been done by Government to give practical effect to its intentions. The only recommendation which we would make on a point of detail is in respect of agricultural schools. We are aware that

agriculture is taught in a large number of vernacular middle schools, but Sir George Anderson has explained¹ that the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training rather than to provide a purely vocational course at this early stage. We are however inclined to agree with several of our witnesses who have advocated the starting of practical schools of agriculture in every district. Such schools would be parallel with the industrial schools of the Department of Industries and should aim at equipping boys of the agricultural classes with the theoretical and practical knowledge which will enable them to get better results out of the average holding of their own districts. No such opportunities are available at present and the short vernacular course at Lyallpur can hardly be considered a substitute.

CHAPTER VI.—SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

28. For convenience of reference we have summarized our conclusions and recommendations as follows :—

Summary of conclusions and recommendations.

Conclusions.

- (1) There is no evidence of serious and wide-spread unemployment among the uneducated classes, but the question of the vocational training of soldiers is one which should be taken up by the Punjab Government with the Army Department of the Government of India—(paragraph 4).
- (2) There is very extensive unemployment among those of the educated classes whose education has been purely literary and who have proceeded to higher education through the anglo-vernacular course—(paragraph 6).
- (3) The profession of law is greatly overcrowded—(paragraph 7).
- (4) There is much unemployment among medical graduates—(paragraph 8).
- (5) There is no unemployment among graduates in agriculture and veterinary science—(paragraph 9).
- (6) There is generally speaking no unemployment in the engineering profession—(paragraph 10).
- (7) There is no unemployment in the teaching profession but that profession is likely to provide less employment for intermediates and matriculates in future—(paragraph 11).
- (8) The present system of education produces men fit, generally speaking, only for clerical occupations and is regarded merely as an avenue to Government service—(paragraph 13).
- (9) The present system of education renders boys unfit for their ancestral occupations—(paragraph 14).

- (10) Unemployment is due largely to aversion from manual labour among certain classes though that aversion is now beginning to disappear—(paragraph 15).
- (11) Unemployment is due largely to extension of education to classes which previously did not aspire to Government service—(paragraph 17).
- (12) Unemployment in the medical profession is due to the competition of public medical institutions and to aversion to settle in villages—(paragraph 18).

Recommendations.

- (13) Facilities for higher education should be provided only for the markedly able who, if poor, should be subsidized by the State, or for those who can pay its full cost—(paragraph 19).
- (14) If higher education is made more difficult to obtain the qualifications for certain Government appointments should be lowered—(paragraph 20).
- (15) Education in the early stages must be made a real education related to life, and manual training should be compulsory throughout this period—(paragraph 21).
- (16) Increased facilities for technical and industrial education must be provided—(paragraph 22).
- (17) Provision should be made for the training of architects—(paragraph 23).
- (18) Provision should be made for the training of dispensing chemists—(paragraph 24).
- (19) Private practitioners in rural areas should be subsidized—(paragraph 24).
- (20) Provision should be made for the training of law graduates in the art of conveyancing—(paragraph 25).
- (21) The Co-operative Department should be expanded so as to be able to foster co-operative production and distribution—(paragraph 26).

- (22) Shall holdings should be provided for educated young men for certain purposes—(paragraph 27).
- (23) Village "uplift" work should be encouraged as much as possible and Government should actively encourage rural sports and pastimes—(paragraph 27).
- (24) There should be district agricultural schools corresponding to industrial schools—(paragraph 27).

J. G. BEAZLEY.

HARKISHEN LAL.

E. D. LUCAS.

*NANAK CHAND PANDIT.

R. C. RAWLLEY.

SIKANDAR HYAT.

*UJJAL SINGH.

ZAFRULLAH KHAN.

*Subject to the note of dissent.

Notes of Dissent by Pandit Nanak Chand

I HAVE carefully read the recommendations made by the majority of the Committee for the relief of unemployment amongst the educated in the Punjab. I consider that the remedies suggested are wholly inadequate to meet the existing unemployment. Evidence on the record establishes beyond doubt that distress amongst the educated unemployed is very great, and that the problem can only be solved by bold policy on the part of the Government. I venture, therefore, to make some suggestions which in my humble judgment will go a great way in relieving the misery caused by unemployment amongst the educated classes:

(1) *Agriculture*.—I find that there is a great desire on the part of the educated young men, to adopt agriculture as their profession. The Government is the fortunate possessor of large tracts of Crown lands which are irrigated by canals. In the past the Government has made generous grants of these lands to various people. It is up to the Government, at the present moment, to treat the educated classes in a more liberal manner than they have been treated in the past. Those educated youngmen who give an undertaking that they will adopt agriculture as their profession, will settle on the land, and will devote their attention and time to the improvement of agriculture and cultivation and should be given free grants of land or they should be given lands on easy terms. The proposals made by the majority of the Committee on the point are in my humble opinion halting and not likely to achieve the object. I am certain that a very large number of our educated young men, who, at this moment find no chance for earning a decent livelihood will gladly avail themselves of the opportunities which Government will thus throw open to them. High prices which the Crown Lands fetch in the open market stand in the way of the poverty-stricken educated class, which cannot possibly find means to acquire lands on account of the keen competition.

Agriculture is the main industry of this province and is at present engaging the attention of the best brains of the country. It is the educated class—the brains of the country which is capable of taking full advantage of scientific inventions and improved methods of cultivation, and setting an example of healthy and hygienic hiring and it is a pity that on account of the restrictive laws regarding the free purchase and sale of the lands in the Punjab and various rules and regulations framed for the distribution of Crown Lands, it is these very educated men that have been kept out of it. The Government should see its way to remove these various restrictions, at least, in the canal irrigated tracts and at the same time should allot lands to the educated young men who show a desire to take to agriculture.

(2) *Dairy Farming*.—I consider that a large number of young men could find remunerative employment if they could see their way to start dairies near the towns and cities of the Punjab. The supply

of milk in the towns is neither pure nor sufficient. Some idea of the unsatisfactory, I was going to say, revolting nature of the existing arrangement for the supply of milk in the capital city of the Province will be seen from one visit to any of the establishments which cry loudly that the supply of milk should be in the hands of better educated and more responsible men—men with some knowledge of the elementary laws of sanitation who understand the connection between dirt and disease. I am sure if proper facilities are afforded to educated young men for this work, they will be able to benefit themselves as well as the people living in the towns. The Government should take a lead in this matter and should help the educated young men by :—

- (a) giving them expert advice;
- (b) securing for them suitable pastures;
- (c) giving them loans on easy terms;
- (d) by securing concessions from railway authorities, for the carriage of fodder and carriage of milk and its products.

(3) *Industries.*—It is in the matter of industries however, that much can be accomplished by Government initiative. The industries have not so far received the amount of attention which they deserve. Arrangements for imparting industrial and technical education are wholly inadequate; and it is difficult to see how educated people could take up industrial occupation unless they are fitted for them by the requisite training. It is necessary that the Government should open technical and industrial schools and colleges on improved lines. As an illustration of the apathy that has hitherto characterised the attitude of the Government, towards this important subject may be mentioned the splendid Railway Workshops in Lahore of which little or no use has so far been made. This institution could have been used as a good training ground for our educated young men. If reports are correct, efforts have been made to keep out young men of talent and culture from these places. Apart from these opportunities further openings could be created by starting model factories for the manufacture of matches and clocks, umbrellas, bicycles, toys, rubber goods and the like for which we now depend solely on import from other countries. Nothing is more humiliating than the feeling that for the articles whether for necessity or for pleasure we have to depend on foreigners.

(4) *Government Service.*—It is true that various departments which have been thrown open to educated class are now over-crowded and do not provide sufficient scope for absorbing the large output of our schools and colleges. But I think that time has arrived when the Government should throw open the Army and the Navy and Air Force to our educated young men.

It is an open secret that so far as these departments are concerned, they are a close preserve and are the monopoly of the Europeans. The Punjab Government should make a very strong recom-

mendation to the Government of India that recruitment in the Army, Navy and Air Force should not be restricted to any particular race or caste. Educated young men, if allowed to compete for the posts in these departments I am sure, will give a good account of themselves. The feeling amongst the educated community is very strong that they are being unjustly deprived of their proper share in departments upon which depends the safety of the whole country. Unnecessary restrictions have been placed without any reason and it is wholly unjustifiable that the educated young men should be deprived of earning a decent livelihood in these departments which in every other country are open to the children of the soil. It is, however, pleasing to note that the Government is going to make larger use of the educated in the Police and the Jails Departments and let us hope that in the Army too increasing use will be made of men of education possessing the requisite physical qualifications.

JANAK CHAND.

Notes of Dissent by Sardar Ujjal Singh.

I SUBMITTED a separate note for consideration of my colleagues on the Unemployment Committee. Some of the points raised by me have been incorporated in the report, whilst on others the majority of the members have not seen their way to agree with my views. Hence with regret I have to submit separately from the report some of the points which I consider have an important bearing on the problem of unemployment.

1. The main cause of unemployment in the educated class in this country is the mistaken idea that the object of education is Government service. The services cannot meet the increasing demand made upon them by the increasing number of matriculates and graduates. Of late the Agriculturist classes who were content to remain on their farms have awakened to the necessity of getting their share of Government services. This fact has still further swollen the number of those middle class young men who have no other means of livelihood but who cannot get into service. Educational propaganda in the press and platform should be started to change this angle of vision of young men who consider Government service as a supreme object of an educated man's ambition. Government service ought to be restricted to the most competent men. In a subject country a governing class, such as the services are, has an attraction which no other means of livelihood provide. Every parent whether a rich landlord or a poor shopkeeper wants to see his son in Government service. As Government service can at present often be secured by patronage so naturally every young man whether fit or not has an eye upon it. This attitude of a young man of average ability prevents him from exploring other avenues of employment. In order to stop this attitude, entry into Government service should be made by competitions as far as possible and where selection has to be made the fittest man ought to be selected. For this purpose a Public Service Commission might be appointed for the province. By this method only the brilliant few will look towards Government service and others will explore other avenues of employment.

The chances of employment will increase if more services are thrown open to Indians and if the pace of Indianization of higher services, the civil service, the army, navy, air force, is accelerated.

2. I cannot subscribe to the idea that higher education should be made costly or more difficult. The underlying idea in this suggestion is that the preponderance of supply over demand which constitutes unemployment is due to the cheapness of education. The object of the committee is to find causes and remedies of unemployment among educated young men and not to restrict facilities for education. Education is good in itself and there is ample room for all men with sound general education if they can be diverted to the right channels. Besides it is the prospects at the end of the course which weigh with the students more than the cost of the course itself. In a poor country and a country backward in education such as the Panjab is, the faci-

ties for education should not be restricted. It is not advisable to make examinations more stiff, as has been suggested in certain quarters, in order to weed out the less capable students. The object of the committee is not to make education more difficult and unattractive. In fact the examinations now-a-days are mainly responsible for lowering the physique of the students. Moreover, the percentage of passes in matriculation which was 72.3 in 1922 fell to 53.02 in 1927. So, it is not correct to say that the standards of examinations are deteriorating. It would be a fatal policy to make examinations more stiff in order to keep out students from continuing further studies. What is needed is a change in the system of education.

3. The Royal Commission on Agriculture no doubt will deal with various problems connected with agriculture but so far as this committee is concerned it is within its right to tackle the problem to the extent to which it can provide a partial solution of the unemployment of the educated young men. Land offers great opportunities for hardworking intelligent young men. The less strenuous life in the towns always appeals to a young man compared with the arduous pursuits in the village. To give encouragement to the educated, who have received some sort of Agricultural education, to take to agricultural life, plots of land should be leased for a number of years. In any scheme of colonization educated young men who express their willingness to take to the plough should be encouraged. In the Nili Bar small plots of land on cattle breeding conditions are proposed to be allotted. The Government will be giving a great impetus to this movement by giving preference to educated young men. To ensure social amenities and organisation, it would be advisable to create a consolidated colony of educated young men. This scheme will not only provide employment to the educated class but will divert the channel of education towards the agricultural side. Agriculture will cease to be a profession of the illiterates. Agricultural education will be keenly sought and in a number of years we will see graduates of the Agricultural College spreading out into the country, competing with one another, paying higher rents, ousting the lazy and the indolent cultivator from the land. By their skill and trained intelligence they will be able to produce more from the land and thus add to the wealth of the province.

4. One of the chief causes of unemployment, is the small number of large industrial and commercial concerns in the province. Though this committee is not competent to deal with a problem of this magnitude, yet it is the duty of this committee to draw pointed attention of the Government towards this principal cause of unemployment. Unemployment has been described by a writer as a symptom of commercial and industrial sickness. In order to find a cure for unemployment industry and commerce need to be revived. Every year educated young men of an age to start work are thrown on the market and without expansion of industries there are no occupations open. The expansion of industries requires (1) capital, (2) skilled labour

(3), organising ability, (4) cheap power, (5) abundance of raw produce, (6) markets for consumption of manufactured products.

The Punjab is eminently suited for industrial development because of its satisfying most of the conditions given above. The Punjabees are at least as hardworking and enterprising as the most hardy people of the most advanced countries of the world. A Punjabee youth is not home sick. He goes out with cheerfulness anywhere where he can get a job. Punjabee artisans and mechanics are well known throughout India.

This province is rich in raw produce of all description. It produces one of the finest types of cotton on its canal irrigated tracts. In wheat and oil-seeds it can well claim to be the granary of the East. Its soil can produce sugarcane carrying a large yielding percentage. It is a strange anomaly that not one well equipped industrial concern of any magnitude has been established to turn its raw produce into finished articles.

The Punjab is a great consumer of manufactured products, the climatic condition and the mode of living making most of these finished articles a necessity of life.

Cheap power is also expected by 1930 from the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme. The only thing wanted is capital and State patronage which is an essential condition for the establishment and success of nascent industries. Industrial development alone can hold out increasing scope of employment to the educated as well as the uneducated class. There are potential centres of small industries in the province, which by State encouragement and guidance can develop into big manufacturing marts. In Wazirabad and Kotli Nizamabad cutlery; in Sialkot sports industry; In Jullundur, Karnal, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and the canal colonies the sugar industry; the cotton industry in Amritsar, Lyallpur and other cotton centres; the oil industry in any of the colony towns; hosiery in Ludhiana; calico printing in Multan, Lodhran etc., carpet and rug manufacture in Amritsar, Multan; pottery and a host of other industries can be established successfully, if the Government seriously realizes its responsibility in that direction.

Besides encouraging industrial schemes, the Government should maintain an Industrial Information Bureau which may help a young man by supplying necessary information with regard to the industry he intends to set up. State scholarships for industrial training in foreign countries should be provided and the Government should make arrangements with manufacturing firms abroad to give facilities for practical training to the young men sent out by Government. Arrangements should also be made with foreign manufacturing firms to allow *bona fide* business men opportunities for practical training.

APPENDIX A. QUESTIONNAIRE.

I.—EXISTENCE AND EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

*1. What facts and figures can you quote to prove the existence and extent of unemployment among Punjab men—

- (a) who have received a purely literary form of education, especially among graduates, under-graduates and other matriculates and those in high schools who fail to matriculate ;
- (b) who have qualified for the professions of law, medicine (including veterinary), electrical, mechanical or civil engineering, agriculture, teaching, etc. ;
- (c) who have received technical or professional training for any form of commercial business (including banking, insurance, accountancy, etc.), or for any industrial occupation ;
- (d) who have been abroad for education ?

*2. What facts and figures can you quote to prove the extent to which young men, who have received a superior ^{and} specialised education _{or}, have been forced into employment for which such education was unnecessary, or are unable to earn a decent living owing to the overcrowding of their particular profession or calling ?

*3. To what extent is there a shortage of suitably qualified and competent recruits in any sphere of occupation that you can name ?

*4. Is there any unemployment among educated classes not specified above ?

II.—CAUSES AND REMEDIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

*5. To what extent is unemployment among the educated classes due to an aversion from, or to a physical incapacity for any form of manual labour, even if it requires skill ? If so, can these tendencies be counteracted by—

- (a) the encouragement of activities in schools such as market-gardening, carpentry, etc., so as to impart to the pupils a capacity to use their leisure time and to impress upon them the dignity of labour ; or
- (b) the institution of a system of medical inspection and treatment for all pupils in schools, and by the development of physical games and exercises ; or
- (c) any other means ?

* In answering this question please confine your remarks to consideration of the question as it affects your institution, association or department, as the case may be, or in fact within your personal experience.

*6. Is unemployment due to an excessive number of boys who receive only a literary form of education, and are thereby unfitted to adopt a trade, profession or calling which requires technical knowledge and skill? If so, will you offer your advice on the following aspects of the problem —

(a) Assuming that the desire for literary education is often prompted by a desire for Government service, is that service attractive, not merely on account of its security of tenure and the *izzat* attaching thereto, but also because its emoluments are thought to be much greater than the mere rates of pay would indicate?

(b) Assuming that much unemployment is due to the fact that a purely literary education makes young men unfit for or dissatisfied with rural life, do you consider that the giving of a rural turn or trend to the education of the rural population will appreciably reduce unemployment due to this cause or do you consider that the creation of a literate and to some extent educated peasantry will merely accentuate the pressure on the land so that the consequent unemployment can only be relieved by the creation of subsidiary industries for the agricultural population such as ghi-making, basket-making, straw-plaiting, vegetable and fruit preservation, poultry-breeding, etc.?

(c) Assuming that industrial education should succeed a greater or lesser degree of general education, should such industrial education be given in separate special schools *only* or should provision for industrial education be made by including industrial subjects in the scheme of general education, or should there be both systems and, in any case, at what stage should a boy go to a special school or take up industrial subjects?

(d) Is the popularity of a purely literary education in any way due to (i) easier examination standards, or (ii) professional and technical education being more expensive?

*7. Have you any reason for supposing that if greater facilities were provided for professional and industrial education and training, the existence of large numbers of young men with such education and training would produce any development of industrial or commercial activities in the province or must the possibility of such development depend on other conditions such as the provision of cheap power or capital, in the absence of which the provision of greater facilities for this sort of education or training would result merely in still greater unemployment among qualified young men?

In answering this question please confine your remarks to consideration of the question as it affects your institution, association or department, as the case may be, or to facts within your personal experience.

*8. To what extent is the diversion of the educated classes to—

- (1) Agriculture
- (2) Existing industries

desirable or practicable as a remedy for unemployment among those classes and how could such diversion be effected?

*9. Is unemployment due to a lack of organization such as the absence of official or unofficial Employment Bureaux, and to the failure of educational authorities to keep in touch with the employment market, or to take an active interest in the after-careers of their pupils, apart from their progress to a higher stage of education, for which they may be unfitted?

*10. Is there any cause which discourages an applicant in one part of the province from taking up an appointment in another part which is not adjacent to his home?

* In answering this question please confine your remarks to consideration of the question as it affects your institution, association or department, as the case may be, or to facts within your personal experience.

APPENDIX B.

Note for the Unemployment Committee by Sir GEORGE ANDERSON.

As I have been appointed a member of the Aligarh University Committee which starts its work early in October next and on the conclusion of the inquiry will take long leave, I desire to place such information before my colleagues on the Unemployment Committee as I have been able to collect, and also to make a few general observations.

I.—THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

2. The copies of the replies to the questionnaire which I have received from educationists, official and non-official, have not been very helpful in estimating the extent of unemployment. The majority of these correspondents reply in the vaguest terms to the effect that there is much unemployment among the educated and the semi-educated classes (especially the latter), but they have no definite statistics to adduce in support of their contention. It is both remarkable and depressing that scarcely a single head of a college or a school has been at pains to keep in touch with his old pupils and to maintain a register of their occupations. In the absence of such records, it is difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate estimate. It is easy also to exaggerate the extent of unemployment. The mere fact that there are often hundreds of applicants for a specific appointment does not necessarily prove the existence of widespread unemployment, for it is by no means improbable that a large proportion of these applicants are already in some form of employment, and are anxious merely to improve their position.

3. The most valuable evidence up to date in this connection has been that of Mr. Woolner, who, in his capacity of Secretary to the Appointments Bureau of the Punjab University, was able to give definite, though somewhat archaic, statistics. He informed us that in 1915-16, the Bureau made somewhat exhaustive inquiries which led to the conclusion that, generally speaking, the supply of graduates in arts and science was then about equal to the demand, and that therefore very few graduates of merit failed to obtain employment. Since that time, the number of students attending the several arts colleges of the University has increased rapidly, as will be seen from the following figures:—

—	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
Arts (males) ..	4,321	4,698	5,370	6,583	7,238	8,676
Arts (females) ..	55	71	96	110	84	77
Oriental ..	132	158	157	138	145	129
Total ..	4,508	4,927	5,623	6,831	7,467	8,882

The number of successful candidates in the B. A. and B. Sc. examinations during the same period of years has been as follows:—

		1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
B.A.	Males	547	556	591	509	573	685
	Females	10	9	3	10	12	13
B.Sc.	Males	119	142	110	129	125	110
	Females	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total		676	707	704	654	710	807

It is significant that a larger proportion of college students were successful in taking a degree in 1922 than in 1927.

More remarkable still is the large number of candidates for the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate examination as is evidenced by the following figures:—

	Number of candidates.	First Division.	Second Division.	Third Division.	Total of successful candidates.	Percentage of passes.
1922	6,276	522	2,918	1,081	4,521	72.03
1923	7,608	730	3,326	929	4,985	65.5
1924	9,209	1,202	3,993	979	6,174	67.04
1925	12,988	1,580	5,428	1,524	8,532	65.7
1926	12,192	1,333	1,114	4,537	6,984	57.28
1927	12,020	1,162	4,589	1,153	6,904	53.02

On the basis of Mr. Woolner's conclusions, these later statistics tend to show that there is probably some unemployment among graduates (especially those of inferior quality), and that there is much unemployment among matriculates and failed matriculates; that is to say, among young men or rather boys who have gained only a veneer of education and, in doing so, have often divorced themselves from their ancestral callings...

4. On the assumption, therefore, that the supply exceeds the demand to a slight extent at the degree stage and to a very great extent at the matriculation stage, it is necessary to examine those professions and callings in which the supply does not meet the demand. There are probably many of them, but I confine myself for obvious reasons to the teaching profession where there is undoubtedly a shortage of

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As I have been appointed a member of the Aligarh University Committee which starts its work early in October next and on the conclusion of the inquiry will take long leave, I desire to place such information before my colleagues on the Unemployment Committee as I have been able to collect, and also to make a few general observations.

1.—THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

2. The copies of the replies to the questionnaire which I have received from educationists, official and non-official, have not been very helpful in estimating the extent of unemployment. The majority of these correspondents reply in the vaguest terms to the effect that there is much unemployment among the educated and the semi-educated classes (especially the latter), but they have no definite statistics to adduce in support of their contention. It is both remarkable and depressing that scarcely a single head of a college or a school has been at pains to keep in touch with his old pupils and to maintain a register of their occupations. In the absence of such records, it is difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate estimate. It is easy also to exaggerate the extent of unemployment. The mere fact that there are often hundreds of applicants for a specific appointment does not necessarily prove the existence of widespread unemployment, for it is by no means improbable that a large proportion of these applicants are already in some form of employment, and are anxious merely to improve their position.

3. The most valuable evidence up to date in this connection has been that of Mr. Woolner, who, in his capacity of Secretary to the Appointments Bureau of the Punjab University, was able to give definite, though somewhat archaic, statistics. He informed us that in 1915-16, the Bureau made somewhat exhaustive inquiries which led to the conclusion that, generally speaking, the supply of graduates in arts and science was then about equal to the demand, and that therefore very few graduates of merit failed to obtain employment. Since that time, the number of students attending the several arts colleges of the University has increased rapidly, as will be seen from the following figures:—

—	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
Arts (males) ..	4,321	4,698	5,370	6,583	7,238	8,676
Arts (females) ..	55	71	96	110	84	77
Oriental ..	132	158	157	138	145	129
Total ..	4,508	4,927	5,623	6,831	7,467	8,882

The number of successful candidates in the B. A. and B. Sc. examinations during the same period of years has been as follows :—

—		1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
B.A.	Males	547	556	591	509	573	685
	Females	10	9	3	14	12	13
B.Sc.	Males	119	142	110	129	125	110
	Females	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..		676	707	704	654	710	807

It is significant that a larger proportion of college students were successful in taking a degree in 1922 than in 1927.

More remarkable still is the large number of candidates for the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate examination as is evidenced by the following figures :—

—	Number of candidates.	First Division.	Second Division.	Third Division.	Total of successful candidates.	Percentage of passes.
1922 ..	6,276	522	2,918	1,081	4,521	72.03
1923 ..	7,608	730	3,326	929	4,985	65.5
1924	9,209	1,202	3,993	979	6,174	67.04
1925 ..	12,988	1,580	5,428	1,524	8,532	65.7
1926 ..	12,192	1,333	3,114	4,537	6,984	57.28
1927 ..	13,020	1,162	4,589	1,153	6,904	53.02

On the basis of Mr. Woolner's conclusions, these later statistics tend to show that there is probably some unemployment among graduates (especially those of inferior quality), and that there is much unemployment among matriculates and failed matriculates; that is to say, among young men or rather boys who have gained only a veneer of education and, in doing so, have often divorced themselves from their ancestral callings.

4. On the assumption, therefore, that the supply exceeds the demand to a slight extent at the degree stage and to a very great extent at the matriculation stage, it is necessary to examine those professions and callings in which the supply does not meet the demand. There are probably many of them, but I confine myself for obvious reasons to the teaching profession where there is undoubtedly a shortage of

teachers. The following figures indicate the increasing scope of occupation which the profession of teaching offers to men and women in the province :—

	<i>No. of teachers.</i>
1920-21	19,512
1921-22	20,563
1922-23	21,334
1923-24	23,474
1924-25	25,025
1925-26	28,926
1926-27	32,470

These figures therefore indicate that the expansion of the educational system alone absorbs nearly 4,000 persons in each year, and this does not account for the normal leakage through retirement, death and other causes. The needs of education, therefore, approximate 5,000 additional teachers in each year.

5. It is necessary first to consider the proportion of trained and certificated teachers to the total number of teachers in view of the fact that an untrained teacher has but little chances of promotion and, therefore, cannot be considered to be holding a satisfactory post from the point of view of this inquiry. The statistics for 1925-26 were as follows :—

(a) Trained teachers	19,210
(b) Untrained, but certificated teachers ..	1,613
(c) Untrained and uncertificated teachers	8,103
Total	28,926

These figures are inclusive of women teachers, and it should be remembered that there is a larger proportion of untrained and uncertificated teachers among women than among men. The proportion of untrained and uncertificated teachers works out at 28 per cent, and is by no means unsatisfactory. A large proportion of the 8,103 untrained teachers are women, and the remainder are either oldish men who would scarcely benefit by training, or young men who are gaining experience before their period of training. The gradual substitution of trained for untrained teachers will not only give greater stability and efficiency to the educational system, but should also provide more satisfactory employment to a larger number than at present.

6. Before arriving at more definite conclusions in the matter, it is necessary also to examine the figures from the aspect of academic

well as of professional qualifications. A scrutiny of the 1925-26 figures gives the following results:—

(a) Graduates	2,093
(b) Possessing no degree	26,833
Total	28,926

Unfortunately, the form of statistical table prescribed by the Government of India does not provide for the enumeration of the untrained matriculates and intermediates who are employed in educational work. In 1925-26, there were 1,691 intermediates and matriculates who had been trained and were in service in one form or another. Thus, there were probably about 4,000 teachers of this type, either trained or untrained. The figures above may, therefore, be revised approximately as follows:—

(a) Graduates	2,093
(b) Intermediates and matriculates	4,000
(c) Vernacular qualifications	22,833
Total	28,926

7. The Education Department, however, is generally of opinion that neither the matriculate nor the intermediate (especially the former) meets its requirements. The matriculate is usually unsuited for occupation in a village as a village teacher. Moreover, he has spent a large portion of his time at school in an unsuccessful attempt to learn English, and thus is imperfectly equipped in those subjects which form the distinctive feature of the vernacular course. On the anglo-vernacular side of the educational system, the admission to the J. A.-V. course of training is now limited almost entirely to intermediates, and therefore there is very little scope for the matriculate in this direction. In regard to intermediates, educational authorities are inclining more and more to the opinion that even the improved intermediate qualification is insufficient, and that much of the work now carried on in schools by the J. A.-V. teachers should be entrusted to others. In other words, the English teaching in the junior classes (which is more important and difficult than in the senior classes) should be entrusted to trained graduates, and that the general subjects in those classes which are taught through the medium of the vernacular should be entrusted to senior vernacular teachers who have received a two years' course of training. If these opinions are correct, then it follows that the demand for trained graduates or for trained vernacular teachers will be greater than the figures given above would suggest.

8. The important question, therefore, arises whether or not a sufficient number of recruits in the several categories of teacher will

come forward in each year to fill the 5,000 vacancies, it being remembered that neither the intermediate nor the matriculate (especially the latter) is suited to future developments. It is disconcerting, therefore, to find that the full numbers of vacancies in the S. A.-V. class of the Central Training College, which amount to 120 each year, have never yet been filled, though the B. T. class of sixty students is nearly always filled. It is also disquieting to hear from inspectors of schools that posts even in schools maintained by Government or by local bodies have remained unfilled through lack of suitable applicants, and that in privately-managed schools it is only too usual to find that the staffs are not up to full strength. The failure to recruit to masterships is more pronounced in distant and backward areas. This indicates that young men are often reluctant to go far afield for service, and especially to places where the amenities of life are not of the same standard to which they have been accustomed during their college careers. Service in a privately-managed school is only too often unpopular through insecurity of tenure and insufficient scope for promotion by means of an incremental form of salary.

9. In regard to graduates, the following conclusions are arrived at:—

- (i) There is a shortage of recruits; and this shortage will be accentuated if the junior English teaching in schools is entrusted in future to S. A.-V. instead of to J. A.-V. teachers.
- (ii) The selection of subjects for the degree examination by those who intend to be teachers is often unsuitable, as those subjects should be chosen which form part of school curriculum.
- (iii) Trained teachers should be less reluctant to serve in distant areas.
- (iv) Service in privately managed schools should be made more attractive by ensuring a greater security of tenure and by the introduction of a graded and an incremental form of service.

10. In the matter of vernacular teachers, there need be no alarm about the supply of senior recruits, as these are drawn from among those who have completed the Junior training course and are already serving as teachers. The real problem of the senior vernacular is the improvement of his academic and professional qualifications; and this can be done the most effectively by the prolongation of the senior course of training from one to two years. Another means of effecting this improvement is the institution of vernacular high schools, a proposal which has been under consideration by the Department of Education for some time. A necessary corollary to these changes will be some improvement in the salaries of those who complete the vernacular high school course, or the two-year senior course of training.

11. In regard to the Junior Vernacular teacher, it is estimated that the teaching profession requires each year between three and four thousand recruits who have passed the Vernacular Final Examination, which at present marks the completion of the vernacular course. The number of candidates for this examination suddenly rose from 6,251 in 1926 to 9,443 in 1927. This largely increased number was artificially exaggerated to some extent by the fact that in 1927 candidates for high school scholarships competed for those scholarships on the marks obtained in the Vernacular Final Examination instead of in a separate examination which had previously been held for the purpose. It should also be borne in mind that a number of candidates proceed to the special classes of high schools, and are not, therefore, available for the vernacular training classes. In 1927, 6,785 candidates were successful in the examination; and of these only about 5,500 were available for vernacular service of one form or another. There can thus be little thought of unemployment among those who complete the vernacular course and pass the Vernacular Final Examination. Indeed, when the needs of the Education Department and those of rural development in general are taken into consideration, the only question which arises for discussion is whether the vernacular system in its higher stages is being developed with sufficient rapidity to meet those needs. The following conclusions are suggested:—

- (a) The number of candidates completing the vernacular course and passing the Vernacular Final Examination is barely sufficient to meet the demands of the Education Department, and, still less, the increasing needs of rural development.
- (b) The vernacular system of education needs extension by the institution of vernacular high schools, in which case those who complete this extended course would deserve increased remuneration.
- (c) The senior vernacular training course should be prolonged from one to two years in order to staff the vernacular middle schools more effectively.

12. It has already been contended that the Education Department can provide but little scope (if any) for those who have passed (and still less failed in) the matriculation examination and have been unable to continue their education further. It has also been urged that the matriculation qualification is entirely insufficient for an anglo-vernacular teacher, while a matriculate is usually unsuited for occupation in a village. The matriculate is, therefore, the crux of the unemployment problem. He has strayed from the vernacular course which would have offered him abundant opportunities of useful service to the community and, if he desired it, of a salaried appointment. He is unable, whether by force of circumstances or by lack of capacity, to continue his education and thus to render himself fitted for employment. He is thus a derelict, a wanderer on the face of the earth, unemployed because he is unemployable.

13. This sad and perplexing problem has been rendered even more difficult by two important considerations. In the first place, it has already been shown that the number of matriculation candidates has increased from 6,276 in 1922 to 13,020 in 1927; and also that the leakage above that stage was more pronounced in 1927 than it was in 1922. The large additions to the number of matriculates must necessarily impose a heavy strain on the teaching resources of the colleges with the result that the standards of teaching are deteriorating. The School Board of the Punjab University has recently held an investigation of this important problem. The genesis of this investigation was a reference from Mr. J. A. Richey, then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who pointed out that large numbers of candidates from other provinces had recourse to the matriculation examination of the Punjab University as private candidates because the Punjab standards, especially in English, had the reputation of being extremely low. Mr. Richey went further and stated that it was not uncommon for boys reading in Ajmer schools to leave school after the ninth class in order to appear as private candidates in the Punjab examination in preference to the Allahabad examination, for which examination these schools prepare their pupils. The School Board collected opinions from principals of colleges, from inspectors of schools, and from many others whose experience was of value. The finding of the Board, after considering these opinions, was that 'the standards of the examination are low and are deteriorating, especially in English. The achievements of the first year students in colleges are such that very many are unable to follow the lecturers adequately.'

14. It is, therefore, difficult to resist the conclusion that the rush to join anglo-vernacular classes with a view to preparation for the matriculation examination is most inadvisable, at any rate, from the point of view of unemployment. It is suggested, therefore, that unpromising and needy boys should not be tempted into this dangerous path by easy examination standards and by excessively cheap education. A partial solution of the problem of unemployment would therefore be the re-imposition of the old anglo-vernacular middle school examination, which would be a means of weeding out boys who would be unlikely to benefit by a high school education or to obtain satisfactory employment thereafter. It is generally reported by inspectors, however, that a reaction has already set in, and that boys in largely increasing numbers prefer to complete the vernacular course rather than to spend a few fruitless years in anglo-vernacular schools. This tendency would be strengthened if the plans of the Education Department to improve the vernacular course by the addition of vernacular high classes were to materialise.

III.—THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

15. The majority of our correspondents held strongly the opinion that the revision of our educational system will be the means of curing all our ills, and that an indiscriminate adoption and extension of

vocational training will bring wealth and plenty to the Punjab. It should, therefore, turn our pens into ploughshares, and substitute vocational instruction for general training.

16. It is easy, however, to exaggerate the direct effect which an educational system can exercise on material development. It is appropriate, therefore, at this stage to quote a few sentences from Mr. A. I. Mayhew's recent book 'The Education of India.'

"The schoolmaster plays an important part in the army that fights for the economic salvation of a country. But he cannot direct its operations and will bring disaster if he is held responsible for its strategy and tactics. It is enough if, with an intelligent understanding of the forces that animate the campaign, he devotes his energies to the recruiting field and to the invigoration and training of such officers and men as the strategy of the campaign requires."

17. Mr. Mayhew, therefore, contends that 'the kind and amount of special skill to be imported must be determined by the industrial condition of the country, and can modify that condition only to the extent of supplying skilled labour and supervision where practical and professional experience demands it.' It is indeed a fallacy to assume that industry can be created by training men to practise it. Moreover, vocational training must have as its basis a suitable measure and quality of general training which is directed towards the attainment of those qualities and characteristics which are essential to success in industry and commerce. But, in point of fact, these qualities and characteristics are similar in all walks of life. Consult the employes all the world over, and there will be a remarkable unanimity in their reply as to the type of recruit which is always acceptable:—

"An orderly mind disciplined by a thorough training in a few general subjects; the capacity of clear expression in a legible hand and in oral utterance; accuracy in thought, in action and in calculation; regular habits which should be acquired in any well-conducted school; a high sense of honour; a respect for authority and for the care of property; good health and powers of physical endurance; a spirit of comradeship and a desire to co-operate with others; and, above all, the will to work, especially in conditions and surroundings which may appear to be unfamiliar and congenial."

18. If this definition of the objects of education be generally accepted, then it inevitably follows that the present system of education in the Punjab is already far too material and far too vocational in its scope. In its very inception it was moulded with the special object of preparing boys for external examinations, the passing of which is for many only a snare and a delusion, and with the object of training boys for clerical vocations which are now proclaimed to be overstocked and which offer insufficient avenues of employment to the large throngs of applicants. It is, therefore, the bent and aim of schools which require revision, and not the institution of separate vocational schools for young boys, whose real need is a suitable general education.

19. Education should, therefore, be more of a reality and less of a mystery to the pupil. The teaching should be in greater harmon-

the actual things of life and with the actual surroundings of the boys. The pupils in the ordinary schools should be encouraged to estimate the dignity of labour, to make good use of their spare time, and to acquire an earnest spirit of service. We should strive, therefore, to engender in the boys those qualities and characteristics which are always welcome to the employer. This objective cannot be attained by mere revision of the courses and curricula, and by the preparation of new text-books. The proper interpretation of a course is far more important than the course itself; and the proper interpretation can only be given by those teachers who understand the spirit of the new learning. Efforts are now being made by the Education Department to encourage that spirit. If the Committee desires any information in these matters, Mr. J. E. Parkinson could explain the position regarding the Central Training College, and Mr. R. Sanderson regarding the vernacular training institutions.

20. It is hoped, therefore, that the students who are now undergoing training under these new methods will make their impress in the course of time on the general training of our schools. It is here pertinent to refer to certain attempts which are now being made to enrich the curriculum and to bring it and its teaching into more intimate sympathy with the things of life. Agriculture is officially taught in 102 vernacular middle schools, fifty of which have farms of about three acres each, and the remainder have garden plots. It is calculated that about 10,000 boys are now receiving education in these schools. In many other schools, agriculture is taught unofficially. The general system is best explained by a quotation from the official circular on the subject—

"In the first place, it was decided to include and to provide for teaching in agriculture in the ordinary vernacular middle schools rather than to start agricultural middle schools of a special and a separate type. The aim was, therefore, to enrich the middle course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training and thus to bring it more in keeping with the lives of the pupils rather than to provide a purely vocational course at this early stage. The object was to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools. In the second place, having declared its educational objective in inaugurating these schemes the Punjab Government decided that the training should be of a practical as well as of a theoretical nature. For the fulfilment of this object it was proposed to attach to thirty vernacular middle schools school farms of about three acres each. In the third place, the aim being mainly educational rather than agricultural, it was decided that the teaching should be conducted by specially selected and trained teachers of the senior vernacular grade rather than by men with agricultural qualifications and without experience in the art of teaching."

21. Agriculture is taught in a few high schools, but presents many difficulties. The acquisition of land for a farm in a large urban area is almost prohibitive in price; and the teaching for matriculation is of an academic nature. The better plan is to encourage boys, especially those enrolled in rural high schools, to take a practical interest in farming and gardening operations in out-of-school hours. In other words, in high schools agriculture should be regarded as an equivalent

to hockey or football rather than to geography or Sanskrit. progress on these lines has already been made in some of the h schools, particularly in the Government High School, Renala Khurd.

22. In accordance with the advice of a committee which considered the problems of clerical and commercial education, the matriculation clerical centres have now been abandoned because the pupils had an insufficient grounding in general subjects, and especially in English, to benefit by this form of vocational training. In their place post-matriculation centres (with a two-year course for matriculation) have been instituted at Multan, Lyallpur, Amritsar, Jullundur, Sialkot, Jhang, Ambala, Ludhiana and Rohtak, on the lines of the classes which have been held for the last four years at the Central Model School Lahore. The nature of these classes can best be explained by the official *communiqué* on the subject.

23. Another healthy innovation is the institution of manual training centres, which are attended by the boys of the middle school classes who are enrolled in the vicinity of the centre. About 10,000 boys are now undergoing this form of instruction; and Government hopes to expand the system rapidly in the near future. A training course for manual training instructors is now being held at Simla under the control of Dr. R. H. Whitehouse.

24. It is also of importance that the physique and the general health of the pupils should be improved. Indeed, the reports of the medical inspectors give cause for grave concern. More attention is now given to physical training, and a special training course lasting about eight months at the Central Training College last winter was attended by 24 Anglo-Vernacular Teachers. These men will hold posts of physical training supervisor in the several districts. The Boy Scout movement has done much to improve the health and the self-reliance of the scouts. Games are more actively played. A system of medical examination (which is followed up, where necessary, by medical treatment) has been introduced in a number of districts.

25. These are some of the efforts which are now being made to improve the general training given in the schools. The way should therefore, be prepared for large and increasing numbers of boys to proceed at a suitable stage to the craft and vocational schools which are now being instituted by the Department of Industries. Dr. Rawley will be able to explain the nature of these schools. I have said enough already to indicate that I have little or no belief in the old type of industrial school. It appears to me inadvisable to institute separate vocational institutions for young boys, who require general and not vocational training. Every encouragement should be given, however, to boys who have acquired a sound and a suitable measure of general training to attend craft schools instead of joining the high classes and preparing themselves for the matriculation and for an employment.

26. I agree, therefore, in the main, with Mr. Sandeman who has expressed his opinion as follows :—

Until the child of the people is not expected to complete the full course of literary education, but to pass through the eight standards of a vernacular school and then to look about immediately for employment even as a shop boy on a few rupees a month, unemployment must increase in the province. The easiness of University examinations tempts to further profitless study boys who should be hunting for employment and settling down to learn a trade."

27. The present practice of recruitment direct to a senior service to a higher grade in a subordinate service discourages many young men from accepting junior appointments. They, therefore, hang about doing nothing because they feel that the acceptance of a junior post will debar them from all chances of appointment to a senior service. It would be more advisable if all joined service at the bottom of the ladder, and that the more capable men were given rapid promotion up the ladder.

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CONDITIONS
OF WORK AND LIFE
OF
JOURNALISTS

GENEVA
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INTRODUCTION

The situation in which journalists find themselves to-day is one of serious difficulty, reflecting partly the price paid for the progress of journalism itself, and partly the consequences of the vast economic upheaval which followed the war and which, while it affected all workers, was particularly disastrous to brain workers, including those who live by journalism.

In order to obtain a true appreciation of present conditions, it is desirable first to glance rapidly over the history of the evolution of journalism.

Journalism is of recent birth. It is quite a modern profession; in fact, one of the youngest in the world. There have been actors, musicians, and architects almost as long as man has existed; there have been journalists only for two or three generations. We may say this, we hope, without being accused of forgetting venerable ancestors — that Chinese official journal, for example, which bears the overwhelming weight of fourteen centuries; or, penetrating still further into antiquity, the *Acta Diurna* of ancient Rome. Nor do we overlook those "gazettes" which appeared at Antwerp and Venice towards the middle of the sixteenth century, or those which were published a little later at Cologne, Frankfort, and Strasburg, or, above all, those many sheets of the eighteenth century which played such an important part in the social upheavals of the time. All these, however, were only forerunners. We must pass over a few more decades before we can see the emergence of that power which the Press was to become, and the development of the great profession which journalism was to be in the modern world.

The history of the newspaper is punctuated by a number of inventions which enabled journalism to make prodigious bounds. First of all, a little after 1810, came the printing machine, displacing the old hand press which only allowed of the printing of a few hundred copies, and raising the output tenfold at a single stroke. Next, in 1814, there was the organisation and centralisation of the manufacture of ink with which previously each printer had had to occupy himself in his own workshop. A little later there was the

improvement in type-founding which doubled the production of type. About 1844 the telegraph made its appearance, an invention which was destined to enable the newspaper to become an almost instantaneous informant of the most distant happenings. In 1850 came the invention of wood pulp paper, which prevented the starvation of the newspaper for want of paper by providing the Press abundantly with raw material. The same invention led to another invention, equally of capital importance, when twelve years later Hoe built, in America, the first rotary printing machine, which, thanks to continued improvement, enables a newspaper of 64 pages to be printed off nowadays at the rate of more than 25,000 copies an hour. Finally, we have the invention of type-setting machines — linotype and monotype — which completely changed the processes of typographical composition followed for more than five centuries, and synchronised type-setting with the accelerated pace of printing.

Between 1830 and 1840 occurred another event, concerned not with machinery but with the financial organisation of the paper, and fraught with the greatest consequences for the future of the Press. It was about this time that the idea spread abroad of looking for the revenue of the paper not in the receipts from its sales as hitherto, but in an auxiliary power — advertising. From that time, the newspaper, having become cheap, was easily sold, penetrated everywhere, increased its circulation, and, by this very means, obtained new resources from advertising, which found in the newspaper a wider field for propaganda, and paid more for it.

All these material means allowed of a prodigious development of the Press¹, a development facilitated by the progress of democracy and education which created the need, and by the increase of capital which furnished the means. The newspaper thus rapidly became what it is now — a factor which plays such a part in the life of to-day that it would be difficult to picture the world without it. The newspaper is everywhere. It has transformed social life. The news, judgments, and opinions which had to be sought in former times in the street, in drawing-rooms and in antechambers, now travel much more quickly, in much greater quantity, and from much more remote spots, into our very homes. They are so indispensable, we are so accustomed to knowing what goes on in

¹ Nothing is more indicative of this development than the following few figures: in ninety years, from 1831 to 1921, the number of periodicals increased in Belgium from 34 to 1,112; in 1874 the post distributed 55,000,000 copies of newspapers; in 1902, 123,000,000; in 1931, 231,000,000.

the world, that it is impossible to imagine a great nation suddenly deprived of newspapers for any considerable time. In such circumstances, the nation would doubtless appear as though struck down with paralysis. These thousands of sheets which are daily scattered among the crowds of our towns, and reach the remotest recesses of our countrysides, are very like the nerve impulses of present-day civilisation.

In Germany, in 1926, there were 3,812 dailies and 4,309 weeklies; there were 1,100 periodicals in Belgium, 1,500 in Canada, several thousands in China, and more than 2,000 in Spain. In Denmark, in addition to 750 periodicals, weekly and monthly, there are 320 newspapers with a circulation of 1,100,000 copies, that is to say, one copy for every three inhabitants. In the United States, in 1920, there were 2,400 daily newspapers and 14,800 weeklies. The total circulation of the daily papers in the United States rose from 28,700,000 copies in 1914 to 35,730,000 in 1923. In the same year, the newspaper industry comprised 10,267 establishments employing 238,550 persons. In France there is the same prodigious development. A hundred daily papers appear in Paris alone, and several of them have a circulation of more than 500,000 copies. In Great Britain there are 2,400 newspapers, at least one of which has a circulation of more than a million. Italy had a thousand periodicals, the Netherlands a thousand, Japan more than 3,000, and Poland more than 5,000, at the end of 1924. Switzerland has 2,000 papers and magazines, or one periodical for 2,000 inhabitants. Czechoslovakia also has 2,000, of which 710 appear in the city of Prague alone.

We can imagine the army of manual and intellectual workers bestirring themselves to-day around the printing presses of a newspaper. These workers are employed in three main departments: editorial, managerial, and printing. Only the editorial department will be touched upon here. In this department there are sometimes a few, sometimes several hundred, people who have to perform well-defined tasks, standardised long ago, for all newspapers are produced in much the same way. When there are only a few editors, each has to fulfil a number of these functions; on the other hand, when there are many editors, and if the undertaking is larger, there are several for a single task. According to the nature of the paper, certain functions are diminished in favour of others. There are two principal categories of papers — papers giving news and papers giving opinions. The former seek more especially to inform their readers of the events

of the day while maintaining a certain impartiality with regard to them. They cater for all the world, and their readers are recruited in the most widely differing spheres. The latter try to propagate a particular doctrine, religious or political; their readers generally belong to a party — that of the paper or that of its opponents. These papers are read to be followed or to be combated; they belong to the world of contention. It is quite obvious that certain tasks, those having to do with news, are reduced to very little in these papers, while the political side is highly developed. The importance of these distinctions, however, must not be exaggerated, because more often than not there is news in the journals of opinion and there are opinions in the news papers.

At the head of the editorial department is the editor. It is he who is responsible for the leader — a short article which gives the opinion of the paper on the events and the problems of the day. After him comes the sub-editor. "He is the pivot of the paper. It is he who receives and reads the articles and often orders them. In any case, it is he who deals with their publication, who requires, if need be, corrections and cuts to be made, who with the help of the makers-up, settles the order and the place in which the articles will appear, the type in which they will be set, the headlines, and the illustrations which will accompany the text. He is obliged to remain until the moment at which the stop-press news arrives. If the newspaper appears in the morning, he is at work until 2 a.m. and he goes home as best he can. If the paper appears in the evening, he works until 2 o'clock in the afternoon and he lunches when he finds time. His very fatiguing work is well enough paid, but he dies or retires fairly young. He is in touch with the reporters, who fear him, and with the printers, who carry out his orders. He is thus the liaison officer between the intellectual and the manual workers of the paper."¹

Next in order come the editorial staff proper. To begin with, there are the numerous special writers, critics, and news writers; the first, who are generally well-known men, sometimes occupying public posts, write the chief article in which the questions of the day are discussed; the others — the dramatic critic, musical critic, literary critic, and scientific correspondent — give their opinions on important happenings in the world of art, on recent

books, and on scientific activities. Then come the reporters of all kinds; those who furnish an account of the proceedings of courts or of Parliament, who describe sporting events, who report miscellaneous happenings, the gossip of the fashionable world, news of the social life, and those who in other towns of the same country keep their paper informed of local events, and, lastly, those who, still farther away, send it the foreign news. The reporter is a very characteristic figure of the modern paper. Keen and resourceful, he tries to get the news before anyone else, to track down the sensational event or the merely useful piece of information. Often the camera provides him with a hurriedly snapped picture, a document made on the spot, which will illustrate his text. There is reporting on a small scale — the reporting of miscellaneous talk and facts; there is also reporting on a large scale — reporting which involves long journeys, patient researches, and sometimes dangerous missions.

Some of the collaborators of the paper work at home; they never come to the office or they call only to bring their "copy" and to keep in touch with headquarters. Others work on the premises, and constitute, with the administrative staff and the workers of the press room, the permanent personnel. They have their place in the editorial offices or have a private room. They are obliged to keep more or less regular hours according to the paper and the nature of their work. They prepare their "stories" on the premises or, reserving this creative work for more tranquil moments, they collaborate in the thousand-and-one tasks that the running of a newspaper entails — reception and sorting of news, proof-reading, etc.

Whom does all this newspaper world obey? What is the power which directs its activity?

To reply to such a question, we must first of all realize what a modern newspaper is.

For some decades a progressive transformation of the methods governing the establishment and the management of a newspaper has been going on. Industrial methods have penetrated into all branches of journalism. A great periodical is a considerable undertaking to-day; like a mine or a foundry, it is owned by a limited company. At its head there is a paid manager who is responsible to a board of directors. The undertaking which he directs is an enormous machine which is perpetually working and which shifts of workers must continuously furnish with the material it devours. It is, in fact, easier to stop a weaving loom

than the printing presses of a newspaper. Considerable sums pass through its coffers. The cost of advertising alone reaches fantastic proportions; in 1925 the newspapers of the United States received 750,000,000 dollars for advertisements. A French paper lets its advertisement pages for 5,000,000 francs. The raw material passing through the presses — the paper — involves the expenditure of large sums and the consumption of paper is increasing rapidly. For all the newspapers in the United States it increased from 1,519,000 tons in 1913 to 2,980,000 tons in 1925. The cost of the publication of all the English newspapers reached £62,000,000 in 1926. Some newspapers are very big affairs. One of them, a London daily, made a net profit of £226,000 in 1927, and was able to declare a dividend of 12½ per cent.

A new phenomenon is looming in the newspaper world and tends to accentuate this character of capitalistic enterprise: it is a process of concentration, the formation of vast trusts aiming at controlling all or a part of the Press. In the United States these methods, which have been applied for some time, are beginning to convert certain companies, and hence certain men (who secure the control for themselves), into "newspaper kings", just as there are "steel kings" and "automobile kings". One of them who, at the beginning of his career in 1887, inherited a San Francisco newspaper from his father, is at the present time the owner of 24 daily papers, 14 weeklies, and 11 magazines, with a circulation of 13,000,000 copies; this means that about 40,000,000 persons read his papers. About 38,000 employees work on his daily papers alone. The industrial character of such undertakings is clear; thought is regarded merely as a commodity which must, according to the locality, assume the form the most likely to ensure its sale. Thus the trust in question does not scruple "to blow hot in Chicago and cold in Boston"¹. This, it may be said by the way, is not necessarily and in itself an evil from the point of view of the journalist, since such trusts on a purely commercial basis willingly leave each new paper acquired to follow its own tendencies, whereas those trusts which may be called "trusts of opinion" modify the policy of the papers they acquire if it is contrary to their own, and thus force many members of their staffs to resign and look for other employment.

This concentration of the Press, which is already very advanced in the United States and which has begun in Europe, principally

¹ *The Journalist*, March 1927.

in Great Britain, is the subject of anxious comment in the journalists' professional organs. It undoubtedly brings a new element into their life, though one which does not in any way contradict the previous tendencies in the evolution of the Press. Be that as it may, the journalist of our day is dependent on a vast organisation of a more or less industrial type, and this is the power which determines the working and living conditions of journalists. It is true that the industrialisation of the Press has not everywhere reached the same stage; according to the country, according to the paper, differences exist; but, generally speaking, the important phenomenon which is rapidly transforming the Press, giving it a new aspect — even though it may sometimes do so only indirectly — and creating all kinds of new problems, is this penetration, this invasion, by the methods of big capital.

Journalists have thus found themselves face to face simultaneously with difficulties proceeding from two main orders of facts: on one side, the change in the methods of running the paper; on the other side, the economic upheaval of the post-war period, which affected all categories of workers and which had very serious effects on journalists. Hence two grave crises, the one material, the other moral.

The moral crisis had its origin in the economic catastrophe of the last fifteen years, which resulted in what may be called a depreciation of intellectual work, and in the adoption of industrial methods by the Press which threatened to reduce thought to a mere ingredient in the commercial prosperity of the undertaking. The journalist, however, sets store by his intellectual status. He has opinions inseparable from his professional activity; he wants liberty to express them. This liberty, which he won in times gone by and defended at the cost of long efforts against hostile public authorities, he will not see menaced nowadays by the new organisation of the Press. He has set to work to protect it by means some of which are purely moral, such as the right of signature (which will not be dealt with in this survey), and others economic, such as compensation in case of resignation for reasons of conscience, a matter which will be considered in a later chapter.

The material crisis is serious. Provoked or aggravated to an equal extent by the transformation of the Press and the economic upheavals following on the war, it revealed an evil from which journalism has suffered since its beginnings, but which was becoming more and more threatening as the profession developed —

incoherence, arbitrariness, the absence of a code which would define rights and duties, and would introduce a little order, and at the same time a little justice, in the conditions in which this great modern profession is unfolding.

This absence of a code, which is beginning to be remedied in certain countries, is a veritable anachronism. There is a striking contrast between the methodical organisation of everything which, in the Press of to-day, concerns the commercial running of the undertaking, and the lack of organisation as regards the living conditions of the journalists. The incoherence of these conditions was less perceptible before the introduction of the methods of big capital into journalism. It corresponded well enough to the organisation of the Press as a whole. There was, as in the old trades, a relationship between the owner and manager of a paper and his collaborators close enough to enable each individual's position to be examined from time to time in a friendly, or at least a personal, way and to enable terms to be come to more or less satisfactorily. The new structure of the newspaper has built up before the intellectual collaborators an impersonal power which opposes a blind resistance to their individual efforts, and this at the very moment when the economic crisis, the transformations of the modern world (those, for example, due to the appearance of wireless telephony, which will not be without influence on the profession of the journalist), and the internal changes in journalistic work, such as the introduction of specialists, have created new problems the solution of which is an absolute necessity for the intellectual workers of the Press.

On the whole the establishment of a code which the conditions of journalism urgently require to-day is in a sense facilitated by the evolution of the methods followed in the organisation of the Press. In practice, it is easier to bring about standardisation in the journalistic profession under the regime of great undertakings than it would be when variety of publications and of traditions of work constituted serious obstacles. At the present time the needs of the big Press entail the specialisation and the regularisation of the work of journalists; to ensure the uninterrupted working of the complex mechanism which the newspaper has become, it was necessary to impose a differentiated discipline and then to group the tasks. The modern journalist is, of all intellectual workers, one whose work, in spite of certain appearances, has the most rigid and the most regular character. The road is thus open to the introduction of a code. Journalists have insistently asked for it, and it

would be of great value to them to know of the experiments taking place, and the results obtained, wherever an attempt has been made to improve their living conditions.

The Office greatly desired to undertake this investigation, but it foresaw the difficulties of an enquiry to be conducted in a domain which was innocent of statistics and in which the greatest diversity reigned. However, in 1925 a precise and pressing request was made. The International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, convinced that it expressed the feelings of the world of the Press, pointed out the importance which journalists could not fail to attach to an enquiry of this nature and the valuable service which it could do them.

According to the desire of this important organisation, the Office decided to undertake the enquiry requested and began by issuing a questionnaire dealing with various aspects of the life of the journalist. This questionnaire, which is reproduced as an appendix, was addressed at various times to the principal journalistic organisations of the following countries: Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, Uruguay.

In these thirty-three countries about sixty organisations, groups, and professional associations, and a certain number of individuals, were consulted.

If the Office employed the method of the universal questionnaire for this enquiry, it was not without realising the serious disadvantages of that procedure. These disadvantages were perhaps especially serious in a domain such as that of journalism, where everything is nuance, where there are sheaves of individual cases, and where procedure by rigid questionnaire ran the risk of making the production of an accurate picture of the reality very difficult. This method, however, was decided upon firstly for budgetary reasons, as the considerable resources required by multiple enquiries carried out on the spot were not available, and secondly because it seemed that the questionnaire method, even if it did not permit of arriving at a final result at the outset, nevertheless was at least a good means of clearing the ground beforehand and classifying the material.

The Office, then, sent out its questionnaire without ignoring

the inherent defects of this means of investigation — slowness, vagueness, gaps, etc. Most of these defects were met with. Some answers were long in coming, some never came. Many gave only vague and incomplete information. It is clear that in many countries the position of journalists is so varied, their conditions of work are so personal, that no one could give a well-defined and complete account of the state of the profession.

This is not to say that the first stage of the enquiry gave no result. On the contrary, it placed the Office in possession of documentary material which, if not abundant, was not without value. However, the question of completing it arose. The best method of doing this seemed to consist in making the material available to those concerned, in showing them what we had received, and asking them if these first results seemed to them to constitute an adequate presentation of the facts. The collaboration of journalists which we had solicited for our questionnaire could thus be continued and developed by a common examination of the results obtained. It was therefore decided to publish very briefly, in a kind of provisional report, without comment and in all its original aridity, the information we had received.

This provisional report of about 100 pages, written and roneoed at the end of 1926, was presented to the principal journalistic organisations, and notably to the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, which had, as it were, inspired the enquiry, and to the International Federation of Journalists, which had just been founded, and which from the beginning had been deeply interested in the enquiry. It was also sent to the various associations and persons who had received the questionnaire. All were requested to send us such corrections and additions to the original documents as might seem appropriate to them.

Once again the answers were slow in coming in. At that moment important events were happening in the professional world, and the persons concerned who wished to inform us of these events were in no hurry, before they were fully accomplished, to send us information which might soon be out of date.

If the long duration of the enquiry, which sometimes made necessary the revision and modification of information at first seeming to be final, is to be deplored from some points of view, it nevertheless permitted significant phenomena to be recorded in the process of development. The last two years of journalism have

been very fertile. At a moment when the enquiry seemed almost ended, we were faced with a new situation of the greatest importance, of which the constitution of the International Federation of Journalists was in itself an important factor. It was necessary to recommence a good part of the enquiry in order to benefit from experiments being carried out and to keep our investigations, if possible, in harmony with the very active period into which journalism was entering.

The documents received from various countries and the other information with which our enquiry furnished us enabled the present study to be written. It makes no claim to exhaust the subject, but it at least endeavours to touch upon the principal aspects of the professional life of the journalist. We do not flatter ourselves that we have been able to avoid two reproaches which works of this kind generally encounter. Readers unrelated to journalism will possibly be rebuffed by the dryness of a text loaded with technical information, devoted to the analysis of the clauses of contracts or to the presentation of statistics ; but we wished to give a certain amount of precise information, and we hope that it will not prevent persons who, while not belonging to journalism, wish to acquire an idea of the tendencies of a typical intellectual profession, from finding them reflected in those parts of the study which are on more general lines. Journalists, on the other hand, may consider the exposition of facts of which they know the complex reality to be rather summary. Certainly, the technical parts of our study are not sufficiently complete to dispense persons interested from further enquiry, if they would have a more detailed knowledge of the facts before taking action. But they will perhaps suffice to clear the ground and give a general view of the problems to be discussed.

The collaboration of various national organisations of journalists has been very useful to the Office, as has been that of international organisations, in the first rank of which we must once again mention the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, which followed our work with interest after having suggested it, and the International Federation of Journalists, with which we have always been on cordial terms, and which made use of our labours and enabled us to make abundant use of theirs.

The study which follows successively passes in review the general aspect of the profession, its composition, its organisation,

the status proper of the journalist and his conditions of work, the state of the labour market, and the insurance institutions established for journalists. Whenever the subject dealt with and the state of the documentation so permit, a triple survey has been drawn up, dealing first with the theoretical and general state of the question, secondly with the situation in various countries, and thirdly with the international action to which the problem may have given rise.



THE PROFESSION

THE TRAINING OF JOURNALISTS AND THE RECRUITING OF THE PROFESSION

The question of the training of journalists is one of those on which the members of the profession have so far declared themselves with the least clearness. Opinion is very divided on the subject, and there is no agreement either on the utility of special education for journalists or on the form or the subjects of this education. The problem is not without interest. It is linked with several other important questions, such as the general organisation of the profession and the constitution of a more or less closed corporation of journalists. It is, moreover, engaging the attention of the classes concerned, and the organs of the various associations are devoting much space to it in their columns¹. It is not infrequently that the assemblies of the national organisations of journalists discuss it; recently, too, the Conference of Press Experts convened in August 1927 by the League of Nations added the question to its agenda.

Two principal tendencies in the opinions expressed by the journalists of various countries may be distinguished.

Some, holding that the career of the journalist requires above all innate qualifications and natural talent, think that a good general education acquired in no matter what school suffices to fashion such talent and that practice in the profession constitutes the principal factor in the training of a good journalist. Practice is, in their opinion, the indispensable factor which the best education could not replace. They fear schools of journalism where there is the risk of artificially forcing natures which have no leanings towards the profession, and of launching on their careers a host of people doomed to unemployment, or ready to accept any pittance. Such people lower the conditions of employment for the entire profession.

¹ See, *inter alia*, the special number of the *Deutsche Presse*, Nos. 50-51, 24 Dec. 1926.

Others, persuaded that the modern journalist needs not only wide culture which enables him to interest the reader who is more or less educated and exacting, but also a sound professional training which may spare him many errors and hesitations in his first days in the profession, urge the creation of special schools of journalism, and even go so far as to propose the institution of certificates which alone would give access to the profession. They declare, moreover, that the experience of many years has shown that far from bringing into journalism numbers of persons without capacity, the schools, with their very long and detailed courses, have turned many from the profession, the difficulties of which they had not imagined.

The second tendency seems to be getting the upper hand of the first, which was partly the result of the fear of compromising the independence of the Press and the desire of safeguarding this independence — acquired at the cost of long efforts, and for whose sake journalism has had its martyrs — against any official education. In any case several countries have created schools of journalism, and in many others their creation is demanded. People seem at present to be drawn more and more towards the opinion that if journalism is in a way an art which requires a certain initial talent, those who practise it none the less need to make their talent fruitful by nourishing it with sound study, and do well to know, even before entering the profession, the ever more complex technique and the mechanism of modern journalism.

Teaching for journalists, such as it is or such as it is demanded by those concerned, may assume various forms. Sometimes it is purely preparatory and caters for young persons who know nothing at all of their profession. Sometimes it aims at furnishing supplementary courses for persons already practising journalism ; in this form may be included the articles which certain associations of journalists publish in their organs for the use of their members. These methods are sometimes purely theoretical, going so far as those of that science of journalism which is studied in certain German institutes, sometimes entirely practical like those of the American laboratories conceived in imitation of a real newspaper editorial office.

The existing schools are of relatively recent creation ; they have not yet been able to prove their worth or to find the ideal form of teaching. They are, however, now in sufficient numbers to allow of abundant experiments.

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The *Australian* universities endeavour to furnish young journalists with the means of learning their trade. The University of Queensland even delivers a diploma for journalists after an examination comprising a dozen subjects — history, geography, languages, political economy, etc.

The *Austrian* journalists declare emphatically against the creation of schools of journalists. They do not see any danger in purely theoretical courses of journalism for the use of persons whose situation obliges them to keep themselves informed of the rôle of newspapers in modern life, but they take their stand against any teaching whose purpose is to prepare people for the journalistic profession. They consider the system in which the candidate is gradually initiated into his trade in the editorial room itself as far superior. Many young people in Austria begin their career as editorial stenographers. Their job, which is first of all to receive and to sift news, prepares them very well for the editorial table, where they generally find themselves sooner or later.

The *Belgian* Press Association, on the other hand, created in April 1922 an Institute for Journalists, where courses in history, political economy, art, literary, and musical criticism, and law were organised. These courses were completed by practical exercises, handling of telegrams, law reports, etc. The courses were held in the evening from five to seven o'clock. Sixty pupils attended the first series, lasting two years, and earned a diploma delivered by the Institute at the end of their studies.

There is no course in journalism in *Brazil* or *Bulgaria*.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the budget for 1928 includes a sum of 750,000 crowns for the creation of a Higher School of Journalism, which will be created within the framework of the future High School for Political Sciences.

In *Germany* since the armistice, schools of journalism have been created in sixteen universities, two technical schools, and five higher commercial schools. Among others may be mentioned the university institutes of Munich, Halle, and Heidelberg, the last-named dating from 1895, the Berlin Institute, and the Institute of the Nuremberg Higher Commercial School founded in 1923. The Nuremberg Institute, whose theoretical and practical courses

mingle in a fairly harmonious way, gives special place to the study of the rôle of the Press and of the psychology of the reader.

The Institute of Journalism of Heidelberg, with its interesting Press laboratory (*Zeitungsprobestelle*), has built up a fairly high reputation by its methodical and thorough teaching. Generally speaking, journalists reproach these academic institutes with being more suitable for persons who wish to keep themselves informed of the development and the methods of the Press in a disinterested manner than for journalistic candidates desiring to learn their trade.

The journalists' associations of *Great Britain* pay much attention to the training of members of the profession. The Congress of the Institute of Journalists, which met at Glasgow in 1926, had this question on its agenda. The advantages and the dangers of the scholastic training of journalists were discussed at length. The National Union of Journalists also deals frequently with this subject in its organ, *The Journalist*. Generally speaking it fears private schools of journalism, which are multiplying in England, throwing many amateurs on the labour market and contributing to lowering the conditions of employment in the profession. On the other hand, the Union takes great interest in the supplementary education of journalists who are already practising their profession; it organises for this purpose courses in history, economics, and sociology such as that instituted at Liverpool in the winter of 1926-1927. It also facilitates the inscription of its members for higher correspondence courses, and has created an educational section in *The Journalist*.

During its twentieth Assembly, held in April 1927, the Union passed a resolution instructing its committee to undertake negotiations with newspaper proprietors with a view to arranging for the creation of courses in journalism in various centres.

An initiative — one of the most important in this direction — was taken by the University of London in 1919 when it created a cycle of courses in journalism. The courses, which deal with history, political sciences, psychology, etc., and which entitle the members to a diploma at the end of two years, are managed by a committee composed of professors, newspaper managers, and journalists. In addition to the theoretical courses given by the professors of the University, there is practical instruction given by professional journalists.

There are no courses for journalists in *Hungary*. An experiment made by a political party ended in failure. The lessons given by

Dr. Wunscher at the University of Budapest are intended to inform the studious public of the developments of journalism and do not aim at training members of the profession.

A school of journalism, which, it is hoped, will have a good effect on the development of the *Indian Press* was opened at Madras in September 1927.

Italy has long been without schools of journalism.

Recently — on 15 March 1928 — a Fascist Faculty of Political Sciences was instituted at Perugia. It is divided into five sections, of which one is devoted to politics and journalism. The teaching of this section comprises political history, modern and contemporary, the history of journalism, and comparative legislation relating to the Press.

There is no school of journalism in *Luxemburg* or *Portugal*.

The difficult life of the journalist in *Spain* is a reason why young people would perhaps show little eagerness to attend such courses. It may however be mentioned that the fifth Congress of the Latin Press, held at Madrid from 1 to 5 July 1927, adopted a resolution urging the creation of a School of Journalism at Madrid.

There is no school of journalism in *Sweden*.

The candidates for the profession in Sweden generally act as substitutes during the summer holiday period and obtain a permanent post after several temporary engagements of this type.

In *Switzerland* the University of Zurich has courses for future journalists, but more often than not Swiss editorial offices are entered by means of occasional collaboration. Forty per cent. of Swiss journalists have gone directly from a higher school to the newspaper, 60 per cent. coming from another profession.

It is in the *United States* that schools of journalism have most decidedly assumed the character of professional institutes. Putting an end to the long polemics on the utility of journalistic education, Joseph Pulitzer, the celebrated founder of the *New York World*, was the first to create a school of journalism. It was at Columbia University, and he endowed it with one million dollars. At the present time there are institutes of journalism

in 28 State Universities and 19 State schools, and also in 50 private institutions. In the course of the last five years the number of students in these schools has doubled.

Schools of journalism belong to most widely varying types. Some, generally attached to higher agricultural institutes, prepare workers for the extensive rural Press; others provide teaching more particularly commercial in character, as that of Chicago. Still others, attached to old universities, emphasise the intellectual side of the profession.

The teaching, general to begin with, later becomes highly specialised, and is thus perfectly adapted to the character of American journalism, which has arrived at a degree of specialisation unknown in Europe. The methods of teaching all tend towards the practical. Most of the schools publish a journal which the pupils, divided into classes, produce in the same conditions (especially of rapidity) as those of real publications. They practice the sorting of news and its presentation, the preparation of titles, headlines, etc., interviews, reporting, the drafting of educational articles on given subjects, and bibliographic notices; they are also initiated into the commercial aspects of the newspaper, the scientific organisation of work, advertising, etc. A large number of schools award a certificate of Master of Arts in Journalism, following a theoretical examination which students can only take after a complete course of practical work.

The schools of journalism enjoy the greatest favour with the members of the profession, and their graduates easily find work. In the West it is not rare for pupils to be engaged before the termination of their studies, and the great newspapers of New York readily give responsible work to graduates of the institutes.

ASPECTS AND COMPOSITION OF THE PROFESSION

The journalist's profession is far from presenting the same aspect in all countries. For example, it may vary in importance; journalism may be a veritable profession taking up the whole time of the person who practises it, but capable, on the other hand, of supporting him and his family, or it may be a spare-time profession, solely intended to supplement the income which a person derives from another profession. The difference between countries such as the United States, Austria, and Spain, from this point of view, is very considerable.

The degree of specialisation is also very unequal. A journalist is, on the whole, much less highly specialised in Europe than in the United States, where the industrialisation of the newspaper and the division of work have gone very far.

The composition of the profession — that is to say, the percentage of the various categories which collaborate in the production of the newspaper — may also be different from one country to another. Thus, the proportion of men to women, and that of foreigners to natives practising the profession of journalism varies in different countries, as do the relative numbers of the outside contributors (occasional contributors having another profession, or contributors living by journalism) and the internal editorial staff. The proportion of journalists collaborating with several newspapers may be higher or lower in comparison with those who work for a single concern. Finally, the system of voluntary contributors may be more common in some countries than others; in other words, according to the country, newspapers may have a weaker or a stronger tendency to accept unpaid articles furnished, for example, by persons who are simply seeking some notoriety of a political, scientific, or other order. Below will be found some information on these questions which, if they were closely examined, would provide not a little enlightenment as to the economic conditions and the degree of organisation of the members of the profession.

A. — *Aspects of the Profession*

First of all it may be asked whether journalism is everywhere a profession, and if it deserves the name in every respect. Certainly, wherever a big newspaper Press develops in the world, a corps of professional journalists is constituted; according to the stage of development of this Press, and according to the form of certain traditions among the intellectual circles, this corps varies in strength, and is free to a greater or a less extent of a number of hindrances due to antiquated systems of journalism. The general tendency is certainly towards professionalism. It seems that people will become journalists more and more in the same way as they become architects or engineers or violinists — that is to say, thanks to preparatory work, to experience beyond ordinary reach, and to knowledge perpetually brought up to date. These are factors which, not to mention innate propensities and initial talent, have already made many journalists indispensable to the modern newspaper.

There are still many people who practise journalism in addition to their own profession (the so-called spare-time journalists), but they are diminishing in number. In the great daily Press, occasional collaborators are now hardly ever recruited outside the ranks of specialists dealing with questions which the professional journalist could not know in all their technical or scientific complexity. Even considered from this aspect, an examination of the problem discloses a strong tendency towards journalistic professionalism. Instead of a progressive invasion of journalism by the non-professional specialist, there is to be observed, on the contrary, a marked increase in the range of journalism, a series of annexations which transform the members of other intellectual orders into specialised professional journalists. Thus, there is an ever-increasing number of doctors, jurists, and officers who have become purely and simply medical, legal, and military correspondents.

Non-professionalism in the Press is, then, diminishing, but it has not been able to disappear entirely. There will always be authorities on certain subjects to whom editors will with advantage have recourse, so that their readers may be furnished with information from the most competent sources. Moreover, journalists recognise that the system is a reasonable one, and if certain of them have envisaged the possibility of reserving to professional journalists alone the task of presenting to the public, in the form which their experience has shown to be the most efficacious, technical information which specialists have furnished, most of them content themselves with parrying this dangerous competition by endeavouring to obtain for outside contributors a remuneration equal to their own.

Either because the action of organised professionals tends to enclose within narrow limits a practice which would cause them serious harm, or because editors have recognised that it would be bad business to insert the prose of unqualified writers, even if it were acquired cheaply, amateurism is on the decline, and the papers which insert the "copy" of non-professionals are becoming fewer in number. An exception must obviously be made for publications championing political or religious opinions; such papers are often mainly, or even entirely, written by persons for whom journalism is not a profession, men who derive their livelihood from another profession and who receive little or no remuneration for their collaboration. But even journals of this kind do not fail to constitute a team of professional collaborators

Whenever they have the necessary means. It is true that the means are often lacking owing to their relatively small circulation and the difficulty of getting advertisements, which, as is known, are the only means by which a newspaper can exist without outside help, since the selling price of a copy is far from covering its cost of production.

Some prudent minds have thought it right to denounce the danger of this growing professionalism. They are afraid of seeing the journalist's profession walled up, and access to the newspaper barred to certain important movements of interest, to certain ideas, or to certain verdicts of opinion, to the expression of certain talent, which, even if it is not the talent of professional journalists, is none the less useful to the community. They are afraid, too, of seeing legitimate journalism petrified in routine under the shelter of its many defences. Partisans of professionalism reply that journalism cannot be perfected, and that in fact it will not be perfected until those who practise it are able to give their whole time and energy to it; further, that this will not be possible unless their existence is assured by sufficient remuneration, and their work made tolerable by the establishment of good conditions. But only customs or regulations making the profession indisputably an important one, and protecting it against unfair competition, are capable of achieving this result.

In any case one is struck by the fact that the Press associations, which formerly readily admitted, side by side with professional journalists, all kinds of persons — men of letters, professors, etc. — who only have occasional dealings with the newspaper, have a tendency to reconstitute themselves on a basis which is more strictly professional.

The system of multiple collaboration also tends to diminish. As a rule the journalists combat it as encouraging low salaries, and endeavour to obtain from editors full-time employment sufficiently remunerated to obviate the necessity of their seeking work from other papers. The system by which voluntary contributors supply copy gratuitously for the sole pleasure of seeing their names or their ideas in the paper is even more vigorously attacked. There is naturally no question here of political or religious papers, whose existence is frequently entirely dependent on voluntary contributors, but of the use which the newspaper Press might be tempted to make of a certain amount of gratuitous copy. This system is also in full decline. It is prohibited by certain collective agreements, and the customs of the Press them-

selves are more and more opposed to it. The greatest part, often the whole, of the text of a great daily is written by paid collaborators, more often than not permanent ones.

The aspect of the profession in various countries is briefly described below.

In *Austria* journalism is considered as a full-time profession. Before the constitution of the Organisation of the Viennese Press, editors often had recourse to persons practising another profession — officials, teachers, etc. — but the efforts of the Organisation, which has succeeded in getting the principle of equality of pay for the editorial staff proper and amateur journalists incorporated in contracts, have led to the abolition of this system, which is no longer practised except for columns requiring special knowledge, the medical and legal chronicles for example. It may be said now that if the technical periodicals are, as is natural, partly written by persons not belonging to the profession, the great daily Press is entirely reserved to professional journalists.

Austrian journalists rarely practise multiple collaboration. A few only work for newspapers appearing early on Monday morning, as well as for their own paper. More numerous are those who, in addition to their regular employment, act as correspondents of foreign newspapers. But, on the whole, work for a single paper is much the most common. It will be seen, moreover, when salaries are being discussed, that the collective agreement in force in the Austrian Press forbids the writers of a daily paper to collaborate in any way with another paper, unless by special authorisation; and it regulates collaboration with several papers belonging to one and the same publishing undertaking.

The system of voluntary collaboration is formally prohibited by the collective agreement, which only makes exceptions for political papers, and then only on condition that the permanent editorial staff of these papers make no objection.

French journalists complain bitterly of "officials, professors, teachers, etc., people of all kinds of professions, who look for spare-time remuneration in journalism"¹. They also denounce "men who for derisory salaries, or even gratuitously, not to speak of the cases in which they themselves pay in some form or other,

¹ SYNDICAT DES JOURNALISTES : *Les conditions d'existence des journalistes*, p. 24. Paris, 1925.

do the work and take the places of the professionals" ¹. These voluntary contributors are numerous on the small papers, and also insinuate themselves into certain great dailies. The Journalists' Association vigorously combats the amateurs, as it does the tendency to make journalism a spare-time profession.

In *Germany* journalism constitutes a profession in the fullest sense of the word. It is rarely that anyone will be found to consider it merely as a spare-time occupation; there are hardly any such persons outside the small towns. Furthermore, the German journalists are, in their very great majority, attached to one paper only. It will be seen later on that the collective agreement in force in the German Press does not allow a writer to work outside his hours of duty for another paper, except with the authorisation of his director. The number of voluntary contributors is insignificant.

In *Great Britain* the professional journalists, numerous and well organised, are a little uneasy about the possible invasion of the newspaper by amateurs, not so much in the guise of voluntary contributors — they are few in number — but as collaborators belonging to other professions and undertaking journalism to add to their income. This danger has become more threatening since the creation of several private schools which are prepared to give a rapid veneer of journalism to any person of intelligence, no matter who he may be. An article which appeared in April 1927 in a London weekly drew the attention of its readers to the advantages of occasional journalism, which "provides an interesting hobby, and is also a useful source of revenue" ².

The National Union of Journalists, without dissimulating the dangers of this state of mind, and such propaganda, thinks that the persons who allow themselves to be tempted by the hope of easy gain are storing up grave disillusionment for themselves. Its opinion is that, for the moment, it is sufficient that care should be taken to maintain the working conditions of the professionals at a high level. This should be done by preventing conditions from being lowered by the offers of amateurs.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Quoted by *The Journalist*, June 1927, Vol. X, No. 4.

In *Hungary* journalism in the capital and in various important provincial centres is considered as a full-time profession. It is rare to see it practised as a spare-time occupation. More frequently journalists are found exercising, side by side with their profession, less important functions, such as the secretaryship of associations, administrative posts in theatres, etc. Editors do not readily employ non-professionals.

Multiple collaboration is fairly frequent owing to the system of trusts, which has reached a relatively high state of development in *Hungary*. A single publishing firm, for example, has grouped three newspapers, and most of the editorial staff of the firm work for all three papers. On the other hand, journalists working for different undertakings are few in number.

Voluntary contributors are rare, and do not compete seriously with the professionals.

Journalism has always been considered in *Italy* as a veritable profession, which should suffice to support those who exercise it. The present trade union organisation has still further accentuated the character of professionalism. Even in comparatively unimportant centres, where the practice of journalism hardly existed except as the complement of some other activity, the rigorous selection due to the new corporative methods has now given it a very marked professional character. Persons who do not make journalism their principal activity (the Italians call them "publicists") are not considered to come within the compass of the profession, and do not enjoy any guarantee or protection.

Most journalists work for a single paper. A certain number, however, work for several undertakings, either because they are obliged to increase their income, or because certain political or other renown lays them open to numerous requests.

Voluntary contributors are not numerous; for the most part they are beginners, who need to make themselves known, but their competition does not in any way inconvenience the paid journalists.

The *Luxemburg* papers have many collaborators employed in another profession, notably in primary or secondary education. Some of them contribute largely to the papers; hence the journalists' association has not thought it right to exclude them from its membership. The remuneration often constitutes a

considerable addition to the income from their regular profession, but that does not prevent the regular editorial staff from being able to live on its income in most cases without having to seek other resources.

If the correspondents of foreign newspapers are excepted practically all the Luxemburg journalists work for a single paper.

There are a certain number of voluntary contributors, but the paid journalists do not complain of their competition.

While there are writers in *Portugal* who make journalism their main profession, there are others more numerous who only work for the Press to add to income acquired in commerce, banking, teaching, or public administrative services. This serious competition causes the remuneration allowed to the permanent workers of the paper to be insufficient, and obliges them in their turn to seek supplementary means in other activities.

Another result of this state of affairs is that persons desiring to devote themselves entirely to journalism are obliged to work for several papers. Those who have to practise this system may be estimated at 30 per cent. of the total number of journalists.

Voluntary contributors are numerous in *Portugal*, but the persistent efforts of professionals have succeeded in restricting them almost completely to technical or political chronicles.

In *Spain* the great majority of journalists could not live by their profession alone. Journalism more often than not can only be a spare-time employment supplementing the income of persons employed in public or private administration or in commercial and banking undertakings, etc. If sometimes it is the main profession; it could not be the only profession, and those practising it are nearly always obliged to seek additional income in some other occupation. This state of affairs is largely due to the fact that in *Spain* a newspaper which has not some political or religious character is hardly ever to be seen, and the services of the journalists are considered more as collaboration of an ideal nature than as professional work. The few persons who have given themselves entirely to journalism lead a precarious existence. However, the rise in the cost of living which followed the war, the new legislative provisions limiting the number of officials, thus rendering more difficult of access a profession which constantly found its complement in journalism, and finally a social conception which has given the intellectual worker a more lively appreciation

of his economic situation and his rights, seem to impel the collaborators of Spanish newspapers nowadays towards making journalism a more definite and independent profession.

The system of multiple collaboration is not, however, common. On the other hand, voluntary contributors are numerous, although it is true they are diminishing in number, partly owing to the efforts of paid journalists.

In *Sweden*, on the other hand, most of the journalists can live by their profession, and the members of other callings who collaborate occasionally with the paper do not cause them any serious harm. It is rare that a Swedish journalist has to work for several papers.

Voluntary contributors are very few in number.

Most of the *Swiss* professional journalists find their sole source of income in journalism. The Swiss Press Association recognises as journalists in the proper sense of the word only persons who give the greater part of their time to the profession. About four-fifths of the journalists work for a single paper.

The voluntary contributors as a rule supply "copy" of a different kind from that of the professionals, and, apart from some unimportant exceptions, do not cause any harm to the latter.

B. — *Composition of the Profession*

Except in the *United States* and *Brazil*, it will be observed that the corporation of journalists includes very few foreigners. In several countries, however, an increase in the number of foreigners has been noticed since the war, although it cannot be said that this increase is due to the considerations of an international order which have taken an eminent place in the minds of the masses. In fact, this curiosity about international affairs, which has obliged many papers to develop considerably the system of foreign correspondents, does not seem to have made it necessary to employ foreigners in editorial offices to a serious extent. The slight increase pointed out here and there seems to be rather the result of unemployment crises which have compelled many intellectuals to leave their country. These crises have, however, had less important effects in journalism than in many other professions, owing to the obstacle of language.

The absence of statistics makes the evaluation of the number of foreigners in journalism in various countries very difficult. Only approximative information is available.

Thus, for every thousand journalists, it is estimated that there are 15 foreigners in *Belgium*, 40 in *Czechoslovakia*, 40 in *France*, 20 in *Great Britain* and *Portugal*. In *Austria* — or, more exactly, at *Vienna* — foreigners are much more numerous than before the war. Most of them are political refugees from the neighbouring countries.

Their number is insignificant in *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *Japan*, *Latvia*, *Netherlands*, *Poland*, *Rumania*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Switzerland*. There are none in *Australia* and none in *Luzemburg*.

On the other hand, in the *United States* and *Brazil* they amount to 10 per cent. of the members of the profession, but in the latter country, in contrast with what is happening in the rest of the world, the number of foreigners is diminishing.

Foreigners enjoy everywhere the same conditions of work as native-born journalists.

Women are also scarce in the journalistic profession. They generally specialise in fashion, health, domestic economy, feminism, and sometimes in literary and art criticism. In the *United States* they are entrusted with some of the reporting.

In *Australia* there were, in January 1927, 85 women to 1,850 men practising journalism, or 4.48 per cent.

As regards *Austria* there were about 20 women in permanent employment with the *Vienna* newspapers, that is, about 3 per cent. of the journalists at the capital. There is a slightly higher number of women not attached to a paper, but doing literary criticism or translations for the Press. The working conditions of women are specially regulated by the collective agreement in force.

In *Belgium* there are scarcely half a dozen women who are regularly employed on editorial work.

In *Czechoslovakia* there were about 30 women to every thousand journalists in January 1928 (3 per cent.).

In *France* there are 20 women for every thousand members of the Journalists' Association (2 per cent.).

In *Germany*, of 3,235 members of the Press Federation, there are 78 women, or about 2.5 per cent. of the total, and the percentage is certainly no higher outside the Federation.

There are about 400 women in *Great Britain* among about 7,000 members of the profession (7.71 per cent.) and six in *Greece* among 300 journalists (2 per cent.).

In *Poland* they amount to 6 or 7 per cent. of the members of the Press Association, and it is estimated that the proportion is a little higher outside this organisation.

In the *United States*, according to the census of 1920, there were 5,730 women out of 34,197 persons employed on editorial and reporting work, that is, 16.7 per cent. of all the members of the profession.

In *Brazil, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland*, and the *U.S.S.R.*, they only represent an insignificant fraction of the total number of journalists.

With the exception of *Germany, Greece, Italy*, and the *United States*, where they are sometimes not so well paid as men, women generally obtain working conditions identical with those of men.

ORGANISATION OF THE PROFESSION

In the eyes of numerous journalists, the question of organising the members of the profession is one of capital importance. It appears to them as the most vital factor in their economic and social status and the essential preliminary of any lasting improvement in their conditions.

The evolution which Press associations have undergone as regards their form is a striking example of the general tendency to be observed in the intellectual professions towards a more and more accentuated trade unionism. For a certain number of years a closer grouping of brain workers has been remarked, as well as their adoption of methods clearly inspired by the trade unionism of the manual workers. In succession, engineers, theatrical artistes, musicians, and teachers have united in self-defence. The movement is even extending, with certain changes in form, to classes of brain workers whose peculiar position of independence seemed to keep them outside the main current; doctors, lawyers, and independent writers entered into association, no longer for the technical development of the profession purely and simply, but for the protection of their economic interests.

This general tendency has shown itself even more vigorously in journalism than in the other professions. Latterly, at least

in some countries, it may be said that the brain workers of the Press more than their colleagues in other professions have resolutely turned to trade union methods, and have applied them with a fertile perseverance. One is struck, in reading certain bulletins of national associations of journalists, with the resemblance which exists between the aspect and tone of these organs and those of the industrial workers.

This transformation — for it really is a profound transformation — which has taken place during the last two decades, has occurred under the pressure of circumstances ; hesitating at first and delayed by all sorts of experiments and contradictory efforts, it rapidly gained momentum as soon as the members of the profession in certain countries arrived, after ripe experience, at the conclusion that it was henceforth their last resource.

In a general way and taking into account many peculiarly national circumstances, the development of trade union principles was effected parallel with the transformation of the Press and the constitution of a sharply defined professional journalism. As the great daily Press developed and the journalistic profession assumed a more and more definite form, the Press associations, which were purely idealist to begin with, were gradually penetrated by a spirit of professional solidarity which, under the influence of increasing material difficulties, changed into a definite determination to fight in self-defence.

There was one critical moment in the history of journalism ; it was when, some twenty years ago, the rise of the great modern newspaper was taking place. It was then that the class of workers for whom journalism is a livelihood was formed. These workers were subjected to the methods of an increasing industrialisation ; they were numerous, but unorganised and powerless before the blind force which the Press began to be, and did not yet know how to find in the union of their scattered forces a counterpoise to that power. In many countries the crisis was prolonged, but here and there the members of the profession tightened the bonds of neighbourliness and friendship which united them, and patiently forging an instrument of defence — the trade union — applied themselves methodically to the revision of their working conditions. The war, by aggravating the economic difficulties from which journalists were suffering, precipitated the evolution. In countries in which there were no organisations at all, organisations were created, at any rate friendly ones ; in countries where they already existed the transformation in harmony with trade union principles was

begun, and in countries where the weapon of trade unionism was available the foundation of a sound professional status was laid.

Four countries were in the van of the movement — Austria, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy — and the start which they gained still confers on them a position of the highest importance. The trade union activity of the journalists of these countries is frequently held up by their colleagues in other countries as a model of professional defence.

As the professional evolution did not take place everywhere in the same way, all kinds of associations are found in various countries at the present time, from the friendly union intended to create simple bonds of comradeship and to furnish means of distraction or of culture, to the professional organisation on a strictly trade union basis, passing by way of the mere mutual-aid association. In several countries the old form continues; in several others the transformation is taking place more or less quickly; in some it is as good as finished, and the new methods are producing their full effect.

The organisations are by no means all composed of the same elements. The friendly unions readily accept all members of the Press — writers, managers, owners, and even people unconnected with the Press or only in occasional relationship with it, for example, authors and artists. When their aims are merely mutual aid and welfare they are generally open to the entire journalistic world and usually to rich philanthropists as well. In their latest form, in which they appear as a professional weapon, they adopt a more exclusive constitution and close their doors not only to publishers and managers, but usually to casual journalists also.

Certain journalistic associations have a considerable administrative organisation with information, propaganda, and legal departments. They have a monthly, some even a weekly, organ, in which the news of the organisation appears and questions of doctrine are discussed.

Once the trade union is fully and strongly constituted, there remains the problem of its attitude in the midst of the other organisations which form so close a network in the modern world, the problem of its relations with these organisations, and, possibly, its affiliation to one or other group. This is a thorny question which has been solved in different ways in different countries.

Sometimes, and this is usually the case, the journalists' association remains isolated, maintaining no relations with any other organisation, or only those of pure courtesy ; sometimes it draws closer to the intellectual workers' movement ; sometimes it veers towards the manual workers, and may not stop short of affiliation pure and simple with a manual workers' organisation.

These differences of attitude are dictated by reasons of doctrine or simply by reasons of trade union policy or even of professional psychology. Thus in some countries the journalists, penetrated above all by the intellectual character of their profession and persuaded that this character is the fundamental thing which should determine the entire life of the profession, would not consider co-operation of any kind with the manual workers' trade union movement. In this case either they feel that the unifying principles which they have applied among themselves should be extended outside their ranks and hence they affiliate themselves to the intellectual workers' movement, or they prefer to remain alone, united among themselves but independent of other organisations. This isolation is often forced on them by the insufficiency of the intellectual workers' movement, particularly in so far as it is a movement, purely trade union in form. If they are resolved to remain outside manual workers' trade unionism they could not ally themselves with a movement — that of the brain workers — which in many respects is far from having attained their degree of organisation, and which would rather be an obstacle to their action. Affiliation to the intellectual workers' movement, such as it is at present, would in many cases signify for the journalists, who are much better prepared to take up arms for their profession, a return to a stage of development which has been left far behind¹. They therefore renounce all alliances and decide to act alone.

Elsewhere, holding the opinion that the journalist is before everything a worker and that in questions involving the safeguarding of professional interests the quality of worker is more important than that of intellectual, they have drawn closer to the oldest and the best organised combative movement in the labour world. They have allied themselves with some powerful industrial trade union, deliberately accepting all the obligations imposed by the rule of solidarity. "The day came", writes the general secretary

¹ It is true that this remark is losing its force from day to day ; the intellectual workers' movement is rapidly advancing in the direction of trade unionism. The example of journalism has as a matter of fact contributed greatly to this evolution.

of one of these associations, "when driven by the logic of events we decided that just as unity between ourselves was good, unity with our fellow-workers in the industry would be good."

Below will be found some information on the organisation of the members of the profession in various countries. The brevity of the survey for certain countries arises in some cases from the insufficiency of the information furnished by the organisations concerned and does not necessarily correspond to the actual importance of these organisations. More often than not, however, the brevity of the text does correspond to a low state of trade union development.

After a cursory description of the principal national associations, the important movement towards international organisation which has quite latterly made such remarkable progress will be described in some detail.

In *Australia* the Australian Journalists' Association has assumed the defence of the social and economic interests of the members of the profession. It has succeeded in concluding important agreements with the Association of Newspaper Proprietors.

In *Austria* is found a striking example of that progressive transformation of journalists' organisations which has already been referred to. Although the Austrian journalists were early in organising, their first association only set itself literary or artistic aims and envisaged purely friendly relationships. The Concordia Society, founded more than sixty years ago, grouped, in addition to journalists proper, independent authors and other persons having only occasional dealings with the Press. But in contrast with many countries where this form of association long survived, evolution began very soon in Austria.

In fact a few years after its foundation the Concordia Society began to act in the social sphere by devoting the greatest care to the creation of pension and sickness insurance funds in favour of journalists and authors. These institutions acquired great importance in the course of several decades, and impelled the members of the profession towards a continuously crystallising comprehension of solidarity. The war completely annihilated the reserve funds of the welfare institutions of the Concordia Society.

Apart from this Society, which gradually came under the influence of the Liberal Party, and in opposition to this political school, one or two other organisations were founded towards the end of the nineteenth century, namely, the Association of Authors of German Austria (which embraced the members of the Christian-Social Party and the National German Party) and the Union of Catholic Journalists.

During the last phase of the war of 1914-1918 the creation, independently of all parties, of a journalists' association which would act in the economic and social sphere alone came to be ardently desired. In the autumn of 1917 the Organisation of the Viennese Press (*Organisation der Wiener Presse*) was founded and was entrusted with the defence of the material interests of the profession. In 1922 the Concordia Society renounced everything relating to welfare and the Union of Catholic Journalists suspended its activities.

On the other hand, the Organisation of the Viennese Press took steps from 1918 onwards to extend its defensive principles throughout the territory of the Republic. Analogous organisations were created in the principal centres. Those in the regions which the Treaties of Peace detached from the former Monarchy were united to the organisations of the newly formed countries; the others constituted the National Organisation of Austrian Journalists (*Reichsorganisation der Oesterreichischen Journalisten*), the general management of which is entrusted to the Organisation of the Viennese Press.

Finally a certain number of associations uniting special categories of journalists have been constituted at Vienna within the framework of the Organisation of the Viennese Press. Such associations are the Association of Dramatic Critics, the Association of Law Reporters, and the Syndicate of Sporting Journalists. All these associations are represented by delegates in the Organisation of the Viennese Press, which has charge of the defence of their economic interests. Only the special technical questions peculiar to each branch remain within the competence of the associations.

The Organisation of the Viennese Press includes some 1,100 members; it has to its credit the drafting of a series of agreements, of which the first was concluded in 1918 a little after the foundation of the new group; it maintains close contact with the Union of Newspaper Employees and with the Union of Printing Workers. Apart from the relations which the Organisation maintains with the Association of Publishers by reason of the agreements

which it is working out, it sometimes undertakes negotiations with this latter organisation on matters touching their common interests.

Belgium has two important journalists' organisations, the Belgian Press Association and the Professional Union of the Belgian Press.

In addition to these two, there are a few associations with political or religious leanings, such as the Association of Catholic Journalists, the Association of Liberal Journalists, and the Association of Socialist Journalists; some are established on a specialised professional basis, like the Professional Association of Sporting Journalists, others on a regional basis, like the Association of the Newspaper Press of Ghent.

Nowhere perhaps have journalists shown more hesitation than in Belgium in inclining their associations towards the use of trade union methods. It seems that Belgian journalists feared, for a longer time than their colleagues in other countries with big newspapers, to compromise their independence, and to lose the characteristics peculiar to their profession, by adopting a defensive attitude hitherto unknown in professional matters.

The activity of the organisations of *Brazilian* journalists is displayed principally in the sphere of assistance and mutual aid. They do not concern themselves with the defence of the economic interests of the profession. Their policy is, moreover, very eclectic, for they accept indifferently employers and employees, and also intellectual workers of various other categories.

If they had a desire to join some professional movement, it is to that of the intellectual workers that they would turn.

In *Bulgaria* there are two organisations of journalists which are engaged in defending the interests of the profession, namely, the Sofia Association of Journalists and the Union of Provincial Journalists.

The Sofia Association of Journalists has joined the Bulgarian Confederation of Intellectual Workers.

Numerous efforts have been made in *Canada* to group the journalists on a firm basis, but they have had no more success than similar efforts in the United States. The Union of Canadian Journalists leads a rather precarious existence.

The Czechoslovak journalists are grouped geographically, or according to distinctions of nationality or professional specialisation, in several organisations, of which the principal are the Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists, the German Press Association, the Association of Czechoslovak Journalists, and the Organisation of Newswriters of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party.

Only the first two associations stand resolutely on the ground of professional defence. Together they include some 800 members, and both have adhered to the International Federation of Journalists.

In Denmark there are several Press organisations. The principal aim of the oldest, the Journalists' Association (*Journalistforeningen*), is to guarantee retiring pensions to its members. The Association of Copenhagen Journalists, founded twenty-five years ago, and the Association of Provincial Journalists deal with the defence of professional interests.

In French journalism, there are a great number of professional associations organised on a local basis, e. g. the Association of Parisian Journalists, or according to their political opinions, e.g. the Association of Republican Journalists, or finally, according to the professional category, e.g. the Association of Parliamentary Journalists. There are dozens of them in the capital alone.

The purpose of all these associations, as defined in their rules, is the defence of the professional interests of their members; but most of them have established no plan of action and have not ventured beyond mutual aid.

Only the Association of Journalists, the seat of which is at Paris and which possesses local sections in various regions of France, has resolutely kept to the professional sphere. Founded in 1918, it comprised 700 members in 1923, and about 1,200 at the beginning of 1927. The proportion of Parisian journalists adhering to the Association is estimated at 70 to 75 per cent.

The Association of Journalists is in full development. Its organisers are working to forge the strong trade union weapon which the members of the profession desire. "We who are intellectuals exercising a liberal profession", said its secretary-general recently¹, "have been forgotten, if not derided, and we were late

¹ *Bulletin du Syndicat des journalistes*, Paris, No. 41, July 1926, p. 2: speech made at Lille by Mr. G. Bourdon.

in reaching the conception of professional defence. But we know what is involved. Lessons abound around us, and the example of the employers is not the least noticeable of them. They are teaching us that the first condition of all collective action is trade union organisation. Except in that form, there is no salvation for us."

The rapid increase in the activity of the Association and the growing zeal of its members (it is significant that an assembly in January 1927 decided almost unanimously to double the members' contributions) seemed to promise speedy success. For the moment the most solidly established conquests of the Association are in the domain of welfare. It will be seen later on how it came about that its efforts to improve working conditions have not so far achieved the results hoped for by journalists.

In *Germany* there are several journalistic organisations; three of them are concerned in varying degrees with professional defence — the Union of Catholic Journalists (*Augustinus*), the Union of the Labour Press (*Verein Arbeiter-Press*), and the National Association of the German Press (*Reichsverband der deutschen Presse*).

The *Union of the Labour Press*, which only embraces writers of the Social-Democratic Party Press, is, as may well be imagined, far from having the numerical importance of the National Association, but it has the merit of having obtained, more than twenty years ago, precise regulations on different points, including hours of work and the settlement of disputes. It has kept its own welfare institutions, which are also of long standing.

The *National Association of the German Press* is by far the most powerful of the German organisations; numerically it is second among the journalistic associations of the world, and occupies a place in the front rank on account of its trade union activity.

Founded in 1910, the National Association caters for professional journalists without distinction of party. Its aim is "to watch over the common interests of the German Press in general and the professional interests of journalists in particular". Its resources are those of a veritable trade union.

It is divided into twenty regional unions. Its membership which was 1,100 in 1919, when the Association was reorganised, is 4,400 at the present time. Every German journalist having practised journalism as his principal profession for at least a year

may be, a member, and he is entitled to the protection of the Association in every circumstance of his professional life.

The activity of the Association in the realms of professional defence and welfare is remarkable. In 1926 the central office received and despatched some 36,000 letters, an average of 100 a day. To this must be added more than 10,000 telephonic communications in the course of the year. Its archives at the present time contain approximately 12,000 files and deal with about 300 documents every day. The Association publishes a weekly organ, *Die deutsche Press*, to which it devotes about 20,000 marks a year, and which is a great propaganda power.

The Association has accomplished work of the highest importance along the road which it has mapped out for itself. It is work which develops from year to year; it had in 1922 its first important result in the creation of a National Commission of Collaboration, and its crowning success in 1926 with the conclusion of a whole series of new agreements concerning working conditions, welfare, and the settlement of disputes.

It was on 25 April 1922 that the National Association of the German Press founded, with the Newspaper Industry Employers' Association, a National Commission of Collaboration composed of seven representatives of each of the two organisations concerned; the expenses of the Commission were met in equal parts by the two organisations. The aim of the founders was to create "an organisation capable of adapting itself to the active evolution which the Press is undergoing under the influence of circumstances" ¹. Its duties were, among others, "to safeguard the dignity, the liberty, and the prestige of the Press and the social situation of its members; to create a legal status of the Press adapted to present circumstances; to watch over the journalistic training of recruits endowed with the necessary qualities and worthy of the profession; to create a standard employment contract for permanent writers and collaborators; to provide assistance in case of illness, old age and death, and for widows and orphans; to create an office for assessment and for conciliation" ².

These tasks were immediately approached by the Commission. The representatives of the two parties found it a suitable instrument of negotiation and one which enabled them to devote themselves to important work on employment contracts and welfare

¹ *Satzung der Reichsarbeitgemeinschaft der deutschen Press*, § 2.

² *Ibid.*

institutions¹. The results of the work of this organisation, which has certainly rendered a great service to the entire Press, will be dealt with later on in this survey.

Side by side with the National Commission, regional commissions of collaboration may be constituted among the associations affiliated to the two original organisations. These regional commissions are competent to draw up separate regulations, valid in their territory, but lapsing when general regulations are established by the National Commission, at least to the extent to which they do not correspond to the general regulations.

Such, briefly outlined, are the principal results obtained by the National Association of the German Press, whose name will frequently be found in this survey side by side with those of three or four other journalistic organisations which have succeeded in bringing the profession into a strong position.

The National Association is not affiliated to the manual workers' movement nor to that of the intellectual workers, but it collaborates in an intermittent manner with both.

Great Britain possesses the strongest professional organisation of journalists in the world from the numerical point of view, and one of the most active in the trade union sphere.

The National Union of Journalists, founded in 1907, had 4,480 members in 1924, and now has about 4,800, or nearly half the journalists of the country, who are estimated to number about 10,000. It soon turned towards most pronounced trade union methods. Perhaps this movement was accentuated because side by side with the Union there existed another organisation, the Institute of Journalists, whose methods, very different in character, had not obtained adequate results in the opinion of many journalists, so that the National Union was determined not to copy them.

However this may be, the Union embarked on a resolutely trade union policy, which led it, as soon as it had introduced cohesion into its own organisation, to extend abroad the principles of solidarity which it had applied to itself. It sought allies among the workers whose long experience in trade union matters had familiarised them with all the questions of remuneration in particular and working conditions in general which were occupying its attention; in 1919, after a referendum among all its members, it

¹ See the description of this work in *Das Verlagsgewerbe der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Pressen*.

affiliated itself to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, thus realising in the Press one of those rare instances in which intellectual and manual workers of a branch of production are organised together. This affiliation, to which the journalists grouped in the National Union strongly hold, was not open to question again until 1926. A certain opposition then seemed to declare itself. The Union had just been put into a very difficult position by the general strike called by the Trades Union Congress. The Printing Trades Federation had obeyed the strike order and the committee of the National Union of Journalists had to decide its attitude. It concluded that its obligations as an affiliated member obliged it to take part in the movement, and it gave instructions to this effect to all the members of the Union. A certain hesitation was perceptible in the ranks of the Union. Many members having doubts as to the interpretation of inter-trade union obligations, abstained from taking part in the movement, which, as a matter of fact, came to an end soon after. It was in these circumstances that a new ballot was held for the entire Union on the subject of the affiliation to the Printing Trades Federation. The result was an overwhelming majority in favour of the affiliation, which was consequently maintained. Many members of the Union, moreover, hold that it has already rendered a great service to their cause. "I will not say" wrote the general secretary of the Union, "that our Union would have utterly failed had it not allied itself to the other workers. It would probably have succeeded in a degree, but not without many strikes and many lock-outs, and many incidents. . . . Our alliance with the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation made the path of progress smooth." ¹

The activity of the National Union in safeguarding professional interests is noteworthy, and the results which it has obtained are of the highest importance. We shall have occasion to examine them in detail in the various chapters on working conditions and welfare institutions.

The Union publishes a monthly organ, *The Journalist*, which contains, in addition to news of the organisation and of the journalistic movement abroad, articles on trade union doctrine and articles of a general cultural nature for journalists who desire to complete their education.

There is one question which is earnestly engaging the attention of British journalists at the moment, and that is the possible amal-

gamation of the National Union with the other important organisations, the Institute of Journalists. The Institute of Journalists, founded in 1890 (as a matter of fact it existed before then under the name of the National Association of Journalists) and endowed with a Royal Charter, is animated by a spirit different from that of the National Union. Whereas the latter only accepts journalists who are not themselves employers of journalists, the Institute accepts employers, although it excludes them from certain of its committees which have to deal with working conditions. Generally speaking, the Institute appears to champion the journalists' cause, but less vigorously than the Union, or at least it proceeds by methods which appear to imply more caution and hesitation.

The relations of the two organisations are sometimes rather strained; at other times, on the contrary, they improve, and numerous members of the Press who grieve to see the profession thus divided into two camps would like to take advantage of these moments of reconciliation to bring about an amalgamation. Negotiations have been undertaken at various times since 1916, but up to the present they have not succeeded. The National Union seems to fear that amalgamation would only lead to a weakening of its trade union spirit, and that its affiliation with the Printing Trades Federation would once again be open to question. In spite of these difficulties, the attainment of unity in British journalism appears to be so fraught with advantages that the idea of amalgamation seems to be making progress. A committee has been appointed to examine the means of realising it.

In Greece the Association of Press Writers maintains close contact with the Association of Newspaper Employees, with which it has even founded a common insurance fund.

The interests of the *Hungarian* journalists are defended by three main organisations, the Hungarian Journalists' Association, the Hungarian Journalists' Pension Institution, and the Journalists' Hospital and Sanatorium Union. These organisations, as well as several others less important, are not attached to any trade union movement.

In *India* there are two large groups of newspapers — those printed in English and those printed in Hindu. This distinction also governs the grouping of the journalists of the country. Those whose mother tongue is English belong to an organisation entitled

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the Press Association, whose activity in the professional domain is very feeble, and the others, those who use one of the national languages, tend to group themselves apart. Thus it was latterly proposed to found an association of journalists whose language is Hindi. The Hindi Press is of recent formation, but as it caters for a very extensive public it may be destined to develop to a certain degree.

Italy is one of the countries in which journalists have most successfully united with a view to protecting their professional interests. Sturdy associations were early constituted in various parts of the country. The most important of them, twenty-five in number, amalgamated more than fifteen years ago to form a national organisation, which called itself the Italian Press Federation (*Federazione nazionale della Stampa*).

The Federation set itself the tasks of working, by trade union methods, for the improvement of the material and moral conditions of the profession, and of watching over the liberty of the Press. Under the terms of its rules, it abstained from all political activity. The efforts of the Federation soon led to substantial results; indeed, it is to these efforts that the Italian journalists owe the possession of a noteworthy collective agreement dating from 1911.

In December 1925, following the reorganisation of the trade unions of the country on Fascist principles, the Press Federation joined the National Confederation of Fascist Trade Unions under the name of the Fascist Federation of Italian Journalists. It modified its constitution by making it conform to the trade union policy of the Government, and once more changing its name, finally adopted that of the National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists (*Sindacato Nazionale Fascista dei Giornalisti*). Attached first of all, as were the theatrical artistes, to the National Federation of Fascist Industrial Trade Unions, one of the six large trade union groups, it was subsequently transferred by Royal Decree to the National Federation of Fascist Intellectual Workers' Trade Unions.

At its head is a directorate composed of a secretary-general nominated by the secretary-general of the National Federation of Fascist Intellectual Workers' Trade Unions, and members elected by the General Assembly of the Syndicate. Among its aims may be mentioned the campaign against unemployment, the protection and the utilisation of its members' work, the extension and the

supervision of the enforcement of the laws relating to labour and welfare, the diffusion of general and technical culture among its members, and the propagation of the fundamental principles of Fascist trade unionism.

The National Syndicate, which is the only professional organisation authorised by law, is composed of eleven regional syndicates. These accept only persons exclusively practising the profession of journalism. It is they who constitute the professional register of the region (*album*), in which are inscribed the names of persons entitled to practise the profession¹. The persons inscribed in the *album* are not obliged to belong to the Syndicate, and in fact the collective agreements concluded by the Syndicate (which alone is authorised by the Labour Charter to discuss working conditions with employers) extend to persons who do not belong to it. But its members are endowed with a privilege in the matter of employment. It will be seen later² that when vacancies occur, employers are bound to give preference to members of the Syndicate.

The Fascist Syndicate has, as its name indicates, a definitely political character. By means of successive measures all the elements suspect in the eyes of the regime have been eliminated. Thus, in November 1926, the Rome correspondents of the *Avanti* and the *Unità* and other opposition papers were expelled from the Syndicate which had up till then "tolerated their presence owing to a conception, no longer held, of professional liberty"³. Simultaneously, at the end of April 1927, a communique of the secretariat of the National Syndicate announced that the directorates of the regional syndicates had terminated the organisation of Italian journalists according to the principles of the National Directorate. The journalists who had occupied important posts on anti-Fascist papers at the time of the Matteotti affair were excluded not only from the Syndicate but also from the *album*. Those who had less important positions on these papers were simply invited to "manifest their sentiments with regard to the regime", after which their inscription in the *album* or in the Syndicate would be considered. Finally, it was decided that only members of the Syndicate could occupy important positions in the newspapers which were faithful to the regime. The directing authorities hoped that in this way the Syndicate "firmly organised

¹ Cf. "The Status of the Journalist", p. 67.

² Cf. "Methods of Finding Employment", p. 171.

³ Italian Press of 3-4 Nov. 1926.

and disciplined would be able to turn journalism into an excellent political instrument at the orders of the Duce and of the party"¹.

The Fascist Syndicate has continued the work of the former Press Federation in connection with welfare and agreements. In 1925 it succeeded the latter in the existing agreement, which was first redrafted with simple changes of names and subsequently underwent various modifications. Like the former Press Federation, it publishes a bulletin.

The *Japanese* journalists have no professional defence organisation; their associations aim only at developing friendly relations between the members of the profession.

In *Latvia* there is a Professional Union of Authors and Journalists which has undertaken the task of defending the interests of the profession.

In *Luxemburg* it was only towards the end of 1925 that an organisation of journalists was constituted, with the name of the Association of Luxemburg Journalists. Although the new organisation was late in coming into the world, it skipped the stages of development usual with journalists' organisations, and assumed from the outset a fairly definite trade union form. There had been a question of admitting publishers to it, but the Constituent Assembly, which was held on 7 November 1925, decided to accept as members only paid workers who made journalism their main occupation.

The Luxemburg journalists did not stop at the creation of this first organisation. On 17 July 1927 they created another, entitled the Luxemburg Independent Journalists' Syndicate. The two organisations have a fairly similar programme of professional action. The principal difference between them resides in the fact that the second intends to join the intellectual workers' movement (in which the first is less interested) and admits to membership free-lance journalists who do not make journalism their principal profession, a category which is fairly numerous in Luxemburg, as has been shown.

Journalists in the *Netherlands* are grouped in the Association of Netherlands Journalists (*Neederlandsche Journalistenkring*)

¹ Communiqué of the secretariat of the National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists of 30 April 1927.

founded in 1884, and which, at the moment of its fortieth anniversary in 1924, was composed of 578 members among the 600 or so journalists living in the country.

In several towns and regions of *Poland* there are journalists' associations which all belong to the Union of Journalists' Associations founded in 1924, with its seat at Warsaw. This union is not affiliated to any trade union movement.

Portugal has four journalistic organisations — the Porto Association of Journalists and Writers, which is the oldest; the Association of the Professional Workers of the Lisbon Press; the Journalists' Home, an organisation whose purpose is the creation of a rest house; and, finally, the recently founded Association of Portuguese Authors and Journalists. Only the Lisbon Association has definitely undertaken the protection of the economic interests of the profession. The other associations have more the character of friendly societies and mutual-aid societies.

The Association of the Professional Workers of the Press is in close contact with the manual workers' movement.

In every important town of *Rumania* there are bodies of journalists who defend the moral and material interests of their members and who, when necessary, solicit the aid of the associations of the capital.

Three large associations have their seat at Bucarest — the Association of Bucarest Journalists, the General Association of the Rumanian Press, and the Union of Professional Journalists.

These associations are affiliated to the Rumanian Confederation of Intellectual Workers.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* the journalists are united in the Journalists' Association, which displays considerable activity in matters of professional protection and welfare.

There are organisations of journalists in about forty towns and regions of *Spain*: the most important of these are the Association of the Madrid Daily Press, the Association of Journalists (founded in 1913), the Association of the National Daily Press, the Bilbao Press Association, and the Malaga Press Association.

Most of these organisations are mainly mutual-aid societies; but they also endeavour to protect the professional interests

of their members. Nearly all of them are grouped in two federations — the Federation of the Spanish Press, whose seat is at Madrid, and the Federation of the Catalan Press, which also includes the journalists of the Balearic Islands.

They are not affiliated to any trade union movement. The Association of Barcelona Journalists endeavoured to create a confederation of intellectual workers, to which journalists would have belonged, but its efforts were unsuccessful.

In Sweden there are two organisations of journalists, the Press Association (*Publicistklubben*), founded in 1874, and which has preserved the form of the old Press associations (in addition to journalists it accepts publishers and other persons who have only a distant connection with the newspaper), and the Federation of Swedish Journalists (*Svenska Journalistföreningen*), created in 1901.

Only the latter association is concerned with the defence of the economic interests of its members.

The Swiss Press Association, which came into being nearly fifty years ago, embraced in its early days all those who were closely or distantly connected with the newspaper. Mr. Pierre Grellet writes in the *Gazette de Lausanne*: "Like all corporative bodies it had to effect a certain professional concentration and make the necessary distinction between those for whom journalism is the profession by which they live and those who consider it chiefly as a feather in their cap." The foundation in 1900 of the Society of Publishers favoured this evolution and allowed the Press Association to conclude a considerable number of professional agreements. During the last Assembly, which was held at Fribourg on 10 September 1927, the Association, now 750 members strong, still further accentuated its professional character by various measures, which, among other things, facilitated its adhesion to the International Federation of Journalists.

In the United States there is a great number of small Press clubs, which are principally concerned with the moral interests of their members.

Five years ago there was founded an American Association of Newspaper Writers, whose principal aims were "to promote friendly relations among its members, to develop *esprit de corps* among them and to maintain the dignity and rights of the pro-

profession". In 1926 it had barely 200 members scattered in most of the States. In fact, American journalism is almost unprovided with professional organisations.

The journalists of the U.S.S.R. are gathered together in the only authorised organisation — the Section of Press Workers — which was first of all attached to the Syndicate of Educational Workers, but which has belonged since 1926 to the Syndicate of Polygraphic Workers. The Section of Press Workers has about 25,000 members.

Finally, in *Uruguay* the only journalistic organisation, the Press Club, seems to lead an uncertain existence.

All these efforts towards association, which in some countries have reached such a high stage of development, have not remained within national limits. In the international sphere, too, the work of organisation, begun many years ago and interrupted by the war, has advanced in recent times with giant strides, culminating in a concentration of forces without equal in the intellectual world. There are elsewhere organisations with a larger membership, but there are none more coherent by reason of their internal constitution and better prepared for action by the conciseness of their programme.

It is not to be wondered at that the most interesting example of international professional cohesion in the intellectual world is found in the domain of journalism. The journalists were in fact led by their knowledge of foreign affairs, by that contact between men of different countries which the functioning of the modern Press requires, to understandings which were rendered difficult of achievement for other brain workers by the conditions of isolation in which their work is still often performed. Moreover, the similarity of the situation and the interests of journalists in various countries was destined to facilitate the process of international grouping, and if there is any astonishment to be felt it is the astonishment at seeing a movement which is so natural occur so late. The slowness of the phenomenon, however, is not at all incomprehensible if account is taken of the repugnance which brain workers have always had for forms of association, in which they appear to see an abdication of their personal independence.

It was in 1890 that the International Union of Press Associations was founded; its purpose was to bring together, in the

international sphere, all persons concerned with the Press, for the discussion of questions of interest to the profession. The Union accepted indifferently organisations of journalists, organisations of publishers, and mixed organisations. Before the war it held numerous congresses where various problems concerning the Press were discussed, and where the journalists of various countries learned to know each other better. The very comprehensive form of the Union nevertheless hindered it in the choice of a well-defined policy, and the spirit of the national organisations belonging to it was, moreover, not favourable at that time to specific action.

Then came the war, which severed all relations between the affiliated organisations, and when hostilities were terminated the chasm remained. In the old Union there were no common interests powerful enough, no collective activity profound enough, to enable the enmities and bitterness generated by the war to be forgotten.

On one or two occasions efforts were made to restore a part of the old Union, but these efforts failed. The attempt was made with little enthusiasm as it was well realised that a movement so truncated would lose half its efficacy, and that, without injuring the cause which it was desired to further, it would not be possible to exclude organisations whose activities had been among the most fruitful of any. The confusion produced by the war among the membership of the former Union created a state of mind unfavourable to the reorganisation of the international movement, and it seemed to some people that this reorganisation could only be achieved on a quite new foundation. The form and the spirit of the national associations and the attitude of journalists of various countries to professional problems had, moreover, considerably changed since the war.

The first move was made in France. The Association of French Journalists convened the representatives of the organisations of various countries at Paris, on 12 June 1926, for the purpose of discussing the creation of an International Federation of Journalists. After two days of work the delegates of some twenty countries drew up in outline the constitution of the new organisation, and pointed out the road along which it should direct its first efforts. It was decided that a Congress should be called in September to ratify the Paris decisions, to adopt a definitive status, to give the nascent federation a financial foundation, and to fix the details of its programme.

This first Congress was held at Geneva on 24 and 25 September

1926. The journalists' associations of the following countries were represented : Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Poland, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, and Spain. The Spanish interests were represented by the French delegation ; the Rumanian interests by the Polish delegation ; the Norwegian and Swiss associations, although they did not yet belong to the new Federation, each sent an observer. Representatives of the International Labour Office, the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and the Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, also took part in the Congress.

During the four meetings which the Congress held, the constitution of the new Federation was drafted, and the necessary steps were taken to ensure its activity until the next Congress, which was to be held in the autumn of 1928. The Congress also took note of the provisional report on the working conditions of journalists, which had been drawn up by the International Labour Office with the help of the first answers received to its questionnaire, and decided to render all possible aid to the Office in the completion of its enquiry.

The International Federation of Journalists is formed "of associations, unions, or syndicates of professional journalists, that is to say, organisations whose members are exclusively journalists attached to the ordinary editorial offices of newspapers or news agencies, who make journalism their principal profession, provided that these organisations are constituted for the defence of their rights and professional interests and for the improvement of conditions in which the profession is exercised in various countries" ¹.

"Its purpose is, notably, to safeguard in all possible ways the liberty of the Press and of journalism which it will endeavour to have guaranteed by law ;

"The elaboration, preservation, and publication of statistical and other documents of a nature to assist in the work of defending professional interests ;

"The study of formulas capable of bringing about the institution of standard contracts for individual or collective employment, and the general surveillance of the enforcement of these contracts wherever they have been accepted ;

¹ Statutes, Article 1.

The examination of the methods of assistance are most suitable to the profession, and their application to the benefit of organisations which may desire to take advantage of them ;

"The extension to journalists of all countries of the advantages and the rights won by national associations ;

"In adhering to the Federation every association implicitly recognises the principles of trade union organisation, which are, essentially, the establishment of an employment contract, the determination of the minimum wage, and the recognition of a conciliation procedure for all disputes which arise between a journalist and the paper for which he works, and it undertakes that its activity shall be in conformity with these principles."¹

The Federation has a permanent secretariat administered by a secretary-general, elected for four years, and an executive committee composed of two members for every country affiliated. The executive committee meets once in six months. The bureau of the Federation, composed of the presidents, treasurers, and secretaries, meets more frequently.

In addition to these organs, the Federation has instituted special committees in various countries, a step which, without threatening to bring about an excessive decentralisation which would militate against the vigour of the common work, promotes a fruitful circulation of ideas and encourages, or revives, the zeal of affiliated associations. These committees are : the committee on documentation, publications and archives, at Paris ; the legal committee, at Berlin ; the technical committee, at Geneva ; the committee on assistance and welfare, at Vienna ; the propaganda committee, at London ; and the financial committee, at Paris².

At the present time the International Federation of Journalists comprises twenty-two organisations in the following eighteen countries : Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, and Switzerland. The members number about 25,000 in all.

During the first eighteen months of its existence the Federation

¹ Statutes, Article 2.

² Not all these committees began their activities at the same time. The Technical Committee has not yet been formed.

has shown remarkable activity. Interesting discussions took place at the first three meetings of the executive committee held in 1926 and 1927, and important pieces of work, memoranda, and studies, have been elaborated either by the secretariat or by the various special committees. For instance, in January and February 1927 the secretariat assembled a series of collective agreements in force in a certain number of countries and compiled an index of the subjects contained in these agreements. The legal and welfare committees have also undertaken important investigations relating to the questions within their competence. As regards the executive committee, it has drafted a certain number of proposals concerning notice of termination of services, indemnity for dismissal, and special jurisdictions, problems which the Geneva Congress had placed on the programme of the Federation for immediate action. Lastly, in November and December 1927, the secretariat published in the monthly bulletin of the Federation (*Bulletin mensuel*) a draft model agreement drawn up on the lines of the principal existing agreements, and model rules for associations of journalists for countries in which the profession is not yet organised, or which desire to renovate an obsolete society.

The Federation maintains close relations with the official international institutions — the International Labour Office, the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation — and, among other things, it has greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the present enquiry;

When the League of Nations convened a Conference of Press Experts at Geneva, at the end of August 1927, for the purpose of seeking means of ensuring easier and cheaper transmission of news and of discussing professional questions whose solution might contribute to the pacification of public opinion in various countries, the International Federation of Journalists was invited to be represented, side by side with directors of agencies and of newspapers, and representatives of Government Press bureaux and various other organisations. The representatives of the Federation, Mr. Stephen Valot, secretary-general, Mr. Richardson of the British association, and Mr. Stern-Rubarth of the German association, soon came to the front in the discussions. Many of their proposals, countersigned by the representatives of other organisations, were adopted by the Conference, notably those relating to collective journeys for journalists, schools of journalism, reduced rates on railways and ships, and an international identity card for journalists. In connection with the last subject, the

three delegates submitted the card considered and by the Federation — a model of precision and concision.

Relations with the International Labour Office have been equally close. When, on 19 December 1927, the time came for nominating the members of the Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers which the Governing Body of the Office had decided to constitute to aid it in its work, the three members of the Governing Body and the two members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation entrusted with the task of choosing the most representative international organisations, included the International Federation of Journalists among their number.

For the moment the Federation acts alone. It has not thought it necessary to join the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers, with which, however, its relations are excellent, as they are with other Press organisations, in spite of a dispute which momentarily arose in 1927 with the former Union of Press Associations, then in process of reconstitution.

The latter, in fact, after several fruitless efforts to re-establish itself, succeeded in November 1926, five months after the foundation of the International Federation of Journalists, in holding a conference where the question of universality, which was such a grave obstacle to its resuscitation, was settled. It was decided that an attempt should be made to re-establish the Union according to its pre-war principles, and negotiations were carried out with the organisations of the former Central Powers. In July 1927 a congress was held in London, and the organisers accepted the exclusion of all discussion relating to the status of journalists, which the representatives of organisations affiliated to the International Federation of Journalists had demanded as the condition of their presence. During the course of the Congress, dissension broke out on this subject between the members of the Union and those of the Federation; it was soon healed, but it showed the need of arriving at an understanding and a delimitation of the respective spheres of the two organisations.

The understanding appears to be materialising. It seems that the Union will renounce all action in the special domain of working conditions, and will endeavour to be the mixed organisation in which journalists, internationally organised in their Federation, will be able to meet managers and publishers of newspapers, who themselves are organised in their own fashion. The composition of the Union, which admits indifferently associations of journalists, or of publishers, or mixed associations, seems to be predestined to

facilitate such a rôle. In this way would disappear a certain rivalry extremely harmful to the cause which the organisations concerned desire to champion.

In addition to these two organisations, there are a certain number of international associations which will not be taken into account, because they only include publishers, for example, the International Association of the Technical Press, or because they are exclusively interested in the technical development of the profession, which is the case with certain societies of specialised journalists.

It is appropriate, however, to refer to some associations which, without having the improvement of economic and social conditions of journalists as their sole or principal aim, are nevertheless highly interested in this question.

In the very front rank of these organisations is the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, whose seat is at Geneva. Founded in 1921, it groups the professional journalists who regularly follow the work of the League of Nations, and its purpose is to safeguard their professional interests and to facilitate the accomplishment of their mission by the improvement of the technical means of information and transmission. Although the Association only comprises a rather small number of individual members, it enjoys considerable influence by reason of its ceaseless collaboration with the League of Nations. It is this Association, as has already been said, that launched the idea of the international enquiry undertaken by the International Labour Office, whose results form the subject of this volume, and there is no doubt that this initiative powerfully contributed towards the constitution of an International Federation designed to study and develop the journalistic movement in so far as professional interests are concerned.

The Association has followed the development of the enquiry by the International Labour Office with interest, and has afforded the Office its most cordial assistance. It played a part of the highest importance in the preparation and the proceedings of the Conference of Experts convened by the League of Nations in August 1927, and it has come to an understanding with the International Federation of Journalists for the submission of several proposals relating to the economic and moral interests of journalists.

Finally, there was founded quite recently at Paris an International Bureau of Catholic Journalists. The Catholic journalists of various countries, noting the development latterly achieved

by the international movement of journalists, and [redacted] in professional questions — revealed by initiatives such as the Conference of Press Experts convened by the League of Nations, and the work of the International Labour Office relating to the material conditions of the existence of journalists — were of the opinion that, while participating in the movement, either in national associations or in neutral international organisations, they should approach the problems under discussion from the point of view, and according to the social and moral principles, which are peculiar to themselves. It is for this reason that the Association of French Catholic Journalists, with the co-operation of the Catholic Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, convened the representatives of the principal national organisations of Catholic journalists at Paris, from 14 to 18 December 1927. These organisations decided upon the creation of an international bureau which should pursue "a precise objective: the study and if necessary the defence of well-defined professional interests" ¹.

The addition, an organisation known as the World Press Congress, which for the moment groups American journalists, and which up to the present has held three assemblies at San Francisco, Honolulu, and Geneva (1927), for the purpose of "establishing the highest possible level and the maximum of well-being in the Press" practically completes the number of the various international bodies endeavouring to co-ordinate efforts bearing on the professional interests of journalists.

Henceforth these efforts cannot be studied unless the greatest attention is paid to activities such as those of the International Federation of Journalists, which is beginning to exercise undeniable influence on the development of national movements.

La Vie catholique, 17 Dec. 1927.

THE STATUS OF THE JOURNALIST

The engagement, the work, the cessation of employment of a journalist, and in a general way the aggregate of relationships existing between the employee of a paper and its publisher may be determined by four different methods : (1) by simple verbal agreement ; (2) by individual written contract ; (3) by collective agreement ; (4) by law.

Generally speaking, it is in the order in which they are enumerated that these four methods have occurred chronologically ; in fact, the history of journalism shows that after having been governed by the system of verbal agreement, the work of the journalist was subjected to that of the individual written contract, which finally gave place to the system of collective agreements and legislation.

Certainly, this remark, general as it is, is not absolute and does not pretend to establish a standardised hierarchy among the systems. Here the journalists have passed without intermediate stages from the verbal agreement to the collective agreement ; there they have passed from the individual contract to the law. Elsewhere forms which are theoretically successive — verbal agreements and written contracts — co-exist. It is possible also that all the different solutions determined by circumstances are equally good. In any case, this exposé of facts is not at all the place to discuss such a question of doctrine.

The verbal agreement which existed almost everywhere at the dawn of journalism survives at the present time in certain countries, either owing to attachment to certain customs, or because journalism in these countries has held to old forms and has not been affected by the industrialisation of the great modern newspaper, or, again, because even if it has been affected by this industrialisation it has maintained old systems of employment owing to the inaction and the impotence of the journalists. The verbal agreement is, as its name indicates, the result of a mere discussion between employers and employees, not giving rise

to any document ; capable of being prolonged without ~~inconvenience~~ if the two parties preserve a good understanding, it does not give them any real security and risks causing them serious embarrassment and, to one of them at least, serious injury, if they cease to work in harmony.

A verbal agreement, although subject to arbitrariness and to caprice, is not completely subordinated to one or the other. There are, in journalism, as in other professions, customs and usages, often tyrannical, which it is not easy to dispense with. These customs are up to a certain point a guarantee for the employee ; they defend him against complete arbitrariness and ensure a certain uniformity, more or less equitable, in conditions of employment. But they are harmful to him, on the other hand, first of all because they are customs which it is not impossible to infringe to his detriment, and secondly because in spite of all the fragility which they may disclose to his disadvantage, they are apt to acquire, according to circumstances, an implacable rigidity which is well calculated to crush any attempt on his part to improve his situation. It must also be recognised that customs often do not correspond to the situation thrust on the employee by the march of events. Everywhere to-day customs age quickly ; they are often very old things which have not been able to keep abreast of progress. In a profession like journalism which has developed in a vertiginous way, customs, although not belonging to a period of great antiquity, are nevertheless not those of our own times. They have remained immutable, or they have changed so little that they no longer correspond to reality, whereas conditions have visibly changed. For these reasons an agreement founded simply on custom runs a great risk, apart from the insecurity caused by the absence of documents and signatures, of creating an anachronous situation and of gravely harming a man who is obliged to work under antiquated conditions while living in the modern world.

The individual written contract has the advantage of giving to its signatories a security which the verbal agreement does not furnish. It serves as the basis for the settlement of disputes which may arise between employer and employee, and furnishes each of them with at least the possibility of appealing to the provisions — sometimes very vague ones it is true — of the Civil Code concerning the hiring of labour. On the other hand, it has the defect of being founded only on custom, with the exception of the possible provisions — always very general — of the Civil Code.

Journalists have so well realised the inconveniences of these systems of individual contracts, oral and written, that they have boldly followed in the footsteps of the manual workers and have sought to obtain the establishment of collective agreements capable of giving them all the advantages of a general and uniform determination of the conditions of work.

The collective agreement which organisations of employers and employees sign and which regulates conditions of work, no longer for individual cases but for great numbers of persons, may vary in its scope. Sometimes it only covers a fraction of the conditions of work, for example, the collective agreement governing wages; sometimes it only applies to one or two categories of workers, the outside contributors of the paper, for example, or artists and photographers. It may also vary in precision, be more or less detailed; it may merely give the general principles which should serve as a base for individual contracts, or, on the other hand, it may exactly indicate working conditions with such completeness that individual contracts do no more than reproduce its clauses or refer to them.

The collective agreement, in the eyes of journalists, constitutes an immense progress from the individual contract, oral or written. It may be said that the principal aim of their professional organisation, which formerly, as has been said, was to provide mutual aid, is now to obtain, maintain, and improve collective agreements.

It is certain that the collective agreement affords great advantages. In the first place it determines a uniform regulation of working conditions, thus guaranteeing the maximum of equity and making possible the simplification of the conditions of engagement, as well as enabling greater stability in the management of the newspaper to be achieved. If it only possessed the advantage of codifying and unifying existing customs, its worth would not be open to doubt. But that is not its only value; the conclusion of the collective agreement and its maintenance imply the existence of firmly constituted professional organisations. To secure a collective agreement the professional organisation had to be possessed of vitality, and to be endowed with energy such that it could obtain, as a rule, not only a unification of the working conditions, but also their improvement.

In fact it is rarely that a collective agreement does not introduce some happy innovation. And these innovations are not the last. The agreement is valid for a certain period, at the end of which its

newal is discussed. At this moment it is not isolated individuals, but the entire organisation which comes forward to take part in the discussion. It has a good chance of stating its views afresh, of getting at any rate some of its claims accepted, and of securing the signature of a new agreement which will be superior to the old. Generally speaking, the collective agreement, not only regularises conditions of work, but is also the instrument by which valuable improvements are secured, and it is thus the guarantee of future improvements. Moreover, it is far from having advantages for the workers only. The employers also derive benefit from it, if only from the guarantees which it provides against the competition of neighbouring undertakings, from the suppression of perpetual and frequently costly disputes which are generated by chaotic conditions of employment, and lastly from the pacification of the discontent and bitterness which deprives their collaborators of the good-will and enthusiasm which are so necessary to the smooth running of the undertaking.

Lastly, the law sometimes lends the journalists the aid of its sanctions. Legislation may concern the journalists in several ways. Sometimes there are general laws to which both manual and brain workers are subject, as is the case in Great Britain with regard to compensation for accidents. Sometimes there are laws more limited in their scope, applying, for example, only to non-manual workers or a part of them, the "employees", and it may happen as it does in Luxemburg, that the definition of this term enables journalists to be included. Sometimes journalists are expressly and specially referred to. The laws of this last kind may be general or particular; in other words they may regulate the aggregate of the working conditions of journalists and determine their status in its entirety, as in the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, or they may refer only to some of these conditions, weekly rest, for example, as in France. Again, it may happen that the laws of limited scope applying only to manual workers and not journalists, nevertheless affect the latter in an indirect way. Without being governed by the law they experience its after-effects; this is what occurs in Hungary where the prohibition of Sunday work in the printing trade ensures the weekly rest of journalists.

As journalists endeavour to obtain collective agreements, so do they endeavour to secure the passing of laws covering their particular status. They rightly think that general laws, or those, more restricted, which relate to the large class of private employees

cannot fully meet their case. The conditions of journalistic work are so exceptional, they are different in so many ways from those of manual work, from those of "employees", and even from those of other intellectual professions, that it would be impossible to arrive at a reasonable and efficacious regime for journalists except by means of special laws. This has been understood in two or three countries where there are legislative provisions applying expressly to the status of journalists, either in its entirety, or in part.

As a rule, journalists consider the establishment of such laws as the consummation of their efforts. A certain number of them, however, prefer the system of collective agreements as being more supple, and capable of more rapid modification at the bidding of circumstances. It is possible, moreover, to harmonise the two systems, and incorporate in the law only the obligation to conclude agreements, the enumeration of the points which these agreements should cover, and the statement of the fundamental principles which should be taken into account in regulating the working conditions of the journalist, while the details are left to be incorporated in the agreements themselves.

A brief analysis will now be made to determine what are the factors — usages, verbal agreements, individual contracts, collective agreements, legislative provisions — which determine the status of journalism in various countries.

The *Australian* journalists benefit from a double collective agreement which came into force in 1924 and regulates questions of salaries, hours of work, holidays, settlement of disputes, etc., for metropolitan and provincial journalists.

This agreement, which adopted — while improving and completing them — regulations dating from 1917 and springing from a decision of the Federal Arbitration Court, applies to all categories of newspaper workers from the editor to artists and photographers, and extends to the States of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania.

Thanks to this agreement, which contains some very interesting clauses, Australian journalists are among the members of the profession possessing the most satisfactory status.

In *Austria*, the journalists long ago obtained regulation of working conditions by agreement, and statutory provisions have since reinforced them.

It was in the spring of 1918, a few months after its foundation that the Organisation of the Viennese Press concluded its first collective agreement with the Association of Daily Papers. It was, as a matter of fact, only a simple agreement for rates of payment, but in view of the importance which questions of remuneration have always had, and the acuteness of this problem during and immediately after the war in certain countries, we cannot do otherwise than draw attention to the value of the result obtained by the Austrian journalists.

The agreement of 1918 underwent several modifications in accordance with the changes in the price level consequent upon the monetary crisis.

Finally, in March 1921, a new collective agreement came into force. Founded on the law newly passed relating to journalists, it went much further than its predecessor as regards salaries, and, in addition, settled a number of other questions. This agreement, which is prolonged automatically from year to year if it is not denounced by one of the parties two months in advance, has only undergone slight changes since 1921, notably on 1 March 1923, and it is still in force.

Legislation furnished a firm foundation for the agreement which had been begun to be built up. On 11 February 1920 an Act relating to journalists was passed laying down a number of very interesting principles. Under the terms of the Act (section 2), every Press writer, on the day he takes up his duties, must be furnished with a contract of employment containing a precise description of the nature of the employment and specifying the rates of salary, special fees, and contingent allowances for out of pocket expenses, the rate of increments to be granted at least once in five years, the length of holidays and the period of notice to be given on the cancellation of the contract.

The Act of 1920 applies to all professional journalists who make journalism their principal vocation, whether they belong to daily, weekly, monthly, technical, scientific, or industrial organs or to bulletins of associations, etc.

The collective agreement of the Viennese Press, on the other hand, extended only to the daily papers of the capital, to which a number of political organs appearing on Mondays and two or three other weeklies were subsequently added. It must, however, also be mentioned that in all the important towns collective agreements similar to the Viennese agreement have been concluded. The present tendency is to fuse these various regional agreements into

a single national agreement, but this work of unification encountered certain difficulties owing to the diversity of the working conditions of journalists in various parts of the country.

The collective agreement of the Viennese Press, which may be taken as an example and a model of the entire network of agreements of the Austrian journalists, relates to permanent writers and artists (in receipt of fixed remuneration), the regular contributors (writers paid by the line or by lump sum), editorial stenographers¹, and permanent foreign correspondents. It is one of the most complete and the most detailed of existing agreements. Its clauses bear upon the nature of the work, salaries (fixed remuneration, increments, salaries by the line or in a lump sum, out-of-pocket expenses, dates of payments), welfare, multiple collaboration, hours of work, night work, weekly rest, holidays, sick leave, the right to work and the refusal to work, termination of services, special conditions of regular contributors, changes in the editorial policy of the paper, the sale of the undertaking, and the settlement of disputes. An appendix to the agreement indicates the salary rates for various categories of posts and various kinds of work paid by the line. The Organisation of the Viennese Press has established a model individual contract which is employed in most undertakings; it is based on the Act of 11 February 1929 and on the collective agreement in force.

The individual contracts established in conformity with the terms of the collective agreement are generally signed for an indefinite period. When on rare occasions a time limit is assigned, it is fixed at several years ahead. There is only one instance of life contracts, and those are in respect of a group of some ten writers who had belonged to the *Wiener Tageblatt* and were engaged by the *Neuer Wiener Tageblatt* at the time of its foundation.

Such is the regime of working conditions which is valid for the journalists of the capital and which has been extended to the rest of the country by regional agreements. Established at the same time by law and by an agreement which is among the best in existence, this regime guarantees a noteworthy status to Austrian journalists.

The *Belgian* journalists, unlike their Austrian colleagues, possess neither model nor collective agreements. Generally speaking, they do not enjoy any kind of contract, a simple verbal

¹ See p. 15 for a definition of editorial stenographers.

agreement more often than not constituting the basis of the employment. Moreover, since no legal provision is applicable to working conditions, they can hardly be said to be governed by anything but custom.

In *Brazil* and *Bulgaria* also the journalists are usually engaged by simple verbal agreement. The rare written contracts are subordinated to the general legislation relating to the hiring of services, and there are no model or collective agreements in existence.

As regards the status of journalists in *Czechoslovakia*, there are two different regimes in existence according to the region. In *Bohemia*, it is the Austrian Act of 13 January 1910, relating to commercial employees, which governs the drawing up of contracts in journalism. In *Slovakia* and *Ruthenia* is found the Hungarian Press Act of 1914. The Minister of Social Welfare is at the present time drafting a Bill for the whole country, dealing especially with the working conditions of journalists. Another draft Bill relating to social insurance, and containing clauses specially applicable to journalists, will be submitted to Parliament in the near future.

The model contract does not exist in *Czechoslovak* journalism. It must, however, be observed that, little by little, custom has brought it about that individual contracts in respect of various periodicals are drawn up in almost the same way. In general, they treat of the hours of work, salaries, holidays, weekly rest, sick leave, collaboration with other undertakings, and social insurance charges.

There is no collective agreement covering the entire Press or even an important part of it. In 1919, the Press Syndicate drew up a draft agreement which was accepted by only a few periodicals. Since then it has not ceased to work for the establishment of a general agreement, but its efforts have not been successful up to the present. On the other hand, the Press using the German language possesses collective agreements of which one, that concluded between the writers of the *Prager Presse* and the "Orbis" Publishing Company, may serve as an example. It was signed on 1 January 1927, and relates to salaries, hours of work, holidays, the cessation of services, etc.

With the exception of the recent provisions concerning weekly rest, there is no legal regulation of the working conditions of journal-

ists in France. Individual contracts are the exception, and they are extremely variable in form and duration. Collective agreements are, *a fortiori*, unknown. In 1920 and in 1921 the Journalists' Association drew up a draft agreement, but the negotiations which were begun on this subject broke down owing to the resistance of the Paris Press Employers' Association.

Only one attempt led to any result. At the time of the foundation of an important Paris paper, the editorial staff of the paper, in agreement with the management, asked the Journalists' Association for a model contract. This model contract, which was accepted by the management, served as a pattern for the individual contracts concluded with a certain number of writers, but it remained an isolated case, and went no further than the paper in question. The management of the paper having undergone radical changes in 1926, and its staff of writers having been almost entirely replaced, the contracts were abrogated, but they served as a basis for the legal proceedings brought by a number of writers who held that their rights had been infringed.

The Journalists' Association was not discouraged; it is continuing negotiations, and hopes for the establishment of a body of regulations governing the profession, in which it sees the surest foundation of cordial relations with the employers. One great difficulty arises from the lack of cohesion in the employers' organisation, which is far from being governed by strict discipline, and in reality binds none of its members.

A certain success obtained in 1926 in the matter of salaries, however, justifies some hope of seeing French journalists one day endowed, like their colleagues in neighbouring large countries, with regulations which the development of modern journalism seems to render necessary.

In Germany, before the conclusion of the National Press Agreement in 1926, the execution of which, as will be seen, was declared obligatory by the Federal Labour Administration, the relations between journalists and newspaper directors were subject — unless otherwise laid down by the regional collective agreements then existing — to the provisions of the Civil Code relating to the contract of service (*Dienstvertrag*) (section 616 et seq.). The only condition required was the absolute agreement of the parties in conformity with the principle of liberty guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. It is, however, appropriate to

remark that according to section 624 of the Civil Code, the employer has the right at the end of five years to denounce any contract envisaged for a longer period, even if the clauses of the contract stipulate otherwise.

The system of collective agreements has been extensively used in Germany for many years. The first was concluded by the Union of the Labour Press more than twenty years ago with the newspapers of the Social-Democratic Party. This agreement covered about 170 newspapers and the clauses (which have remained in force in so far as they do not overlap with those of the national agreement, or do not contain provisions inferior to them) related to hours of work, minimum wages, holidays, sick leave, notice of termination of services, welfare, etc.

This agreement was for a long time the only one of its kind. It was not till after the war that the system spread, and then in various regions of Germany a number of collective agreements were concluded, among which may be mentioned those which were signed in September 1921 by the professional associations of East Prussia, and in March 1923 by the associations of Central Germany. These agreements contained noteworthy clauses concerning points for which professional organisations in other countries still have to strive, and which are regarded by journalists as being of the utmost importance ; for example, notice of termination of services, special jurisdictions, and changes in the editorial opinions of the paper.

At the end of 1925, shortly before the conclusion of the national agreement, there were a number of regional agreements in existence in Germany. In the National Association of the German Press alone five regional unions had established agreements governing rates of payment.

In April 1922 the National Association of the German Press and the Newspaper Employers' Association endeavoured to unify working conditions in German journalism by the conclusion of a collective agreement which was declared obligatory by the Federal Labour Administration and which, without having the scope of the agreements of January 1926, may be regarded as a decisive step towards the preparation of the latter. At this time, too, was created the German Press Collaboration Commission¹ already mentioned, which considerably facilitated the understanding between the two parties and the preparation of subsequent agreements.

¹ Cf. "Organisation of the Profession", p. 26.

This vast work of organising the German Press, and regulating terms of employment, found its fulfilment in a series of agreements concluded between the two national associations of publishers and journalists in January 1926. The instruments at present in force concerning working conditions and welfare institutions are published by the German Press Collaboration Commission and form a volume of 117 pages. It is eloquent testimony of the punctilious work which has conferred a status of the highest order on German journalists.

Four kinds of texts may be distinguished among these documents, in addition to the declaration prolonging the Collaboration Committee founded in 1922:

- (1) An employment agreement (*Arbeitsvertrag*) which contains provisions concerning the position of the journalist with regard to the paper, the publisher, and the public, the conclusion of contracts of service (*Dienstvertrag*), the functions of the Collaboration Commission as regards the execution of the agreement system, disputes which may arise concerning the interpretation of the agreement, the obligation upon the two signatory organisations to come to an understanding for the constitution of a welfare institution, and finally the scope of the national agreement and the status of district agreements.
- (2) A standard service agreement (*Normaldienstvertrag*) in which is included a model contract and which covers the nature of the employment, wages, weekly rest, annual holidays, procedure for annulment, compulsory insurance, changes in the editorial opinions of the paper, and the sale of the paper.
- (3) Regulations governing arbitration courts, or an arbitration agreement which is bound up with the existence of employment agreements and which lays down conditions for the institution of special tribunals in various large towns, and the procedure of the different courts.
- (4) A series of agreements relating to welfare institutions, optional or obligatory, created by the two signatory organisations and provided for in the first two agreements.

On 10 June 1926 the Federal Labour Administration took a decision, in conformity with the Act of 28 January 1923, rendering the two labour and service agreements obligatory on all the members of the profession. An exception was made for the clauses concern-

ing welfare in that they were not to apply to two or three undertakings which already possessed satisfactory institutions, or to the members of the Union of the Labour Press which were in a similar position.

The whole of the part concerning special jurisdictions is excluded from the declaration establishing the obligatory nature of the agreements, with the result that members of the profession who do not belong to the signatory organisations have the option of appealing to the ordinary courts for the settlement of their disputes.

The first two agreements, which form a single whole and whose clauses are mutually complementary, apply to the writers of the German daily papers. Among the writers are to be included the permanent outside contributors whose principal occupation is journalism and who are in the service of a single publishing house for the whole of their working time.

They lay down only the general lines of the regulations governing work and state their fundamental principles, leaving the fixing of details, especially the level of wages, to district agreements which may exist side by side with the national agreement if they do not treat of matters already settled by it.

The district agreements at present in force, excluding those between the Union of the Labour Press and the newspapers of the Social Democratic Party are :

- (1) An agreement concluded by the Press Association of North Western Germany which applies to the towns of Hanover, Bremen, Wilhelmshafen, Göttingen, Lüneburg, and Osnabruck, among others.
- (2) An agreement concluded by the Bavarian Press Association applying to the towns of Munich, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, among others.
- (3) An agreement concluded by the Press Association of the Palatinate applying to the towns of Ludwigshafen, Landau, Spires, and Kaiserslautern, among others.
- (4) An agreement concluded by the Silesian Press Association applying to the towns of Breslau, Liegnitz, and Glatz, among others.

In the chapter concerning salaries will be seen those provisions of these district agreements which complete the national agreement.

The agreement system of the German journalists is of the greatest importance. The National Press Association is of the opinion that certain points are in need of improvement, especially with regard to salaries. The work bears the impress of a very pronounced spirit of collaboration and nowhere else perhaps is to be found evidence of such close contact between publishers and newspaper workers as there is in Germany.

In *Great Britain* the contracts of employment of journalists are subject to the general provisions of the law concerning relations between employers and employees. There is no provision concerning their duration, but it is customary for contracts in respect of the Far East and other distant countries to be concluded for an initial period of three to five years.

For a certain number of years English journalists have benefited from a series of collective agreements, all concluded by the National Union of Journalists :

First, in March 1920, an agreement was concluded with the Newspaper Society, regulating the salaries of the staff of the London offices of provincial newspapers.

In April 1920 a collective agreement was concluded with various Press agencies, fixing the rates of remuneration for news communicated by the correspondents of these agencies.

In August 1920 an agreement was concluded with the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, fixing the remuneration of correspondents for general home news.

On 16 March 1921 a new collective agreement was concluded between the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association. This was the most important of the series ; it regulated wages, hours of work, holidays, etc., of the permanent members of London editorial offices, including artists and photographers.

On 22 March 1921 an agreement, amended in May 1924, was concluded with the Newspaper Society fixing the minimum salaries of members of the National Union of Journalists belonging to provincial newspapers.

A new agreement was concluded in March 1922 with the Press agencies fixing the minimum salary and the hours of work of the staff of these agencies.

Finally, on 26 July 1922 an agreement which regulated salaries, hours of work, and holidays, of photographic operators and printers was concluded with the Association of Press Photographic Agencies.

For its part, the Institute of Journalists, the other organisation of English journalists, has established a scale of salaries which it is endeavouring to get adopted by the employers.

The agreement concluded in March 1921 between the National Union and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association constitutes the basis of the working conditions of English journalists, and it is this agreement which, in the absence of special mention, is referred to in the course of this survey.

The use of written contracts is rather rare in *Hungarian* journalism. Certain responsible Press writers, however, possess contracts with a duration of from five to ten years. At the present time, there are neither model contracts nor collective agreements. In 1917, the Independent Organisation of Journalists established a collective agreement approved by the Association of Publishers, and renewed in 1918; but after the fall of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which had nationalised all newspapers, the publishers declared that they considered their papers as new undertakings, and that in their opinion the collective agreement was void. They no longer treated with their collaborators otherwise than on an individual basis. Since that time no attempt has been made to establish a new collective agreement.

In *India*, there is no regulation, by law or collective agreement, of working conditions in journalism. The only journalists in possession of an individual contract are generally those who have come from Great Britain and who have signed a contract of this kind before their departure.

In no country does legislation intervene to a greater extent in the journalistic profession than it has done in *Italy* since the coming of the Fascist regime. The law operates not only with regard to the conclusion and the enforcement of contracts of employment and certain living and working conditions such as welfare and weekly rest; it regulates the very exercise of the profession, which it makes a closed corporation submitted to a severe control. As a matter of fact, journalism does not receive exceptional treatment. It shares this form of regulation with other intellectual professions, not excluding those of the chemist and the engineer, and it harmonises in this respect with the general Fascist conception of the organisation of professional life within the State.

Under the terms of the Royal Decree of 20 February 1929, the profession of journalist may be practised only by the persons inscribed in the professional register. The maintenance of this register and the discipline of the persons inscribed therein are confided to a Committee of five members, themselves belonging to the Syndicate, and chosen by the Minister of Justice, in agreement with the Ministers of the Interior and Corporations, from among the journalists nominated by the competent professional association.

An appeal may be made from any decision of this Committee relating to inscription or discipline to a Commission nominated by Royal Decree, on the proposal of the Minister of Justice in agreement with the Ministers of the Interior and Corporations. This Commission is composed of a president and ten members, of whom five are chosen from a list presented by the Directorate of the National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists.

The professional register, which is established by the regional Fascist syndicates of journalists, contains three lists relating, respectively, to professional journalists, probationers, and publicists. The first are those who have exclusively exercised the profession of journalist for at least eighteen months, the second are those who have exercised their profession for less than eighteen months, or who have not yet reached the age of twenty-one; the third are those who are engaged in other activities, or other professions, in addition to their journalistic activity. Under the terms of the Act of 31 December 1925, the responsibility for daily publications can be assumed only by professional journalists; for other periodical publications, the responsible publisher may be a publicist.

The Italian journalists have long been in possession of a collective agreement relating to employment.

The first of all the Press organisations, the National Federation, obtained, as early as 1911, an agreement which remained unchanged, until 1919. Although it had not the force of law, as the present agreement has, its clauses were always recognised in legal proceedings. This agreement was revised and improved in December 1919, and again in October 1925. The adhesion of the Press Federation of the Confederation of Fascist Syndicates in December 1925 necessitated a new edition of the agreement in which nothing but the names of the contracting parties were changed. Finally, in 1927, a new agreement was signed, in substance almost identical with those which preceded it. One of the principal changes follows from the fact that, in conformity with the provisions enacted by the

Ministry of Corporations, the managing directors and managers of newspapers are excluded from the scope of the agreement. They are invited, on their side, to constitute an " Association of Managing Directors " and to conclude a special agreement with the publishers.

The novelty of the present agreement resides in the sanction which it receives from the Trade Union Act of 3 April 1926, the methods of enforcement of which are defined by the Regulations of 1 July 1926.

It is public knowledge that according to the principles of the Fascist regime, all citizens grouped in professional organisations are incorporated in the State. The economic interests of employers and employees are grounded not only in private law, but in public law, and more precisely in constitutional law. This situation is clearly defined in the Labour Charter promulgated on 21 April 1927. Among the tasks incumbent on professional associations recognised, in a sense, as wheels in the Fascist State machine, is the regulation of working conditions by means of the collective agreement. The Act of 3 April 1926, drafted in the spirit which a year later inspired the Labour Charter, established the conditions in which this task should be accomplished. Under the terms of section 5 of the Act, legally recognised associations represent all the members of the same professional category. With the employers, they draft the clauses of collective agreements which are obligatory on all persons belonging to the profession (section 10); employers and workers who do not observe the terms of the collective agreements are responsible to the signatory associations. The enforcement Regulations of 1 July 1926 specify that collective agreements which are not established by legally recognised associations are null and void (section 47). All individual contracts must conform to the collective agreement of the profession unless their clauses are more favourable to the worker than those of the collective agreement (section 54). The duration of collective agreements is not specified; it is left to the decision of the signatory organisations, but the agreement which has arrived at its full term is automatically renewed for a period equal to that of the preceding one unless one of the parties has denounced it two months previously (section 54).

The law and its enforcement regulations prescribe in detail the manner in which the special tribunals¹ for dealing with labour questions arising from the collective agreements should be instituted,

¹ See "The Settlement of Disputes", p. 96.

and define the procedure of such tribunals. These special jurisdictions will be dealt with later on.

The Labour Charter of 21 April 1927 specifies the various points which the Government intend to have included in collective agreements. It declares: "Every collective agreement, under pain of nullity, must contain precise rules on internal discipline, periods of probation, the amount and methods of payment of salaries, and hours of work."

It also furnishes guiding principles relating to weekly rest, paid holidays, and indemnities in case of dismissal.

Thus the agreements relating to Italian journalists are sanctioned by an Act which governs the relations between employers and employees generally, and applies to journalists equally with other workers.

Although it is true that the journalists, owing to their strong organisation and their energetic activities, favoured by a spirit of comprehension on the part of Italian publishers, obtained a very complete agreement years ago, it is none the less true that the subsequent legislative provisions have invested this agreement with additional force and prestige. In any case, it is interesting to note that in spite of the changes in the aspect of the former Press Federation, which has become a Fascist syndicate, the agreement established by the former has been maintained almost in its entirety by the latter, and it may be added that it met the permanent needs of journalists to such an extent that it was uniformly valid under different political regimes.

The collective agreement of the Italian journalists, signed by a recognised association, and adopted by the entire hierarchy of the vast professional organisation of the Italian State, has thus force of law for all the members of the profession, whether they are members of the association or not.

It was signed on 15 November 1927 for the period ending 30 June 1931, and as has been said, it differs very little from the preceding agreement to which additions have been made only here and there.

The agreement applies to professional journalists who have made journalism their sole paid profession for at least eighteen months, and more precisely, to assistant editors, special editors, ordinary Press writers, news writers, correspondents, assistant correspondents, stenographers, reporters, regular outside contributors, and artists. Its clauses, which will be examined later, relate to the following questions: probation, nature of employment, multiple

collaboration, salaries, indemnities for dismissal, cases of concealment, changes in the editorial policy of the paper, welfare, and settlement of disputes (professional courts) (*Collegi probivirali*).

Japanese journalists only know of individual contracts established in conformity with the general provisions of the Civil Code relating to the hiring of services.

In *Latvia*, since 1920 the journalists have been in possession of a collective agreement, the clauses of which deal with salaries, the general conditions of work, and the cessation of services. There are no statutory provisions concerning journalists.

The establishment of the contract of employment of *Luxemburg* journalists falls within the scope of the Act of 31 October 1919, relating to the hiring of services of private employees. As is the case in numerous other countries, moreover, at least half the journalists do not possess even an individual written contract. The political directors, the editors and the political editors enjoy a contract of this kind, generally drawn up on the lines of the contract for private employees, for all that concerns hours of work and conditions of annulment, and following the legal provisions relating to the remuneration of State employees as far as salaries are concerned. In *Luxemburg*, there is no model contract, nor collective agreement. At the time of the constitution of the Association of *Luxemburg* Journalists, there was some question of inscribing the preparation of a collective agreement in the programme of the new organisation, but this proposal was abandoned. The Syndicate of Journalists, created a little after the Association, revived the idea, and included among its demands the drafting of a collective agreement, or at least of a model contract. The Syndicate is learning from experiments made in other countries, especially in *Germany* and in *Italy*, and thus hopes to endow *Luxemburg* journalism with a sound status.

In journalism in the *Netherlands* there is neither model contract nor collective agreement. The individual contracts of employment are subordinate to the provisions of the Civil Code concerning the hiring of services. Their duration varies greatly.

There is a very marked tendency in *Poland* to regulate the conditions of work of intellectual workers by legislation. In

1920, a Bill concerning the work of journalists [was placed before the Diet. The examination of this Bill having been postponed as a result of political events, the Union of Journalists' Associations requested the Government to promulgate the text in the form of a Decree. The Government, acceding to this wish, prepared a new text which, however, encountered such opposition from the publishers that its promulgation had to be renounced. The Union of Journalists' Associations is endeavouring at the present time to get the Diet to pass the Bill.

In the absence of statutory regulations peculiar to journalists, there have recently come into force in Poland, two Legislative Decrees on intellectual workers, the scope of which includes members of the journalistic profession. One relates to social insurance the other to the conclusion of contracts of employment. The latter, promulgated on 16 March 1928, deals with the conditions governing payment of salaries, cessation of services, indemnities in case of death, etc.

Collective agreements are found in various parts of the country. The most important, concluded by the Journalists' Associations and the Warsaw publishing houses, has been in force since 1 June 1924, and it applies to all the papers of the capital. Its principal clauses concern probation, salaries, holidays, and sick leave.

Portuguese journalism is devoid of collective agreements; even individual contracts are unknown. As there are no legal provisions which can be applicable to journalism, it is ruled only by customs which determine the verbal agreements governing the engagement of journalists.

In *Rumania* also, there are no special legal provisions for the conclusion of contracts between directors and journalists. Moreover, the use of the contract itself is very rarely met with in the profession. There is no collective agreement in existence except in the minority Press of Transylvania. Apart from this, a few model contracts are found in this region, in use in the Press appearing in the German language. This local situation appears to be partly due to the former Hungarian Press Act, which regulates the relations between journalists and newspaper directors. The collective agreement concluded on 1 October 1925 by the Association of Minority Journalists of Transylvania and the newspaper undertakings, which is automatically renewable from year to year, deals with salaries, probation, cessation of services, arbitra-

tion, disputes, the moral obligations of journalists, change the editorial policy of the paper, sale of the paper, holidays, taxes. In addition, it contains an interesting clause which is found in no other collective agreement, and according to which the undertakings bind themselves to employ a number of professional journalists in proportion to the importance of the paper.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom*, journalists have a legal status defined in detail. A Decree of the Minister of Social Welfare dated 25 September 1926, and issued in virtue of the Act on the Press, and which came immediately into force, governs the working conditions in journalism.

The Decree considers as a journalist "any person employed in editorial offices in the quality of writer, reporter, or artist, or working there in a continuous manner and deriving therefrom the greater part of his income" (section 1). It declares that "every journalist must, at the latest one month after his arrival in an editorial office, conclude a contract with the manager of the paper stipulating: (1) the amount of monthly salary; (2) the period of notice in case of dismissal; (3) the duration of the annual holiday. The journalist who does not desire to conform to these provisions cannot invoke them in his favour, and the manager is not responsible for the consequences of his refusal. If, on the other hand, the manager refuses to establish a contract in spite of the request of a journalist, the competent authority of the Ministry of Labour shall apply the sanctions provided for in the law on the inspection of labour. The managers of newspapers are bound to notify these contracts to the competent authority of the Ministry of Labour" (section 2).

The Decree then treats in detail of dismissal, holidays, and special jurisdictions, and ends with a certain number of sections on the constitution of an insurance fund for old age and invalidity.

The Yugoslav Decree may be considered as one of the most important documents relating to the regulation of working conditions in journalism.

Spanish journalists are not acquainted with either collective agreements or model contracts; in most cases even individual contracts are unknown.

The legislation does not contain any special provision in this connection. Nevertheless, without prescribing any measures

with regard to working conditions themselves, it has constituted organisations which may be destined to facilitate the regulation of journalistic work later. These organisations are the joint Press committees created by Royal Order in January 1927, in conformity with the Act of 26 November 1926, on the corporative organisation of the nation. The committees are instituted on a regional basis and are being organised at present. They are composed of representatives of publishers and journalists and intended to deal with labour questions (e.g. the interpretation of ordinary contracts, dismissals). The Professional Association of Madrid Journalists, desiring to take advantage of the possibilities offered by this scheme, submitted to the joint committee of its region a certain number of proposals which might serve for the drafting of a collective agreement; the Association sees in this action the first step towards measures capable of rescuing Spanish journalism from the precarious situation in which it finds itself.

It may not be inappropriate at this point to draw attention to an initiative which has of late deeply stirred Spanish journalists in various parts of the country. The National Advisory Assembly has been supplied with a draft statute of the Press which applies quite new principles to the working conditions of journalists. The draft provides for the compulsory conclusion of contracts of employment in which questions of salaries, holidays, hours of work, and dismissal, would be treated. It also makes provision for the creation of insurance funds which would be very advantageous to the journalists¹, sanatoria, and orphanages, as well as the constitution of building co-operative societies. In each undertaking a staff committee would be formed, composed of the manager and three Press writers who would deal with certain internal professional questions. In spite of the enormous progress which such a statute would bring about in the working conditions of Spanish journalists, they have not shown much enthusiasm for the proposal. The reason for this attitude may be that the Government's draft provides for the maintenance of the censorship, the abolition of which is energetically demanded by the Press, and it is thought that the economic advantages offered to the journalists are a means of inducing them to accept its maintenance. This explains why the Liberal papers and even certain organs of the Right have explicitly declared against the proposal.

The sixth committee of the National Assembly, known as the

¹ See "Welfare Institutions", p. 196.

Committee on Political Laws, was entrusted with the **examination** of the draft. It was not able to come to any definite **conclusion** and decided, in view of the various currents of opinion stirred by this delicate question, to proceed with a kind of consultation among the circles concerned by means of a questionnaire which it published in the newspapers in December 1927. The answers were to have been sent, before 10 January 1928, to the Secretariat of the Assembly.

The result of this enquiry is not yet known, but it is certain (to keep to the subject which is being dealt with here, that is to say, the working conditions of journalists) that the draft statute would enable Spanish journalism to realise considerable progress.

The contracts of employment of *Swedish* journalists are subject to the provisions of the general legislation relating to the hiring of services. There are no collective agreements in Sweden. On the other hand, the Association of Newspaper Publishers and the Association of Journalists have established a model contract, the use of which they recommend to their members. The principal clauses of this contract concern hours of work, minimum salaries, sick leave, indemnity in case of death, holidays, and weekly rest.

No statutory provisions are to be found in *Switzerland* specially applicable to the working conditions of journalists, but the Swiss Press Association has concluded a series of agreements with the Newspaper Publishers' Association settling various questions of employment.

The earliest of these agreements now in force, signed in 1919, concerns the remuneration of Press writers. Another agreement of the same year minutely regulates the remuneration and the general situation of independent journalists (regular external collaborators). In 1923, a new agreement was signed, dealing with the conditions of work of journalists, hours of work, holidays, etc. The latest agreement, also drawn up in 1923, determines the charges incumbent on the employer in respect of the insurance of his personnel. Thus, the Swiss Press Association has obtained successive agreements which, little by little, have covered a good part of the living and working conditions of journalists.

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In consequence of the absence of large journalistic organisations, collective agreements are unknown in the *United States*, as far as

the Press is concerned. Apart from special cases, there are hardly any contracts of employment between managers and journalists. On most occasions questions of employment are settled by simple verbal agreement. In the rare cases in which an individual contract exists, it is the ordinary law which determines its terms.

III

TERMINATION OF SERVICES AND SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

TERMINATION OF SERVICES

The termination of services is one of the crucial questions affecting the situation of journalists. Together with the salaries question, it receives their constant attention, and it is not without reason that the first act of the International Federation of Journalists was to inscribe it in its programme as one of the questions which most urgently called for settlement.

Among the disadvantages of the profession, that which journalists perhaps fear most is insecurity. At the root of this insecurity is the ever-present possibility of dismissal. The vicissitudes which the development of a newspaper may undergo are well known. If to the surprises which the course of political events may bring are added the ups and downs of fashion, and the caprices of advertising, and then to all the outside circumstances which may lead to reduced circulation or to the extinction of a paper are added the internal events — transformation, reorganisation, disagreements, which may affect a part of the personnel — one arrives at a disquieting number of circumstances in which a journalist risks the loss of his employment, and may be obliged, often in unfavourable conditions owing to his age or to his specialised qualifications, to seek work elsewhere.

Among these cases there is a particularly hard one which is bound up with the very nature of journalistic work: it is that in which a newspaper, in consequence of changes in its editorial policy and general outlook — changes which may arise either from the transfer of the paper by sale or from the influence of a political movement on its administration — might require its staff to express opinions different from those which they were previously called upon to profess. These changes of policy, more or less frequent according to the country and to the state of development of the Press, necessarily create conscientious diffi-

culties for the journalist. He is often required to do work of a very personal character and to make use of his own political, religious, and moral opinions in his activities; there are thus, in journalism, relations between the individual and his calling, between the personality of the man and his professional work, of such a nature that the character of his writings cannot be modified without a certain violence to the private conscience of the writer. Naturally, a man who holds to his principles will not wish to make any distinction between his opinions and those of the paper for which he is working, and will consider any suggestion of supporting ideas not in agreement with his own as contrary to conscience and honour.

This is, perhaps, a harsh illustration of the difficulties with which a journalist may be confronted for reasons of conscience. There are others, more delicate and more complex, which create embarrassments just as serious. It may happen, for example, that a journalist is not required to modify his way of thinking, that he is even left full liberty of expression, and that his articles are printed in full, but at the same time the general attitude of the paper is altered in such a way that the journalist feels himself compromised. He is not compelled to take any action contrary to his principles, but he feels that his reputation is none the less in question.

It may also happen that, without any change in the general attitude of the paper, a director will ask the journalist to do him some service contrary to morality; for example, to take part in a campaign of blackmail or simply to help with his pen to pursue some private vendetta.

These cases are not purely theoretical. They are met with frequently enough to constitute an urgent problem in the eyes of journalists, and they interest a large number of the members of the profession. In fact it is not only writers having to treat of political, religious, and moral questions who may find themselves confronted with such difficulties, as one might be tempted to think; cases of conscience may arise with more or less acuity in several domains — in art criticism, theatrical criticism, sport, etc.

In papers championing definite opinions, where every journalist carries on a kind of warfare, it may very well happen that even those members of the staff who are not directly concerned with the preparation of articles expressing ideas, but only perform

tasks of a neutral character, such as the sub-editing of telegraphic reports, or reports of traffic accidents, are faced with a question of conscience in the event of a change in the editorial policy of the paper. Even if the nature of their work does not undergo any alteration, they might find themselves in some degree in the situation of men who, without having to take their place in the firing line, are obliged to work in the supply or medical services of an enemy army and thus indirectly help to fight its battles. A man of honour could not accept such a situation and would be obliged, in spite of himself, to withdraw his services from the undertaking.

What happens in such a case? As it is the employee who has denounced the contract and not the employer, the latter has no obligations with regard to the former, who, according to the usual legislation concerning hiring of services, is even obliged to give him a certain amount of notice, during which period he must continue his work. This situation appears profoundly unjust to journalists, who cannot admit that they should support the consequences of a profound change in their conditions of employment, and that they should be deprived of compensations which might normally accompany dismissal, merely because their departure has the appearance of a voluntary resignation.

To protect themselves as much against the risks of sudden dismissal as against the particularly distasteful circumstances surrounding cessation of services for reasons of conscience, journalists have endeavoured to hedge the annulment of the contract with certain conditions which soften its effect. They have obtained these conditions here and there, either by custom which has gradually become general, or by the provisions of collective agreements, or even by law. They consist in the establishment of the longest possible term of notice of dismissal and in the grant of indemnities.

The conditions of the termination of services in various countries will now be examined. It is well to observe at the outset the distinction between the notice of dismissal, on the one hand, which entails the payment of salary during the period of notice and which is intended to enable the person concerned to seek another post, and, on the other hand, the indemnity, which is a compensation for the material and moral damage suffered by the employee and the recognition of services rendered to the paper. It will be seen below to what extent one of these conditions, if not both together, has been established in different countries.

The *Australian* collective agreement, so detailed and so complete in other respects, does not contain any clause concerning the termination of services. The dismissal of journalists is subject to the general legislation.

In *Austria* the Act of 11 February 1920 relating to journalists requires that the written contract with which every writer is furnished when he takes up his post shall contain, among other things, express mention of the notice of dismissal, which must coincide with the end of a quarter, and must not be less than three months (six months in the case of the closing down of the undertaking). After five years' service the notice is increased by one month for each year of employment, up to a maximum of twelve months.

Under the terms of the collective agreement of the Viennese Press, in case of annulment, the collaborator who has worked for the paper for three years (permanent writer, permanent foreign correspondent, or regular outside collaborator) must receive, in addition to his pay for the duration of the notice, an indemnity equal to twice the emoluments of his last month of service. After five years' service the indemnity is equal to thrice the emoluments of the last month, and after eight years the amount is increased by one month's pay for each year's service, up to a maximum of eighteen months.

When an agreement more favourable than the provisions of the Act of 1920 is concluded between the parties, the collaborator renounces the sums due to him on account of the extended notice provided for by the law, and declares himself satisfied with the three months' pay for the period of notice, increased by the indemnities specified in the agreement (sections 19 and 22).

If the editorial policy of the paper is changed, the collaborator who is unable to continue his services without doing violence to his opinions is entitled to annul his contract, without notice, within a month from taking note of the change. The collaborator in question is in this case entitled, in addition to the three months' pay for the period of notice provided for in the Act of 1920, to an indemnity which up to five years' service is equal to an entire year's salary. Every new period of five years entitles him to a supplement amounting to six months' salary. A period which has merely been begun counts as five years. Regular outside collaborators are not entitled to this indemnity unless they have belonged to the paper for at least one year.

If disputes arise, the task of deciding whether the conditions for annulment or the grounds of changes in the policy of the paper exist is confided to an arbitration committee composed of two arbitrators nominated by one of the parties, two nominated by the other, and a president who is a member of the National Council and chosen by the first four arbitrators. In the event of the arbitrators failing to agree on the choice of a president, he is appointed by the President of the National Council. If the committee is of the opinion that the declarations of the journalist relative to changes of policy are tainted with bad faith, it may inflict a fine on him not exceeding 10,000 crowns (section 25).

If a newspaper is sold, the purchaser may denounce any contract within a period of one month after the sale. The indemnities due are the same as those for changes in policy. An arbitration committee may also grant these indemnities to a collaborator who, for personal reasons, does not desire to be bound by contract to the new publisher.

Finally, in the case of the closing down of a journalistic undertaking, the employee is entitled to a lump sum equal to six months' pay, unless the length of his services entitles him to the larger indemnities provided for in section 19 quoted above.

Mention may also be made of a clause of the Austrian agreement to the effect that any provision in an individual contract which restricts the liberty of work of a journalist after the termination of his contract or after he has reached the retiring age is null and void (section 19).

In *Bulgaria* journalists' contracts are subject to the general legislation concerning obligations.

In *Czechoslovakia*, under the terms of the Austrian Act of 13 June 1910 relating to private employees, which is still in force in Bohemia, notice of annulment of a contract is of six weeks. In no case may it be less than a month. However, the custom has become established in journalism of granting three months' notice, but for certain posts this is sometimes prolonged to a year. Custom has thus rectified the insufficiency of the legal provisions, and has created in Bohemia a situation identical with that which Slovakia owes to the Hungarian Act of 28 March 1914. In fact, under the terms of sections 57, 58, and 59 of this Act, notice of annulment of a journalistic contract is, as already stated, of one year for the

responsible editor, six months for the assistant editor and any other member of the editorial staff of more than five years' standing, and three months in all other cases.

The collective agreement of the *Prager Presse* adopts the legal provisions as far as notice of dismissal is concerned. It adds the principle of compensation to these provisions, and indicates amounts which vary from one month's pay after five years' service to six months' pay after fifteen years.

Furthermore, it lays down that the employer must allow the dismissed journalist time to seek new employment, provided that this time does not exceed three weeks in all¹.

In *France*, where, as has already been said, there is no legal provision specially concerning the journalist's contract, it is the general legislation on the hiring of services which determines questions of dismissal in the Press. However, customs, which the courts take into account, have established themselves; a proof of this is furnished by a judgment delivered in May 1927. A journalist, having been informed that the paper on which he was working would cease to appear in three months' time, claimed an indemnity calculated at the rate of one month's pay for each year of service, an indemnity which he declared to be in conformity with custom. The newspaper, on the other hand, declared that the three months' notice which he had been given was also customary and dispensed it from giving any indemnity. The court declared that "in default of custom, it appears from the precedents that the courts enjoy in this matter a sovereign power of assessment for the purpose of deciding whether or not there are reasons to award damages or simply the amount of salary in respect of the months covered by the notice", and decided that the paper should pay the journalist an indemnity which was higher than the salary for the three months covered by the notice, without, however, amounting to as much as the sum claimed by the plaintiff. The Journalists' Association, which had been dealing with the case, is of the opinion that this judgment has given satisfaction to

¹ The collective agreement of the *Prager Presse*, which provides in case of simple annulment for a notice of three to six months and compensation ranging from one month's pay after five years' service to six months' pay after fifteen years, declares that if the editorial policy of a paper is changed the journalist resigning for reasons of conscience shall receive half his annual salary. If he has not found a post at the end of six months he shall receive another indemnity of the same amount. After five years' service he is entitled to a third indemnity, after ten years to a fourth, and so on for every period of five years' service.

the employees' thesis, according to which, as far as the Press is concerned, the notice does not suffice, and must be backed by an indemnity in proportion to the services rendered by the journalist¹.

The Association also endeavours, in the absence of fixed rules, legal or contractual, to settle individual cases by arbitration. Arbitral proceedings of this kind in June 1927 fixed at two months' salary the amount due to a journalist whom certain errors of procedure had prevented from taking advantage of the three months' notice given by his paper².

In *Germany* the rules which govern the annulment of a journalist's contract are founded partly on the Civil Code and partly on the collective agreement in force since January 1926.

The duration of contracts varies greatly. The collective agreement does not contain any clause dealing with this point. It must, however, be observed that, according to section 624 of the Civil Code, the employee has the right to denounce his contract at the end of five years, even if it is laid down otherwise in the contract itself.

With regard to notice of dismissal, section 622 of the Civil Code provides that any contract, binding a person employed on work of a certain level and devoting the greater part of his time to such work, cannot be denounced except at the end of a quarter, and subject to six weeks' notice. These provisions were adopted in the collective agreement, where they appear as the conditions applicable to the dismissal of a journalist employed for less than three years. For persons with more than three years' service, the agreement provides conditions more advantageous than those of the law, viz. that the notice of dismissal shall be three months; at the end of ten years' service notice is increased to six months. The agreement adds, in an important clause, that in calculating years of service, every period of three years spent in another undertaking shall be considered as equivalent to at least one year in the new firm.

Changes in the editorial policy are provided for in the collective agreement, which first of all requires (contract of normal service, Article 2) that every individual contract of employment shall contain, among other things, a declaration of the editorial

¹ *Bulletin du Syndicat des journalistes*, No. 42, Jan. 1928, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*

policy of the undertaking or of the tendencies of the paper, and then prescribes (Article 15) that every journalist has the right, within a month from the day on which he learns of the changes in policy, or from the day on which, in view of events, he ought to have perceived such changes, to terminate his services. Nevertheless, he continues to receive his salary until the expiration of the normal notice of dismissal. If the writer has accomplished five years' uninterrupted service in the undertaking, he is entitled, in addition, to a sum equal to six months' salary, and if he has spent more than ten years in the same undertaking, to one year's salary¹.

If the paper is sold, and the new proprietor does not wish to take over the old contracts, the writers receiving their dismissal leave their posts immediately. They are entitled to the payment of their salary until the expiry of the normal notice of dismissal, or until the expiry of their contract.

In *Great Britain*, the contracts of employment of journalists are subject to the general provisions of the legislation, which require that reasonable notice shall be given in case of annulment. The usual notice is of three, six, or twelve months, according to the importance of the post.

In *Hungary*, according to the terms of sections 57, 58, and 59 of the Press Act of 28 March 1914, the notice for the denunciation of a contract concluded between the publisher of a periodical and a member of the editorial staff is of one year for the responsible editor, six months for the assistant editor and any member of the staff of more than five years' standing. In other cases the notice is of three months. Certain serious circumstances, enumerated in the Act, alone allow of immediate denunciation.

Without expressly mentioning changes in the editorial policy of the paper, section 58 of the Act implicitly admits resignation for reasons of conscience. It declares that : "a member of the editorial staff may denounce the contract without notice . . . if the publisher requires that member to write an article whose contents are tantamount to a punishable action or whose tendency is contrary to the stipulations of the contract of employment . . .

¹ It must be added that a publisher has the right to dismiss without notice any journalist who acts in a manner contrary to the recognised editorial policy of the paper. The right of a journalist dismissed in this way to formulate a claim for damages rests intact.

the employee is entitled to demand his full salary for the entire period of the notice of denunciation".

Italian journalists have obtained detailed regulation of the question of termination of services. The collective agreement, revised in 1927, lays down that the breach of a contract not provoked by a culpable act on the part of the journalist gives rise to the following indemnities :

1. One year's pay to directors and assistant directors ;
2. Nine months' pay to editors and the titular Rome correspondents ;
3. Six months' pay to ordinary journalists, foreign correspondents, stenographers, reporters, regular outside contributors, and artists.

In addition to the fixed indemnities, all the preceding categories receive an amount equal to one month's pay for every year or fraction of a year of service (Article 16). The contract may even be denounced at the request of the journalist if he has reached the age of sixty years or has accomplished thirty-five years of professional activity. Retiring allowances are then due to him.

If the editorial policy of the paper should be changed, the collaborators who have to deal with political questions in the paper are entitled to break their contract. The same right is granted to all collaborators who are placed for any reason whatsoever in an unfavourable situation incompatible with their professional dignity ; the indemnity for dismissal must be paid to them.

In the case of fundamental changes in the policy of the paper, the following have the right to break their contracts : the editor, the heads of departments, the managing director, the sub-editor, the nominal head of the Rome correspondence office, and, generally speaking, all journalists who have political functions or responsibilities.

In *Japan*, apart from the general provisions of the Civil Code relating to the hiring of services, there are no rules concerning the annulment of contracts, other than those required by the varying customs of the various undertakings.

In *Latvia* it is the rule in the profession to give three months' notice of dismissal.

In *Luxemburg*, under the terms of the Act of 31 October 1919, relating to the hiring of services of private employees, apart from cases in which serious reasons permit immediate denunciation with compensation for damages, the annulment of a contract can only take place subject to notice of two, four or six months according to whether the employee has worked for less than five years, for more than five and less than ten years, or more than ten years.

No recent case of changes in the editorial policy of a paper is known in *Luxemburg*. Thus, in the absence of any legal or contractual provision envisaging this particular case, it is difficult to say what form the settlement of a dispute due to reasons of conscience would take. The *Luxemburg* journalists are of the opinion that, in spite of the rarity of such cases in their country, it would not be futile to make provisions in a collective contract for the possibility of their occurrence, and, similarly, that it would not be inappropriate to obtain, at least by contractual means, longer notice of dismissal than the periods provided for in the Act relating to private employees.

In the *Netherlands* individual contracts of employment are subordinate to the general provisions of the Civil Code relating to the hiring of services. Notice of denunciation is usually from three to four months.

In *Poland* also it is the general principles of civil law which govern the drafting of journalists' contracts, with the exception of certain questions which, as has already been explained, are treated in regional collective contracts, the most important of which is that in force in *Warsaw*. Notice of dismissal is generally of three months, unless serious reasons justify immediate denunciation.

In *Portugal* the cancellation of journalists' contracts is subject only to the legal provisions concerning the hiring of services. If the editorial policy of a paper is changed, no indemnity is due to a journalist resigning for reasons of conscience.

In *Rumania* the established customs of journalism generally require that the notice of denunciation of a contract shall be three

months. The collective agreement of the minority Press of Transylvania requires the following periods of notice :

1. For a responsible sub-editor, at least one year ;
2. For ordinary journalists of three years' standing, at least nine months ;
3. For ordinary journalists, six months ;
4. For beginners, at least three months.

Under the terms of the collective agreement, any journalist who is dismissed may demand to know the reasons for dismissal. If they are not furnished to him within one week, the denunciation of the contract is considered null and void.

When a newspaper requires the preparation of an article contrary to the tendencies specified in the contract, or when the editorial policy of a paper is changed in an obvious manner, the journalist may immediately withdraw his services while keeping his rights to the salary due for the period of notice. An arbitral committee settles doubtful cases. The committee may also compel the publisher to whom presents or other favours may have been given for the purpose of obtaining tendentious articles, or the silence of the paper, to accept the resignation of the collaborator who has suffered moral damage, and pay him the statutory indemnities.

If the newspaper is sold and the purchaser refuses to take over the existing contracts, the former owner must pay the collaborators leaving their posts the indemnities provided for in case of changes in the policy of the paper.

The Decree of 1926 which governs the status of journalists in the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* declares that the written contract with which every journalist is furnished on his entry into employment must mention the notice for the denunciation of the contract. This notice may not be less than three months. Every journalist who has accomplished more than ten years' service in the same editorial offices is entitled, in addition to the three months' notice, to an indemnity of one month's pay for every year's service after the tenth (section 4 and 5).

If the newspaper ceases to appear the publisher must pay the journalist the salary due for the legal period of notice. In the event of the bankruptcy of the paper, the claims of the journalists have priority over all others (section 7).

A journalist may cease work without notice and without losing his right to the indemnity if the publisher compels him to perform a task contrary to his personal or professional honour (section 11).

It seems that the case of changes in the policy of a paper could be brought within the scope of this clause.

In *Spain*, apart from the general provisions of the Civil Code and of the labour legislation, there are no rules but those in use in each undertaking.

Generally, one month's notice is given, but this custom is not at all rigorously observed, and the same may be said of the substitution of this short notice, when it is suppressed, by a month's salary.

Changes in the policy of a paper have only rarely occurred up to the present, and the journalists have not raised the problem publicly. If a journalist is led to resign for reasons of conscience, he does not receive any kind of indemnity.

In *Sweden*, custom, consecrated by the model contract recommended by Press associations, and by jurisprudence, fixes notice of dismissal at three months.

Changes in policy are not envisaged in the model contract, and there is no recent legal decision on the subject. Nevertheless, it is held in Swedish journalistic circles that a collaborator resigning for reasons of conscience would receive three months' pay as compensation.

The agreement of 1923, which determines the conditions of employment of *Swiss* journalists, declares that the parties concerned must come to an understanding with regard to the length of notice of denunciation, but adds that it must not be less than three months (paragraph 5). Furthermore, the agreement of 1919 concerning independent journalists (outside contributors), who receive very special attention in the Swiss Press, declares that the unjustified and purely arbitrary replacement of an independent journalist warrants a request for an indemnity which may amount to the sum of the fees paid during the preceding year (paragraph 1, Article 2).

In the *United States*, it is the general civil law which settles questions of annulment of journalists' contracts.

In the *U. S. S. R.*, it is the Labour Code, sections 46, 47, 48, 88, 89, and 90, which govern the conditions concerning the annulment of contracts of workmen and employees. The notice of dismissal provided for in respect of all workers is of two weeks.

Finally, in *Uruguay*, journalists receive no compensation in case of dismissal.

Such is the state of the question in a number of countries. If, in the numerous countries in which no legal or contractual regulation exists, the solution of the various individual cases is left to friendly arrangements, which vary according to circumstances, or to the decision of the courts, which are founded on the general provisions of the Code concerning hiring of services and on the rather vague customs established in the profession, it will be observed that, in the countries in which journalists have obtained collective regulation of their working conditions, they have taken care to devote detailed provisions in their agreements to this question, which they have very much at heart; in fact practically all the agreements deal with the problem.

There is one principle which is universally established in agreements and which, moreover, is consecrated by the general legislation concerning the hiring of services, and that is the principle that notice shall be given by the party which desires to annul the contract. The collective agreements are careful to provide that this notice shall be fairly long, and usually require that it shall be proportional to the length of service. Notice may relate to a period of work actually done or may be represented by a sum of money equal to the salary due for this period.

A second principle consecrated by several agreements is that of compensation intended, not to replace notice, but to be added to it. The compensation is held to represent that part of the prosperity of the undertaking which can be attributed to the activity of the journalist in question, and aims at counteracting the damage caused to him by dismissal. Agreements which provide for compensation also require it to be proportional to the length of service.

The particular case of termination of services constituted by resignation for reasons of conscience is also the subject of detailed provisions in the collective agreements. Sometimes the signatories are content to assimilate this resignation to a dismissal, and to

guarantee to the journalist compelled to resign for reasons of conscience the usual notice and indemnity. But on other occasions the signatories attach importance to ensuring to the resigning journalist conditions more favourable than those for a dismissed journalist ; and, holding that he suffers more serious damage than the latter, they grant him a larger indemnity.

While the national organisations of journalists have been dealing with this important question of the termination of services, the International Federation of Journalists also has paid it very special attention. At its first Congress in September 1926 it included the question on its initial agenda, side by side with the question of special jurisdictions. Two months later it sent a long note to the affiliated organisations with a view to a common campaign on this subject, and it followed up the note with a statement of the proposals accepted by the executive committee of the Federation and intended to serve as a guide in the negotiations to be undertaken. In this statement the Federation insisted on the necessity of the conscience guarantee. It declared that : “the conscience guarantee should be represented in case of voluntary departure based on reasonable and sincere scruples of conscience by an indemnity superior to the ordinary indemnity for dismissal”. The same principle was incorporated in the draft collective agreement which the International Federation of Journalists established towards the end of 1927.

Finally, a new proof of the importance for journalists of the question of the termination of services, and particularly of resignation for reasons of conscience, is found in the fact that when the Advisory Committee of Intellectual Workers, created in connection with the International Labour Office, examined the urgent problems which should be included in its first agenda, it thought that it could not do better than choose, with a few other questions concerning various categories of intellectual workers, that of the conscience clause in journalism.

THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Journalists very soon acquired the sentiment that their profession presents rather peculiar features, and that disputes which may arise on the subject of their working conditions are of such a special and delicate nature that recourse to the ordinary courts would not be without inconvenience. “The rights and interests of journalists cannot be effectively guaranteed either by the ordinary

civil courts or by professional courts (*tribunaux prud'hommes*) constituted for other corporations"¹, declares the executive committee of the International Federation of Journalists. "It is in our best interests to be summoned before judges who know our profession and who belong to it"². These principles, recognised in 1910 by an International Press Congress held at Trieste, offered substantial advantages in the eyes of journalists, whatever the condition of their status. If their working conditions are regulated neither by law nor by collective agreements, and only conform to usages, they are of the opinion that members of the profession would know better than anyone else how to interpret these usages and to settle disputes in conformity with the conditions which are peculiar to journalism. It is for this reason, even in countries in which no precise regulation of journalistic activity exists, that newspaper workers demand the institution of a special professional jurisdiction, in the place of professional courts for commercial or Government employees, before which they are usually summoned and which they regard as not competent to deal with journalistic cases. The very absence of a precise regulation of their working conditions and the fact that, in case of dispute, a delicate appreciation of custom must be undertaken, seem to them to justify so much the more the appointment of judges thoroughly acquainted with the calling.

When the working conditions of journalists are governed by law or by collective agreements, the advantage of special jurisdictions in the opinion of those in the profession, is evident, moreover, and they have accordingly confirmed the principle of such jurisdictions when drafting and negotiating agreements, as will be seen later. They hold that only persons in the profession itself are capable of giving a precise interpretation of the clauses of a contract, when the dispute involves complex considerations. Even when this interpretation does not raise difficulties, and when the cases to be settled are particularly simple, the system of special jurisdictions offers such advantages from the point of view of speedy operation that it is to be preferred above all others.

Below will be found a summary showing the ways in which the settlement of disputes which may arise between journalists and their employers is effected in different countries.

¹ Proposals accepted by the executive committee as conclusions to the *Report on the Plan of Work of the International Federation of Journalists*, 1926, p. 2.

² Note addressed to national organisations, Oct. 1926, p. 7.

In *Australia* the collective agreements obtained by the journalists provide for two kinds of institutions. One kind, known as advisory committees, and whose task is to examine disputes arising between publishers and journalists with regard to questions which are not dealt with in the contracts, or relative to the interpretation of contracts, have only a limited power. Their decisions, regarded as simple opinions, have no executive force. The other kind of institution is represented by the Federal Council, which is entrusted with the prevention and settlement of disputes.

The advisory committees are constituted on a joint basis in each State of the Commonwealth.

The Federal Council, also constituted on a joint basis, meets in the places determined upon by the two parties. It has full powers to judge disputes which may arise respecting the interpretation of collective agreements, and even disputes arising between the journalists' association and newspaper owners concerning subjects not dealt with in the collective contract.

The settlement of labour disputes in *Austrian* journalism may be arrived at in two ways. When the dispute arises from the application of the collective agreement, it is brought before an arbitral committee constituted in conformity with Article 30 of the agreement. It is composed of four arbitrators, of whom two are chosen by the newspaper concerned, and two by the Organisation of the Viennese Press, and a president elected by the four arbitrators. The decisions of the Commission are without appeal.

When the dispute arises out of questions which do not directly concern the application of the agreement, it may, if the plaintiff does not prefer the arbitration procedure, be brought before the competent ordinary court, that is to say, in the case in point, before the professional court composed of an ordinary judge assisted by a representative of the journalists and by a representative of the publishers. The parties may appeal from these courts to a national court composed in the same way.

Disputes which may arise in *Belgium* in regard to labour questions are submitted to the jurisdiction of professional courts (*tribunaux prud'hommes*) as far as salaries below 6,000 francs are concerned, and to the commercial courts in the case of salaries above this amount.

In *Brazil* labour disputes which, as a matter of fact, the Press associations endeavour to settle by friendly intervention, are within the competence of the ordinary civil courts.

In *Bulgaria* also, such disputes, which are fairly rare, are settled by the ordinary courts, in virtue of the general legislation on obligations, or simply by the friendly intervention of the Society of Journalists.

Disputes which may arise in *Czechoslovakia* are within the competence of the ordinary courts. The journalists' organisations intervene whenever they can, to secure a friendly settlement of disputes. The collective agreement of the German Press instituted an arbitration court. The collective agreement of the *Prager Presse* also provides for an arbitration court composed of a representative of the German Press Association, a representative of the Czechoslovak Syndicate, and two representatives of the employers. These four members elect a fifth to act as president.

Disputes arising in *France* between directors and journalists are normally settled by legal proceedings before the civil or the commercial courts.

The Association of Journalists, for its part, intervenes as much as possible in these disputes; in each important case it suggests the arbitral system before recourse to courts, and directors accept this speedy and equitable method more and more frequently. A recent case of arbitration of this kind has already been described¹.

This practice, which tends to become commoner, remains, however, a simple usage which is consecrated in no formal agreement, but the Association of Journalists attaches importance to including the question of special jurisdictions in the collective contract which it desires to discuss with directors.

It has been shown that in *Germany* the decision of June 1926 of the National Labour Administration, which rendered obligatory on the whole country the clauses of the agreements concluded between the Press associations in January of the same year, excluded from the declaration establishing compulsion the provisions concerning arbitration institutions. Journalists who do not belong to the contracting organisations are therefore not

¹ Cf. "Termination of Services", p. 82.

obliged to apply to the special courts established by these organisations, and may have recourse to the ordinary courts. The exclusion of the arbitration clauses from the declaration establishing compulsion also leaves in existence the arbitration organs created by other associations. Such is the case with the Union of the Labour Press, which organised more than twenty years ago an optional arbitration court which is still in existence.

The arbitration institution created by the Newspaper Industry Employers' Association and the National Association of the German Press is based on Articles IV and VI of the agreement on employment, on Article 17 of the agreement on normal service of January 1926, which lays down the general principles, and on the rules relating to arbitration courts, which form the subject of a special agreement, also of January 1926.

The institution consists of fourteen regional courts constituted in the principal towns of the country, and a high court whose seat is at Berlin, all of which are organised in the spirit of Part X of the Code of Civil Procedure, and deliver judgment independently of the ordinary judicial channels.

The regional courts are composed of four judges — each of the contracting associations appointing two — and a president appointed for two years by the regional Commission of Collaboration¹, or by a similar organisation on which the two contracting parties are represented.

The high court is composed of six judges — each of the contracting associations appointing three — and a president appointed for two years by the National Commission of Collaboration¹.

The regulations established by the two associations describe in great detail the procedure to be followed by cases submitted to the regional courts, which function as lower courts, and to the high court, which sits as a court of appeal.

All disputes relating to conditions of service which may arise between the publishers, on the one side, and the editorial staffs and permanent collaborators, on the other, are submitted, to the exclusion of the ordinary channels, to the special courts thus instituted.

In addition to the ordinary courts to which, in *Great Britain*, disputes arising on the subject of the execution of contracts are

¹ For the Commissions of Collaboration, cf. "Organisation of the Profession", p. 36.

submitted, the collective agreements provide for the creation of special organs charged with the settlement of disputes. For instance the agreement respecting rates of payment, concluded in March 1921 between the Newspaper Society and the National Union of Journalists, established a joint committee composed of five representatives of each of the contracting parties, to decide all cases that previous negotiations between the parties concerned have not been able to settle.

In *Hungary*, the collective agreement of 1919, which was annulled when the Dictatorship of the Proletariat fell, contained a clause instituting a joint arbitral committee.

At the present time disputes which arise concerning working conditions are submitted to the ordinary professional courts. A very few individual written contracts provide for arbitration procedure in case of dispute.

Italian journalists long ago obtained the special courts which the members of the profession in many countries desire. The collective agreement established by the former Federation of the Press and revived by the Fascist Syndicate of Journalists, with some modifications, stipulates that every dispute which may arise from the interpretation of the contract shall be settled by professional courts (*Collegi Probivirali*) whose rules of procedure are annexed to the agreement (Article 27).

Under the terms of these rules a professional court is established at the seat of ten regional syndicates (13 in the old contract) and their jurisdiction extends to all the journalists inscribed in the syndicates and in the regional album of journalists. A national court (*Collegio Probivirale Federale*) at Rome serves as a court of appeal. The regional courts are composed of publishers and journalists, or their representatives, in equal numbers. They may not be composed of more than six members or less than four plus two substitutes.

The national court is composed in the same way: it may not have more than eight members or less than six plus two substitutes.

The members are appointed for two years, the presidents for one year.

The latter are nominated by the members of the courts, who come to an agreement for this purpose. If it is impossible to realise an agreement, they are nominated, in the case of the national court, by the president of the court of appeal (*Corte di Cassazione*),

and, in the case of the regional courts, by the presidents of the civil courts of the various regions.

The decisions of the regional professional courts may form the subject of an appeal to the national court when the petition relates to a sum of more than 75,000 lire, when the regional court concerned has not given a unanimous decision on a question of principle relating to the interpretation of a contract, or simply when the two parties are in agreement to appeal. In all other cases decisions are final and without appeal, and may be given executive force in conformity with the provisions of section 24 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

The working expenses of the courts (*Collegi Probivirali*) are met in equal parts by the two contracting organisations. The professional courts enjoy great prestige in Italian journalism. Particular care is devoted to the choice of their members; they are often persons of the highest importance (the president of the national court is at the present time the Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal at Rome).

In *Japan* there are no special courts for the settlement of disputes in journalism.

The same remark applies to *Latvia*.

In *Luxemburg* disputes between directors and journalists are rare. When they do occur, it is the Act of 31 October 1919 relating to private employees which comes into play. Section 26 of this law instituted in each canton an arbitral tribunal composed of a justice of the peace and two assessors one of whom is chosen by the employers and the other by the employees. The case may be carried in appeal before the Supreme Court of Justice.

In the *Netherlands* disputes are simply submitted to a justice of the peace.

Disputes arising in *Poland* concerning questions of employment are brought before the ordinary courts or before the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance (this is the procedure provided for by law but not used in journalism) or, finally, before arbitral commissions specified in the collective agreements. The Association of Journalists intervenes whenever it can, to settle disputes in a friendly way.

In *Rumania* disputes which the Press associations cannot settle in a friendly way are brought before the ordinary courts. The collective agreement of the minority Press of *Transylvania*, on the other hand, institutes an arbitral committee of three members entrusted with the settlement of disputes between journalists and publishers.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* the Decree of 25 September 1926 on journalists lays down that "all litigation referring to working conditions must be submitted to a special court. This court is a permanent institution created in all important towns where several newspapers appear, and its continuity is guaranteed by the president, nominated for three years from among the judges of the town by the Ministry of Justice. The other judges, not more than four in number, shall be chosen for each case, two by the journalists and two by the publishers" (section 13). The decisions of the court have immediate effect and are without appeal.

In *Spain* the joint Press committees¹ created in January 1927 in virtue of the legislative Decree of 26 November 1926 on the corporative organisation of the nation, have, among other tasks, that of settling disputes which may arise in connection with the working conditions of journalists. The Press associations, on their side, endeavour to settle disputes in a friendly manner.

Apart from recourse to the ordinary courts, the agreement established in *Sweden* by the Association of Journalists provides that disputes shall be brought either before the Press Commission or before an arbitral council.

Swiss journalists may apply in case of disputes either to the ordinary courts or to the arbitral court instituted by the agreements of 1919 relating to permanent journalists and to independent journalists.

This court is composed of four judges and four substitutes appointed for three years on a joint basis by the two contracting associations, and a president elected by the judges. The execution of the arbitral decision is guaranteed by the two organisations.

¹ Cf. « The Status of the Journalist », p. 73.

In the *United States* disputes arising in journalism are within the competence of the ordinary civil courts.

In the *U. S. S. R.* the Labour Code (sections 168-174) provides for a series of professional courts from the joint commission of the undertaking¹, to the arbitration court which decides without appeal. With the exception of the joint commission of the undertaking, these various jurisdictions do not specially concern journalists.

It will be apparent from the foregoing resume that journalists, as we pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, display a very marked tendency to avoid recourse to the ordinary courts for the settlement of their professional disputes. When they have not been able to obtain a special jurisdiction, their organisations endeavour to settle conflicts in a friendly way in conformity with the usages of the profession, and thus try to spare the person concerned the expenses, which are often considerable, and the delays of the ordinary civil procedure. Wherever the establishment of a collective regime has furnished them with an opportunity, they have not failed to institute arbitral commissions or special professional courts (*tribunaux prud'hommaux*) either permanent or constituted for each particular case. These courts are generally established on a joint basis. Their members, nominated in equal numbers by the journalists and the employers, usually elect a president whom the contracts are careful to require to be independent, and frequently a lawyer by profession. According to the system instituted by the Serb-Croat-Slovene Decree, it is the president, nominated by the Minister of Justice, who ensures the continuity of the court which in other respects is constituted afresh on the occasion of each dispute.

The journalists hold strongly to this system of arbitration and special jurisdictions, which appears to give excellent results in the countries in which it has been instituted. They are endeavouring to get it adopted everywhere, and the International Federation of Journalists regards it as one of those problems whose solution would give an indispensable minimum of guarantee to all concerned. The Federation has applied itself since its creation to the study of the question and has even placed it,

¹ The control of the decisions of the joint commissions is a matter for the Labour Commissariat.

together with the question of the termination of services with which, moreover, it is closely bound up, on its agenda for immediate action. A little after its first Congress at the end of 1926, it despatched proposals and a note on this question to the affiliated national organisations, and since then it has not ceased to devote attention to it. It would seem that the day is not far off when the journalists of all the countries in which journalism constitutes a well-defined profession will obtain the special jurisdictions which they are demanding, and to which, moreover, the employers themselves seem to hold firmly in the countries in which they are instituted.

IV

WORKING CONDITIONS

HOURS OF WORK

When an examination is made of working conditions in any profession whatsoever, one of the first questions which arises is that of hours of work. How much time should the worker devote to his task? How much may he reserve for his leisure and his rest? Is there a danger of overwork in the profession which he practises? Do work, leisure, and rest harmonise in such a way as to ensure the individual's physical and intellectual development, the satisfaction of his artistic tastes, and his need for recreation and recuperation? Or does the calling dangerously encroach on the other requirements of life?

These questions, which it is possible to answer in the case of manual workers because the working process is a visible thing, whose beginning, end, and intensity, can be easily verified, may perhaps appear vain when intellectual workers are concerned, and this for many reasons.

The main reason (which obviates the need of giving others — indeed there will be no room to do so in this survey) is that intellectual work, by reason of its indefinite nature, and, as it were, its dispersion, does not lend itself to precise measurement. Intellectual activity is at every moment bound up with the life of an individual to such an extent, and professional pre-occupations have such a tendency to reappear at every instant of intellectual activity, that it is impossible to say precisely at what moment an intellectual worker begins to produce what his profession requires of him and at what moment he stops.

When does a political or dramatic writer — to take an example from the profession under consideration — begin, and when does he finish work? At what moment can we catch him in the full swing of professional activity? Is it at the editorial offices of the paper, to which he will go, perhaps, to write or to dictate his article, or simply to get into touch with his colleagues and to seek the

latest news? Is it at the theatre, at a political meeting, or at home reading a critical work or an historical study, or yet again during his meal or during conversation with friends, when an idea flashes through his mind, bringing other ideas in its train and allowing him to build up, there and then, the entire framework of his article? Is he working, or is he resting, when he travels, or when he reads? Could he himself differentiate exactly between the moments devoted to his professional work and those reserved to undisturbed recreation?

We do not wish to depict the intellectual worker as a person whose untamed spirit, rebelling against all discipline, works in its own way, launches out unexpectedly and respects neither time nor place. To be sure, the intellectual worker has his moments of deliberate concentration, and he has his desk, where the most tangible part of his task is performed. But surrounding these moments of intense and disciplined work, which vary with the individual, there is an ill-defined zone in which it cannot be said that he has finished with his professional work but in which, on the other hand, purely professional activity cannot be recognised with certainty.

To this difficulty of distinguishing the periods of purely professional activity in the life of an intellectual worker from those which may be counted as unalloyed leisure is added in the case of certain professions, that of ascertaining the sum of the periods of professional activity accomplished in different places. And this is, indeed, the situation in a great part of journalism.

Supposing that it has been possible to give an exact definition of journalistic work, and to decide, leaving out of account all periods of productiveness mingled with periods of leisure, whether the time spent by a journalist in seeing a play with a view to furnishing an account of it, the time which another spends in the train on the way to a neighbouring town to be present at some event there, or the time which yet another devotes to the reading of works necessary for the preparation of his article, must be regarded as effective duty; supposing, in brief, that a complete definition of journalistic work has been arrived at, it would still be necessary to count all the moments of this activity in order to reconstitute the journalist's working day.

This, however, is an impossible task. The time that each journalist devotes to his work cannot be accounted for, as conditions vary with the post and with the person, and his work is generally done partly in the editorial offices, partly outside (in

the town, at courts, etc.) and partly at home. We are compelled to confine the computation of hours to the only controllable periods with clearly drawn limits — those which the journalist spends in the offices of the paper. It is these hours which will be taken as the hours of work of the journalist in the following brief analysis.

The foregoing remarks show how slight is the relation existing between these hours of writing and the real professional activity of the journalist, full knowledge of which we cannot hope to have. All that can be done is to examine how the question of hours of presence in the editorial offices has been settled in various countries, bearing well in mind that these hours give us no indication of the aggregate of the journalist's labours.

In these circumstances it may well be asked what is the use of an investigation of this kind, and what conclusions can be reached on the basis of fragmentary and even misleading data.

In our opinion a glance over the hours of work of the journalist, or to be more exact, over his hours of presence in the offices of the paper, is fully justified. It is of importance to know whether there is a question of hours of work in journalism, whether it constitutes a problem with which the members of the profession have been dealing, or, on the contrary, whether it is a question entirely without significance, which journalists have never thought of subjecting to regulation.

It is very difficult, for countries in which neither legislation nor collective agreement exists, to furnish precise information on the hours of work of journalists. It is no secret that more often than not, even in the editorial offices, no record is kept of hours of presence, and according to circumstances the same journalist may have very short working days or very long ones. There are, however, established customs which allow some general data to be furnished. Below will be seen how customs, and sometimes collective agreements, and occasionally legislation, have treated hours of work in various countries.

What has just been said with regard to hours of work must, however, be borne in mind, and if the journalist's working day as expressed by the figures given here sometimes seems rather short, it must not be forgotten that it only represents for most grades (with the exception of sub-editors and a few grades whose continued presence is a necessity for the paper) a part of the time which they devote to their profession. Finally, it must be recalled that these hours are for the most part hours of the night.

The *Australian* journalists, like their colleagues in Great Britain, attached importance to having the question of hours of work incorporated in their collective agreement. But no country possesses such minute regulations on the subject as Australia. Three chapters are allotted to it in the agreement of January 1924, which is still in force.

The agreement makes a clear distinction between day work and night work, and provides different weekly figures for each.

The hours of day work must not exceed forty-six in the week for any journalist. All overtime work must be deducted from the hours of work of one of the two following weeks, or paid at a special rate. Work begins on an evening paper at 9.45 a.m. at the latest, and in a morning paper at 5.30 p.m. at the earliest and 6.30 p.m. at the latest. An attendance register in a form approved by the secretary of the Federal Arbitration Court is kept in the editorial offices and every journalist records his arrival and departure therein. Entries that are not contested within twenty-four hours are considered as valid. The attendance register is open to control by any member of the staff by the general secretary of the Association of Journalists and by any member of the Association authorised by the secretary of the Court of Arbitration.

The time between arrival and departure is taken as work time, excluding the time taken for meals. The employer has the faculty of interrupting the work, but the contract surrounds this practice with various safeguards. The period of interruption may not be less than three hours (in order to prevent the employer from interrupting work at every instant and to ensure that the periods of interruption are not too short to be made use of by the person concerned). Furthermore, the journalist must be warned at least one hour in advance. Finally, these interruptions may only take effect at certain times in the day (Article 3, § 2).

In *Austria* the Act of 11 February 1920 relating to the status of journalists contains no provision concerning hours of work.

On the other hand, the collective agreement in force in the Viennese Press has several Articles on the subject. It stipulates that "the regular hours of work, whose maximum and allocation must be fixed in accordance with the usual practices of the paper and its real needs, must not exceed forty-two in the week for newspapers appearing twice in the day and for newspapers appear-

ing once in the morning, and thirty-six hours for midday and evening papers appearing only once a day" (Article 16).

The hours of work must be indicated in the individual contracts.

All work done outside the agreed hours is regarded as overtime work and must be paid at a special rate. The authors of the agreement were aware of the fact that the work of the journalist, by its very nature, eludes any strict time limitation. Nevertheless, they felt obliged to deal with this question in the agreement to remedy abuses in certain undertakings which did not scruple to keep the journalists ten and twelve hours and even more at the writing desk.

In *Belgium* the hours of work are not subject to regulations. They vary greatly according to the paper and the job, but the commonest working day seems to be of six hours.

In *Brazil* there are no regulations governing hours of work. In morning papers the writers and reporters go to the editorial offices at 2 p.m. and at 6 p.m. to receive instructions concerning their work. From 2 p.m. till about 8 p.m. shifts of day writers prepare the first news. At 9 o'clock the night writers arrive, and they finish their work at about 1 a.m. Generally speaking the daily hours of work do not exceed six.

The *Bulgarian* journalists also are not governed by any regulations concerning hours of work. In practice the hours hardly ever exceed five or six in the day.

Czechoslovak journalists come within the scope of the Act of 1918 relating to hours of work. Their normal day is therefore of eight hours, but more often than not circumstances do not require such a long period of presence in the editorial offices, and the hours of work are shorter than those fixed by the law.

The collective agreement of the *Prager Presse* lays down that they may not exceed seven in the day, which may be divided into not more than two parts.

In *France* there is no regulation of the hours of work of journalists and they are subject to unlimited variations. Many papers do not even calculate the number of the hours of presence or of effective work.

In *Germany* there is at present only one example of regulations governing the hours of work in the profession of journalism, and that is furnished by the Union of the Labour Press which, in its agreement concluded more than twenty years ago with the newspapers of the Social-Democratic Party, fixed the daily hours at the editorial offices at a maximum of six.

The journalists who are not included in this agreement are endeavouring to extend the advantages of the eight-hour day to their profession, but the nature of their work, the methods of editorial offices, and the psychological habits of all concerned constitute a serious obstacle to these efforts.

In *Great Britain* the duration of work is not governed by law. Only the collective agreements which apply to the big London papers and to the news agencies have fixed its extent. They provide for a working week of five and a half days, each of eight hours, that is, a total of forty-four hours including meal times, for day writers and photographic operators. Generally speaking, the hours of work of reporters must not exceed forty-four in the week unless they are obliged to work out of town.

Hungarian journalists do not benefit from any regulations concerning hours of work. They do not think that hours can be subject to rigid prescriptions, and, moreover, do not complain of their own hours of work.

In *Italy* the journalists have not thought it necessary to seek explicit regulations concerning hours of work. They do not hold that such regulation would be possible in a profession in which the time devoted to work is spent in differing surroundings and varies not only with the place and with the undertaking, but also with the individual and the kind of work entrusted to him. Hence the collective agreement in force merely declares that the management of the paper shall establish a time-table if it thinks it necessary.

Neither *Japan* nor *Latvia* has any regulations concerning hours of work in journalism. It is impossible even to furnish information concerning the working day, which varies considerably.

The *Luxemburg* journalists are subject to the Act of 31 October 1919 regulating the hours of work of employees. In virtue of

section 6 of this Act, the normal working day is of eight hours. Overtime work is in principle paid at a higher rate than normal work. As a great part of the work is done at home, it is rarely that a journalist spends the legal eight hours at the editorial offices. In practice the hours of presence hardly ever exceed six.

The hours of work are not governed by regulations in the *Netherlands*, and no general custom has been established in this domain.

There are no regulations in *Poland*. It is true, however, that some of the clauses of the Bill concerning journalists which was placed before the Diet deal with hours of work, and under the terms of this Bill individual or collective agreements governing the relations between the publisher and the journalist must specify the number of hours of work that the journalist is obliged to furnish. The normal duration of work, according to the draft, is six hours.

The collective agreement at present in force in Warsaw does not mention the point.

In *Portugal* and *Rumania* there is no regulation of hours of work in journalism, and they vary greatly according to the post and to circumstances.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* the Decree of 25 September 1926, which determines the status of journalists, has nothing to say with regard to hours of work.

The hours of work of journalists are not governed by regulations in *Spain*, and they vary considerably. In some cases journalists are only present at the editorial offices two or three hours a day, and the rest of their work is done at home, but in others, their hours of presence exceed eight in the day. They usually work from 6 to 9 p.m. and from 10.30 p.m. to 2 or 3 a.m. in the editorial offices of papers appearing in the morning; and from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 to 7 p.m. in the offices of the evening papers.

In *Sweden*, in the absence of legal restriction of hours of work, the model contract adopted by the Association of Publishers and the Association of Journalists contains a clause by which the hours are fixed at seven or eight in the day in normal times. Little work is done at home.

The *Swiss* journalists do not appear to attach importance to fixed hours of work. At all events, the agreement concluded in 1923 by their association and the Association of Newspaper Publishers specifies that "presence at the editorial offices during strictly prescribed hours cannot be requested unless it is required in the interest of the paper" (Article 11, § 1). It adds: "When a Press writer is compelled to be present in editorial offices during prescribed hours, he is entitled to an indemnity for the work done for the paper out of office hours" (Article 11, § 3). These provisions perhaps reveal a tendency among Swiss journalists to resist the industrialisation of newspapers and to preserve a certain amount of liberty in the employment of their time.

In the *United States* the working day, which does not form the subject of any regulations, varies from six to ten hours according to the kind of paper and other circumstances.

The Labour Code of the *U.S.S.R.* (sections 94 and 95) establishes an eight-hour day for all salaried workers. In addition, an Order of the Labour Commissariat dated 11 March 1925 contains certain precise stipulations with regard to journalists.

In virtue of this Order, journalists working for daily or weekly papers enjoy the eight-hour day. The hours of work are six for journalists belonging to magazines, or to official or semi-official papers not for public sale.

It does not seem that these measures are strictly carried out with regard to daily and weekly papers. At least, this is what a trade union author¹ gives one to understand when he writes: "The organisation of work is still far from perfection in our editorial offices. The hours of work can only be regulated with difficulty. In the present conditions dominating the existence of the periodical Press (daily and weekly papers) the regulation of work in editorial offices is only a pleasant dream. In fact, not only is the work of this class of employees not subject to regulation, but, what is more, it is often not possible to calculate its exact duration". The author thinks that the eight-hour day "is not enforceable at the present time".

On the other hand, the six-hour day is, as a rule, satisfactorily observed in magazines not appearing more than once a month.

¹ V. DEMBO : *Troudovye prava rabotnikov literatury*. Moscow, 1926.

over in silence in the collective agreement as far as its duration is concerned. On the other hand, the agreements generally provide, as does that of the *Prager Presse*, an additional holiday of one week for journalists on the night staff.

There are no regulations in *France*. Night work is current practice. The night journalistic staff generally work from 6 p.m. to 2 a.m. with a break of an hour and a half or two hours for dinner. In addition, there is always someone present up to 4 a.m.

In *Germany*, night work is not covered by any regulations in the national collective agreement, which deals neither with its duration nor with rates of payment. Only the regional agreements respecting rates of payment mention night work, and then it is for the purpose of fixing its remuneration, which is higher than that for day work, generally by 50 per cent.

In *Great Britain*, the night work of journalists, which is not subject to any legal restriction, is very common. Custom requires that the hours of work for the night staff shall be about forty in the week. The collective agreement concluded in March 1921 by the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the National Union of Journalists, and which relates to the big London papers, fixes the weekly hours of work for the night staff at five and a half-nights of seven hours each, including time taken for meals.

Hungary and *India* have no regulations concerning night work in journalism, and conditions in these countries are too varied to be described.

In *Italy*, night work, which is subject to no regulations with regard to its duration, is paid at a higher rate than day work.

In *Japan* and *Latvia*, there is a complete absence of regulations.

In *Luxemburg*, night work, without being prohibited, is unknown in journalism, as the newspapers nearly all appear between 11 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. The two papers appearing in the evening on the days when the Chamber of Deputies is sitting, leave the press at 6.30 p.m. Only one paper has a morning edition, but printing

finishes at 9 p.m. so that nothing but the distribution in the morning.

In the *Netherlands* there are no regulations.

In *Poland* there are no legal regulations, but the Bill at present in preparation provides that journalists employed after midnight shall be free until the following evening. The collective agreement concluded by the Association of Warsaw Journalists only mentions night work for the purpose of fixing its remuneration, which is higher than that for day work. According to the terms of this agreement, only work done after 11 p.m. is considered as night work.

In *Portugal*, night work which is fairly common, is not the subject of any regulations.

The night work of *Rumanian* journalists is also subject to no regulation. The collective agreement of the minority Press of Transylvania is silent on this point.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom*, there are no regulations. The Decree of September 1926 contains no provisions relating to night work.

No difference is made in *Spain* between night work and day work. Both are paid at one rate in journalism. On the other hand, the night work of printers is paid a little more than day work (five pesetas a week on an average).

In *Sweden*, the model contract adopted by the Press Federation and the Society of Publishers contains no clauses on night work, which is executed in the following way :

On the morning papers the work of a journalist is generally divided into two parts, one part being accomplished in the day time (from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m., for example), and the other at night time (from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m., for example). In most of these papers, it is usual to work only five nights a week. There are always one or two journalists who do nothing but night work (from 9 p.m. to 3 a.m., for example). According to the terms of the standard contract, the salary of journalists attached to a morning paper is higher than that of the staff of other papers.

Switzerland possesses no regulations on night work in journalism.

In the *United States*, a great deal of editorial work is done at night. There are no regulations on the subject.

In the *U.S.S.R.*, there are no provisions governing the night work of journalists. In the majority of cases such work is paid at rates 50 per cent. higher than the day rates.

From this cursory examination, it will be seen that, though in many countries night work is in no way distinguished from day work, and journalists are at the mercy in this respect to a certain arbitrariness moderated here and there by custom, in other countries the Press organisations have endeavoured to secure that night work shall be treated differently from day work. Three methods have been employed for this purpose : the establishment of shorter periods than for day work ; higher payment ; the granting of special rest time to members of the staff employed on night work.

These three methods tend to assure the night staff of compensation for work entailing obvious disadvantages and to encourage the employers to reduce night work to a minimum.

Some agreements, in addition, endeavour to secure adequate daily rest time by preventing, for example, a journalist who has worked far into the night from being required to restart work early in the morning.

The draft collective agreement published by the International Federation of Journalists recommended special regulations for night work with regard to both remuneration and duration.

WEEKLY REST

Weekly rest, which has taken firm root, and which has been sanctioned by law in most professions, is still an open question in journalism in several countries. There was a time when the modern conception of the daily newspaper seemed to make journalism a profession apart, to which established usages in the matter of rest could not be applied. Journalists have had to fight a long time to get the necessity of a weekly rest day admitted. In some countries they have not yet succeeded, and, although usages may have been established here and there in this respect, they

are not sanctioned and generalised by any collective agreement or by any law. In other countries, it is only very recently that journalists have secured the extension to their profession of the protection which legislation has long accorded to other callings. It must, moreover, be added that even in countries where this legal protection exists there is no certainty that it is fully efficacious. Control is difficult. It is not without trouble that the daily papers which do not possess a large staff organise a system of shifts that allows a part of this staff to take its days of rest. Specialisation, which is the rule in the modern Press, increases these difficulties still more, and hardly anywhere but in the countries in which custom or law prohibit the publication of papers one day a week can one be sure that the weekly rest is observed in all editorial offices.

The situation in the different countries with regard to weekly rest is the following :

Australian journalists have had interesting clauses incorporated in their collective agreement on the subject of weekly rest. The agreement lays down the general rule that every journalist must enjoy one and a half days' liberty a week. The half-day must not begin later than 1 p.m. (Chapter 3, Article a, § 2).

For journalists on the night staff the rest time amounts to two nights a week (*ibid.*, Article b).

The day on which a journalist takes his half-day off, he may not be required to furnish more than four hours' work.

Instead of the weekly half-holiday a journalist may be granted an entire day every fortnight (*ibid.*, Article c, § 9).

Finally, if the weekly holiday of a day and a half cannot be given to a journalist, it must be paid at a rate 50 per cent. higher than the ordinary rate (*ibid.*, § 10).

In *Austria*, weekly rest forms the subject of special provisions of the collective agreement of the Viennese Press. Article 16 lays down that Sunday work shall be avoided as far as possible. All work done on Sunday or on days when the undertaking is closed must receive special payment. Exceptions are made for accounts of theatrical performances, sporting and artistic events, etc., which take place on Sunday.

The general Act on weekly rest, which establishes the five and a half day week, requires all the undertakings in the country to cease work at 2 p.m. on Saturday. As this system was not applic-

able to newspapers which have an edition appearing early on Sunday morning, a stipulation has been made in the collective contract, with the consent of the Government, that every journalist should be entitled to a half-day a week, in addition to Sunday. No one may renounce this half-day, which begins at 2 p.m. A system of rotation is established in each department by agreement among the staff for the purpose of choosing time for the weekly half-holiday.

Belgian journalists as a rule are not given any weekly rest. Certain newspapers, however, endeavour to give it them by granting their staff one day's leave in the week when they have to work on Sunday.

In *Brazil*, measures concerning weekly rest depend on the States, and often even on the municipalities. They vary considerably from place to place. In the federal capital and in several States, Sunday work is formally prohibited.

There are no legal provisions concerning weekly rest in *Bulgaria*. It is, however, with rare exceptions, satisfactorily observed in journalism.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the Act of 1918 on the eight-hour day and the forty-eight-hour week guarantees one day's holiday a week to journalists. Newspapers do not appear on Monday morning, and this assures journalists of at least thirty-six hours' rest. The Saturday half-holiday has not been adopted in Czechoslovak journalism.

In *France*, on 9 and 11 July 1925 respectively, the Chamber and the Senate voted an Act which extended the provisions of the legislation concerning weekly rest to "the personnel employed on editorial work in newspaper undertakings or news agencies". This Act, which satisfied the demand repeatedly formulated by the Association of Journalists, is the first event of a legal order affecting the working conditions of journalists in France.

The Act of 13 July 1906 relating to weekly rest, which the vote of the two Chambers extended to journalists, forbids the employment for more than six days in the week of "the same employee or workman". It prescribes that "weekly rest must have a minimum duration of twenty-four consecutive hours"

(section 32), and that "weekly rest must be given on ~~Sunday~~" (section 33). Simultaneous rest is the rule; the system of rotation is only allowed exceptionally by prefectorial authorisation (section 34). Consultation between associations of employers and workmen is envisaged for the establishment of regimes of exception which have received prefectorial authorisation.

In virtue of the Decree of 24 August 1906, the heads of undertakings who, in consequence of exceptions provided for in the law, or of subsequent derogations, give weekly rest otherwise than by granting a full day's leave on Sunday, must indicate, by means of a notice, the days and hours of the rest time of their personnel.

It is difficult to know to what extent the law is observed in journalism and whether there is adequate supervision for its enforcement.

In *Germany* before the conclusion of the national agreement, certain regional agreements allowed the principle of weekly rest. An example is the agreement for East Prussia (July 1920) which, without clearly laying down the obligation to grant rest, implicitly admitted its existence by providing higher rates of salary for work done on Sundays and holidays. Another example is the agreement for the Bavarian Press (June 1921), which declares that every journalist obliged to work on Sunday shall be given an afternoon in the week in compensation.

Since the conclusion of the national collective agreement the question of weekly rest has been governed by clear regulations throughout German journalism. Article 8 of the agreement states that "every journalist must be granted an uninterrupted rest of twenty-four hours in the week. When, in exceptional circumstances, this rest cannot be granted a different allocation of rest time may be resorted to".

In *Great Britain*, the collective agreement established by the National Union of Journalists provides for one and a half days' rest a week for day workers and one and a half nights' rest for night workers. The rest of half a night is granted in the form of one full night every fortnight, or two full nights every four weeks, at the discretion of the management. The principle of the half-holiday is not to modify the practice of granting a full day's leave in compensation for the long hours worked on Saturday for publications appearing on Sunday.

Hungarian journalists are not mentioned in the legislation concerning weekly rest. However, the Decree of 18 November 1921, which establishes Sunday rest in trade and industry, and which in consequence prevents the printing of newspapers on Sunday, indirectly procures a weekly holiday for journalists.

The weekly rest of *Italian* journalists is ensured by the Royal Decree of 23 June 1923, which lays down that "all daily newspapers must omit one issue of every edition each week, so that no edition appears more than six times a week" (section 1).

From 1 p.m. on Sunday to midday on Monday, no newspaper, not even a daily paper, may be published either in an ordinary edition or a special edition (section 6).

A Royal Decree of 7 October 1923, modifying the preceding Decree provides that "in no printing works shall the work of printing any kind of periodicals be begun between 6 a.m. on Sunday and 6 a.m. on Monday".

In *Latvia*, on the other hand, there are no regulations concerning the weekly rest of journalists.

In *Luxemburg*, in virtue of section 9 of the Act of 31 October 1919, employees must be granted a weekly rest of thirty-eight consecutive hours. This rest time must coincide with Sunday as far as possible. Of all the Luxemburg dailies, only one has a Sunday edition, and this is printed on Saturday evening; in consequence it does not in any way militate against the enforcement of the Act. If the editors of important political papers are often at their posts on Sunday afternoon, they enjoy, in compensation, a certain amount of latitude as regards their Monday duty.

In the *Netherlands*, there are no legal provisions concerning the weekly rest of journalists, but generally speaking, they have Sunday to themselves.

The Bill at present under discussion in the *Polish* Diet provides that every journalist shall be entitled to rest on Sunday. For the moment, the question is not subject to regulations, and the collective agreement concluded by the Association of Warsaw Journalists makes no allusion to it.

There is no law in *Portugal* applicable to the weekly rest of journalists. The majority of them demand that Sunday shall

be recognised as a rest day throughout the profession. All the daily papers of Oporto and several of those at Lisbon, especially the evening papers, have already adopted this system.

Rumanian journalists come within the scope of the Act of 18 June 1925 concerning rest on Sundays and holidays. This Act stipulates that the employees of industrial and commercial establishments shall be given twenty-four consecutive hours' rest on Sundays and holidays. A certain number of exceptions to this rule are envisaged, but section 10 expressly declares that the editorial staffs of newspapers are covered by the provisions of the law. Journalists who are obliged to work on a holiday are entitled, in compensation, to take their time off on a work-day according to a system of rotation to be established by common accord between employers and employees.

In *Spain*, an Order of 1919 prohibits newspapers from appearing on Sunday evening and Monday morning. This measure ensures weekly rest to Spanish journalists. The guarantee of Sunday rest is indeed (leaving the question of salaries out of account) the only change which has occurred since 1914 in the working conditions of journalists.

On several occasions a number of publishers have endeavoured to secure the abrogation of these legal provisions. Each time their efforts raised such opposition that the Government, at the request of the delegations of the journalists, renounced any intention of modifying the new state of affairs. It was to resist a threatened danger of this kind that the Professional Group of Madrid Journalists was created at the end of 1926.

In *Sweden*, in the absence of legal provisions applicable to journalists, weekly rest is amply ensured to them by custom, and by a clause in the model contract established by the Association of Newspaper Proprietors and the Association of Journalists. Under the terms of this contract, rest time amounting to thirty-six consecutive hours must be granted every week to the various newspaper workers.

The agreement on conditions of employment concluded in 1923 by the *Swiss Press Association* provides that all Sunday work shall be compensated by suitable rest granted in the week (Article 11, § 2).

When a journalist has had to do overtime work, he is entitled, in addition to special remuneration, to an afternoon off (Article 11, § 3).

In the *United States*, the weekly rest of journalists is left to the discretion of the newspaper publishers, but it is a fairly general practice.

The Labour Code of the *U.S.S.R.* declares (section 109) that every worker is entitled to forty-two consecutive hours' rest a week.

In order to allow of the application of this measure to the Press, newspapers do not appear on Monday.

Thus the usages established in different countries have a distinct tendency to ensure one day's rest a week to journalists, and furthermore to make this day Sunday. These usages are, however, rather unstable and sometimes the requirements of the publication prevail against them. Therefore journalists who possess collective contracts have not thought it idle to incorporate in them the obligation to give weekly rest, and endeavour to obtain that it shall be permanently given on Sunday, or at least that it shall not be split up. The rest provided for is of at least twenty-four hours and if possible, a day and a half. One contract, that of the Austrian journalists, has even provided against the risk of excessive work which the employers may perhaps be tempted to impose on their staff before and after the fixed rest day. Finally, in two cases the journalists concerned have attached importance to stipulating that the institution of weekly rest does not do away with the obligation to grant special leave in compensation for specially fatiguing work.

In some countries weekly rest is ensured to journalists by a law which may go as far as prohibiting, as it does in Italy, the publication of newspapers on Sunday and Monday morning, even in a special edition. Obviously only a measure of this kind can guarantee Sunday rest to all journalists.

ANNUAL LEAVE

Of all the intellectual professions, very few are as exhausting as journalism. Such information as is available on the subject, scanty as it is, suffices to indicate what the establishment of good statistics of morbidity and mortality in journalism and

their comparison with the statistics of other professions would disclose. A journalist must have a constitution of iron. The time of his work, which is done in great part at night, the conditions in which the work is done, and among these conditions especially the rush imposed by the high speed of newspaper work, are all causes of fatigue. We know to what extent the journalist is threatened by premature old age. At forty years of age, a journalist who has not taken care of himself, and who does not possess a particularly sound constitution, may find himself in a difficult position in the labour market. The night shifts, the intensity of the work, and various other causes, may very easily have undermined his energy even at that age.

There is only one remedy to this state of affairs. The methods of work cannot change, they are bound up with the very nature of the newspaper. The only remedy is to allow a journalist to recuperate from time to time the strength which he loses in his exhausting activities.

After the limitation of the hours of work, the regulation of the methods of night work, and the institution and the strict observance of weekly rest, the obtainment of adequate holidays is a question of vital importance for the journalist. No one has more need than he of bodily and mental rest from time to time. It is only on this condition that he can satisfy the requirements of an arduous calling and avoid the overwork which threatens to make him old before his time.

This judicious determination of the hours of work and rest, vitally important for him at the present time, will become more and more necessary in the future, as the industrial character of the newspaper becomes more marked, compelling the labour of the mind to follow the movement of the machine and to adopt the processes of intensive production.

A rapid examination will now be made of the manner in which various countries have settled the question of annual leave in journalism.

The collective agreement of *Australian* journalists contains rather detailed regulations concerning annual leave. It provides (Chapter 14) that every journalist regularly employed shall be entitled to three weeks' holiday on full pay.

When holidays begin on Monday and the employee has worked the preceding Sunday, they must be taken as beginning on Tuesday.

If a journalist resigns his post before the completion of one year's service, he is not entitled to any leave. If it is the employer who breaks the contract, and if he does so after six months' service, the journalist is entitled to leave in proportion to the length of his services.

Sick leave also receives special treatment in the collective agreement, which provides that every journalist shall be entitled to a certain amount of sick leave with pay, under the following conditions :

- (1) If he has less than six months' service, he is entitled to one week with full pay, one week with half pay, and a third week with quarter pay.
- (2) After six months' service, he may take four weeks with full pay, four weeks with half pay, and four weeks with quarter pay.

Absences due to sick leave are added up for the year and must not be considered separately.

The *Austrian* journalists are certainly the most privileged as regards holidays, which with them are subject to double regulation, legal and contractual.

The Act of 11 February 1920 relating to journalists, to start with, granted them conditions which their colleagues in many countries could envy. Section 3 of the Act, in fact, provided that a journalist's holidays should amount to at least one month in the year, and to at least one and a half months after ten years' service with the paper.

The Organisation of the Viennese Press succeeded in improving these conditions still further by means of the collective agreement of March 1923. A small change was introduced which is of great practical importance. Under the terms of the agreement, the ten years of service which give the right to one and a half months' leave are not to be taken as continuous service in the same undertaking, but relate to the entire journalistic activity of the employee, even if it is accomplished in several successive posts (Article 17).

Furthermore, a journalist employed on night work is entitled to an additional week's leave in the year.

According to the provisions of the agreement, it is forbidden to substitute a pecuniary allowance for leave, except in respect of night workers whose additional leave of one week may be replaced

by an indemnity, when the employees concerned ~~have~~ already taken their fortnight's leave, and exceptional circumstances require it (Article 17).

In case of illness, every journalist who has accomplished five years' service in the same undertaking is entitled to four months' leave with full pay, and an additional month on the same conditions for each year of service above five, up to a maximum of twelve months (Article 17, § 8).

The annual leave of *Belgian* journalists sometimes amounts to four weeks. There are, however, many who do not even have a fortnight's leave a year. There is no law dealing with the question.

In *Brazil*, on 30 October 1926, an Act came into force granting all manual and non-manual workers a fortnight's leave in the year after one year's service in the same undertaking. The Act, which applies to journalists as well as to industrial workers, was strongly opposed in certain employers' circles, which insistently demanded its repeal; but in view of the attitude of all the labourers' and employees' organisations, it is probable that it will be maintained in force.

Bulgarian journalists generally obtain one month's leave in the year. This custom is not sanctioned by any law.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the Hungarian Press Act of 1914 in force in Slovakia and in Ruthenia contains no provision concerning holidays. It is the general Act of 1925 relating to the working conditions of employees that is applicable to journalists in these regions. The Act declares that six days' annual leave shall be granted after one year's service, seven days after ten years, and eight days after fifteen years.

The Austrian Act of 1910, which is in force in Bohemia, and which is applicable to journalists, assures employees of more favourable conditions. By the terms of this Act, annual leave amounts to one week after six months' service, two weeks after five years' service, and three weeks after fifteen years' service.

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Prager Presse stipulates that one month's leave shall be given after one year's service in the case of day workers, and five weeks in the case of night workers.

For particularly urgent work, the journalist receives in exchange for his right to holidays an indemnity equal to his salary ; but this practice, to which the organisations of journalists are opposed, tends to disappear.

It is customary in *France* to give journalists paid holidays which range from two weeks to one month annually. The matter is not dealt with in regulations ; nor is that of sick leave, which for the moment is left to the discretion of the directors — influenced by usage nevertheless. Thus journalists suffering from illness generally continue to receive their pay during a number of months that varies with the resources of the paper and the goodwill of its director, as well as with the professional and personal situation of the employee. In an important paper sick leave may extend to four, five, and even six months.

In *Germany* the system of paid annual leave, although not sanctioned by any law, is very common in journalism. For many years it has formed the subject of special stipulations in the regional collective agreements. For example, the agreements of November 1924 for Central Germany and for the Bavarian Press assured journalists of a fortnight's holiday after one year's service and three weeks' holiday after three years¹.

Since the signature of the national collective agreement in 1926, the question of holidays has been dealt with in a uniform way throughout German territory.

In virtue of Article IX of the agreement, every journalist is entitled to annual leave of two weeks after six months' service, three weeks during the second and third years, and four weeks thereafter. If it is not possible to replace a journalist by his colleagues because a newspaper only employs one journalist, the period of leave must nevertheless be at least two weeks.

It should be observed that the periods fixed by the agreement are only minimum periods, and they are often exceeded in practice.

The contract of the National Association of the German Press contains no clause respecting sick leave, but, on the other hand,

¹ The latter contract even established the obligation on the part of the paper to grant its writers a fortnight's holiday after every period of imprisonment served for offences against the Press legislation.

the agreement concluded by the Union of the Labour Press declares that a journalist is entitled to three months' paid sick leave.

Although the system of annual leave is fairly general in *Great Britain* in the journalistic world, it is sanctioned only by the agreement of March 1921, whose application is limited to the big London papers. This agreement lays down that the members of the editorial staff shall be entitled to at least three weeks' leave, to be taken between 1 May and 31 October, in addition to two days' leave for Christmas and one day for Good Friday. As regards the sporting and financial papers, the agreement adds that the time for leave is to be fixed by common accord between the management and the staff.

In the provinces where no regulations are applicable, leave amounts to a fortnight, on an average. It only rises to three weeks or a month in rare cases. Hence, in spite of the established custom of ceasing work on certain general holidays and of interrupting the publication of the paper on these occasions for one or two days, as is done nearly everywhere at Christmas, the English journalists are in this respect among the least favoured of the members of the profession who have the advantage of collective contracts. They ardently desire an improvement in this state of affairs.

The *Hungarian Press Act* of 1924 contains no clause on holidays, but it is customary to give journalists one month's annual leave. Sick leave also is only subject to custom.

The collective agreement of *Italian* journalists prescribes that every journalist in receipt of fixed payment, even if he has been engaged by special contract, is entitled to one month's leave a year, to be taken preferably from June to October, according to the requirements of the service (Article 14).

In case of illness, a journalist is entitled to three months' leave with full pay, and three months with half pay.

The Act of 31 October 1919 on the working conditions of employees assures *Luxemburg* journalists of a paid holiday of ten days after three years' service, and of twenty days after five years (section 6). The holidays granted to journalists are generally longer than those to which they are entitled under the terms of the Act. As regards sick leave, the Act of 1919 lays down

that the post of an employee who has fallen ill shall be reserved for him for three months with full pay.

The Luxemburg employers make no difficulty about granting the requisite leave.

In the *Netherlands* there are no legal provisions concerning journalists' holidays, but it may be said that the custom of granting two or three weeks' paid holiday is universal in the profession.

In *Poland* the Bill at present before the Diet provides that every permanent journalist shall be entitled to one month's leave after one year's service. After ten years' service the period of leave shall be six weeks, and journalists on the night staff shall be entitled to two weeks' additional leave.

Pending approval of this Bill, holidays are fixed by collective agreements. The agreement established by the Association of Warsaw Journalists and the Warsaw publishing companies provides for conditions in conformity with those of the Bill. It is specified that the date of the annual leave shall be fixed by the editor, and that absence on account of military service or illness shall not count as annual leave.

There is no regulation of the annual leave of journalists in *Portugal*. The custom is established of granting ten days a year to reporters, fifteen to twenty days to ordinary journalists, and thirty days to editors and, in general, to all persons having a certain amount of responsibility.

There are no legal regulations in *Rumania* on the subject of holidays, but the collective agreement of the minority Press of Transylvania establishes the right of all journalists to four weeks' paid leave a year. In the rest of the country only usages are in existence. Generally speaking, journalists get three to four weeks' leave a year.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* the Decree of 25 September 1926 prescribes that every journalist employed for more than a year in the same office is entitled to one month's annual leave. After ten years' service in the same undertaking the leave is increased to one and a half months (section 3).

In the case of illness, duly confirmed, the journalist is entitled to three months' leave with full pay, and three months with half pay.

During the illness or the leave of the journalist, his colleagues on the editorial staff must do his work without special indemnity (section 18).

In *Spain* there are no regulations. The custom is, however, to grant two weeks' leave to journalists. It is also usual to grant paid sick leave, but as there are no regulations in existence, its duration is left to circumstances.

In *Sweden* the holidays fixed by the model contract recommended by the Association of Publishers and the Federation of the Press are of one month.

Also by the terms of the contract, every journalist is entitled, in case of illness, to one month's leave with full pay, and two months with two-thirds pay.

In *Swiss* journalism, the agreement of 1923 on the conditions of employment lays down that annual leave must be at least of two weeks for a journalist employed on a paper appearing six times a week, and of three weeks in all other cases.

The replacement of a journalist on leave is a matter for the publishing house.

In the *United States* the journalists, as a rule, are in the enjoyment of annual leave, but its duration is subject to infinite variation according to the paper and to the job. Although the system of leave is common enough, it is rare that the general holidays are observed in journalism.

In the *U.S.S.R.* the Labour Code (section 114) lays down as a general rule that every wage earner shall be entitled to two weeks' annual leave without any reduction in his wages.

It will be evident from this short survey that the principle of holidays is usually admitted in journalism in the various countries. Custom has extended its application; collective agreements and legislation have sanctioned it. There is no cause for astonishment in the fairly satisfactory state of affairs in this matter;

journalists enjoy the privilege which has always belonged to brain workers. In fact it must be observed that in the countries in which they come within the scope of an Act on employees, or even on manual workers, as is the case in the U.S.S.R., their theoretical situation (the word "theoretical" must be insisted upon, because it is very probable that in practice they are often treated more generously than the law requires) is inferior to that which is established elsewhere by mere custom. This privilege is, however, reduced by the administrative and industrial character of the modern newspaper, and if journalists are better treated than manual workers and employees as regards holidays, they are less well treated in this respect than certain other paid intellectual workers, professors, for example.

Custom has done much for journalists' holidays; collective agreements have done more. They have given to newspaper workers all that security which precise regulations afford, and, in a general way, have increased the length of holidays granted.

The International Federation of Journalists, in drawing up its draft model agreement in 1927, thought fit to incorporate in it the principle of holidays which is found in all the national agreements. The model agreement states :

Every journalist after one year's service in the undertaking, or after ten years' work in the profession, is entitled to one month's leave a year.

After ten years in the same undertaking the journalist is entitled to one and a half months' leave.

Leave must normally be taken during the months of July, August, and September; the choice of dates between these limits is left to journalists in the order of their seniority in the undertaking. Leave may not be taken at another time of the year except in virtue of a special agreement.

The stipulated period of a month is one of the longest to be found anywhere. It is the period fixed by the principal collective agreements and by the Yugoslav law. The International Federation of Journalists insisted on introducing into this provision the principle which it has at heart, namely, the principle of the rights conferred by previous professional activity, which is found in the provisions of the Austrian agreements relating to leave. The right to a period of leave is acquired in the draft of the International Federation of Journalists, not only after one year's service, but immediately, if the journalist has ten years of professional activity in other undertakings to his credit.

Even with this improvement, the model agreement of the International Federation of Journalists remains inferior to the

Austrian agreement — the most favourable of all — which immediately to all journalists with ten years' activity to their credit the holiday of a month and a half which the project of the International Federation gives only after ten years' service in the same undertaking. In this we may note the concern of the International Federation to propose intermediate solutions applicable in a great number of countries, without seeking to secure at one stroke the most favourable conditions obtained by countries in the vanguard of journalistic organisation.

The International Federation has incorporated in its draft agreement one clause which is found in only one national agreement ; the Italian. It relates to the facilities which a journalist should have of taking his holidays at the best time of the year.

SALARIES

It is in the domain of salaries that the difficulty which journalism in many countries has experienced, and is still experiencing, made itself most felt. For a long time all the efforts of journalists' organisations had to be employed in remedying this situation, and in many countries it is still the principal, if not the only, subject of the preoccupations of the members of the profession.

It is very difficult to obtain precise information with regard to the salaries of journalists in the various countries. As with regard to hours of work, so with regard to salaries, the greatest diversity reigns. Everything depends on the nature of the post and the aptitudes of the journalist ; salaries varying by 100 per cent. can frequently be found in the same class of work. To the difficulties of distinguishing the categories of posts, of comparing functions which are often widely different as regards the task imposed, the hours of work and the responsibilities incurred, is added the purely material difficulty of obtaining information relating to the amount of individual salaries. These difficulties are attenuated in the countries in which salaries have been fixed by collective agreements, though these agreements indicate only minimum salaries, and it is not easy to discover to what extent the salaries paid differ from the minima.

To the extent that the information received allows, the figures between which the salaries paid to the two or three principal categories of journalists fluctuate will be indicated in the following pages, with a mention, for the sake of comparison, of the wages of skilled printers, and in the absence of statistics concerning

them, the wages of the manual workers of another industry¹. The rates of pay for overtime work will also be given as far as possible, and especially the rates for Sunday work. An attempt will be made, in addition, to indicate the changes which the salaries of journalists have undergone since 1914 in relation to the cost of living, and to draw attention to the advantages which journalists have been able to obtain to compensate for the possible insufficiency of their emoluments (railway tickets at reduced prices, rebates on the cost of books necessary for their work, etc.). It is evident that, in addition to the expenditure on clothes which journalists must often incur on account of the profession itself (which obliges them to maintain a certain standard of appearance), the purchase of books and periodicals required for the purpose of keeping *au courant* with events, threatens to become a heavy charge. Happily some undertakings do not hesitate to allow large sums for the constitution of libraries, which are also supplied by means of free and exchange copies. Further, the associations of journalists endeavour to constitute libraries for the use of their members.

These few advantages do not alter the fact that salaries are so low in certain countries that journalists are sometimes obliged to engage in accessory occupations, or even to consider journalism as a spare-time profession which only serves to complete the larger income that they derive from other sources. There are many, too, who are compelled to work for several papers, none of which pays them a living wage. This situation is not without serious disadvantages as much from the point of view of the labour market, as from the point of view of retiring pensions where these are in question.

¹ An important observation must be made on the subject of this comparison. The wages of the manual workers for which figures are given should be interpreted with prudence; they are not fully comparable with those of journalists. They are calculated for the most part from the time rates fixed by the collective agreements. Established on the base of the forty-eight hour week, they do not exactly represent the earnings of a workman who quite possibly does not work regularly during the whole of the 192 hours which are theoretically assigned to his month.

These approximate wages are only indicated to allow the reader to obtain an idea of the real value of the emoluments of journalists, expressed in national currencies which differ greatly one from another. These emoluments would be liable, without this comparison, to be without any significance.

In consequence, no attempt is made to justify unfavourable judgments on one or other category of workers by these figures. It must be remembered that for countries in which the wages of manual workers show a large increase on the pre-war figures, the latter were often very low, and their subsequent rise is not at all disproportionate to the rise in the cost of living. Rather is the contrary true. The rise in wages, moreover, was the result of continuous efforts on the part of the manual workers associated in strong professional organisations.

It is important to state clearly at this point what will ~~and~~ what will not be found in this section on salaries.

There will be found data, varying in amplitude for different countries, but allowing an approximate idea to be gained of the evolution of the salaries of journalists in the course of the last few years in a given country, and their value in comparison with the salaries of certain other intellectual or manual professions. There will not be found anything which enables a comparison to be made between the salaries of journalists in different countries. For each country salaries are given in the national currency; there is no indication of the cost of living which it would have been necessary to establish to determine rates of *real* salaries on a basis which would permit of international comparison.

The only comparison of an international kind which is possible from the information given here relates to the more or less rapid and substantial progress accomplished here and there. It would, however, be impossible to discover in the following date the elements for an international comparison of the level of existence of journalists¹.

The salaries of *Australian* journalists have for many years been fixed by agreement. As early as 1914 an agreement was in existence which fixed the salaries of the various professional grades in the morning and evening papers of five important towns.

At the present time the two agreements in force determine in great detail the salaries of all categories of metropolitan and provincial journalists, from the editor to photographers and beginners. Linage rates are also minutely regulated for the various groups of outside contributors.

Below are given the minimum weekly rates for ordinary journalists fixed by the agreement of 1924, which is still in force, and covers the metropolitan dailies of New South Wales and Victoria. The division of journalists into three categories, according to their experience and ability, should be noted.

	Morning papers			Evening papers		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Seniors	10	12	6	10	0	0
Ordinary journalists (generals) ..	9	5	0	8	12	0
Juniors	6	12	6	5	10	0

¹ Annexed to the present survey (p. 215) will be found, however, an approximate table showing the purchasing power of various national currencies with regard to a number of foodstuffs. The table will allow a comparison of this kind to be drawn in a very rough way.

In other States these rates are reduced by 5 to 20 per cent. In order to prevent certain publishers from seeking to diminish the salaries of their staffs by giving too many posts to juniors, the agreement provides that three-fifths of the journalists shall be seniors, not more than one-fifth juniors, and the rest ordinary journalists (generals).

Beginners (cadets) (they are so called during the first three years of service) are paid as follows :

First year	£1	10	0	per week
Second year	2	15	0	" "
Third year	3	15	0	" "

Linage work is paid at 2½d. or 3d. a line if it is done by the regular staff of the paper, and at 2d. or 2½d. if it is done by outside contributors. The outside contributors are paid every fortnight.

Journalists who do photographs receive at least 5s. for each negative ; all the materials necessary for taking and developing photographs are provided by the proprietors.

Expenses incurred on duty, either locally or in travelling, are refunded by the paper. Parliamentary reporters receive refreshment expenses for meals which they have to take away from home.

All these rates have been slightly changed since 1924 in consequence of fluctuations in the cost of living. In this connection an interesting clause of the 1924 agreement provides that every year, at the end of November, the index number of the cost of living, published by the Federal Statistician, shall be ascertained. Whenever the changes in the index number amount to 11 points, the basic rates fixed by the agreement must be increased or decreased in accordance with a detailed scale annexed to the agreement.

In 1926 the salaries of journalists had been changed to the following :

	Morning papers			Evening papers		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Seniors	10	16	5	10	4	0
Ordinary journalists (generals) ..	9	9	0	8	16	0
Juniors	6	16	6	6	3	0

The weekly wages of a hand compositor were then £6 2s. and of a machine compositor £6 15s. The curve described by salaries since 1914 has been similar to the cost-of-living curve. While slightly unfavourable for the seniors, it has been favourable for the juniors and the ordinary journalists, as may be seen by compar-

ing the salary rates fixed by the agreement of 1914 which, as regards Melbourne, were as follows :

	Morning papers			Evening papers		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Seniors	7	0	0	6	0	0
Ordinary journalists (generals) ..	5	10	0	5	0	0
Juniors	4	0	0	3	10	0

From the 1926 figures quoted above, it will be seen that the increase was 54.6 per cent. as regards seniors, 71.8 per cent. as regards ordinary journalists and 70.6 per cent. as regards juniors. The cost-of-living index number fluctuated between 158 and 162 in 1926. The increase had therefore been about 5 per cent. lower for the seniors, and 10 per cent. higher for the juniors than the increase in the cost of living. On the whole, noteworthy results have been obtained by the Australian journalists as far as salaries are concerned : thanks to their collective agreement, they have been able to keep remuneration abreast of the cost of living.

In *Austria*, there are special provisions relating to salaries in the Act of 1921 on journalists and in the collective agreement of the Viennese Press.

The agreement contains detailed clauses on the various kinds of remuneration — fixed salaries, payments by the line and by the article, on occupational expenses and the date of payment. It provides that every person who has been regularly employed at a fixed salary in an editorial office for one year shall be entitled to the minimum salary specified in an appendix to the collective agreement.

Every journalist employed on a daily paper, or even on a weekly or a monthly organ is paid a fixed salary. The collective agreement of the Viennese Press fixes a minimum monthly salary as follows, for journalists employed on daily papers :

Employed on papers appearing twice a day or on papers appearing once a day, in the morning	450 schillings
Employed on papers appearing once a day, at noon or in the evening	365 ..

The salary of an editorial stenographer is as follows ¹ :

Employed on papers appearing twice a day or papers appearing once a day, in the morning	363 schillings
Employed on papers appearing once a day, at noon or in the evening	240 ..

¹ For the definition of editorial stenographer, cf. "The Training of Journalists", p. 15.

After five years' service editorial stenographers are entitled to the salary of a journalist.

These rates, which are only minima, are, in practice, considerably exceeded, and it is not rare to find journalists of Vienna in receipt of a monthly salary of 800 to 900 schillings.

It frequently happens that a journalist obtains special fees for articles which he writes in addition to doing his ordinary work. Two methods of payment are then available; the journalist receives either a lump sum once a month for his articles, or special payment for each of them. The special payment is, under the terms of the collective agreement, equal to that of the outside collaborators (see below).

In the weekly papers appearing on Mondays which have adhered to the collective agreement of 1923 the minimum salary is equal to one-third of that applicable to the morning dailies. It is not fixed at one-seventh of this minimum because a part of the editorial work of the Monday papers is done on Sunday and another part is done during the week.

The hours worked on a rest day are paid at twice the ordinary rates. A special allowance for night work is also provided for.

Besides the permanent journalists with fixed salaries, there are some regular collaborators who are paid by the job. They receive a fee for every article required of them, even if the article is not subsequently printed in the paper, and they must be paid for every enquiry with which they are entrusted, although, for reasons beyond their control, some enquiries may not be brought to a conclusion. The terms fixed by the collective agreement for the remuneration of these collaborators vary from 10 to 12 schillings an article, and from 500 to 1,000 crowns a line. Leading articles, literary articles, and accounts of theatrical or artistic events must not be paid by the line, but by the article.

In order to render competition impossible between the professional and the casual outside contributor, the "copy" furnished by the latter must be paid at the same rates as those applicable to the regular collaborators.

An important clause of the collective agreement requires that collaborators paid by the article or by the line shall be in receipt of a monthly salary at least equal to the minimum salary of the permanent journalists, even if the total sum actually due to them for articles supplied does not attain to this minimum. It is thus to the advantage of publishers to furnish their staffs with adequate

work, and the latter are assured of a living although, for one reason or another, the paper may not provide them with sufficient employment.

When a journalist or a regular collaborator incurs expenditure in performing his duties he receives either a monthly indemnity in a lump sum, the amount of which is determined in agreement with the management, or the refund of his expenses, if they are occasional outlays, and are not continuously incurred from the beginning to the end of the month. Furthermore, when a journalist or a collaborator is sent abroad he is paid, in addition to his ordinary salary, allowances calculated on the basis of the cost of living in the country to which he is going.

These provisions taken together make the Austrian journalist one the most privileged members of the profession as far as salaries are concerned. His colleagues in many countries could envy the amount of his monthly salary. And the advantages which he has managed to obtain do not stop there. Under the terms of the collective agreement (Article 27) every journalist receives on 15 December as a "Christmas Box" a sum equal to his emoluments for the month, and on the occasion of his annual holidays he receives a similar sum. In other words, he receives fourteen months' salary in the year. For the purpose of calculating the emoluments of these supplementary months, account is taken not only of the monthly salary proper but also of the sums agreed upon for the remuneration of special articles and for the refund of out-of-pocket expenses. To the holiday gratuity must further be added a railway allowance which the journalist gets at the beginning of his holidays and which amounts to 12 per cent. of the total earnings for the month in the case of newspapers having an agreement with the railway companies by which they are granted a reduction of 50 per cent. on passenger fares, and 18 per cent. in the case of other papers.

The regular collaborators paid by the article or by the line enjoy the same gratuities at Christmas and at holiday time and the same travelling allowances as the journalists in receipt of fixed salaries. The gratuities for the supplementary months are calculated from the average earnings of the preceding six months.

Finally, to all these advantages must be added the so-called rent allowance, a kind of lodging allowance, payable quarterly, and whose amount is fixed by agreement between the publisher and the journalist.

During the first years after the war *Belgian* journalism passed through troubled times. Nothing is more significant in this connection than the resolution passed in July 1920 by the Federal Congress of the Belgian Press demanding that the wage of a good printer's hand should be taken as the basis for journalists' salaries. At the beginning of 1921, when the index number of the cost of living fluctuated between 385 and 410 (1914 = 100) salaries in journalism were practically at the pre-war level. They varied between 150 and 500 francs, and, in the Flemish Press, the publishers paid certain members of their staffs commencing salaries of 75 francs a month. The journalists of the capital were better treated than those in the provinces; some papers, notably the Socialist organs, had granted substantial increases, but the general position was lamentable. In an important Brussels paper an employee of long standing was paid a salary of 11.50 francs a day, whereas a printer earned at least 17.50 francs¹.

The journalists associated in the Professional Union of the Belgian Press thereupon undertook an active campaign for the improvement of their economic situation. Negotiations were opened with the newspaper directors, who, for the most part, recognised that their staffs deserved better treatment². They agreed that the considerable increase in the cost of paper and ink could not continue to be invoked to justify small salaries leaving the members of their staffs in veritable distress, especially as the wages of printers had been raised, thanks to the collective agreement and to the establishment of sliding scales. Promises were made, and a certain number of papers carried them out. The Professional Union of the Belgian Press drew up a scale which allowed a minimum of 600 francs to beginners and 750 francs to employees with two years' service; these rates were adopted here and there. The Belgian Federation of Directors of Provincial Newspapers, at the instance of the Professional Union, established a scale providing minimum rates of 400 to 700 francs. About fifteen newspapers at Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, and Charleroi accepted the scale.

There was no change in the situation in 1922, apart from one piece of good fortune for journalists: two Brussels newspapers

¹ *La Journaliste*, Bulletin of the Professional Groups of the Belgian Press, March 1921.

² Certain directors, however, refused to come to any agreement; some even considered as contrary to professional dignity the form, prudent though it was, of the proceedings of the Professional Union, which was desirous of avoiding the least suspicion of "trade unionism".

adopted the thirteen-month system which had been inaugurated in December 1919 by an Antwerp newspaper, subsequently adapted to certain English and French papers, and generalised and standardised in Austrian and Italian journalism.

In spite of some few increases granted since 1921, salaries in 1923 were far from corresponding to the cost of living, and the economic situation of the Belgian journalists continued to be deplorable. The Professional Union insisted on fresh negotiations with the directors, feeling certain that the latter could not remain indifferent to the unhappy lot of their staffs. "There is not one", it wrote, "who would assert that with the index number at 420 in Brussels and 390 elsewhere in Belgium, it would be possible for the editorial staffs to live decently and to support their families on salaries amounting to less than 250 per cent. of the 1914 figures"¹.

Friendly representations were multiplied. Many times they succeeded in bettering the position of individuals, but they were not able to bring about general measures for the improvement of salaries.

The Socialist journalists, in close touch with their directors, and in full agreement with them in principle as regards trade union policy and questions of salaries, had the benefit throughout this difficult period of a salary scheme much more coherent and supple than those of their colleagues in other papers.

In 1923, the Association of Socialist Journalists established a scale similar to the one drawn up by the Professional Union in 1921, but it had the advantage of being adopted by the whole of the Socialist Press. This scale fixed the salary of a beginner at 600 francs, and of a journalist of three years' standing at 750 francs. It also provided for six annual increments of 500 francs, which brought the journalist's salary to 1,000 francs a month from the seventh year. Six optional increments, also of 500 francs, carried the remuneration of a capable writer with initiative to 15,000 francs. This maximum was later increased to 17,000 francs in the Socialist Press.

The scale thus fixed was valid for a cost-of-living index number between 250 and 400. As soon as the index number rose above 400, a cost-of-living allowance was added to all salaries at the rate of 15 francs a month for every rise of ten point. The Congress of Socialist Journalists held at Charleroi in May 1926 demanded that this monthly allowance should be increased from 15 to 25 francs.

¹ *Le Journaliste*, Aug. 1923.

The conditions of Belgian journalism, as a whole, at the end of 1925 were subject to great variety; while certain newspapers in Flanders paid salaries of 500 to 600 francs to their staffs, a newspaper in the capital was cited as paying its writers a commencing salary of 800 francs a month, as granting regular increments and a cost-of-living allowance, and paying a departmental chief 40,000 francs a year. It appears that the salary most frequently allowed to an experienced journalist was 700 to 800 francs a month. It is interesting to compare these figures with the wages of a hand compositor who at this time was earning 764 francs a month, while a machine compositor was paid 812 francs. The comparison shows that most of the editorial staff were no better paid than workers in the printing trade.

The Professional Union of the Belgian Press continued to conduct a vigorous campaign for the improvement of salaries. It endeavoured to obtain sliding scales for cost-of-living, lodging and family allowances. The General Press Association, for its part, had obtained certain benefits which made the economic position of journalists a little easier, for example, 45 per cent. reduction in the cost of railway travelling, and a certain reduction in telephone and telegraph rates. In spite of these privileges, numerous journalists had to look to other work for a supplementary income. This was particularly true of Flanders, where journalists were known to make up the deficiency in their incomes by playing in theatre, cinema, or dance orchestras.

At last, in December 1926, the Professional Union of the Belgian Press determined to send a letter to all the newspaper directors in the country drawing their attention to "the difficult, not to say, impossible position in which most journalists find themselves owing to the constant rise in the cost of living". It observed that the index number had risen from 520 at the end of 1925 to 730 (735 for Brussels), and that pre-war salaries would have to be multiplied by $7\frac{1}{2}$ to bring them abreast of the cost of living. In point of fact, however, as far as the majority of the journalists were concerned, the coefficient was below 5. Hence, the Professional Union felt justified in adding that "in a certain commune in the Brussels district, the road-sweepers are paid wages ranging from 45 to 51 francs a day, although there are many journalists who are not earning as much"¹.

¹ *Le Peuple*, Brussels, 19 Dec. 1926.

In *Brazil*, salaries, which are not fixed by any collective agreement, varied in 1926 from 400 to 1,000 milreis a month as regards journalists and reporters. An ordinary contributor was allowed 150 to 200 milreis. The salary of a manager ranged from 1,500 to 3,000 milreis.

Generally speaking, salaries have trebled since 1914, while the index number of the cost of living has risen to 350.

In *Bulgaria* the remuneration of various classes of journalists towards the middle of 1925 was as follows :

Manager or editor	6,000 to 8,000	leva
Journalist	3,500 to 5,000	„
Regularly appointed contributor	2,500 to 3,000	„
Reporter	2,500 to 4,000	„
Translator	1,500 to 2,500	„
Administrative secretary	3,000 to 4,000	„

It should be noted for the sake of comparison that a bricklayer's labourer was then earning 3,900 leva a month, and a builder's labourer, 1,800 leva.

Railway travelling inside the country is free to journalists on duty, and reporting expenses are paid by the employer.

In *Czechoslovakia* the average salary of a journalist may be estimated at 2,000 crowns a month. The lowest salary is 1,000 crowns, and the highest, very rarely attained, is 10,000. These figures represent basic salaries and are generally increased by a lodging allowance (which may be as much as 20 per cent. of the fixed salary) and, when appropriate, a family allowance of from 100 to 200 crowns a month for each child supported. A journalist who is the father of one child thus earns about 2,500 crowns a month¹.

It is instructive to compare this salary with the wages of a machine compositor which are approximately 1,200 crowns a month.

The ratio between the salaries of journalists and the wages of printers has practically remained what it was before the war. In view of the cost of living, whose index number was 950 in January

¹ The custom prevails in Czechoslovak offices of granting an additional month's salary as a Christmas box. Journalists are among the beneficiaries of this custom and it is not rare for a newspaper to pay fourteen or fifteen months' salary in the year. The collective agreement of the *Prager Presse* provides that a month's salary shall be paid at the end of each month and, further, on 15 March, 15 July, and 15 September.

1926, the remuneration of journalists, which has, generally speaking, increased tenfold, is also approximately at the 1914 level.

Reporting expenses, both at home and abroad, are paid by the paper.

Journalists are granted a reduction of 50 per cent. and more on the price of railway tickets, and enjoy privileged rates on the tramway systems.

On presentation of a certificate delivered by their employers, they receive a discount, not exceeding 25 per cent., from booksellers.

Among the questions which most preoccupy *French* journalists must be included, together with the instability of the profession (which they would like to remedy by means of insurance funds and adequate indemnities on the termination of employment), the serious problem of salaries. The French journalists are not in a very happy position in this connection. Their lot has, it is true, improved a little thanks to the persevering efforts of their professional organisations ; among the foremost of them is the Association of Journalists, which has already obtained some successes in this field.

Towards the middle of 1925, the position as regards the remuneration of journalists was the following :

It was impossible to indicate even approximately the magnitude of the salary of an editor, as it might vary from 2,000 to 10,000 francs a month. A good sub-editor earned 1,200 to 2,500 francs ; more often than not his salary was 2,000 francs. The head of the news department earned 1,500 to 2,000 francs a month, and the other heads of departments were paid on the same scale. The ordinary contributors (for news concerning prefectures, academies, ministries, theatres, sports, etc.) were often paid low fees, sometimes as little as 200 francs a month, and never more than 1,000. They made a living wage by working for several papers.

Reporters were paid 800 to 1,500 francs a month¹.

At that time the wages of a hand compositor or a machine compositor amounted to 912 francs a month ; an unskilled workman earned 784 francs. A secondary schoolmaster was paid 1,250

¹ The outside contributors and many journalists working in editorial offices, whom big papers continued to pay by the line, received 40 to 50 centimes in the summer of 1925 for a line of text, and about 100 francs for an article.

to 1,750 francs a month and an elementary master 1,060 francs. It is well known that these salaries in the teaching profession were not regarded as adequate, but it appears that in most cases the salaries of journalists were lower still.

Finally, if we examine the extent to which journalists' salaries had risen since 1914, it will be found that the rise reached 100 to 150 per cent. at the middle of 1925, while the cost-of-living index number was 410 (1914 = 100). That is to say, most of the salaries were worth only about half as much as before the war.

The average salary of an ordinary journalist remained in the neighbourhood of 1,000 francs — but it was frequently less — until November 1926, when the Association of Journalists persuaded the Parisian directors, after numerous attempts, to agree that the minimum monthly salary should be fixed at 1,200 francs for every journalist who had been attached for two years to the editorial staff of a newspaper and who was working full time. Two other demands of the Association, viz. an immediate increase of 25 per cent. on all salaries and the establishment of a sliding scale allowing of the automatic adjustment of salaries to the cost of living, were not accepted by the directors. Increases nevertheless took place in many papers, notably at Lille, where the Association of Journalists has a very alert and active branch. They are far, however, from bringing the salaries, which vary from 1,200 to 1,500 francs, to the level of the cost of living. On an average, on the basis of the 1914 figures, the salary coefficient fluctuates between 2.5 and 3, while the cost of living coefficient is more than 5, in spite of the fall experienced since 1926. In July 1927, the epoch at which the journalists' salaries had already reached their present level — a journalist's salary varying between 1,200 and 1,500 francs — a secondary school teacher was in receipt of 2,150 to 3,150 francs a month at Paris, and an elementary teacher 1,000 to 1,500, including various cost-of-living allowances. The monthly wages of a qualified printer amounted at this time to 1,350 francs.

It will be seen from a comparison, as much with the salaries paid to their colleagues in other intellectual professions, as with the wages of workers in the printing trade, that the material position of journalists is far from being what it was before the war. The fact that a considerable part of the journalist's income must be devoted to his professional work makes the situation all the worse. It is not easy to estimate the expenditure represented by the purchase of the books and magazines required by the

work, but it may be taken that for a specialist in foreign policy, or in economics, who has to read foreign newspapers, magazines and books, this expenditure may amount to several hundred francs a month. Reporting expenses, on the other hand, are refunded. It even happens in some cases that if the reporter is in receipt of a very inadequate salary, his expenses are generously assessed and he receives, not a mere refund, but what may be described as a tacit allowance for work done in difficult and tiring conditions. This rule, however, is not general, and some papers, on the contrary, keep a very tight control over travelling expenses.

In the total absence of statistics relating to journalism it is not feasible to give an exact description of the curve described by salaries in *Germany* since 1914. At that time there were no agreements, no schedules, and the salaries of journalists were fixed individually according to the resources of the paper, the thousand and one shades of difference in the nature of the work, the personality of the journalist, and other circumstances. After the war, however, the system of agreements governing rates of payment began to spread; these agreements allow the evolution of salaries in recent years to be followed to a certain extent.

An investigation of this kind no longer offers anything but retrospective interest. Nevertheless it may not be entirely without utility. Among other lessons which it conveys, it shows what services were rendered to German journalists by the principles of professional organisation which they set themselves to apply, and to what degree their associations enabled them to support the severe trials which awaited them. Thanks to these organisations, to the practical methods of realising their aims which they had adopted, to the administrative organs with which they were endowed, and to the agreements which they had been able to prepare with the publishers' associations, it was possible for German journalists to come to understandings with the publishers as the economic crisis developed, to settle with them the means of adapting themselves to the crisis, and to preserve the newspaper industry from complete disorganisation. If these efforts were at one time vain — when the crisis assumed catastrophic proportions — if the desire of maintaining order in the economics of journalism was frustrated, and a system which could no longer adapt itself to the extreme rapidity of events had to be dropped, at any rate, as soon as the paroxysm of the crisis had passed, the task could be begun again without delay, and the situation restored.

We know how much intellectual workers suffered during the great economic crisis in the countries which were hard hit. The manual workers with their robust organisations and their collective agreements were often seriously affected, but the sufferings of the unorganised intellectuals, abandoned to futile struggles and most frequently to the abnegation of isolation, were even more acute.

In many countries the difference which existed before the crisis between the wages of the manual workers and the salaries of the intellectuals rapidly diminished in the course of the crisis ; it was often abolished, and sometimes even inverted. Whereas, however, manual workers, by means of their trade union activity, obtained adjustments of wages, very often the earnings of the intellectuals remained what they were before the war, and they were reduced to pitiable difficulties owing to the inexorable rise of the cost of living.

German journalists, thanks to the precautions taken by the professional organisation, succeeded for some time in standing firm in the crisis, as is well shown by the following examples, which, without claiming to give a complete picture of the situation, indicate its general character clearly enough. (It was naturally not possible to take account of all the circumstances and all the facts ; it is hardly necessary to mention that there were exceptions and contradictory details.)

The agreement for rates of payment concluded in July 1920 by the Union of Newspaper Publishers and the Press Association of East Prussia fixed as follows the minimum monthly salary of a journalist after three years' service :

	Marks
A. In towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants	600
B. In towns of 5,000 to 15,000 inhabitants	700
C. In towns of 15,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	800
D. In towns of 25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	900
E. In towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants	1,000

At that time a printer earned from 900 to 1,000 marks a month according to the district.

As the economic conditions changed fairly rapidly, the East Prussian contract provided for the periodic adjustment of salaries. In fulfilment of this provision it was decided by common accord in April 1921 to increase the salaries previously fixed by 30 per cent., and a further increase of 60 per cent. of the original salaries took effect in October 1921. By this last agreement, which was

concluded on 13 September 1921, it was furthermore decided that a family allowance should be paid at the rate of 200 marks a month for one child, with a further 100 marks for each additional child up to the age of sixteen years.

At the moment at which the second of these increases took place the wages of a printer had risen from 1,000 marks to about 1,500 marks, an increase of 50 per cent. Thus, thanks to the adjustments effected according to the procedure provided for in the collective agreement, the salaries of journalists had increased by a percentage a little higher than that for manual workers in the printing trade.

Another example of adjustments of salaries is to be found in the agreement concluded in 1921 by the Bavarian Association of Publishers and the Federation of the Bavarian Press. On 9 June 1921 a scale of salaries was fixed by these two organisations. In this scale the towns of Bavaria were divided into four categories, and for each of these categories the monthly salary of a journalist having wide responsibilities, a qualified journalist, an assistant journalist, and a reporter were fixed. On 28 September of the same year a supplementary agreement was concluded by which salaries were increased by 25 per cent. and 30 per cent. according to the locality; these increases were equivalent to those effected in East Prussia.

From this time the financial situation of the country became rapidly worse. Salaries could no longer keep pace with the rise in prices caused by the fall of the mark, and the agreement for rates of payment could not be maintained in force. A return was made to the pre-war system, the fixing of salaries on an individual basis. Times were very hard for journalists; it happened in many regions that their salaries descended below those of printers.

As soon as the worst of the crisis was over, the system of salary scales was reverted to. In November 1924 the agreement established by the Press Federation of Central Germany fixed the basic rates of salaries payable to journalists, whether they had family charges or not, in five categories of towns, as well as the increments payable at the end of three and six years of service. Under these scales a journalist of average ability and having family charges earned, after three years' service, 330 marks a month in a large town and 210 marks in a small one.

At the same time a hand compositor in the printing trade earned 180 marks, and a machine compositor 184 marks per month.

It is therefore clear that after the inflation and the re-establishment of the gold mark, the difference between the remuneration of journalists and that of printers considerably increased.

In December 1925, in the large towns, the monthly salary of a good writer varied from 600 to 1,000 marks ; in the small and medium-sized towns it was only 200 to 500 marks, and the latter sum was hardly ever earned in the provinces by anyone but editors and managing directors. The monthly salary most frequently met with seems to have been 350 to 450 marks at the end of 1925, for a qualified writer. A hand compositor then earned 192 marks a month and a machine compositor 230 marks.

These figures show that the wages of a printer had remained almost stationary since the end of 1924, while the salary of a journalist had greatly increased. It was in fact almost double the wages of a printer. Journalists had on the whole succeeded in harmonising their earnings with the increase in the cost of living.

At present the situation is as follows :

The various agreements concluded in January 1926 by the National Association of the German Press and the Newspaper Industry Employers' Association do not quote any figures for salaries ; they restrict themselves to laying down the general principles which should govern their determination, leaving the determination itself to the district agreements for rates of payment. The rules of the Commission of Collaboration created by the two associations, state that among the tasks of the Commission shall be the following.

To supervise the establishment and the enforcement, in all districts of binding agreements relating to salaries based on the principle that the emoluments of journalists and permanent contributors must correspond, to the extent allowed by the financial capacity of the publishers as governed by economic conditions, to the particular social rank, determined by his intellectual status, of the journalist or the permanent contributor ;

To take steps which shall, in view of the differences in the district scales of payment, provide the bases for fixing the emoluments of journalists who, exclusively or mainly, work for a newspaper publishing house elsewhere than at its headquarters ;

To establish the guiding principles relative to journalistic and accessory work ;

To institute an office for assessment and conciliation to provide for the contingency of the special district organs of the two bodies failing to come to an understanding.

(Article 2, paragraphs 9, 10, 11, and 12.)

The agreement on normal service, signed in January 1926, furthermore provides that :

A journalist must receive a fixed salary ;

The emoluments agreed upon must be granted from the moment the agreement comes into force, if they are payable at the end of a fixed term ; and the monthly salary must be paid at the latest on the last day of the month.

A journalist is entitled to the refund of out-of-pocket expenses occasioned by his employment. An agreement should be concluded as to the manner in which the refund is to be made.

(Article 3, paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4.)

In this way all details concerning the amount of the salaries are left to the district agreements for rates of payment. The four agreements of this kind in force, those for the North-West German Press, the Westphalian Press, the Bavarian Press, and the Silesian Press, as a matter of fact, fixed the salaries of journalists according to their place of work and the category of their post. They were concluded or recast at different dates, and they fixed minimum rates as follows :

I. The Westphalian scale, dated 1 September 1925, fixed rates starting from 360 marks a month for the lower category and for localities of the second rank, and rising to 410 marks for journalists with three years' experience, and to 500 marks for special editors in important towns.

II. The Bavarian scale, revised on 1 January 1927, established monthly salaries ranging from 315 marks to 515 marks, and even 575 marks at Munich.

III. The Silesian scale, dated June 1927, fixed salaries ranging from 198 marks for a bachelor beginning in a small locality, to 528 marks in a large town for a journalist who had been in the profession for twelve years.

IV. Finally, the North-West German scale, revised on 3 November 1927, provided minimum salaries ranging from 300 to

400 marks a month for an unmarried writer (the preceding scale dated 6 November 1926 fixed the rates at 275 to 350 marks).

The agreement concluded by the Union of the Labour Press and the newspapers of the Social-Democratic Party fixed the salary of novices at 300 marks with annual increments of 15 marks and a maximum of 450 marks. These are minimum figures and in practice the average salary fluctuates between 400 and 600 marks a month.

In Berlin there is no agreement for rates of payment. However, by agreement between publishers the salary of a journalist may not be less than 440 marks a month. This figure also is largely exceeded in practice, and the salaries of the Berlin journalists are as a rule from 500 to 600 marks.

It follows from these figures that the average salary of a qualified writer at the present time in Germany must be sought a little above the rates of the collective contracts, that is to say, in the neighbourhood of 450 marks.

At the end of 1927 the monthly wages of a hand compositor were 206 marks, and of a machine compositor 247.20 marks.

The remuneration of the manual and brain workers of the newspaper has thus experienced a slight increase since 1925 (a clear indication of this is found in the changes in the rates mentioned in the North-West German agreement quoted above).

The German journalists, however, are not fully satisfied. The increases quoted are only average figures, and it is evident that many newspaper workers are in a very precarious position, far below the average. In localities without agreements for rates of payment salaries are very low. The National Association of the German Press recalls that one of the tasks of the Commission of Collaboration, created in conjunction with the Employers' Association, was to facilitate the conclusion of agreements for rates of payment which would establish salaries allowing of a suitable level of existence. Yet, it is no secret that side by side with privileged salaries there are others paid to journalists which do not exceed 200 or 300 marks a month¹.

The National Association strongly desires to take up the question of salaries again with the publishers, and to establish a regime more in harmony with present circumstances.

¹ *Die deutsche Presse, Organ des Reichverbandes der deutschen Presse*, 27 Aug. 1927, p. 469.

In *Great Britain* the salaries of journalists are fixed by the various collective agreements concluded by the National Union of Journalists. The agreements are applicable to four main groups of journalists : the London journalists and reporters, the provincial journalists and reporters, the journalists and reporters of the news agencies, and the photographers and photographic printers. To the London and provincial journalists must be added an intermediate group which is covered by a special agreement ; this group comprises the staffs of the London offices of the provincial papers. Lastly, in addition to the journalists in receipt of a fixed salary, the agreements deal with contributors paid by the line or by the article, for whom they fix the rates of payment.

The minimum salaries of the London journalists are fixed by the collective agreement concluded in 1921 between the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the National Union of Journalists. This agreement lays down in principle that no qualified reporter or sub-editor with three years' experience shall be employed at a salary of less than nine guineas a week, except on sporting or financial papers, when the salary must be at least eight guineas a week, or on technical papers, when it must be eight guineas for a journalist doing responsible work and six guineas for an ordinary journalist or a reporter.

The minimum salaries of provincial journalists are fixed by the agreement of 1921 between the Newspaper Society and the National Union of Journalists. It applies to all the members of the union who have reached the age of twenty-three years and who have at least three years' experience. The minimum salaries are £4 7s. 6d. a week for London weeklies, £5 3s. 0d. for dailies appearing in towns of less than 100,000 inhabitants, £5 8s. 6d. in towns of 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, and £5 15s. 0d. in towns of more than 250,000 inhabitants. On 26 May 1924 a supplementary agreement modified this agreement by extending to four years the length of service entitling an employee to the salaries laid down, and raising the qualifying age for the full scale to twenty-four years. Up to the age of twenty-four years a young journalist was entitled, after one year's service, to a certain percentage of the full scale. The supplementary agreement fixed this percentage at 50 for journalists of twenty years of age, at 60 for those of twenty-one years, at 75 for those of twenty-two years, and at 85 for those of twenty-three years. A youth beginning his journalistic career was to receive 25 per cent. of the minimum salary established for persons of twenty-four years of age.

The members of the London staffs of provincial papers are in receipt of a minimum salary of seven guineas a week, which rises to eight guineas after two years' service.

The salaries of photographers, those auxiliaries of the journalist, were fixed by the agreements of 1921 applying to the London journalists and by a special agreement concluded in 1922. They range from four guineas (for improvers) to eight guineas after four years' service in a photographic agency.

The scale established by the Institute of Journalists has higher minima. They vary from £5 a week for fully qualified journalists working on the smaller papers, to £14 for journalists with ten years' service in the larger papers. The salary of a fully qualified journalist in a paper of average circulation is fixed at £8 a week after three years' service. Unfortunately this scale is not incorporated in any agreement at the present time as the publishers' associations have not accepted it.

It is not without interest to observe that the rates in force in London in the general printing trade (higher rates are paid in newspaper printing offices) allow £4 9s. 0d. a week to a hand compositor and £4 16s. 0d. to a machine compositor¹. It is thus evident that the remuneration of a journalist or a reporter in London is double the wages of a printer², whereas in the small provincial towns the minimum salaries of journalists are very close to the earnings of the workers in the printing trade.

It may be said, speaking generally, that journalists' salaries have doubled since 1914. As the cost-of-living index number is only about 175 (1914 = 100), it is obvious that in the course of the last twelve years English journalists have substantially improved their financial status. Notwithstanding this, they are not fully satisfied. For instance, the striking difference between the minimum salaries of the capital and those obtaining in the provinces gives rise to vigorous protests. During the twentieth Assembly of the National Union in April 1927, a resolution was adopted instructing the executive committee of the Union to take steps with a view to a readjustment of salaries in the most important journalistic centres in which the working conditions are at the present time similar to those of the capital. The injustice of clauses which, while allowing a minimum of nine guineas to the

¹ Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, April 1928, p. 589.

² On the assumption that the wages indicated are not increased by overtime payments.

capital, allow only £5 15s. 0d. to Manchester, a journalistic centre of first class importance at the present time, was pointed out.

The collective agreements concluded by the Union of Journalists, as we have said, do not only deal with the salaries of journalists continuously employed in the offices of the paper, but they also fix the rate of remuneration of outside contributors. For example, an agreement of 31 August 1920 concluded by the Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association provides that any article sent in by an outside contributor shall be paid at the following rates : up to 60 words, at least 2s. 6d. ; after the first 60 words, 2½d. for every eight words. These rates apply to articles on general subjects, and do not concern financial or sporting news or other special matter.

Another agreement, dated 21 April 1920, fixes the rates of payment for telegrams and telephone messages ; in accordance with this agreement telephone messages must be paid for as follows : 5s. up to 200 words, 7s. from 200 to 300 words, 9s. from 300 to 400 words, and 1s. 6d. for every additional 100 words. The telephone and telegraph charges are paid by the employers.

The collective agreements also deal with work done at other times than the ordinary hours and the ordinary days of work. The agreement of March 1921 for the London dailies fixes payment for work done on Saturday afternoon and evening in getting out a newspaper which appears before 6 a.m. on Sunday at two guineas. If the paper appears after 6 a.m., and the working day begins after Saturday midnight, the remuneration is increased to three guineas, about twice the amount allowed for a normal working day.

The collective agreement concluded on 31 March 1922 between the National Union of Journalists and the Press Association, fixing the minimum salaries of reporters and journalists employed in news agencies, does not provide for any special rates of payment in respect of overtime work, whether it is done in the week or on Sunday, except in the case of parliamentary work done out of normal hours, when the rates of pay are slightly increased.

Lastly, certain collective agreements provide for special allowances to cover reporting expenses. The agreement concluded in July 1924 between the National Union of Journalists and the Association of Press Photographic Agencies stipulates that the expenses incurred by reporters on duty in London shall be refunded. When the engagement makes it necessary for the operator to leave the capital, he is paid a special allowance of 25s. a day if he has

to spend a night out of town, and 12s. 6d. a day if he does not. For engagements abroad the amount of the special allowance must be agreed upon by the employee and the management. The collective agreement established in March 1922 by the National Union of Journalists and the Press Association, establishing regulations governing the work of the employees of the news agencies, also provides for a special allowance of 25s. a day for an out-of-town engagement which obliges the reporter to sleep away from home, and 12s. 6d. for a day-time engagement.

Among the expenses which may be incumbent on journalists as the direct consequence of their profession, the purchase of books and periodicals sometimes entails considerable outlay. It is true, however, that certain papers make an effort to place libraries at the disposal of their staff.

In Greece, in August 1927, the monthly salary of an ordinary journalist or of a reporter varied from 1,500 to 3,000 drachmas, and that of an editor from 4,000 to 10,000 drachmas; an outside contributor was paid 100 to 150 drachmas for an article.

Reporting expenses, and usually all out-of-pocket expenses, are borne by the paper, which also procures the books and periodicals required by the staff.

In Hungary the monthly salaries of journalists vary from 400 to 600 pengő¹, but there are some of less than 200. A journalist with large responsibilities sometimes earns 800, and in rare cases even as much as 1,000 or 1,200 pengő. In a certain number of undertakings special gratuities are added to these salaries. The most usual form for the gratuity to take is the payment of an additional month's salary at Christmas. One house in Budapest also allows a gratuity of a month's salary at the time for annual leave.

We have already seen that in 1917 the Independent Organisation of Journalists concluded a collective agreement with the Association of Publishers, and that it was denounced by the employers after the fall of the Communist regime. In virtue of this agreement the salaries of journalists had been increased on the termination of the war by 25-30 per cent. on the 1914 figures. After the annulment of the agreement salaries did not keep up with the rise in prices due to the growing worthlessness of the

¹ In the spring of 1928, 100 pengő were worth 90 gold francs (£3 12s. 0d.).

currency. The ratio between the remuneration of a journalist and the wages of the workers in the printing trade was altered to the advantage of the latter, and at the present time the real salaries of journalists are still about 30 per cent. below the pre-war standard.

It may again be of interest to indicate, for the purposes of comparison, the scales of pay for manual workers in the printing trade and for secondary-school teachers.

The collective agreement establishing the rates of payment for printers fixes amounts varying from 40 to 99 pengō a week, or 160 to 396 pengō a month; to these sums must be added payments for overtime work.

The salaries of secondary-school masters range from 150 to 500 pengō a month; in addition they receive a quarterly lodging allowance.

The reporting expenses of journalists, whether incurred at home or abroad, are as a general rule met by the paper.

On the other hand, the journalists do not enjoy any privileges as far as the purchase of books and periodicals is concerned. Only publishers of newspapers who are at the same time publishers of books allow their staffs a discount of 10 to 20 per cent. on the price of their publications.

In *Italy*, notwithstanding the existence of the collective agreement, salaries are not fixed for all journalists. The agreement does no more than establish the obligation to grant an allowance at the end of the year. This practice is known as the thirteen-month system, and has already been met with in the Austrian contract. The Italian agreement also establishes the principles of quinquennial increments amounting to one month's salary (Article 15), and extra pay for the journalist engaged for day work who is transferred to night work. But it mentions no figures and leaves the actual salaries to be determined by the individual contracts.

This is what happens in practice. Salaries of Italian journalists are fixed by means of unfettered negotiations, and are proportional to the financial means of the various undertakings. It is therefore very difficult to ascertain the average salary, and conditions change with the paper and with the district. In any case, however, a clear distinction must be made between Northern Italy as far as Rome, and Southern Italy; salaries are much lower in the South than in the North.

If it is necessary to quote figures, 1,200 lire can be taken as an average monthly salary in the North and at Rome, and 800 lire as the average in the southern half of the peninsula.

For the purposes of comparison it may be stated that at the middle and at the end of 1927 a hand compositor at Rome earned 704 lire, and a machine compositor 820 lire a month.

All journalists attached to the editorial offices of a newspaper are in receipt of a fixed salary. Only outside contributors are paid by the article or by the line. Provincial correspondents are paid by the line.

Out-of-pocket expenses, reporting or others, are refunded as they are incurred, on the presentation of the vouchers. If travelling on duty involves visits of some length, newspapers grant a daily allowance in addition to refunding expenses.

Although no effort has been made in the collective agreement to unify salaries and fix them definitely, the former Press Federation paid the greatest attention to the successive rises in the salary scale, and settled the principles applicable to them with the Union of Publishers. It was decided to resort to regular additions corresponding to the rise in the cost-of-living index number as established by the Chamber of Commerce, and in consequence of this procedure the monthly salary of a journalist, which was 250 lire in 1914, rose to about 1,200 lire in 1927. The increase on the first figure is almost 400 per cent. and corresponds fairly well with the rise in the cost-of-living, the index number having mounted from 100 in 1914 to 540 in August 1927. The salary position revealed by these figures, on the whole a favourable one, explains to a certain extent why the need of fixing rates of salaries in the collective agreement has not made itself felt. Italian journalists, however, who have gained and incorporated in their agreement such remarkable successes in other fields, would like to see the question of salaries settled in a similar manner, and are anxious that the established customs should be sanctioned by the provisions of collective agreements.

The resolutions adopted by the local syndicates often deal with this matter. A recent resolution of the Palermo syndicate¹ expressed the satisfaction of the Sicilian journalists on learning that the directors of the National Syndicate were resolved "to put an end to the shameful spectacle still offered by certain under-

¹ Dated 30 March 1928; cf. *Bollettino del Sindacato nazionale fascista dei giornalisti*, 30 April 1928.

takings in some of the southern districts ” and hoped that “ this problem, which is bound up with the dignity and the prestige of the Sicilian journalists and which is, moreover, subordinated to the principles of the Labour Charter ” would be solved in a fitting manner.

In *Latvia* the minimum salary of a journalist in November 1927 was 240 lats ¹, but this figure was often exceeded in practice. At this period a hand compositor earned 196 lats a month, and a machine compositor 270 lats.

In *Luxemburg*, in the three big dailies, the custom of making the salaries of journalists conform to those of the civil servants has become established. Difficulties are found, however, in equating the various categories of journalists and officials. As a general rule, journalists in these three papers who possess university degrees are paid at the same rates as secondary-school teachers. For one of the papers this equality is even fixed by contract. In June 1927 a secondary-school master with no children was paid a minimum of 2,080 francs a month, while in the papers referred to, a journalist without a university education received 1,000 to 1,300 francs.

In the smaller daily papers salaries are much less ; they are often as little as half of those just mentioned, and give rise to lively protests among the journalists' organisations.

If these rates are compared with the wages of a skilled printer, which at that time were in the neighbourhood of 1,300 francs a month, it will be realised that only the editorial staffs of papers that have granted their employees equality of treatment with the Government servants are in receipt of a salary adapted to the present economic conditions. Other salaries, although they have considerably increased since 1914, have not followed the ascending curve of the cost of living. The wages of the printing workers, protected by a powerful trade union, have hugged this curve much closer.

Luxemburg reporters are seldom sent on long journeys, but when travelling is necessary, the expenses involved are amply covered by their paper. The purchase of periodicals and books does not represent a large outlay for the journalist as he can generally find all he wants in the editorial office.

In the *Netherlands* a scale established by common accord between the Association of Journalists and newspaper publishers provides three classes of salaries for each of the three classes of districts into which the country is divided. These salaries varied from 100 to 450 florins a month in 1926, when a hand compositor earned 140 florins, a machine compositor 156 florins, and an unskilled worker in the printing trade 112 florins a month.

The salaries of journalists have increased by 50 to 100 per cent. since 1914, and, taking one with the other, have followed the rise in the cost of living, the index number of which was 177 at the end of 1925.

In *Poland* the salary rates, at least in Warsaw, are fixed by the agreement concluded in June 1924 by the Association of Journalists and the publishing houses of the capital.

By the terms of this agreement journalists with a certain amount of responsibility receive 600 zloty, and qualified assistants 400 zloty a month.

If the salaries paid in May 1925 are compared with the wages that printers were then earning, it will be noticed that there was very little difference between them. Actually, a hand compositor earned 402 zloty, a machine compositor 560 zloty per month, and the difference was all to the advantage of the printers in the provinces, where journalists are not so well paid as they are in the capital.

Before the war the salary of a responsible journalist at Warsaw was 200 to 250 roubles, which on a gold basis is equal to 550 to 650 zloty. In spite of the inflation of the cost of living, salaries of journalists have thus remained almost stationary, while those of the printers have doubled.

The outside contributors of the Warsaw papers are paid by the line, according to rates fixed by their collective agreement, which prescribes that the payment for a line of text must be at least half the selling price of the paper.

In a *Portuguese* paper a qualified journalist has a monthly salary of 300 to 1,000 escudos¹. The higher sum is hardly reached by anyone but editors who, in a big paper, earn as much as 1,500 escudos. The earnings of a reporter vary from 200 to 500 escudos, while hand and machine compositors are paid 480 escudos a month.

¹ The outside collaborators receive on an average 25 escudos per article.

From 1914 to 1925 the salaries of journalists increased by 2,000 per cent., with the exception, however, of editors, for whom the increase amounted to only 1,000 per cent. During the same period the index number of the cost of living rose by 3,700 per cent.

In *Rumania* journalists in regular employment receive a fixed salary payable once a fortnight. Except in the Transylvanian Press there is no minimum salary recognised by newspaper publishers.

It may be said that, as a general rule, a responsible journalist in a big daily receives 10,000 to 15,000 lei a month, while a reporter gets barely 6,000; the editor of a big paper may get as much as 25,000 lei, but editors of political papers are not paid more than 8,000 to 10,000 lei.

Comparisons are furnished by college professors who begin at 5,000 lei a month and rise to a maximum of 11,000 lei, university professors who receive a commencing salary of 7,000 lei, and printing trade workers who get 4,000 to 5,000 lei a month.

If the cost of living is taken into account it will be seen that salaries of journalists have fallen considerably since 1914. The wages of the printing workers are in quite a different position; the printers, who are associated in a powerful trade union, fix the minimum salaries of the profession every three months, in agreement with the employers.

The minority Press of Transylvania is in a special position as a result of its collective agreement, which includes a salary scale.

By the terms of the agreement, monthly salaries as from 1 October 1925 were to be as follows :

Beginners	5,200 to 6,040 lei
Ordinary journalists	8,500 lei
Journalists with seven years' experience	9,000 lei

Married journalists receive a supplement of 750 lei a month, to which is added another supplement of 350 lei for each child supported. It will be seen that the rates do not differ greatly from those in force in the rest of the country. On the other hand, the Transylvanian agreement contains a clause which constitutes an important guarantee. In accordance with this clause the cost-of-living index number adopted by the publishers and by the printing workers' trade union is ascertained at the end of each quarter, and reductions or increases in salary proportional to the changes in the index number are effected.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* the important Decree of December 1926 does no more than make it compulsory to include the amount of the monthly salary among the three points which must be found in the individual contracts. It does not prescribe any minimum rate, and leaves the actual salaries to be determined by individual agreements between publishers and journalists.

Spanish journalists are unquestionably among the worst off of any as far as salaries are concerned. The efforts of the professional associations have not succeeded in achieving any standardisation of salaries and they are left to the discretion of employers. They have always been remarkably low, but their inadequacy has become more pronounced in consequence of the rise in the cost of living. At the end of 1926, while the price index number had risen by 90 per cent. from the 1914 level, the earnings of journalists, which were already poor before the war, had increased only by 30 per cent.

At the present time, an editor gets 500 to 750 pesetas a month, but the salary of an ordinary journalist fluctuates between 200 and 300 pesetas. Some newspapers in the capital, it is true, allow 400 to 500 pesetas to an ordinary journalist, and 1,250 pesetas to an editor, and one paper even allows its staff to share in the profits. But these are only isolated cases. In July 1927 a reporter in Madrid earned on an average 175 pesetas a month, and there were many journalists who did not get as much as 150 pesetas¹. At this period a good compositor was paid at least 350 pesetas a month. The workers in the printing trade, however, are perfectly organised, and have collective agreements and wages scales which are strictly applied.

All the figures relate to Madrid ; in the provinces, the situation is still more lamentable, and most of the newspaper men are obliged to practice another calling side by side with journalism, or even treat journalism as a spare-time profession and engage in a better paid one.

Reporting expenses are often met by the journalists who, however, get reduced rates and even free tickets from the railway companies, through the intermediary of the newspaper.

The papers spend very little on the purchase of books or periodicals. The journalists are obliged to procure, at their own expense, publications which the paper does not receive free or in exchange.

¹ The remuneration of outside contributors varied between 10 and 75 pesetas per article. Most frequently it ranged from 20 to 50 pesetas.

In *Sweden* the model contract elaborated by the Association of Newspaper Publishers and the Association of Journalists distinguishes seven classes of districts, and fixes for each of these classes, according to the age of the employee, remuneration in respect of (a) night work, and generally speaking, work done in getting out the morning papers, and (b) day work in general and work done in getting out the evening papers. The following table indicates these minimum salaries, which in small papers are the normal salaries, but which are often considerably exceeded in the big dailies :

Class of district	Commencing salary (22 years of age)	Increment after			Maximum Salary	
		3 years	6 years	9 years		
		Minimum age				
		25 years	28 years	31 years		
1...	a	4,500	700	900	900	7,000
	b	4,100	600	800	800	6,300
2...	a	4,300	600	850	850	6,600
	b	3,900	500	800	800	6,000
3...	a	4,100	600	800	800	6,300
	b	3,700	500	750	750	5,700
4...	a	3,900	500	800	800	6,000
	b	3,600	400	700	700	5,400
5...	a	3,700	500	750	750	5,700
	b	3,400	400	650	650	5,100
6...	a	3,600	400	700	700	5,400
	b	3,200	400	600	600	4,800
7...	a	3,400	400	650	650	5,100
	b	3,100	300	550	550	4,500

The minimum monthly salaries thus vary from 258 crowns in the case of a journalist twenty-two years of age in a small town, to 583 crowns in the case of a journalist thirty-one years of age employed on a morning paper in a big town.

These figures may be compared with the wages of a hand compositor, who earns 242 crowns a month, and of a machine compositor, who earns 266 crowns.

On the whole, the remuneration of journalists has risen since 1914 ; this may be said, perhaps, not only of the nominal salary but also of the real salary, that is the salary adjusted to the rise

in the cost of living. In any case their percentage increase is at least equal to that of the wages of printers over the same period.

When a journalist is given reporting work away from home, he is entitled to an additional daily allowance that varies between 20 and 30 crowns, excluding travelling expenses, which are chargeable to the employer. No scales of allowances have been fixed for reporting work done abroad.

The expenditure that journalists may incur on the purchase of books and periodicals necessary for their work varies considerably from one establishment to another. Certain papers leave all this expenditure to be borne by their staff, while others devote substantial sums to maintaining a library.

In *Switzerland*, the agreement of 1919, relating to the salaries of journalists, concluded between the Swiss Association of Newspaper Publishers and the Press Association, fixes the minimum salaries for three classes of newspapers in each of three classes of districts. It only applies to the German-Swiss Press; it was to be completed by an agreement applying to French Switzerland, but this has not yet been signed.

By the terms of this agreement the fixed salary of a journalist must be equal to the basic salary of 1 July 1915, increased by at least 30 per cent. In cases where the salary was reduced in consequence of the war, the basic figure must be that in force on 1 July 1914.

The salary thus obtained must not be less than 415 francs a month for a paper appearing less than six times a week, 540 francs for a paper appearing at least six times a week or belonging to a town of medium size, and 665 francs for a paper in a large town. The classification established for rates of payment in the printing trade serves as a basis for the division of the districts into categories. The journalists' scales have so far remained unchanged. It is interesting to compare them with the monthly wages of printers, which were, at the end of 1927, 435 francs for a hand compositor, and 520 francs for a machine compositor.

Another agreement, signed in 1919 and relating to independent journalists, stipulates that the lineage rates must correspond to the financial means of the paper, but in no case shall they be less than 8 centimes a line. For specially ordered articles the minimum rate is 12 centimes and it is doubled if the paper acquires the exclusive right to publish the article requested. In the case of important articles necessitating uninterrupted work, payment

by the line may be replaced by payment by the day, and this must not be less than 25 francs.

Lastly, a stipulation similar to one in the Austrian agreement lays down that when an outside contributor is regularly employed by a paper, it shall guarantee him, for the second year of collaboration, emoluments amounting to three-quarters of those paid during the preceding year, even if the amounts actually due in payment for lines furnished do not attain to this sum.

Reporting and other out-of-pocket expenses are refunded on the basis of expenditure actually incurred. The cost of purchasing books or periodicals necessary for professional work, is borne only by the outside collaborators ; the journalists attached to the paper are exempt.

With regard to the changes which salaries have undergone since 1914, it has already been shown that, in accordance with the agreement of 1919, they should produce a minimum increase of 30 per cent. The increase has often been greater and in the most favourable cases corresponds to the rise in the cost of living, the index number of which at present fluctuates about 160 (1914 = 100).

In no country is there such diversity in journalists' salaries as in the *United States*. Some are extremely high ; one big paper does not hesitate to pay as much as \$50,000 a year to a highly qualified writer. In the little towns, on the contrary, it is not rare to see salaries of \$100 a month. It may be said that at the end of 1925 the most usual salary for a journalist was \$200, while a hand compositor earned \$172 and a machine compositor \$180.

It is estimated that since 1914 the salaries of journalists have increased by about 30 per cent. The cost-of-living index number having mounted from 100 to about 180, newspaper workers are far from being in such a good economic position as they were in 1914.

On the whole, the newspapers defray the travelling and reporting expenses, and all the big periodicals place libraries at the disposal of their staff, thus relieving them to a certain extent from the necessity of buying books.

We have already seen that few journalists in *Uruguay* live solely by their profession. More often than not journalism is a spare time profession, or at least one which compels the journalist to look to another calling for the balance of his income. This

will be made clear by the figures given below. These figures are preceded by a few statistics relating to the pay of various classes of workers and the cost of living, so that an idea may be acquired of the real value of journalists' salaries.

The lowest salary paid by the Government to its officials is 50 pesos a month; this is the salary of an office boy. A member of Parliament receives a monthly allowance of 360 pesos; a doctor, even at the outset of his career, earns at least 300 pesos a month. Lastly, in the printing trade a good machine compositor is paid 140 pesos a month.

A professional worker with a family can scarcely find a residence for less than 40 or 50 pesos a month, and for this rent he would have to be satisfied with a very modest flat. At the lowest estimate he would require a further 100 pesos to be able to live, and this figure is taken on the assumption that his children are few and that he is very economical.

Compare these figures with the salaries of journalists: an editor is paid 200-300 pesos, a political editor less than 200, and a first-rate journalist 100-180 pesos a month. These are all exceptional figures, moreover.

The usual salary of an ordinary journalist at Montevideo varies between 40 and 80 pesos; some salaries are even lower; as little as 20 pesos is paid to the youths who write the sporting pages.

In the U.S.S.R. the Press Section of the Syndicate of Poly-graphic Workers undertook an enquiry in January 1926 into the income and the family budgets of journalists¹.

The enquiry covered 350 journalists (117 at Moscow, 36 at Leningrad, 59 in the big towns of the Ukraine etc.) among the 26,000 in the country. It enabled the following monthly averages to be determined as representing the family budgets of various classes of journalists:

	Chernovetz Roubles ²
1. Editor	261.44
2. Journalist, sub-editor and manager	221.74
3. Technical writer	196.15
4. Literary contributor	209.58
5. Proof-reader	167.87
6. Technical secretary	150.57

¹ *Voprosy Truda*, Nos. 8-9, 1926; and INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XXI, No. 7.

² A chernovetz rouble is worth about half a pre-war rouble, which at par is 2.66 gold francs, 0.51 United States dollars, and approximately 2 shillings.

In the aggregate it is estimated that the total salary of the head of a family is equivalent to 84 per cent. of his expenditure. The percentage is low (57 per cent.) among technical writers, and high (93 per cent.) among literary contributors. It should be added that the total salary referred to includes income derived from work other than journalism proper, and representing about 20 per cent. of the total.

The salaries of journalists are fixed by collective agreement, which establishes the basic rates; these rates are multiplied by the coefficients allotted to each class. A new salary scale comprising twenty-seven rates is in preparation.

The foregoing remarks will have revealed the striking disproportion that existed at one moment in nearly all countries, and that still exists in many places, between salaries, which remained almost stationary, and the cost of living, which often rose to considerable heights. The resulting grave difficulties were overcome more or less rapidly and more or less completely according to the general economic conditions obtaining in the various countries, but still more in proportion to the degree of organisation reached by the profession. In the most favourable cases, thanks to the journalists' organisations, it was possible to give prompt attention to the situation, to adopt remedial measures, and to carry them out on a general scale.

The salary of a journalist is frequently a complex aggregate into which several variable factors enter; but here, as in other matters affecting the profession, the effort toward standardisation and stabilisation, to which we have already had occasion several times to refer, can be perceived.

For instance, speaking generally, it can be said that the practice of paying a fixed salary to professional journalists is becoming more and more common. In their opinion this method of payment offers such advantages that they desire to see it completely substituted for payment by article, and above all, for payment by the line. The latter is a system which makes for insecurity in the profession. It also gives rise to serious difficulties in fixing compensation for dismissal or payment for holidays. Hence, newspaper men are glad to see that the system of fixed salaries is no longer reserved for certain classes of journalists such as editors, sub-editors, heads of news departments, etc., but is extending to most of the other classes in the profession.

This tendency to suppress payment by results, or at least to introduce order into the system and to make it resemble the fixed salary system as closely as possible, is a salient feature of a number of collective agreements. The Austrian agreement, for instance, guarantees a minimum annual remuneration to all outside contributors paid by the job, even if the number of articles published by the paper does not warrant this remuneration. The same tendency is evident in the clauses of such agreements as those in force in Great Britain and Switzerland, which systematise the work of occasional contributors by requiring the employer to treat them — provided that certain conditions are observed — as permanent contributors.

The trend towards systematisation is to be found in other aspects of the salary problem ; the date of payment, automatic increments, and the periodic adjustment of rates, for instance. It is towards this last point that, following upon their success in getting the principle of a detailed regulation of salaries included in their agreements, journalists are directing their efforts. They aim at securing what at present exists only in one or two countries, namely, the adjustment of salaries without undue delay to fluctuations in the cost of living.

THE LABOUR MARKET

UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment problem assumes a peculiar character in journalism.

Without going into the details of a very complicated and delicate problem, it may be said that unemployment in most professions is usually due, directly or indirectly, to one of two causes : (1) an excessive influx of new recruits, or (2) economic depression ; that is to say, it is due to a surplus labour supply or to an inadequate consumption of products.

Sometimes it is the haphazard invasion of the profession by a host of beginners that violently upsets the labour market ; in that event, either unemployment is rife among the new arrivals, who find all the posts filled, or it engulfs the veterans of the profession who, perhaps, lose the favour of the employers or the readers, preference being given to the new contingents ready to obey their call. This phenomenon, familiar in industry, tends nowadays to diminish owing to apprenticeship and the efforts made to recruit professions systematically. According to some reports, however, it is widespread among brain workers. The legal, medical, and engineering professions in many countries are suffering from serious unemployment, attributed to excess of recruits.

Sometimes it is an economic depression that disorganises production and drives multitudes of workers into the streets.

Like most other intellectual professions, journalism is affected indirectly by economic difficulties. It suffers greatly from the after-effects of the financial embarrassment in which papers may be involved. A slump has only to make its appearance in trade, drying up the source of advertisements, on which the Press lives to a great extent, the price of paper and ink has only to rise, and the very existence of a newspaper is threatened. The weakest papers from the financial point of view collapse. Papers of long standing, and to all appearances firmly established, disappeared

for this reason a few years ago. In such circumstances the whole staff of the paper is suddenly thrown out of employment. It is true that the big newspaper Press is strong enough to overcome crises of this kind, which are not fatal as a rule except to new ventures or to partisan sheets with slight financial resources. Unemployment resulting from economic crises, infrequent though it may be, is none the less existent in journalism.

The case is different with unemployment resulting from a superfluity of recruits; in contrast to the other intellectual professions, it may be considered as extremely rare in journalism for the time being. In this respect the existence of special schools is undoubtedly of some service to the profession. One does not become a journalist as one becomes a barrister or a doctor. Between the candidate for journalism and the place sought after there is not that screen, which the school may be said to be, through which the features of the profession appear only in blurred outline. The young man whose inclinations lead him to the medical profession concerns himself much more with the details of the university education which will open the doors of the profession to him, than with the probable condition of the profession when his studies are ended. The long years of study would, moreover, make the calculation of the prospects offered by the career an uncertain process. Hence numbers of youths rush with their eyes closed into courses of study which lead them to professions that are already overcrowded, and in which they can make a living only with difficulty.

This does not occur, as a rule, in journalism, where there is nothing to conceal the state of the labour market from those who desire to enter the profession. To put it bluntly, one gets into journalism only if one finds a job¹. There are no journalists without experience of journalism, but there are doctors who have

¹ We have already shown (p. 16) that English journalists, without being able at the moment to point to overcrowding in the profession, call attention to the danger in this connection which may arise from private schools of journalism, which threaten to throw too many would-be journalists on the market.

In the United States, the only country in which the system of schools of journalism is working on a large scale, a great deal of unemployment is reported. It is true that it is not the pupils of these schools who are affected, because a great number of them are engaged before their studies are terminated; it is rather the persons who have received no special training, and who are confronted with the serious competition of the trained men, who suffer.

It must not be concluded from the foregoing remarks that the fear of overcrowding the profession must necessarily lead to the abandonment of schools of journalism. These schools could very well adjust their activities to the needs of the profession. Indeed, it is possible that this system is desirable for preparatory schools of other professions, provided that it is applied with foresight and prudence.

no practice, and chemists who have never earned their living by chemistry. It follows that to a much greater extent than in the other professional careers admission to journalism is regulated by the demand for recruits; this does not mean that the pressure exercised by the supply of candidates (young men who have completed their higher education and who prefer this profession to another, or members of another profession who are desirous of changing their vocation) has absolutely no effect. But it is no more than the pressure of people who do not yet belong to the profession, and who would like to enter it; it is not the crushing and demoralising weight of unemployment overwhelming young men at the beginning of their career.

While journalism suffers less than any other profession from overcrowding due to a glut of recruits, and while it suffers no more than the other professions from economic crises afflicting the general community, it suffers from one special cause of unemployment associated with circumstances peculiar to the profession.

It was remarked in the Introduction that though journalism may be considered as a trade intended to furnish a livelihood to those who practise it, it is also possessed of a certain ideal character which gives it exceptional features. The journalist is not merely a wage earner; he is as a rule a man of opinions and convictions, and employs them in his work. Whereas in many other professions political opinions and religious convictions may be quite unconnected with the work to be done, it does not matter whether one is a Conservative or a Radical for the purpose of making watches, or nursing the sick, or building bridges — the opinions and convictions of a journalist are more often than not one of the necessary elements of his trade. It is true, as we have already seen, that there is a tendency towards the creation of big Press undertakings dealing exclusively in news. They are already in existence in many countries, and the papers holding definite opinions are perhaps destined to yield ground to them. In the majority of countries, however, these papers have fully maintained their position, and many periodicals not calling themselves political papers, but considered to belong to the newspaper Press, are none the less under the influence of some policy or other, which is supported by their employees in all ranks of the editorial staff.

A journalist's opinions are, then, closely allied with the practice of his profession. But men do not change their opinions as, for example, in industry they submit to the changes in a manufacturing process. The attachment which every man has to his own con-

victions and the respect which everyone has or should have for the opinions of others, confer on journalism an unquestionable right to esteem, although, at the same time, they expose it to a certain danger. Upheavals in the realm of ideas have disastrous effects on the livelihood of journalists — much more so than economic upheavals. Sometimes the movement of opinions is limited in scope, in which circumstances it may assume one of two forms: either changes in public opinion in the country, and a certain alienation of sympathy on the part of the people, will cause one or two papers to wither and finally to perish; in that case the movement is generally prolonged, and in consequence less severe; or a paper will change hands, and alter its policy, with the result that its staff are thrown out of employment. At other times the upheaval is of catastrophic proportions, as, for example, when a change in the form of government overthrows the entire Press of a country. There have been striking examples of this during the course of the last decade. Governments placed in power by revolutionary movements have been led to adopt, as methods of warfare, measures fatal to whole sections of the Press. In Russia, for example, large numbers of papers were suppressed during the Revolution, and in Italy, in the course of a few days at the end of 1926, some fifteen papers (among which were many of considerable influence), were suspended by decrees of the prefects.

Journalism is thus liable to a form of unemployment unknown in other professions. Sometimes it is possible to find palliatives; we have already seen¹ how in some countries journalists insure themselves against violent changes of opinions which may affect a single paper. Sometimes, however, the upheaval cannot be mitigated; when all the papers belonging to a given school of thought in a country are affected, there is no course open to the unemployed journalists but to change their profession.

As to the extent of unemployment in journalism, it is almost impossible to measure. The International Labour Office was not surprised to receive, in most cases, vague replies on this point from the persons and organisations to which its enquiries were addressed. In many countries, in fact, there is no means of discovering the number of unemployed journalists. This number is, moreover, in all probability subject to considerable variation. In several countries only very approximate methods are available,

¹ Cf. "Termination of Services", p. 77.

such as the lists of situations vacant which certain associations send to those of their members who ask for them. The number of such lists sent out is not an absolutely sure criterion; first, because they are sent only to members of the association, and afford no indication, unless by analogy, of the extent of unemployment among non-members; secondly, because a number of the unemployed journalists belonging to the association may try to find work by their own efforts, without resorting to the list; and thirdly, because many of those who receive the list are not out of work, but are merely looking for a better post.

As a rule, and in the majority of countries, unemployment does not seem to give serious cause for concern; it appears only very spasmodically. In Great Britain, however, it is thought that a certain seasonal regularity has been discovered in the fluctuations of journalistic unemployment. An increase in unemployment seems to be noticeable from September onwards, and after having reached its culminating point in November and December, it appears to diminish in January.

Although it is very difficult to judge of the extent of unemployment generally, it has been possible in some countries to establish certain figures.

In *Australia* at the end of 1925 the Association of Journalists reported 25 unemployed members out of a total of 1,933, or 1.29 per cent.

In *Czechoslovakia* the normal percentage of unemployed among the members of the profession throughout the entire country varies between one and two¹.

The *German Press Association* reported a serious situation in 1923; at one moment the number of unemployed rose to 450, but it subsequently diminished. At the end of 1925 the list of situations vacant, which the Association publishes twice a week, was sent to 175 members out of a total of about 3,300; this proportion corresponds to 5.3 per cent. of unemployed. In November 1927 the Association was sending its list to 235 persons; it estimates that some 20 journalists who were in employment should be deducted from this number, leaving about 215 unemployed among the 3,600 members of the association, i.e. 6 per cent. The older

¹ On 1 March 1928 there were some 10 unemployed among more than 1,000 journalists.

journalists form the majority of the unemployed. Their situation is a critical one: whereas young journalists find other posts fairly easily, it is not so easy for persons who are past middle age to find new employers, and the Association has observed in fact that difficulties in obtaining fresh employment are encountered by journalists of forty years and over.

Although unemployment among journalists does not reach disquieting proportions in *Great Britain*, it is nevertheless a source of anxiety to them. It is feared particularly that the amalgamation of newspapers and the establishment of Press "trusts", which is proceeding more actively there than anywhere else in Europe, will aggravate the dangers of unemployment in the future. The development of "trusts" generally leads to reductions of staff. The growth of big combines tends towards a "stereotyping" of the contents of the various papers acquired, and a consequent shrinkage of the opportunities of employment for the journalist. The results of this process would seem to cause more anxiety among British journalists than changes in the political complexion of newspapers, which are somewhat rare in *Great Britain*. For the moment, unemployment amounts to no more than 3.62 per cent., according to information derived from the accounts of the unemployment fund of the National Union of Journalists, which in April 1927 showed 170 unemployed among the 4,700 members of the Union.

As in Germany, it is the middle-aged unemployed who are a cause of concern to English journalists, because of the difficulties encountered in finding new work for them.

In five countries journalists appear to be devoting special attention to unemployment. In *France*, *Japan*, and the *United States*, it is constantly stated that a number of journalists are unemployed, although precise figures cannot be quoted. In *Hungary* and *Rumania*, unemployment has reached grave proportions. In *Hungary* where the Press is in a very critical position, and where three influential papers, of which one was founded more than half a century ago, disappeared within the space of a year, it is calculated that at the climax of the crisis in 1925 the proportion of unemployed among the journalists of the capital was as high as 18 or even 20 per cent. Journalists, as a matter of fact, were not the only persons to suffer from this crisis, for it affected all brain workers, including officials. The crisis is now less serious,

particularly as a result of the stabilisation of the currency. Several newspapers have disappeared, however, in the course of the last few months. The papers continue to contend with serious difficulties, among the foremost of which is the rise in the price of paper.

In other countries little or no unemployment is reported. In *Austria*, for instance, it may be said to be non-existent, notwithstanding the difficulties of the economic situation. For several years a high degree of stability has been observed in the Austrian newspaper undertakings, a condition which is attributed primarily to the fact that the regime established by legislation and collective agreement makes dismissal so expensive for the publishers that they do not resort to it except for weighty reasons.

In *Switzerland*, in spite of the pressure exercised by the many people who want to get into journalism, unemployment is insignificant; the candidates keep to their own profession until a situation becomes vacant in a newspaper. This method of entering a profession, as we observed above, does not disturb the equilibrium of the labour market.

METHODS OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT

In some countries, in which little unemployment is to be found, the need of employment agencies is not keenly felt. In others, where the organisation of such agencies appears to be necessary, and where the official labour exchanges do not cater for journalists or only achieve inadequate results, failing thorough knowledge and experience of the journalistic profession, the journalists themselves have taken the matter in hand by making use of their professional organisations and trying to find work for their unemployed colleagues.

In *Australia* the labour exchanges do not deal with journalists. It is the journalists' organisations — the Australian Journalists' Association and the Provincial Press Association — which have taken up the business of finding work for their members. The secretaries of the local branches of these associations collect information concerning vacancies and communicate it to members who are out of work.

In *Austria*, journalists themselves have undertaken the work of finding posts for their unemployed colleagues. The Organisation of the Viennese Press has a free employment department which looks for posts, not only in Austrian or foreign journalism, but even in other professions if need be.

In *Belgium* there are neither public nor private offices primarily devoted to finding work for journalists.

The Belgian Press Association, however, possesses a department whose function is to give information as to the qualifications of journalists seeking employment to managers in search of employees. In view of the small number of journalists unemployed in Belgium this department has not much to do.

Brazil and *Bulgaria* possess no official or private institution whose duty is to place journalists in employment. In *Bulgaria*, the Association of Sofia Journalists and the Union of Provincial Journalists occasionally endeavour to find positions for their colleagues who are without work.

In *Canada* there are only private employment agencies for journalists.

In *Czechoslovakia* there are neither public nor private offices specially engaged in finding employment for journalists.

The Press associations, and particularly the Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists, keep a list of their unemployed members, and endeavour to place them in employment.

In *France*, in the absence of public or private institutions specially devoted to finding work for journalists, some of the Press associations endeavour to secure situations for their unemployed members.

During the period of serious unemployment from which *Germany* suffered in 1923, the public employment agencies undertook the task of finding posts for journalists. Efforts of this kind requiring, as they do, great technical experience of the profession and a certain familiarity with its psychology, were unfortunately not very successful. There are no private employment agencies for journalists.

The National Association of the German Press created an employment agency for journalists, including outside contributors and translators, at the time of its foundation in 1910. During the crisis of 1923 this department was organised on new lines, and was actively engaged in finding situations for the journalists who had been thrown out of work by reductions in the staff of hundreds of periodicals or by their total disappearance. The number of the unemployed, as we have already seen, rose at one moment to 450, and, as it could not place them in journalistic posts, the Association organised courses to facilitate their transfer to other professions. Banking, industry, and trade recruited a good number of journalists, of whom the majority returned to their old profession after the crisis had subsided.

At the present time the Association publishes a bi-weekly list of situations reported vacant by the affiliated local associations. In 1926, by this means, it drew the attention of its unemployed members to 434 vacant posts, an average of about eight posts a week. During the first five months of 1927 the weekly average rose to ten.

In 1926 no more than 47 members of the Association were found employment by means of the list. This means that only about 10 per cent. of the situations vacant could be filled. The Association is endeavouring to increase the proportion by improving the organisation of its information department; by establishing closer collaboration between the local organisations and the central Association; and by urging employers to reserve some posts, if not in the editorial offices proper of the paper, at least in some other department, for middle-aged journalists who have given the best years of their life to the profession. These steps are justified by the fact that 50 per cent. of the unemployed cannot get fresh work owing to their age.

Among the aims of the National Commission of Collaboration, founded by the Newspaper Industry Employers' Association and the National Association of the German Press, is the creation of institutions to combat unemployment and facilitate the filling of vacancies. The first step in this direction was the establishment by the local Commissions of Collaboration, created in accordance with the constitution and rules of the National Commission, of a periodical list of unemployed persons in the respective districts. This list, which is communicated to the employers, helps to find work for unemployed journalists.

Journalists in *Great Britain* who are looking for work could apply to the local exchanges of the Ministry of Labour, but no case is known in which a situation has been found through the intermediary of these exchanges.

The appointments boards of the universities and the schools of journalism help students who are seeking employment. This is also one of the tasks of the University of London Committee on Journalism, which helps the students taking the journalistic course, instituted in 1919 by the Senate of the University.

Lastly, the principal associations of journalists endeavour to find work for their members, and a large number of posts have been secured by them in the course of the last twenty-five years. The National Union of Journalists, for instance, publishes a list of vacant posts which it sends to its members on request.

In *Greece* there is no institution to deal with unemployed journalists, whether public or private offices, or Press associations.

In *Hungary*, the secretariat of the Journalists' Association includes among its functions the finding of posts for its unemployed members. It is the only employment agency available for journalists.

In *Italy*, Part XXIII of the Labour Charter provides that the task of finding employment shall be performed in each profession solely by the joint employment agencies instituted in connection with the syndicates. In conformity with these provisions, offices, with which both publishers and journalists collaborate, have been organised in connection with the regional syndicates. In applying to these offices publishers are bound to give the preference to journalists registered with the Fascist Syndicate.

No kind of institution for placing journalists in employment is known in *Latvia* or *Luxemburg*. In the Grand Duchy the need for such institutions has not been felt.

In the *Netherlands*, in the absence of public or private employment institutions available for journalists, the Association of Dutch Journalists tries to find places for its members when occasion arises.

There are no employment agencies for journalists in *Poland*.

In *Portugal*, in the total absence of institutions to which journalists could resort, the Association of Journalists undertakes the work, in times of difficulty, of placing its unemployed members in situations, and even does so for professional journalists who do not belong to the Association.

Rumania does not possess any public or private employment agency for journalists.

The Press associations do not as a rule deal with the question.

Spanish journalists are entitled to apply to the labour exchanges when they are looking for work, but, as the employers do not make use of these institutions when they are recruiting staff, the journalists refrain from registering with them. Posts are thus offered and sought individually.

In *Sweden* the public labour exchanges are open to journalists, who do not however resort to them as a rule.

The Association of Newspaper Publishers, on the one hand, and the Association of Swedish Journalists together with the Press Association on the other, have instituted a joint employment agency known as the Press Employment Office, which has not been very active hitherto. Swedish journalists desire to see this institution reorganised, and are of the opinion that employers and employees should be compelled to apply to it in case of need.

Switzerland has no private employment agencies for journalists, and the official institutions are not concerned with the matter. On the other hand, the Swiss Press Association has organised an employment department with which the many persons who desire to take up journalism register their names, but which rarely has to deal with unemployed persons. As a matter of fact, publishers seldom have recourse to this institution.

The *United States* have no agencies specially intended for journalists, who, if occasion should arise, may apply to the public or private employment offices for workers in general.

In the *U.S.S.R.* none but the Government employment agencies are allowed to exist, but situations are not necessarily sought through their intermediary.

It will be clear from the foregoing remarks that the methods of finding employment for journalists leave much to be desired. The institution of employment agencies on a systematic basis would be of the greatest advantage. It would first of all enable the extent of unemployment to be gauged, — unemployment is certainly far more prevalent in most countries than is imagined — and, secondly, it would tend to counteract the sense of insecurity which is weighing heavily on journalism. Many associations of journalists, while stating that there is little unemployment in the profession, point out the anxiety which the lack of security and the prospect of finding himself suddenly without work cause to the journalist. Well-organised employment agencies would certainly contribute towards reassuring the members of the profession.

PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS

To the anxiety which the possibility of an abrupt termination of employment may cause among journalists must be added the apprehensions created by the possibility of an illness or an accident which would reduce them and their families to distress, or to say the least, would put them in a very difficult position. The salary of an ordinary journalist seldom allows him to save enough to provide for his future. He is, like so many other workers, at the mercy of a chance event that would deprive him temporarily or permanently of his ability to work. But while in many countries endeavours are made to an increasing extent to safeguard the wage earners in trade and industry against the risks to which they are exposed, the journalist, more often than not, is left to his own resources. He is generally excluded from the scope of the laws on compulsory insurance, either because he is a professional worker or because his salary exceeds a certain maximum figure fixed by law. Yet the fact that he is a professional worker does not save him from being defenceless against the risks which confront other workers, and his salary, little higher than the maximum named in the insurance laws, barely suffices to keep him alive and to meet his professional expenses. The profession compels him, in fact, to keep up appearances to a certain extent, and to buy books and periodicals so that he may be constantly well informed as regards current events.

In most cases then, journalists have had to protect themselves by their own devices against the risks that threaten them. In some countries they secure the co-operation of employers for the constitution of insurance funds, either as a result of the legislation in force or by the insertion of special clauses in collective agreements. Sometimes the Government subsidises these funds; it does so in Great Britain, in conformity with the general health insurance scheme. Sometimes the employers alone bear the insurance charges, either because it is compulsory upon them to do so, as is

the case in Bulgaria with regard to accident insurance, or because there is a provision to this effect in the collective agreement, which is the case in Austria.

The various provident and insurance systems in each country for the benefit of journalists are summarised below.

In *Australia* there is no provident institution for the benefit of journalists, who have to be satisfied with the provisions of the collective agreement guaranteeing them paid leave in case of illness¹.

It was however decided at a conference held at the end of 1926 that publishers should pay compensation to a journalist injured in an accident, and to the next of kin of a journalist meeting with a fatal accident, while in employment.

Austrian journalists, whose status is noteworthy from all points of view, enjoy a comprehensive insurance scheme which is perhaps without equal in the profession. A whole network of insurances, covering the risks of illness, accident, old age, invalidity, death, and unemployment, has been established either by legislation or through the initiative of the journalists themselves. The terms of these insurances, remarkable enough for Austrian journalists in general, are even more so for those of the capital, thanks to the very generous provisions of the collective agreement of the Viennese Press. The advantages offered by the Austrian institutions may be briefly summarised as follows, according to risk.

Unemployment. — The risk of unemployment has been met in various ways by Austrian journalists, but first and foremost by the many safeguards with which they have managed to surround dismissal.

We have already seen² that the collective agreement of the Viennese Press laid upon publishers the obligation to pay heavy compensation in such a case. This compensation, in the case of journalists with more than eight years' service, may reach two years' salary, including the salary of the period of notice, and it is still higher in the case of changes in the editorial policy of the paper.

Thanks to this compensation, journalists thrown out of work are sure of their daily bread for a fairly long time, and are thus able

¹ Cf. "Annual Leave", p. 119.

² Cf. "Termination of Services", p. 80.

to look for new work without being harassed by anxiety. Further, any who are still unemployed after having exhausted all the compensation guaranteed by the agreement, are entitled to the weekly benefit provided by the general unemployment system for out-of-work wage earners, fed by contributions of employees¹, employers, the Government, and the municipalities.

Finally, the Organisation of the Viennese Press grants assistance or loans to its members in case of unemployment.

Sickness. — The Austrian collective agreement provides that in case of sickness the journalist with more than five years' service shall continue to be paid his full salary for four months. For each additional period of five years' service the paid leave is increased by one month, up to a maximum of twelve (Article 17).

Austrian journalists are also covered by the compulsory sickness insurance system instituted by legislation. Prior to 1 July 1927 the journalists' insurance institutions were a certain number of approved funds; among them was that of the Concordia Association, with which most of the members of the profession were registered.

After the passing of the Act on the insurance of employees, of 29 December 1926, which came into force on 1 January 1927, the Austrian Journalists' Pension Institute, founded five years earlier, became the sickness insurance institution with the title of the "Press Insurance Institute".

The insurance provides medical and dental treatment, medicaments, treatment in sanatoria, etc., a daily allowance not exceeding 7.50 schillings, and grants to journalists' wives who are confined. The Institute is also concerned with the prevention of diseases, and displays a certain amount of activity with this end in view.

Accidents. — If he meets with an accident in the course of duty, the journalist receives from the Insurance Institute the refund of his medical expenses and a temporary allowance, which is increased by 150 per cent. if the attendance of a nurse is necessary, and which is converted into a permanent pension if the disablement persists.

Death. — When a journalist dies, the paper pays his widow, under the terms of Article 12 of the collective agreement, a sum

¹ We shall see later the changes effected by the agreement in the distribution of insurance charges.

equal to the amount which the journalist would have received in case of dismissal¹.

The Insurance Institute, in addition, provides a funeral grant and pays the widow a monthly pension equal to half of that which the journalist would have received if at the time of his death he was entitled to an old-age pension. The pension allowed to each orphan is equal to 12 per cent. of the widow's pension.

As the payment of these various grants and pensions may be subject to some delay, the Organisation of the Viennese Press has taken steps to enable it to come to the aid of the family of a deceased journalist immediately. In every case of death a special contribution of at least 3 schillings is levied on the members of the Organisation, and the yield is paid to the next of kin of the journalist. In order that the required sum may be available without delay, each new member of the Organisation pays three contributions in advance into a special fund, and this procedure enables a sum of about 2,600 schillings to be paid to the family of the deceased man within twenty-four hours. The family is thus able to wait in greater tranquillity for the sums that are due from the insurance system and from the employer, to secure which the Organisation of the Viennese Press undertakes the necessary formalities.

Old Age and Invalidity. — By the terms of the Act on the insurance of employees, every journalist is entitled to pensions for invalidity and old age. The basic pension for invalidity is equal to 35 per cent. of the salary of the insured person; this proportion increases with the number of contributions paid. The old-age pension is payable to the insured person from the age of sixty (fifty-five years for women) if he has made 120 monthly payments. The basic pension is equal to 35 per cent. of the salary of the insured person, and increases in proportion to the contributions paid. It is not difficult for an Austrian journalist to become entitled to a pension amounting to 60 per cent. of his salary.

The Act at first admitted to the insurance scheme only persons having a monthly salary not exceeding 400 schillings, and this provision excluded many journalists; but the Organisation of the Viennese Press succeeded in getting the maximum raised to 800 schillings. It is thus possible for many journalists to earn retiring pensions of 500 to 600 schillings a month.

¹ That is to say, the salary for the period of notice, *plus* the indemnity for dismissal. (Cf. above, p. 80.)

The Organisation of the Viennese Press is now endeavouring to bring about the creation of a special fund for salaries above 800 schillings. It also hopes to get independent journalists (outside contributors) admitted to the insurance scheme. At present they are excluded.

Belgian journalists have no sickness or unemployment insurance institutions. They do, however, benefit from a system of old-age pensions and life insurance, instituted by an Act of 10 March 1925.

Old-Age and Premature Death. — The Act of 1925 establishes compulsory insurance for old age and death in the case of employees of both sexes whose annual remuneration does not exceed 15,000 francs. The contribution amounts to 10 per cent. of the salary, 5 per cent. being paid by the employer and 5 per cent. by the employee. In the case of insured persons whose annual remuneration does not exceed 6,000 francs, the contribution is only 8 per cent., of which 5 per cent. is paid by the employer.

Every insured person is entitled to an old-age pension from the age of sixty-five if a man, and sixty if a woman. If an insured pensioner dies, his widow receives an annuity equal to a certain proportion of the husband's pension. This proportion varies with the age of the man at the time of his death. To the annuity is added a monthly allowance for each child of less than 18 years of age.

In *Brazil* there is no general provident scheme for journalists. The Press associations and some of the big papers have established funds which grant benefits in case of illness, accident, unemployment, and death. About 80 per cent. of the journalists belong to these various funds, but as salaries are low, and contributions are small in consequence, these institutions can only grant inconsiderable benefits.

Bulgarian journalists in regular employment are liable to the compulsory general insurance instituted by an Act of 6 March 1924, which covers the risks of accident, illness, invalidity, maternity, and old age.

Accidents. — The Act declares that every insured person who is the victim of an accident during, or in connection with, his work shall be treated, until cured, at the expense of the public

insurance fund. which will even provide the necessary surgical appliances. During treatment he receives, in addition, a cash benefit for every working day lost, and varying from 12 leva for a daily salary of less than 15 leva to 30 leva for a salary exceeding 61 leva. To this is added 1 leva for every child maintained by the insured person. If the victim is afflicted with total disability to work, he is paid an annual pension varying from 3,600 leva for a daily salary of less than 15 leva to 9,000 leva for a daily salary exceeding 61 leva. In the event of the death of an insured person who is in receipt of an annuity in consequence of an accident, his widow obtains a pension equal to 40 per cent., and each of her children a pension equal to 30 per cent., of that of the deceased. If the death is caused by accident, the survivor's pension is equal to that of a person suffering from total disability.

The costs of accident insurance are borne entirely by the employers. Every year the costs are divided among the employers in accordance with the number of their employees, the amount of salaries paid, and the degree of professional risk in their establishments.

Sickness and Maternity. — In case of sickness, the insured person may be treated at the expense of the insurance fund for nine months in the course of a year. In addition, for each working day lost he receives an allowance equal to that provided for in the case of accident.

Pregnant women are entitled to obstetrical and medical assistance, and to the sickness allowance, for six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth.

The cost of the insurance is covered by contributions paid by the insured persons, the employers, and the Government. The employers and employees each pay from 1.50 to 4 leva a week, according to the class of the insured person. (The class is determined by the salary, as in the case of the accident insurance). The Government adds a grant equal to half the total of all the contributions.

Old Age and Invalidity. — In the case of invalidity due to a cause other than an accident, the insured person receives a pension ranging from 1,500 to 6,000 leva, according to his class.

From the age of sixty he is entitled to an old-age pension equal to the invalidity pension, plus 1 leva per annum for each week, beyond the 156 weeks provided for in the Act, in respect of which he has paid contributions.

The contributions of the employers, the insured persons, and the Government, are the same as those for sickness insurance.

In addition to the Social Insurance Fund, the Association of Sofia Journalists has its own fund for unemployment, sickness, etc., and this will begin to provide pensions in the year 1930.

Czechoslovak journalists benefit from several social insurance laws¹. The regime established by these various laws is indicated below.

Sickness. — Journalists had their own sickness insurance scheme in 1883. The Act promulgated in that year procured for insured persons, in consideration of a contribution, half of which was payable by the employer, and amounting to 5 per cent. of their salaries, a benefit of two-thirds of the basic salary, for fifty-two weeks. A new Act passed on 9 October 1924, and which came into force on 1 July 1926, reorganised the insurance scheme.

The Act of 1924 relates to sickness, old-age, and invalidity insurance. Persons who benefit from the old-age and invalidity insurance scheme for private employees, instituted by the Act of 1906, are excluded from its scope so far as these two risks are concerned. This is precisely the position of the journalists, who are thus covered by the Act of 1924 only as regards sickness.

This Act groups the insured persons in ten classes according to their salaries. The benefits are :

- (a) Free medical and pharmaceutical assistance for a period not exceeding one year for the insured person and the members of his family ;
- (b) A sickness allowance of 2.70 to 24 crowns a day, according to the class of the insured person, for a period not exceeding one year ;
- (c) Obstetrical aid for insured women ;
- (d) An allowance, equal to the sickness allowance, for six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth ;
- (e) An allowance, equal to half the sickness allowance and payable for twelve weeks after childbirth, for mothers who nurse their children ;
- (f) A funeral grant equal to thirty times the daily salary of the insured person.

¹ The Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists accepts as members only those journalists who are insured in conformity with the legal provisions in force.

The sickness insurance institution may increase the scale of benefits if its means allow. The daily allowance, for example, may be increased by 30 per cent. for persons supporting a large family.

The contributions are fixed by the insurance institution. In normal times, they may not exceed 5 per cent. of the salary of the insured person, and half must be paid by the employer¹.

Invalidity, Old Age, and Death. — Journalists are subject, as we have seen, to the Act of 1906, concerning old-age and invalidity pensions for private employees, which was amended on 5 February 1920. This Act divides the insured persons into classes according to their salaries, and they are liable to contributions ranging from 6 to 90 crowns a month. Two-thirds are payable by the employers in the case of the first four classes, and half in the case of the other classes.

The annual pensions, which were increased by 300 per cent. by the Act of 12 August 1921, are at least 2,400 crowns in the case of old age or complete disability, at least 1,200 crowns for an insured person's widow, and at least 600 crowns for an insured person's orphan.

In addition to the retiring pensions guaranteed by the Act, there are others which the Association of Czechoslovak Journalists pays to some of its members. In consequence of the depreciation of the crown, these pensions are as a matter of fact inconsiderable and only serve to supplement those granted by the law.

Lastly, a number of big papers allow pensions to their editorial staffs.

The entire system of journalists' pensions will possibly be reorganised shortly. A Bill has been prepared and will doubtless be submitted to Parliament in the autumn of 1928.

This Bill provides for a retiring pension (which may amount to as much as 42,000 crowns a year) for all journalists who have completed thirty-five years' service, or who have reached the age of sixty. Invalidity pensions are also contemplated.

Czechoslovak journalists regard the introduction of this Bill with satisfaction.

Unemployment. — The sickness, invalidity, and old-age insurance schemes are compulsory. Unemployment insurance, on the other hand, is optional. The Act of 19 July 1921, which instituted it, provides, in accordance with the Ghent system, for

¹ In journalism, the employer often bears the entire cost of the contribution.

Government contributions towards the costs of the unemployment benefits paid out of the associations' funds. To obtain this State assistance, amounting to 50 per cent. of the benefit paid to the unemployed persons, the professional associations must comply with certain conditions.

The Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists grants its unemployed members relief supplementary to the governmental allowance.

The monthly allowances amount to about 600 crowns (of which the Government provides half) in the case of unmarried journalists, and about 900 crowns (of which the Government provides one-third) in the case of married journalists.

Until January 1928, *French* journalists were not covered by any general provident scheme. Since then, however, a general old-age pension institution has been in existence; it will be considered later. As regards other risks — accidents and illness — the professional associations are endeavouring to set up mutual-aid funds which come into play in serious cases.

Sickness and Accidents. — The journalists' associations help their destitute members so far as they are able. Some associations succeed in getting their sick members into nursing homes and in procuring free surgical treatment for them. The insurance of journalists against accidents occurring in the execution of their duties is far from general in the newspaper world.

Unemployment. — There is no real institute for assistance in case of unemployment. The Association of Journalists has a small relief fund maintained by gifts.

Death. — A certain number of journalists' associations grant relief to the next of kin of their members. Thus the Marseilles Press Association, on the death of a member, makes a grant of 1,000 francs to his family.

Apart from this, there are funds in some big Paris papers (which will be dealt with in connection with retiring pensions) to provide journalists' widows with a pension equal to half of that to which the husband was entitled, provided that there is not more than ten years' difference between the ages of the husband and wife. If the difference in age exceeds ten years, the pension is reduced by a percentage.

Old-Age Pensions. — Even before the establishment of the National Fund, referred to below, there were in existence a number

of pension funds organised by journalists' associations (Paris journalists, Republican journalists, parliamentary journalists, Paris news writers, sub-editors, etc.). These funds, constituted by the proceeds of specially authorised lotteries (Press bonds, etc.), grant small pensions ranging from 600 to 1,200 francs a year to their needy members. Most of the holders combine these pensions with a restricted amount of professional work.

It must be added that the Act of 1 April 1898 grants to mutual-aid societies, which comply with certain conditions and which thereupon call themselves "approved societies", a Government subsidy paid from the funds annually provided for this purpose in the budget of the Ministry of the Interior. A number of funds belonging to journalistic organisations have applied to be included in the scope of the Act, e.g. the Marseilles Journalists' Fund, whose purpose is to provide its members with old-age pensions.

Finally, the staffs of a number of big Paris papers have formed incorporated societies which have established pension funds deriving their income from employers' contributions and deductions from salaries.

One of these funds, open to the editorial staff, the administrative staff, and the workmen, employed on the newspaper, provides its members with old-age pensions calculated from the salary of the five best years in respect of which the member has paid contributions. The pensions vary from 27 per cent. of the average salary after fifteen years' service, to 45 per cent. after twenty-five years' service. For every additional year's service the pension is increased by one-tenth. The contributions paid by the insured persons are equal to 6 per cent. of their salary, and the employers add a like contribution. If he pays a contribution of 8 per cent. of his salary, a member assures for his wife an annuity in the case of his death.

The system adopted by the institution just mentioned has doubtless served as a model for the General Fund which the French journalists' organisations, notably the Association of Journalists, have obtained after long negotiations with the employers' associations. During the first months of 1927 a mixed committee, composed of five representatives of the National Federation of French Newspapers (the employers' organisation) and five representatives of the professional associations of journalists, discussed the draft constitution and rules of a general pension fund. The draft was examined by specialists, and the final touches were added at the beginning of December.

The Fund thus constituted assembles in one vast incorporated society the editorial staff of all the French newspapers adhering to the Fund. The old-age pensions which it will grant, equalling 40 per cent. of the average remuneration earned by the insured persons during their five best years, will be payable after thirty years' contributions and from the age of sixty years.

A pension proportional to the contributions will be payable after twenty years' contributions. As a transitional measure for journalists who had not reached sixty years of age on 1 January 1928 (the date of the inception of the Fund), thirty years' practice in the profession are taken as equivalent to thirty years' contributions.

The income of the Fund is derived from equal contributions by the editorial staff and the publisher, each amounting to 5 per cent. of the salary of the insured person. In consideration of an additional contribution of 2 per cent. of the salary, the pension may revert in part to the widow.

Finally, by a provision of fundamental importance, which the journalists were very desirous of obtaining, and which alone could assure the existence of the General Fund, the right to the pension follows the journalist for the whole of his career from paper to paper, on the condition, naturally, that all the papers are members of the Fund.

German journalists have a number of provident institutions, some of which are maintained by their association alone, and others with the help of the employers. Certain of the institutions are optional in character; the most important is of fairly recent creation (it dates from January 1926) and is compulsory. In the short description of these institutions which follows, they are classified according to the nature of the risks covered.

Sickness and Accidents. — German journalists are practically excluded from the scope of the legislation on sickness and accident insurance, which does not apply to employees earning more than 2,700 marks a year.

The National Association of the German Press, on the other hand, has instituted mutual-aid funds on a district basis from which grants for medical and surgical treatment are made, and daily sickness allowances are paid. A proposal is under consideration for the creation of a central organisation to co-ordinate the work of the district funds, and the 1928 Assembly of the Association will have the matter before it for decision.

Unemployment. — The system of unemployment benefit at present in force in Germany, which is based on compulsory contributions from workers and employers, does not apply to persons earning more than 2,700 marks a year. Journalists are thus practically excluded from its scope.

Old Age, Invalidity and Death. — German journalists have for many years had mutual-aid funds, and in some cases these funds have been able to grant substantial benefits to their members. As an example, one may take the insurance institution which the Union of the Labour Press possesses jointly with the officials of the independent unions and of the Social-Democratic Party. This institution grants pensions to widows and orphans of journalists as well as to newspaper men who are invalids or have reached the age of sixty-five years. The provident funds founded in some half-dozen big newspaper firms must also be mentioned. Together with the funds of the Union of the Labour Press, they have been deemed worthy, by reason of their importance, to exist by the side of the general insurance system of the German press.

This system which was declared obligatory in June of 1926 by the National Labour Administration, except for the members of the few funds mentioned above, forms the subject of special provisions in the collective agreements of January 1926, and of a long series of agreements concluded at the same time between the two national associations combined in the German Press Collaboration Commission, and between this Commission and three big insurance societies.

The agreement relating to normal service stipulates as follows (Article 11):

Every journalist shall be bound to insure himself, through the intermediary of the insurance institution of the National Commission of Collaboration of the German Press, with the insurance companies appointed for the purpose and on the terms agreed upon between the institution and the insurance companies.

Journalists shall be liable to compulsory insurance from the age of twenty-five years and after one year's work in the profession. All receiving monthly salaries up to a maximum of 2,000 marks shall be liable to compulsory insurance. The publisher shall be responsible for effecting the insurance; the journalist shall be a privileged insured person.

The publisher shall be bound: (i) to pay a sum equal to 5 per cent. of the monthly salary of the journalist to the insurance institution as his share of the premium; (ii) to deduct from the monthly salary of the journalist a similar sum as the share of the contribution chargeable to the latter and to pay it to the same institution. If the journalist leaves the publisher's service, the latter shall be bound to make over to him the rights devolving upon him in virtue of the insurance contract. When an insured journalist enters the employment of another publisher who is also a member of the insurance scheme, he shall continue to be in enjoyment of the insurance in the measure provided for in these special provisions.

The institution founded by the two Press associations — the Newspaper Industry Employers' Association and the National Association of the German Press — is essentially only a regulating and intermediary organ between the insured journalists and the private companies with which the insurance is effected. As it was in a position to conduct the negotiations with all the authority conferred by the imposing number of policies to be concluded under its auspices, the insurance institution obtained extremely favourable conditions.

The journalists have the choice of two forms of insurance. Either they are guaranteed payment of a capital sum when they have reached the age of sixty-five years (in case of death before this age the sum is paid to their survivors) and a pension (which does not annul the right to the capital sum at the proper time) in case of permanent invalidity amounting to at least one third of their working capacity; or the insurance provides old-age pensions payable from the age of sixty-five years (fifty-five years in certain cases) and pensions for widows and orphans amounting to 50 per cent. and 20 per cent. respectively of the pension payable to the insured person, as well as invalidity pensions proportional to the total amount of contributions paid.

A special fund of the insurance institution constituted by special contributions of employers (equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the salaries of the insured persons) is intended to supplement the inadequate pensions of journalists who became members of the institutions when they were over forty years of age.

Another temporary fund guarantees, without previous contributions and as a transitional measure, means of support to persons of more than sixty-eight years of age.

In case of unemployment the insured journalist may suspend payment of his contributions for one year without losing any of his rights.

The system established allows a journalist who joins the insurance institution at the age of twenty-five years to acquire a pension payable at sixty or sixty-five years and equal to about half his salary.

The institution comprised 3,232 members on 1 October 1927. It collects contributions amounting to about 200,000 marks every month. The special fund for insured persons of more than forty years of age, known as the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. fund, received about 200,000 marks in 1927.

It should be mentioned that, in addition to the benefits indicated above, the agreement of January 1926 provides that if a journalist dies, the publisher must pay his salary to the next of kin for at least four months.

In *Great Britain* the law concerning compulsory health insurance and unemployment insurance contains limiting clauses, relating to the income of the insured person, which practically exclude journalists from their scope. It will, however, be seen presently that the National Health Insurance Act, which encourages optional insurance, confers substantial benefits on them.

British journalists have several provident institutions, among which must be mentioned the Provident Fund, the Aid Fund, and the Orphan Fund, all in connection with the Institute of Journalists, the Newspaper Press Fund, and various funds of the National Union of Journalists. These institutions are self-supporting, except certain funds such as the Sick Fund of the National Union of Journalists and the Provident Fund of the Institute of Journalists, which act as approved societies within the meaning of the Health Insurance Act, and which in this capacity enjoy certain advantages mentioned below.

The risks covered by these various institutions are briefly explained below:

Sickness. — All the funds enumerated above, with the exception of the Orphan Fund, insure against sickness. They derive their income from the general contributions of their members and from voluntary contributions. The Sick Fund of the National Union of Journalists and the Provident Fund of the Institute of Journalists whose organisation is of a special character in consequence of the Health Insurance Act which governs their activities, are in a category apart. This Act, which received the Royal Assent on 10 December 1911, makes all wage earners whose annual remuneration does not exceed £250 liable to compulsory insurance. For persons whose remuneration is above this maximum insurance is optional, but benefits from Government assistance. Insured persons may choose the institution with which they desire to insure. When an institution has satisfied certain conditions imposed by the Act (obligation to refrain from seeking profits, control of members, etc.) it is called an "approved society". Its organisation and its activities are then subject to Government regulation, and it receives Governmental grants.

Members' contributions, fixed independently of salary rates, are uniformly 10d. a week for men, and 9d. for women. Of these amounts, the employers are required to contribute 5d. and 4d. respectively. The Government pays two-ninths of the cost of benefits.

Benefits in case of sickness are 15s. a week for men, and 12s. for women, beginning with the fourth day of illness and for a duration of twenty-six weeks. If the illness turns to permanent disability the insured person receives 7s. 6d. a week. The right to benefit is acquired after the payment of 104 weekly contributions. If the means of the society permit, the Act authorises the payment of benefits additional to the statutory amounts.

Apart from the two institutions mentioned, there are, as we have seen, various funds that are not subject to the Health Insurance Act. One of these is the Newspaper Press Fund, to which any journalist may belong on payment of £15 15s. in one or several instalments. The right to benefit is acquired with the first instalment.

The Provident Fund of the Institute of Journalists insures its members against disability (blindness, mental breakdown, etc.). Its grants, in conformity with the provisions of the Friendly Societies Act, may not exceed £300, but supplements are added to these basic benefits. The supplements granted by the Provident Fund, which has received large gifts, recently amounted to 65 per cent. of the basic benefits.

Accidents. — The institutions that insure against illness also insure against accidents, but, as far as the latter risk is concerned, they have no claim upon the Government or employers' contributions.

Death. — The Provident Fund of the Institute of Journalists insures the lives of its members for a basic sum not exceeding £300, which is, however, often augmented by substantial supplements. When they are able to do so, the other funds grant assistance in case of death, and the Orphan Fund of the Institute grants maintenance and education allowances to the necessitous children of deceased journalists. The Fund is supported by voluntary contributions, and has amassed a capital of £35,000.

Unemployment. — The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920, which provides for contributions on the part of employers, workmen, and the Government, applies only to those non-manual wage

earners who are in receipt of less than £250 a year ; it does not therefore apply to the general body of journalists¹.

In the absence of State unemployment insurance for journalists, the National Union of Journalists and the Institute of Journalists grant unemployment allowances to their members. The funds allotted to this purpose are derived from members' contributions.

Old-Age Pensions. — The Act of 8 August 1925, which came into force on 1 January 1927, excludes from its scope non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds £250 a year. Journalists, therefore, are practically unaffected by it¹.

The Newspaper Press Fund employs a part of its capital in granting old-age pensions to a number of journalists.

It must be added that a continually increasing number of newspaper firms take steps to provide the aged members of their staffs with pensions, and further that aged journalists who are reduced to distress are entitled, like everyone else, to a small pension by the terms of the Old-Age Pension Act of 1908.

Insurance questions received the attention of *Hungarian* journalists at an early stage. Their first mutual-aid fund was founded in 1881. The results of their efforts, in the absence of an official insurance scheme, to protect themselves against the risks of illness, accidents, old age and death, are indicated below.

Sickness. — The Act of 1891 on compulsory health insurance does not apply to journalists.

The Aid Fund of the Association of Journalists, whose capital before the war amounted to 340,000 gold crowns, with an annual expenditure of about 20,000 gold crowns, was almost annihilated by the fall of the crown.

The Journalists' Hospital and Sanatorium Union was originally an offshoot of the Association of Journalists, but it is now an inde-

¹ Since a certain number of journalists may, nevertheless, be covered by the Acts relating to unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, it may be mentioned that the first of these Acts provides for an unemployment benefit of 18s. 6d. per week for twenty-six weeks in the year (*plus* 5s. a week for a wife and 1s. for each child) and weekly contributions of 9d. payable by the employee, 10d. payable by the employer, and 6¹/₄d. payable by the Government.

The second Act establishes an old-age pension of 10s. a week payable at the age of sixty-five, a widow's pension of 10s. a week (*plus* 5s. a week for the eldest child and 3s. for each of the others), and an orphan's pension of 5s. 6d. a week. The weekly contributions are 4¹/₂d. payable by the employer, the Government bearing the administrative costs and making deficits good by means of varying subsidies.

pendent institution. It procures free medical, dental, and pharmaceutical treatment for its members. They numbered 692 in 1926, of whom about 450 belonged to editorial staffs. The monthly contributions amounted to 100,000-120,000 crowns.

The Union possesses a rest home near Visegrad, where journalists may spend their holidays on reduced terms. There is free accommodation for four persons in the home.

Accidents. — The Union grants immediate assistance to its members who are injured in accidents.

Death. — On the death of an insured person, his next of kin receive a funeral grant from the Hospital and Sanatorium Union, and assistance from the Journalists' Old-Age Pension Fund.

Unemployment. — There is at yet nothing in the way of unemployment insurance in Hungary. The Association of Hungarian Journalists is actively engaged in seeking a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Old-Age Pensions. — The Journalists' Old-Age Pension Fund was founded in 1881. In 1914 it comprised 301 members, and its capital amounted to 3,600,000 gold crowns. At that time it paid monthly pensions of 200 crowns to 35 of its members, of 150 crowns to 27 journalists' widows, and of 50 crowns to 11 orphans. Unfortunately the Fund suffered the same fate as the Aid Fund of the Association of Journalists. In 1924 it was in possession of only 6,200,000 paper crowns (one paper crown = 0.00725 gold francs, or about $\frac{1}{100}$ d. Although its membership rose again to 287, the Fund could only pay insignificant pensions, hardly exceeding 6,500 paper crowns a month. Orphans were in receipt of 100 crowns a month. To rescue their aged colleagues from distress, journalists in employment remitted to the Fund 1 per cent. of their pay, and this contribution served to increase the pensions to a slight extent.

Italian journalists have for many years persistently endeavoured to obtain what is considered as an absolute necessity in their unstable profession — an insurance system capable of giving them some security as regards the future. These efforts, the first results of which were seen in the numerous funds organised in connection with the regional associations, have at last led to the institution of a national fund.

Created in October 1925 by the collective agreement of the former Press Federation, the National Provident Institute of

Italian Journalists was sanctioned by two Royal Decrees, one dated 25 March 1926, which gave it corporate status, and the other of 23 September 1926, which approved its constitution and rules. Its aim is to organise various forms of insurance. It is accomplishing its task by degrees, and uses the funds at its disposal to the best advantage, either in assuming itself the responsibility for the insurance or in serving as intermediary between the insured persons and other institutions. Until it has completely attained its object by covering all risks, it will allow the local funds to continue in existence in so far as they deal with risks not within the scope of the Institute.

The income of the Institute is constituted :

- (1) By a contribution, half of which is payable by the employers, equal to 4 per cent. of the salary of the journalists insured (collective agreement of 1 October 1925) ;
- (2) The proceeds of a duty of 20 centesimi on all receipts for subscriptions to, or advertisements in, any of the periodicals of the country (Legislative Decree of 14 January 1926) ;
- (3) 10 per cent. of the duty levied on railway tickets delivered at special rates on the occasion of big artistic, sporting or other events.

All the members of the National Syndicate belong, *ex officio*, to the Institute, which also accepts persons who are not registered with the Syndicate, but to whom the collective agreement relating to employment nevertheless applies. The Italian system of insurance at present covers the following risks :

Unemployment. — The mutual-aid funds maintained by the local syndicates generally include a special fund for the payment of allowances to necessitous unemployed persons.

Sickness. — The collective agreement of the Italian journalists provides that in case of sickness every journalist is entitled to three months' leave with full pay, and three months with half pay.

If the illness is due to the journalist's work, it is covered by the general legislation on occupational diseases.

Lastly, every journalist who is in need owing to illness may apply to the local funds, or to the National Institute, which grants assistance varying in amount according to the state of the annual balance sheet.

Old-Age Pensions. — Old-age pensions are granted in the following manner :

The National Provident Institute of Italian Journalists contracts a life insurance policy with the National Insurance Institute in respect of every journalist belonging to the former body. On 19 December 1927 an agreement concluded between the two Institutes settled the details of these insurances. The individual policies established on the endowment insurance system are for a capital sum of 25,000 lire. The National Insurance Institute undertakes to accept without medical examination all journalists registered in the course of 1928, and to treat others in a very liberal way.

Death and Invalidity. — By the terms of the collective agreement in force, the employer must pay the legal heirs of a deceased journalist the indemnities which the journalist would have received in the case of termination of services. The heirs also receive the sums provided for in the life insurance contracted with the National Insurance Institute.

On 21 March 1928 the executive committee of the Institute of Journalists approved the issue of a second life policy of 25,000 lire which would be added to the first.

In the case of permanent disability the guaranteed capital sum is 75,000 lire.

The insurance furnishes in addition a daily allowance of 25 lire in the case of temporary disability.

Luxemburg journalists are not included in the scope of the Acts instituting compulsory sickness, old-age, and invalidity insurance. These Acts contain, in fact, salary limitations, which for all practical purposes shut out the majority of journalists.

On the other hand, about a third of the journalists of *Luxemburg* belong to mutual-aid funds organised by individual papers for the benefit of their personnel. One of these papers provides its staff with a life insurance policy of 50,000 francs, and insurance against total disability to the amount of 100,000 francs.

Another has taken an interesting step analogous to the system adopted in Germany. It contracts with a private insurance society an endowment insurance falling due at sixty, combined with insurance against invalidity, for all its personnel, including the management staff. The contributions represent 8 per cent. of the salary, 3 per cent. being payable by the insured person and 5 per cent. by the paper.

The *Luxemburg* Association of Independent Journalists.

to which, as a matter of fact, the editorial staff of the paper mentioned belong, is arranging for a similar insurance in favour of its members.

Polish journalists are covered by the Act of 19 May 1920 relating to health insurance.

By the terms of this Act every insured person is entitled, from the third day of illness, and during thirty-nine weeks, to benefit amounting to 60 per cent. of his basic salary.

The contribution, the amount of which is not fixed by the law, is payable as to 40 per cent. by the insured person and as to 60 per cent. by the employer.

Risks other than illness were not covered until recently, except by mutual-aid societies organised by the Journalist's Association, and by funds instituted by a certain number of papers for the benefit of their own staffs.

This is no longer the case. An Act of 24 November 1927, which came into force on 1 January 1928, organised unemployment, invalidity, and old-age insurance for professional workers, and journalists are included in its scope.

Unemployment. — In the case of unemployment the insured person is paid an allowance equalling 30 per cent. of his average remuneration if he is unmarried and 40 per cent. if he is married. Ten per cent. is added for each member of his family supported by him, provided that the total allowance does not exceed four-fifths of the basic salary.

Invalidity. — The invalidity pension is accorded to an insured person who is no longer capable of practising the profession — that is to say, a person who has lost at least half his working capacity. It is composed of a basic pension equal to 40 per cent. of the basic salary and it is increased by one-sixth of one per cent. for each month's contribution beyond the first 120 months, provided that it does not exceed three-fifths of the basic salary. For each child under the age of eighteen years supported by the pensioner, an allowance equal to one-tenth of the basic pension is granted, provided that the pension, including the allowance, does not exceed the remuneration taken as the basis for the purpose of calculating the pension.

Old-Age Pensions. — Old-age pensions are similar to the invalidity pensions. They are payable to men at sixty-five years of age (or sixty years if they have completed 480 monthly

payments) and to women at sixty-five years also (or fifty-five if they have completed 420 monthly payments).

The widow of a journalist receives a pension equal to three-fifths of that to which her husband would have been entitled at the time of his death. An orphan with one parent receives one-fifth of this pension, and an orphan with no parents, two-fifths.

The contributions amount to 2 per cent. of the salary of the insured person for unemployment insurance and 8 per cent. for old-age and invalidity insurance. After five years the Government will, if necessary, fix new rates, without, however, exceeding 3 per cent. of the salary in the case of unemployment insurance and 10 per cent. in the case of old-age and invalidity insurance.

The contributions are divided between the employers and the employees in the proportions indicated below, which depend on the amount of the salary of the insured person.

Monthly pay	Proportion of the contribution chargeable to	
	employer	insured person
Less than 60 zloty	all	—
60 to 400 zloty	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$
400 to 800 zloty	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
More than 800 zloty	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$

The Warsaw Association, which groups about half of the journalists of the capital, grants assistance in serious cases even to persons who are not members.

In *Portugal*, there is no general insurance scheme for journalists. The Press associations have created funds for the relief of their members in case of sickness, unemployment, death, and imprisonment for offences against the Press legislation.

In *Rumania*, in default of a general provident scheme for the benefit of journalists, the Press associations have instituted mutual-aid funds whose scope includes sickness, death, unemployment, and old age. The Bucarest Journalists' Association and the Rumanian Press Association have been prominent in this work. These funds, composed of contributions from their members, afford relief varying with their means, but which does not

at all correspond to the cost of living. It should be added that some of the big papers have instituted pension funds for their staffs.

The collective agreement of the minority Press of Transylvania stipulates that the next of kin of a journalist who dies in employment shall receive from his paper, in two instalments, the amount due in case of dismissal, and which in no case shall be less than three months' pay.

In the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom*, journalists are in the enjoyment of a pension system sanctioned by law. The Decree of 25 September 1926 in addition to a chapter devoted to working conditions (including clauses concerning sick leave and death¹), contains a second part which establishes insurance for old age and invalidity.

By the terms of the Decree, the Journalists' Pension Fund, which began to operate on 1 January 1927, is placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Welfare. It provides retiring pensions amounting in the case of a person with thirty years' service in the profession, to about 50 per cent. of the salary. In case of death, the next of kin are entitled to the full pension if the insured person died while in employment. If he was a pensioner his widow is entitled to 20 per cent. of the retiring pension together with an allowance of 5 per cent. for each child. In the case of complete disability, the insured person is entitled to a pension equal to his full salary; in the case of partial disability, to a pension proportional to the degree of disability.

The income of the Fund is composed of the journalists' contributions, amounting to 2 per cent. of the salary for the first ten years, 3 per cent. for the next ten years, and 4 per cent. for a third period of ten years. Like contributions are paid by the publishers, and annual grants are made by the Government and the Association of Yugoslav Journalists. The Fund may also receive gifts and the proceeds of events organised in its favour.

The institute created by the Yugoslav Decree will not begin to use its capital before 1932. Until then the funds will accumulate.

¹ On the death of a journalist, his employer must pay the family the salary in respect of the period of notice, agreed upon between them, for the termination of services.

If the journalist dies as the result of an accident happening in the course of duty, this sum must be doubled (section 10).

Spanish journalists are not covered by any general provident scheme. The Press associations, however, have managed to organise mutual-aid funds for the benefit of their members. The great majority of journalists belong to these associations, among the most important of which are the Madrid Press Association and the Barcelona Journalists' Association. The latter has organised a free medical and pharmaceutical department, and makes grants varying from 500 to 1,000 pesetas to the next of kin of its members in the event of death.

At the present time there is no old-age pension scheme, but the Spanish Press Federation, which groups most of the journalists' associations of the country, is planning the creation of a national fund (*Montepío nacional de periodistas*) which will provide the aged members of the profession with retiring pensions.

The scheme already mentioned for the regulation by law of conditions of employment in the Press, prepared by the National Assembly, which is encountering a certain amount of opposition among journalists, provides for the institution of provident funds. These funds, which would be obligatory and controlled by the Government, would be constituted by the contributions of the journalists and by a levy on the net profits of newspapers.

In default of a general and official insurance scheme, *Swedish* journalists have three provident funds.

Sickness and Accidents. — The members of the Association of Swedish Journalists in the case of illness or accident are in receipt of relief from the provident fund of their association.

In connection with the Press Association, there is another fund, the "Norstedt and Söners Fund" which represents the proceeds of a gift, and which is intended to "help journalists in need".

Unemployment. — Every member of the Association of Journalists who is without work may ask the Provident Fund of the Association for a grant, the amount of which is fixed by the Council of the Association in conformity with the following rules: the unemployed journalist may receive a monthly allowance equal to 50 per cent. of his last salary. This allowance is paid during three months if he has been a member of the Association for five years. If he has been a member for less than five years, he receives only 33 1/3 per cent. of his salary, and if he has been a member for only a year, he receives a single lump sum of 300 crowns.

Death. — The Swedish Press Pension Fund, of which an account is given below, establishes insurance policies in favour of widows and orphans, but only an insignificant number of Swedish journalists have subscribed to these policies.

Old-Age Pensions. — In 1874, the question of old-age pensions was discussed in the Press Association. In 1882, the constitution and rules of the Swedish Press Pension Fund were adopted, and before long the capital of the Fund amounted to more than 600,000 crowns, while 20,000 crowns were paid out in pensions to about 50 persons. Anyone who was employed in a newspaper, even in the managerial department, could be a member of the Fund.

In 1905 an attempt was made to reorganise the Fund on the basis of co-operation between the Press Association, the Association of Swedish Journalists, and the Association of Newspaper Publishers; but it was only in 1922 that an agreement was reached, in accordance with which the journalists' and publishers' organisations recommended their members to participate in the Pension Fund. The Fund is maintained by equal contributions from employers and employees (the latter's share may not exceed 5 per cent. of their salary) and pays pensions not exceeding 50 per cent. of the salary of the insured person. The retiring age is sixty-two years. During the first years of the Fund's activities, pensions may not exceed 840 crowns a year in any one case.

In *Switzerland* there is no provident institution for the benefit of journalists, but an agreement signed in 1923 by the Press Association and the Publishers' Association states that :

While respecting the agreement of 1919 concerning minimum salaries, the publishers must make the following annual payments as their share of the insurance of the members of their editorial staff belonging to the Swiss Press Association :

1. For every journalist employed in the head office of a paper appearing less than six times a week, 250 francs.
2. For every journalist employed in the head office of a paper appearing at least six times a week, 500 francs.

These supplements to the annual salary constitute the publisher's share of the annual premium for the old-age and life insurances which must be effected by the publishing house, with the financial co-operation of every permanent journalist, and for his benefit. The insurance policy is the property of the journalist, but it is nevertheless under the surveillance of the publisher.

In the *United States* there is no general insurance scheme for journalists. Some big papers, however, have their own funds which insure their staffs against certain risks. A big Washington daily paper, for example, has instituted an insurance fund covering

old age and sickness for the benefit of its employees, and also a savings bank to which the firm contributes half as much as the amount deposited by each member. The sickness and old-age fund is maintained wholly at the expense of the paper, which pays contributions equal to 5 per cent. of the salaries of its employees.

The fund provides old-age pensions payable at sixty years of age and equal to 50 per cent. of the insured person's salary. Upon his death it pays the next of kin an allowance not exceeding 3,000 dollars. Finally, every insured person suffering from illness receives an allowance equal to his full salary during thirteen weeks, and half his salary during thirty-nine weeks.

American journalists benefit, in addition, from a number of foundations such as that provided for in the will of Mr. James Gordon-Bennett. This foundation occupies itself with aged journalists belonging to one or two papers in New York.

The Charles D. Haines Foundation may also be mentioned as having set up a home for journalists in Florida in November 1925.

Journalists in the *U.S.S.R.* who belong to the permanent staff of a newspaper are included in the general social insurance scheme. Outside contributors may participate only if their collaboration is of a permanent character, and if the salary they receive from the publishers constitutes their main source of income. The social insurance scheme covers the following risks : (a) sickness and accidents (temporary disability) ; (b) permanent disability ; (c) unemployment ; (d) death ; (e) maternity.

All salaried employees who form part of the permanent staff are automatically brought within the social insurance scheme. The contributions are paid in their entirety by the employers.

In theory, the situation of journalists with regard to the social insurance scheme is identical with that of industrial workers. In practice, however, journalists benefit from it in a smaller degree. The enquiry, to which we have already referred ¹, carried out by the Press Section of the Syndicate of Polygraphic Workers, shows that the fraction represented by grants from the social insurance funds amounts to 0.2 per cent. of the income of a journalist, whereas it amounts to 5 per cent. in the case of an industrial worker.

The efforts put forth by the journalists in a number of countries to organise provident schemes will be apparent from the foregoing survey. In two or three of these countries they have obtained notable results, but, generally speaking, there remains a great deal to be done.

The International Federation of Journalists has seen that this is a matter in which it could do very good work by studying and making known the systems that have given the most convincing results in practice. Among its aims, as defined in its rules, is "the examination of the best methods of assistance and insurance applicable to the profession, and their application for the benefit of organisations which desire to make use of them".

Soon after its foundation, it set up a Committee on Assistance and Welfare, whose seat was fixed at Vienna, in a country in which journalists have to their credit some of the finest achievements in the realm of insurance.

The Committee started work immediately, and it will shortly publish the first results of its investigations.

CONCLUSIONS

The end of our survey has now been reached, and it will be well to pause a moment to see if its cardinal features can be brought into relief.

What strikes a student of conditions in journalism first of all, is that it is a profession in process of organisation, a profession that is putting its house in order. Before our eyes, a concentration of effort, together with a simplification and an adjustment of the constituent elements, are little by little being substituted for a reign of chance and chaos, and the blind, pitiless play of forces sprung from false conceptions of individual interests. This phenomenon, in a sphere in which the most marked individualism has long held sway, is certainly instructive. But our task here is only to note its economic effects, and its influence on professional activity in its various forms.

One cannot but be impressed by the striving to standardise and systematise the profession. The movement towards a definite status, towards permanent conditions, is general; the desire for stability and regulation is universal. These developments present different aspects in different localities; here and there they reveal themselves in the creation of co-ordinating organs and special judicial bodies and in a codification, steadily becoming more rigid, of what was once a congeries of ill-defined customs.

One of the most salient features of this progressive organisation of the profession, this advance towards a clearly defined status, is the activity displayed by journalists united in increasingly disciplined and cohering organisations. Grouped, to begin with, in purely friendly associations, they imparted a more and more accentuated trade union character to their organisations as the industrialisation of the newspaper developed, and the economic difficulties besetting them grew more serious. They were among the first of the brain workers to see the advantages of professional organisation as a means of protection, and to employ it deliberately. They have thus given the lie to the assertion that the professional classes are instinctively hostile to all forms of professional solidarity

and to all organised effort. Here we see brain workers — and journalists are unquestionably brain workers. for they are covered by any definition which may be given to the term — who have succeeded in constituting highly combative associations, thanks to which they have achieved striking gains in various quarters.

It is difficult to say up to just what point the example of the manual workers was decisive in this respect. For a long time journalists were in a position to observe — quite near at home, in fact, among the newspaper printers — the support afforded by trade union organisation in times of economic trouble, and its part in the smallest improvement in the lot of the workers. They realised, too, what the conditions of the workers would have been without it. Moreover, several journals have for many years had columns devoted to labour affairs to which specialist writers give much time and care. These specialists were able not only to give definition to the somewhat nebulous conceptions of their colleagues, but to initiate them into the principles and the mechanism of trade union organisation. Thus, when their difficulties increased, they were quite naturally led to employ the same weapon.

Journalists in different countries, however, did not all react in the same way when confronted with these difficulties. Some, as we have seen, deliberately copied the example of the manual workers, and, unhesitatingly applied their methods as soon as they realised the advantages to be obtained by this policy. Others, seeing in their individualism, and their antipathy to all kinds of organisation, one of the distinctive characteristics of the brain worker's status, and bent, above all, on maintaining what they considered to be the hall-mark of a class of society, refused to employ methods that were looked upon as alien to the profession. It may be said that for them the trade union activities of the manual workers, far from serving as a model, were an obstacle to the adoption of defensive principles in professional matters.

Others again, who were not of the opinion that their professional status must necessarily go hand in glove with an individualism opposed to all professional solidarity, nevertheless hesitated to employ trade union methods, for fear of damaging their case before the proprietors, and thought that they would obtain better results by appearing to repudiate any combative tendency, and remaining faithful to the old system of more or less individual discussion. But as soon as the meagreness of the results achieved

by these conciliatory tactics was brought home to them, they did not think twice before following in the tracks of the manual workers. In recent times journalists have built up associations organised on purely trade union lines, and far from deploring this policy as one entailing the abandonment of some of the characteristics peculiar to their professional status, they are obviously proud of the system of agreements thereby attained and the successes won by their efforts, as well as the example of solidarity that they have given.

In many countries, moreover, the efforts of journalists encountered a fairly sympathetic attitude on the part of the employers, and this circumstance greatly facilitated the codification of working conditions in the profession. Realising that such a codification offered a firm foundation for the future relations between the various groups of which a publishing house is composed, and that by the good will and the stability which would ensue, it would assure the prosperity of the newspaper, the publishers agreed to discuss in great detail the working conditions of their editorial staffs. In some cases they consented to real sacrifices, merely making sure, by vigorous steps towards organisation on their own side, that the terms agreed upon would be universally carried out, and consequently could not disturb the free play of competition. The employers' organisation thus assisted in the work of codification, first of all by enabling the two parties to come into contact and fruitfully discuss the problems raised, and later by facilitating the adoption of reforms, the equitable execution of which by all concerned would not be open to doubt. The profession was not disorganised by any unsystematic application of the measures decided upon but was reorganised at a higher level.

We have seen that in countries where the conditions of the journalistic profession have been subjected to codified regulations there are two kinds of codes; those established within the bounds of the profession by agreement between journalists and publishers, and those of a legislative nature. For the moment the latter variety is but sparsely represented. Legislation merely sanctions the provisions embodied in agreements and gives them the force of law, or, if it goes further and propounds specific regulations, it has to be completed by agreements. In only one instance, in the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, is there to be found a legislative measure that takes precedence over all governance by collective agreements, and renders them almost superfluous by the

abundance and precision of its clauses and by the real progress that it effected.

If at this stage we examine the provinces in which the efforts of journalists have been made, the points to which they have been directed and the results obtained, we find that there are three classes of problems ; these we shall briefly survey.

The first class has to do with salaries.

Whenever defensive associations have been created in journalism, their first task has been the improvement of salaries, which had lagged far behind the inflated cost of living due to the war, and were therefore, in view of current prices, much below the 1914 level. The situation resulting in most countries from this state of affairs was an intolerable one, and it was a decisive factor in the growth of the defensive movement among journalists. The first essential was to be able to make a living out of one's work, leaving the conditions in which the work was done for later consideration. The salary problem was thus in the forefront of the journalist's cares, and his first efforts were towards a collective solution which would leave as little room as possible to arbitrary proceedings. In many countries the establishment of a minimum salary was secured ; the harmony between the entire scale of salaries and the cost of living was restored, and the editorial staffs of many newspapers were rescued from a lamentable situation. Here and there journalists have succeeded in safeguarding the advantages gained by the introduction of the sliding scale (whereby salaries vary with the cost of living), or at least by securing the right of submitting urgent and unforeseen matters to a permanent body.

The second class of problems, without exception, springs from the general anxiety with regard to security of tenure.

To co-ordinate and systematise the profession by regulating recruiting, by introducing rules governing dismissal, by delimiting carefully the grades of newspaper workers, each with its rights and duties clearly defined, and by combating the dangerous competition of amateur journalists : to make war on unemployment ; to organise insurance ; to guarantee a just and sure settlement of disputes — these are all tasks aiming at satisfying the crying need for security in a profession in which the cares of the morrow have so long predominated, and in many places still do.

We know of the important results obtained in some countries in connection with this group of problems. We have mentioned

the clauses of collective agreements prohibiting publishers from accepting free copy, and others that avoid the competition of outside contributors by compelling papers to pay them as highly as the permanent editorial staff. We have drawn attention to the safeguards surrounding dismissal, especially in one country, where the conditions attaching to it are so onerous for the employers that journalism has become a remarkably stable profession. An account has also been given of the important results obtained here and there with regard to special jurisdiction and arbitration, which journalists prefer to the ordinary courts for reasons of technical competence. Special procedure of these kinds has contributed in a great measure towards establishing security in the profession, thanks to the certitude which its members have of being judged, should occasion arise, by men thoroughly acquainted with the needs and customs of journalism. We have also brought to notice the amplitude of the provident schemes which journalists have set on foot in various countries with the co-operation of the employers, and in some cases with the aid of legislation.

The third group of problems to which journalists have devoted their attention relates to working conditions.

While it is essential to obtain a salary that makes normal living possible, and while it is necessary for the worker to be in the enjoyment of a certain security shielding him from unexpected catastrophes, and thus bringing to his mind the freedom and tranquillity without which fruitful work would be an impossibility, it is of no less importance that his task should be performed in suitable conditions. The worker must be protected from the fatigue caused by overwork, and from the harmful exploitation of his faculties, a small part of which, to say the least, he is entitled to devote to interests outside the profession. Working conditions, including hours of work, night work, weekly rest, and holidays, have been described in the course of our survey. It must suffice to recall that, in spite of the elusiveness of the questions of hours of work and night work in journalism, they have been dealt with in one or two countries by collective agreements; that the problem of weekly rest, the solution of which was rendered difficult by the modern notion of a daily paper, has been solved in many countries by legislation; and that the problem of holidays, the easiest to solve from the technical point of view, has received fairly liberal treatment in most of the existing collective agreements, and in one special law.

It may be asked : What remains to be done in the realms of salaries, security of tenure, and working conditions, from the international point of view, what conclusions may be drawn from an examination of the task which is still to be accomplished if journalists are to be assured of the protection to which, like all other workers, they are entitled? The consideration of these points will bring our survey to a close.

In several countries the salary question is a long way from settlement. Sometimes, and this is the most frequent case, salaries that were adequate before the war are so no longer, and the profession, once equipped with teams of excellent specialists, is menaced, after the retirement of the older members, with dilution and a consequent qualitative impoverishment. It is obvious that young men will not be tempted to enter a profession, doubtless full of allurements, but incapable of furnishing a decent livelihood. Answer may be made that the law of supply and demand may come into play at this moment, and that as the number of recruits falls salaries will naturally rise. This process, which occurs in other professions, would be but imperfectly realised in journalism, where the working of the law is disturbed by the large numbers of people who derive advantages from practising journalism without being obliged to earn their living by it. A paper can always find means of procuring free copy, or at any rate, cheap copy, if it does not make too many difficulties about the quality. The ease with which one can "do a bit of journalism" while engaged in another vocation is a constant danger threatening the Press, and it may, in some circumstances, notably when there is a general drop in salaries, do the utmost harm to the profession. The newspaper is not altogether a machine; in fact the human element plays the principal part. If skilled workers are indispensable merely for the supervision of moving machinery, for the running of a paper it is, *a fortiori*, essential to have a staff whose mental qualities will make its reputation. The needs of the Press clamour louder and louder for the constitution of a corps of experienced specialists, and this can only exist by the payment of adequate salaries and by the institution of various safeguards tending, not to exclude all outside contributors, but to eliminate production of inferior quality by fixing rates of pay so high that the paper automatically rejects all unqualified amateurs.

In countries where low salaries are not due to difficulties arising out of the war, but are of long standing in journalism, the situation is analogous, but with a difference. Here circumstances have not

permitted the formation of a large corps of professional journalists such as exists in other countries, and enables the Press to stand firm amid salary troubles — thanks more especially to the older men — without lowering its standard in the slightest degree. In all countries in which salaries have been inadequate from time immemorial, there has grown up a sort of co-partnership between journalism, considered as a spare time profession, and other vocations. This state of affairs threatens to disturb the development of the Press in the future, if no change occurs in the policy of newspapers in the matter of remuneration. The remark is naturally of an absolutely general nature, and does not apply to a few big papers, which, even in countries where low salaries are the order of the day, have been able, by means of exceptional emoluments, to assemble those corps of professional writers that are indispensable to the modern journal.

Not to speak of humanitarian reasons, which require that a worker who throws his whole being into an undertaking shall receive a salary that enables him to live decently, it is to the advantage of the Press that a paper should not neglect those who are its life and soul, but should rather equip itself with a staff capable of ensuring its upward progress.

It appears that employers, at least in some countries, are realising to an increasing extent that the salaries of the editorial staff of the newspaper stand in need of a thorough overhauling, and that the profession will not be properly organised in the absence of salary scales corresponding to services rendered, and thus capable of attracting to the paper and keeping them there, the types of men essential to its success. What is required is the establishment of minimum salaries adequate to the various classes of work, and, wherever possible, the institution of sliding scales permitting automatic adjustments of salaries according to the fluctuations in the cost of living, or at the very least a system providing for periodic revision, and supple enough to ward off the dangers of a crisis, such as that which journalism recently passed through. It is for the journalists' organisations, once they are soundly established, and the publishers' associations, which are quite capable of being guided by the common interests of the profession, to discuss terms and to crystallise them in collective agreements, as has already been done in a certain number of countries. It does not seem likely that international measures, unless they are very vague and general, can be brought into operation, at any rate for the time being. It is quite otherwise with questions relating to security of tenure.

Unlike the problem of salaries, the practical aspects of which are extremely varied, and which could not be dealt with at the present time in as precise a manner as is desirable, except nationally and even regionally, the problems in connection with security of tenure arise from needs so uniform that they seem particularly suited to receive solutions of an international order. Without doubt they are not all equally ripe for solution of this kind; the question of recruitment, for example, which involves that of professional training, is certainly not sufficiently advanced. Journalists are not in agreement on the subject: if they are unanimous in desiring a certain standardisation of recruitment and professional training they differ as to the means of attaining the end. The question is a live one; it has been raised in all the professional associations, but it is still in the discussion stage. It is probable that in the near future, when the experiments being made on various sides have borne their fruit, the profession will be able, with the help of experience, to reach an agreement on the methods to be employed.

The constitution of a more or less protected profession, the criteria for discriminating between the professional grades (more especially between the inside and outside status) the attitude to be adopted towards amateur journalism, in brief the entire complex of factors affecting the composition, the internal organisation of the profession, and its relation to other earnings—these are also questions which do not appear to have reached a stage of development fit for treatment by general measures at the present time. They will, however, be ripe for such treatment later on; it is not open to doubt that the evolution of journalism will lead to the constitution of a sharply defined professional corps, or that when this corp is constituted it will be useful to determine its structure by international action.

Co-existent with these problems, which, as we have said, are not yet sufficiently mature, there are those connected with methods of finding employment, dismissal, and special jurisdiction; these it does seem possible to state and treat in international terms at the present time. Valuable experience has already been acquired in these domains; it could, if occasion should arise, provide the basis for discussion. In some countries journalists have secured a satisfactory settlement of the questions, but in others little or nothing has been done. Yet the same need is found in all, and it can be satisfied only by the same means.

It is true that unemployment is not everywhere rife to the same extent, but then nothing is so variable as unemployment. It

makes an appearance where it is totally unexpected, and it may assume menacing proportions to-morrow in a locality which is free from it to-day. Methods of closely related kinds can be employed throughout the world for its prevention and cure ; indeed, if there is one problem in which the experience of one country can be usefully applied to another, it is that of unemployment. There is not the shadow of a doubt that measures for its abatement, and in particular, the organisation of employment agencies, could with advantage form the subject of international agreements.

The question of dismissal, which it is convenient to widen, and to study under the more comprehensive definition of termination of services, is in the same state. The importance that journalists in all countries attach to it is well known ; with the questions of salaries and provident schemes it forms the trinity of problems with which journalists are the most concerned, and we have seen that one of the first acts of the International Federation of Journalists was to place it on its agenda for immediate consideration. Important preparatory work has been done by the Federation, and it is certain that a full discussion of the problem on an international basis — a discussion which the work of the Federation has inaugurated in a very fitting manner — would be welcomed by all countries. If this discussion resulted in an international agreement guaranteeing journalists a minimum of security, it would be a great step towards organising and stabilising the profession. This progress will perhaps be realised. It has, in fact, been suggested that the question of the termination of journalists' services should be included in the agenda of the Committee on Intellectual Workers recently created in connection with the International Labour Office, and it is within the bounds of possibility that it will one day be brought before the International Labour Conference, which will have to decide as to the desirability of a binding international Convention.

Very much the same may be said with regard to special jurisdiction. The establishment of exclusively professional courts, which journalists are almost unanimous in desiring, would not be fraught with any great difficulty. A number have already been successfully instituted in several countries, and their adoption by the remainder would not be a vast undertaking. The International Federation of Journalists has also added this question to its agenda, side by side with that of dismissal, and if the Committee on Intellectual Workers has, of the two, selected the termination of services, it is doubtless because it is of greater concern to journalists.

The most urgent requirements need to be dealt with first ; after the profession has been endowed with a system that puts its members beyond the reach of unforeseen catastrophes, improvements can be effected in the bodies whose duty is to enforce the system and see that it is interpreted in a spirit showing the widest comprehension of the conditions obtaining in the profession. The choice of the Committee on Intellectual Workers does not in any sense mean that the question of special jurisdiction does not merit international treatment. It is, on the contrary, highly suitable for such treatment, and it is quite possible that it will receive an œcumenical solution.

The question of provident institutions is a more delicate one. It is another of the predominant cares of journalists, and though it has received a fairly satisfactory solution in some countries, in others it is still in an incipient stage, and requires to be taken in hand without delay. It is impossible to say whether it is capable of receiving a solution of an international order. In any case, it looks as though it cannot be officially examined independently of the general problem of social insurance. The journalists' organisations would do well for the moment to take up the matter themselves, basing their efforts on what has already been accomplished elsewhere. The results obtained in more than one country are most encouraging, and they can be equalled wherever journalism has attained to some degree of organisation.

There remain the questions grouped together as working conditions proper. These vary considerably from one country to another ; they depend on local usages, the stage of development reached by the Press, and the different forms assumed by it in different districts. It would be a very difficult matter to regulate them in detail, merely from paper to paper in the same locality, not to speak of a national or even a regional regime.

This is at all events true of two of these questions — hours of work and night work. At the present time neither appears to be ripe for international action. It is possible however that, when the evolution of journalism has become more uniform, a certain degree of general codification will be attained. In one or two countries, as we have shown, the weekly hours of presence in editorial offices have been fixed by agreements, and a distinction has been established between day work and night-work as regards both duration and remuneration. But in most countries only varying customs exist, and the journalists' organisations have not dealt with the problem except in a quite secondary manner. A certain change

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however in this respect has been noticeable during the last few decades, and it is not excluded that these questions will appear on the agenda of international bodies. The evolution of journalism, with its trend towards systemisation, and rationalisation in the organisation of work, seem to point in that direction.

In the case of weekly rest an immediate agreement would be easier to achieve. There is an increasing tendency, discernible not only in collective agreements but also in legislation, to apply to journalists the general principle of weekly rest, from which they were formerly excluded. It appeared as though the daily paper must for ever deprive them of this rest, but events have not justified these apprehensions, and it has become apparent that, without in any way harming the interest of the Press, journalists could be given what hardly anyone but they were lacking, namely one day's rest a week to recuperate their strength. Hence an international agreement could quite well be concluded on the subject. As far as most countries are concerned it would merely sanction an existing state of affairs, and the others could doubtless bring themselves into line without much difficulty.

We have also shown how necessary annual leave is in a profession so exhausting as journalism. The necessity is being realised to an increasing extent by the employers, but it is incontestable that in many places the subject has not received sufficient attention. The example set by certain countries may be of great use; it is sure to be followed in others as journalism develops. In any case, it is improbable that the question could be brought up for official international consideration independently of the general problem of paid holidays. For the moment it is a question to be dealt with more especially by the Press associations.

To sum up: at the present time there are two kinds of problems which the evolution of journalism raises, and which stand in need of solution by reason of its progressive transformation into a more clearly defined profession; there are general problems common to all workers, manual or intellectual, and there are problems peculiar to the profession. All are, in differing degrees, suitable for international treatment; some in the distant future, others, two or three in number, at the present time. Among the latter, in the group of questions relating to working conditions proper, weekly rest comes first, and in the group relating to security of tenure, the group that for the moment lends itself more easily to examination from the international point of view, the most important questions are those relating to formulation of articles, methods of finding

employment, and special jurisdiction. At least one is fully ripe for discussion ; the others soon will be. At all events the creation of an Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers in connection with the International Labour Office is a guarantee to journalists, as it is to their colleagues in other professions, that their demands will be given a direct hearing, and that the problems that are fit for an international solution will be submitted to the competent bodies and examined.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

A comparison of wages expressed in different national currencies is not possible except when their real value, or purchasing power, is known exactly in each case.

The essential data for such a calculation are, however, not all available. The table that follows, if used with caution, will nevertheless enable the reader to form an approximate idea of the relative value of the wages quoted.

This table has been compiled with the help of the statistical information used by the International Labour Office for the quarterly statements in the *International Labour Review* of comparative figures of real wages in a number of large towns. For this purpose the cost in each town of a "basket of provisions" consisting of the more usual foodstuffs, as calculated from the statistics of retail prices, were being taken to weight the prices of the various articles in accordance with their importance in family budgets.

The figures obtained cannot be used to ascertain with accuracy the financial position of journalists in the various countries because, in the first place, the nature and quantity of foodstuffs consumed vary from country to country, and secondly, because the figures relate only to a certain number of foodstuffs, and do not throw any light on the cost of heating, lighting, clothing, and rent, or on a number of other expenses.

In spite of these considerable limitations, the table may be of some use in comparing, in a very general fashion, the salaries of journalists in different countries.

The cost of a "basket of provisions" in January 1923, based on prices in the respective capitals, was as follows:

Austria	12.37 schillings
Belgium	14.76 francs
Czechoslovakia ¹	45.55 crowns
France	37.00 francs
Germany	7.56 marks
Great Britain	7s. 2d.
Italy	31.25 lire
Netherlands	8.77 florins
Poland	11.42 zlotys
Portugal	32.04 escudos
Spain	11.62 pesetas
Sweden	6.82 crowns
United States (Philadelphia).	2.24 dollars

¹ This basket of provisions is itself the average of six different baskets. For further details of the statistical methods employed, cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. X, No. 4, Oct. 1924.

² April 1923.

These prices enable the following table to be compiled ; its simpler figures will facilitate comparison.

In January 1928 the quantities of foodstuffs entering into the composition of the "basket of provisions", and obtainable in Great Britain for £1, cost in

	Approximately
Austria	35 schillings
Belgium	125 francs
Czechoslovakia ¹	128 crowns
France	105 francs
Germany	21 marks
Italy	88 lire
Netherlands	11 florins
Poland	32 zloty
Portugal	91 escudos
Spain	88 pesetas
Sweden	19 crowns
United States (Philadelphia)	.6.25 dollars

¹ April 1928.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire concerning Conditions of Existence among Journalists

Preliminary Note. — The following questionnaire is intended to apply to professional journalists, editors, sub-editors, correspondents, and contributors of newspapers, reporters, etc.

I. — LEGAL STATUS OF THE PRESS

1. What legal provisions must be complied with in your country in order to acquire the right to found and conduct a newspaper?
2. What legal responsibilities are incurred by the authors of articles, managers and printers?
3. What administrative sanctions can the authorities apply?
4. What supervision is exercised in matters of professional honour by Press associations and directors of newspapers?

II. — THE LABOUR MARKET

1. *Finding employment.*

Are there any institutions in your country engaged in finding employment for journalists?

- (a) Private offices;
- (b) Offices connected with organisations;
- (c) Public offices.

What are these institutions? Under what conditions do they carry out their functions?

2. *Unemployment.*

- (a) Is there any unemployment among journalists in your country?
- (b) Is there any seasonal unemployment?

3. *Employment of Women.*

Please state:

- (a) The number of women engaged in the profession and the proportion they bear to the number of men;
- (b) The kind of work which they prefer;
- (c) Whether the conditions of employment for men and women are identical.

4. *Employment of Foreigners.*

- (a) What is the number of foreigners in the profession in your country and what proportion does it bear to the number of natives? Has the number increased or decreased since 1914?
- (b) Are the conditions of work for foreigners the same as those for natives?

5. *Classes of Employment.*

- (a) Are there in your country different professional classes among journalists and are these explicitly distinguished in contracts?
- (b) If so, what are these classes?

III. — CONTRACTS OF SERVICE

1. *Legal provisions.*

- (a) What legal provisions are in force in your country in relation to the formation and contents of individual contracts?
- (b) What is the usual duration of such contracts?
- (c) What are the conditions of termination?

2. *Model Contracts.*

- (a) Are there any model forms of contract in general use?
- (b) If so, what clauses do they contain?

3. *Collective Agreements.*

- (a) Have any collective agreements been entered into between associations of newspaper proprietors and professional organisations of journalists?
- (b) If so, what clauses do they contain?

4. *Settlement of Disputes.*

What is the procedure generally adopted in case of disputes?

IV. — CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

1. Are there any laws or administrative orders in your country regulating conditions of employment among journalists? If so, what are the provisions contained therein in regard to the following:

- (a) Hours of work;
- (b) Nightwork;
- (c) Weekly rest (if a weekly rest exists, is it secured by reduction or suppression of newspapers on one day in the week?);
- (d) Holidays;
- (e) Conditions as to health and safety.

2. Are there any uniform rules consecrated by custom relating to the conditions of employment among journalists? What rules of this kind are there in relation to the points enumerated under (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) in the last question?

3. In the absence of uniform rules what is the current practice on these points?

4. Have these various conditions of employment been modified since 1914 and in what manner?

V. — REMUNERATION

1. *Remuneration.*

What, in practice, are the remunerations of the various classes of journalists in your country?

Please state:

- (a) What classes receive a fixed salary and the rate of such salary per month?
- (b) Any other methods of remuneration?
- (c) How are reporting expenses and travelling expenses in the country and abroad paid?

2. *Modifications.*

What changes have these remunerations undergone since 1914 either in absolute amount or in relation to printers' wages and the cost of living.

3. *Expenses.*

What expense is involved in the purchase of the newspapers and books and the subscription to the reviews required by journalists for the purposes of their work?

VI. — PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS

1. What provident, insurance or relief institutions exist for the benefit of journalists and their families in case of :

- (a) Sickness ;
- (b) Accident ;
- (c) Unemployment ;
- (d) Death ?

What is the proportion of the number of members of such institutions to the total number of members of the profession ?

2. (a) Under what conditions do journalists participate in these institutions (compulsory membership, optional membership, etc.) ?

(b) Is there any system of insurance securing to journalists of the classes under consideration a pension on retirement or compensation in case of dismissal ?

3. Is the position of journalists in relation to the above institutions different from that of industrial workers and in what respect ?

VII. — ORGANISATIONS OF THE PROFESSION

1. Are there in your country any organisations of journalists for the protection of the interests of the profession ?

2. Journalists' organisations, which, for a long time possessed the character of organisations for mutual assistance, are now engaged in the protection of the professional interests of their members.

Are these organisations associated with the trade union movement or with associations of intellectual workers or of employers ?

VIII. — GENERAL POSITION AND DEMANDS

1. What are the most serious disadvantages, economic and otherwise, from which journalists suffer at the present time ?

2. What reforms do they consider as urgent or desirable ?

3. What demands are they disposed to make ?