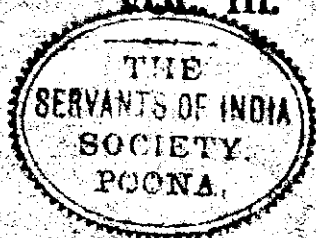


THE HOME

68
C.O.P.E. COMMISSION REPORT

VOL. III.



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THE HOME

**C.O.P.E.C. COMMISSION
REPORTS**

- VOLUME I. THE NATURE OF GOD AND HIS
PURPOSE FOR THE WORLD
- ” II. EDUCATION
- ” III. THE HOME
- ” IV. THE RELATION OF THE SEXES
- ” V. LEISURE
- ” VI. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME
- ” VII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
- ” VIII. CHRISTIANITY AND WAR
- ” IX. INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY
- ” X. POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP
- ” XI. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF
THE CHURCH
- ” XII. HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE SOCIAL EFFECTS
OF CHRISTIANITY

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THE HOME

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Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship
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BASIS

THE basis of this Conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of to-day, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society, and that it is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ there are certain fundamental principles—such as the universal Fatherhood of God with its corollary that mankind is God's family, and the law "that whoso loseth his life, findeth it"—which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organisation of society, but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed. In the light of its principles the constitution of society, the conduct of industry, the upbringing of children, national and international politics, the personal relations of men and women, in fact all human relationships, must be tested. It is hoped that through this Conference the Church may win a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and hearing a clear call to practical action may find courage to obey.

GENERAL PREFACE

THE present volume forms one of the series of Reports drawn up for submission to the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in Birmingham in April 1924.

In recent years Christians of all denominations have recognised with increasing conviction that the commission to "go and teach all nations" involved a double task. Alongside of the work of individual conversion and simultaneously with it an effort must be made to Christianise the corporate life of mankind in all its activities. Recent developments since the industrial revolution, the vast increase of population, the growth of cities, the creation of mass production, the specialisation of effort, and the consequent interdependence of individuals upon each other, have given new significance to the truth that we are members one of another. The existence of a system and of methods unsatisfying, if not antagonistic to Christian life, constitutes a challenge to the Church. The work of a number of pioneers during the past century has prepared the way for the attempt to examine and test our social life in the light of the principles revealed in Jesus Christ, and to visualise the requirements of a Christian civilisation. Hitherto such attempts have generally been confined to one or two aspects of citizenship; and, great as has been

GENERAL PREFACE

their value, they have plainly shown the defects of sectional study. We cannot Christianise life in compartments: to reform industry involves the reform of education, of the home life, of politics and of international affairs. What is needed is not a number of isolated and often inconsistent plans appropriate only to a single department of human activity, but an ideal of corporate life constructed on consistent principles and capable of being applied to and fulfilled in every sphere.

The present series of Reports is a first step in this direction. Each has been drawn up by a Commission representative of the various denominations of British Christians, and containing not only thinkers and students, but men and women of large and differing practical experience. Our endeavour has been both to secure the characteristic contributions of each Christian communion so as to gain a vision of the Kingdom of God worthy of our common faith, and also to study the application of the gospel to actual existing conditions—to keep our principles broad and clear and to avoid the danger of Utopianism. We should be the last to claim any large or general measure of success. The task is full of difficulty: often the difficulties have seemed insurmountable.

But as it has proceeded we have discovered an unexpected agreement, and a sense of fellowship so strong as to make fundamental divergences, where they appeared, matters not for dispute but for frank and sympathetic discussion. Our Reports will not be in any sense a final solution of the problems with which they are concerned. They represent, we

GENERAL PREFACE

believe, an honest effort to see our corporate life steadily and whole from the standpoint of Christianity; and as such may help to bring to many a clearer and more consistent understanding of that Kingdom for which the Church longs and labours and prays.

However inadequate our Reports may appear—and in view of the magnitude of the issues under discussion and the infinite grandeur of the Christian gospel inadequacy is inevitable—we cannot be too thankful for the experience of united inquiry and study and fellowship of which they are the fruit.

It should be understood that these Reports are printed as the Reports of the Commissions only, and any resolutions adopted by the Conference on the basis of these Reports will be found in *The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C.*, which also contains a General Index to the series of Reports.

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The Members of the Commission are greatly indebted to the Rev. W. F. Howard and Mr. Pite for material contributed to the Report. They also wish to acknowledge information afforded by the Reports of Study Circles on the Questionnaire on "The Home."

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CHAPTER I
A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT

A LARGE number of the replies to the questionnaire on the Home show that it has received full consideration by a great many people. The replies have been carefully examined and collated. The subject matter of the questionnaire was extremely wide, and the Report which we have prepared has not attempted to follow exactly the lines adopted in the questions, still less the order of arrangement. We believe, however, that in the pages which follow a consideration will be found of all the more important questions raised. In our Report we discuss the application of Christian principles to the vital relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of the family as a whole to the community of which it is part. The problems before us, therefore, concern personal, political and social morality. Thus, the housing question, which is often considered only from the point of view of health and comfort, must in our view be considered first in its bearing upon the whole life of the family in the spiritual as well as the material sphere.

Our ideas about family relations and home life, and the duties of the community towards housing and kindred subjects, require overhauling and revising from a definitely Christian standpoint. There

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has always been the need for such a revision, but it is more necessary than ever to-day. Since the Industrial Revolution, life has become more and more complex, both for the individual and for the community, and during the latter part of the nineteenth and in the present century this complexity has grown almost overwhelming. It has increased rapidly along with the development of science and invention. The whole pace of life and the currents of human thought have quickened. To-day we are faced with problems affecting our relations with each other which were scarcely contemplated one hundred years ago. The great European War, while not the primary cause of the intricacy of those problems, undoubtedly accentuated the uncertainty and doubt in which a large number of people find themselves. That many hundreds of thousands of men left their homes and went to distant parts of the world for a long period of time had in itself a profound influence. The principal effect of the war in this connection was, perhaps, the huge shock that it gave to Society.

The fact that in every generation ideas change substantially, inevitably produces conflict between the comparatively old and the young. We all remember the constant reiteration by our elders of the warnings, "When I was a child I was never allowed to do this or that, or to speak to my parents in such a way," and their mournful regrets concerning the disappearance of "the sanctity of married life," or "the decay of family life." Such phrases are by no means peculiar to our own time.

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FOUR FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED

We have attempted to answer four fundamental questions :

1. What demands are made on the family by considerations of the spiritual welfare of its individual members ?
2. What demands are made on the individual members of a family by considerations of its welfare as a spiritual unit ?
3. In what way can a family as an institution be of the greatest benefit to the community, or, in other words, to what extent can it contribute to the establishment upon earth of the Kingdom of God ?
4. What demands are made on the community by the duty of providing for the wholesome development of family life ?

The fourth question differs essentially from the first three, because any adequate answer to it involves consideration of the character and environment of the home in so far as these are conditioned by the activities or inactivities of the community rather than by the tastes and ideals of the family. The issues raised by the fourth question are considered in Chapters VI to X, and it should here perhaps be phrased more explicitly by putting it as follows :

What opportunities are within the reach of the average family for realising the ideals of family life ? What are the material conditions which prevent such realisation, and what efforts to improve

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those conditions are incumbent upon us all as members of the community ?

All four questions raise a number of subsidiary and related questions with which we have been compelled to deal. Some of them, however, involve the subject-matter of other Commissions. In a highly developed social order such as that in which we live, any adequate discussion of the family and the home really covers the whole field of human relations. So far as it is possible, we have indicated the points at which the issues we have raised are dealt with in greater detail by other Commissions, particularly the Commissions dealing with sex, education, and industry and property. We have attempted ourselves to specialise upon those issues which are more obviously raised by our immediate reference.

THE FAMILY AND HOME: UNIVERSAL INSTITUTIONS

The family and the home are institutions common to all countries and races with any degree of civilisation. There are obvious biological reasons why the family as an institution is bound to continue in some form or other as long as the human race exists. From time to time, philosophers, from Plato to Mr. H. G. Wells, have suggested the possibility that children might be regarded as the children of the State and entirely divorced from parental care and parental control. So far, however, history shows us no example of the success of such an experiment, and in our view it is unlikely and undesirable that the contingency should ever arise. It would imply,

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among other things, the disappearance of any permanent union of husband and wife. But, though the family is an abiding human institution, its character and the relations of its members have from time to time changed in the course of history. While many abuses and many evils have resulted from family life, there can be no doubt that on the whole its influence has been of the greatest benefit to the human race. It is easy to talk of its "decay," but on a broad interpretation of history we believe that the family relations have evolved in such a way as to show a marked improvement. As stated above, there are always arising fresh ideas and changes in social customs which are apt to cause jars and conflicts between the older and the younger generation. The elder in practically every period has usually assumed that it was right and that the younger people were tending to destroy either family life or something else that seemed equally important. And yet family life continues.

Undoubtedly the simplest and most familiar social unit is the family, and, as has been frequently pointed out, it is also the most rich in potential Christianity. Our Lord Himself used the word "Father" as the most satisfactory symbol of a loving God, and the word "children" as the best expression of what our relation should be to Him. In recent times, whenever the members of a social organisation have desired to emphasise in words the closeness of the bond of union between them, they have usually adopted the word "brother," and this word has stood for the higher social ideal. Thus it is in common use among members of friendly

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societies, of trade unions, of Masonic lodges and of religious communities, to say nothing of the bodies which are actually called brotherhoods and sisterhoods. "The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" is one of the most cherished phrases of our time. It expresses the faith that the solidarity and co-operation which we learnt in family life will yet become common in our wider social relations.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE FAMILY

In the earlier stages of civilisation the family was not, even in theory, held together mainly by love. Prof. Rauschenbusch says, "In its early stages the patriarchal family, from which our own family organisation was derived, was held together by stern force and selfishness quite as much as by love and kinship. Wives were dragged off as the booty of war or purchased. A patriarch with a lot of wives was a capitalist and became rich on the surplus value they created for him. His sons were his fighting outfit with which he gained and protected his wealth and property."¹ Moreover, in more primitive communities the economic nexus between the members of the family was a strong one. The head of the family directed its work and allotted its goods. He was the household priest and "the ruler and judge over his own." Custom, which gradually acquired the force of law, upheld his despotic power. In fact the law was made and the precedent set by

¹ *Christianizing the Social Order*, by Prof. Rauschenbusch, Professor of Church History, Rochester, U.S.A.

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him and his peers. He could divorce his wife or bring in other women to share her privileges, and, if she was unfaithful to him, he could kill her. On the other hand, she had no corresponding claim on his fidelity, for he had the right to do as he liked. Over his children also he had the power of life and death. Whether we examine the dawn of Eastern civilisation in India or among the Israelites, or the early history of Rome and Greece, we find similar conditions prevailing.

The Old Testament gives us an intimate insight into a number of families, either as they actually lived or as later tradition imagined them. The family relations of Jacob, David and other famous personages in Biblical history were such that no self-respecting Church could retain them as members if they acted in the same way to-day. Gradually, however, as civilisation progressed, there was a slow decrease in despotism and exploitation. As time went on the wife gained an assured legal status. When polygamy ceased and adultery was considered a crime in man as well as in woman, the basis was laid for real equality between man and wife. The relation between father and children also grew less autocratic. The killing of children by the father became rare, then illegal, and finally a crime. Instead of exploiting them for his own enrichment, the father has learnt to sacrifice himself for their education and advancement. Correspondingly, their legal status has changed.

Since the dawn of the Christian era there has been a great improvement in actual family relations as well as in the ideal of what such relations should

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be. Continually, however, obstructive forces have warred against the attainment of that ideal, and periods of progress have been followed by reactions. Sometimes the reactions have been due to misguided attempts to enforce a rigid code upon people not prepared to accept it. It is no matter of chance that the Puritanism of the Cromwellian period was immediately succeeded by the laxity of the Restoration. Those who complain to-day of the decay of family life should recall the apparent acquiescence of a large proportion of the population in the family relations of Henry VIII, Charles II and George IV.

Speaking broadly, the character of the family has passed through a slow ethical transformation. The despotism of man, fortified by law, custom and economic possession, has passed into an approximate equality between husband and wife, and children have become the free companions of their parents. Here Christianity has continually been on the side of progress. To say this, however, does not mean that Christian living has become automatic in the family and requires no religious effort. It is still one of the greatest triumphs of personality to make the home an abiding sanctuary of love, peace and beauty. The number of families which achieve any measure of success in this is still small. But yet the family as we know it to-day claims from even selfish and wayward individuals some measure of decency and love. As Prof. Rauschenbusch says, "The fact that the institution as such has been Christianised predisposes the individuals living in it to be Christian. If they are personally temperate, loving and swayed by religious convictions and duties, they will find

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the family responsive to their highest desires. If they are not, they will at least find it a restraining and disciplinary influence."

OUR LORD'S TEACHING ON THE SUBJECT

In the Gospels there are practically no sayings of our Lord which point out directly the duty of parents to children or children to parents, though He deals with the relation of husband and wife and emphasises the indissoluble nature of their union. There is much, however, in our Lord's teaching which indicates His fundamental assumptions in regard to the family. His constant use of the phrases "Father," "Son" and "Brother" show that He regarded the family relation as being the best way of exhibiting the new outlook and duty both in regard to God and man. Moreover, the story of His stay as a child at Jerusalem for discussion with the Doctors and of His subsequent action is significant. While, on the one hand, He said to His parents, "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business?" and apparently made no apology, on the other hand it is recorded that He subsequently went home with them "and was subject to them." One of His last actions was to entrust His mother to the care of His favourite disciple.

In the matter of family relations, as elsewhere, our Lord "came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it." He found a considerable degree of co-operation and love between the members of families. On the basis of His own experience, He was able to make

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clear the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind, but many of His sayings recorded in the Gospels indicate His realisation of the inevitable conflict which would often arise between the claims of the family and the claims of God. Thus, His reply to the disciple who said, "Lord, suffer me to go and bury my father," was, "Follow Me, and let the dead bury their dead." In the directions to the apostles regarding their missionary enterprises He made it clear that their message would cause family feuds. "The brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father his child, and children shall rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death." And again, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me." When He was talking to the people and someone said, "Behold, Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without desiring to speak with Thee," He answered, "Who is My mother and who are My brethren?" Then, pointing to His disciples, He added, "Behold My mother and My brethren, for whosoever shall do the will of My Father who is in heaven, the same is My brother and sister and mother." Later He said, "There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for My sake, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, and in the world to come eternal life."

The lessons to be drawn from the records of the Gospels seem to be as follows: In the first place our Lord regarded the family relations as those which most clearly revealed the spirit of love. Basing

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His teaching on this fact, He declared that family love must be extended to the greater family of the whole human race. The love of brothers must not merely be the love of blood relations, but of all men, for all men are brothers, and we are all sons of God. In the second place He made it clear that His own claims and those of the family would often be in opposition, and that when they clashed the latter must not be allowed to interfere with the higher call. Obviously, therefore, the ideal family life is that which gives to its members the best training for broader co-operation as members of the large family of the human race. As St. Paul said, "If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?"

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME NOT ENDS IN THEMSELVES

Much confusion has arisen from a failure to recognise that the family and the home are social institutions which must not be regarded as ends in themselves. Again, many conflicts have arisen because some parents have endeavoured to exercise despotic powers over their children and to bring them up in their own image. There has, moreover, been a frequent tendency to interpret the proverb, "Charity begins at home," as if it had been "Charity begins and ends at home." It was the danger of this which led Bacon to say, with that profound knowledge of human nature which characterises his writings, "A single life doth well with Churchmen; for Charity will hardly water the ground where it must first

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fill a pool." Many people although called Christians have neglected to seek for others what they have constantly sought for themselves, and have made demands quite incompatible with our Lord's own teaching. As we have already pointed out, Christ made it quite clear that where there was a conflict between the claims of parents and His own claim, the latter must prevail, and that if necessary people must leave father and mother for His sake. Yet we find well-to-do ladies regarding it as entirely wrong for their daughters to leave home in order to undertake social work in the poorer districts of our large towns or missionary work in the foreign field, although they are quite content to have other people's daughters leave home and live in their houses as nurse-maids or scullery-maids. Unless we regard the family life as a means to an end rather than an end in itself, we shall never be able to reconcile our duty to the members of our family with our duty to God and the community. While we are far from accepting the many strictures which Mr. Bernard Shaw has made on the subject of the family and "the family ideal," and while the beginning of the following quotation is no doubt over-stated, there is an important truth contained in the latter part of it. In the famous preface on "Parents and Children" he says: "The family ideal is a humbug and a nuisance: one might as reasonably talk of the barrack ideal, or the fore-castle ideal, or any other substitution of the machinery of social organisation for the end of it, which must always be the fullest and most capable life: in short, the most godly life. And this significant word reminds us that though the popular

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conception of heaven includes a Holy Family, it does not attach to that family the notion of a separate home, or a private nursery or kitchen, or mother-in-law, or anything that constitutes the family as we know it. Even blood relationship is miraculously abstracted from it ; and the Father is the father of all children, the Mother the mother of all mothers and babies, and the Son the Son of Man and the Saviour of His brothers : one whose chief utterance on the subject of the conventional family was an invitation to all of us to leave our families and follow Him."

THE HOME THE TRAINING GROUND FOR CHRISTIAN LIFE

We have tried in our Report to interpret the teaching of our Lord in so far as it concerns the relations of members of the family to one another and to the community. The family as an institution can be of the greatest possible value if its members attempt to learn forbearance and co-operation in their mutual life, and also try to apply the lessons so learnt to their dealings with their neighbours and to their public activities. But the family often fails to be a good school because some member of it acts with selfishness or despotism. For instance, the attitude of parents towards their children should be one in which their own interests are subordinated. Their desires should be only to secure the children's interests and help them take their part in the greater work which they are called upon to do for the community. The

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lack of realisation of this truth has caused many conflicts.

After considering the relations of the members of the family to each other, and trying to arrive at some kind of conclusion with regard to the ideal family life, we are led inevitably to a discussion of the material conditions which make such a life possible. If all men are our brothers, then we should try to secure for them what we would try to secure for those who belong to our own families. This will involve, not merely the extension of a spirit of brotherhood towards our personal acquaintances, nor what is commonly called charity, or vaguely termed "social work." It will involve political action. We have reached the stage at which we cannot hope to satisfy the essential material requirements of human beings merely through the medium of charity. We must establish a community which will banish want and poverty, and give to each of its members adequate opportunities for a full and vigorous life.

In saying this we do not for one moment imply that the ideals of family life can never be realised except where material conditions are satisfactory. Indeed we all know how magnificently these are overcome. Yet undoubtedly material conditions play a tremendous part in creating unnecessary difficulties and obstacles. Whether looked on from the standpoint of those who are in comfortable circumstances or from the standpoint of those who are living in poverty or in slum areas, the existence of such wide disparities of material surroundings and circumstances is a serious menace to our common

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life. In some cases children have no proper chance physically because their parents are too poor; in other cases they have no chance morally because their parents are too rich. Family life may be ruined either by the inability of the head of the family to obtain work or by the fact that he is under no economic necessity to do any work whatever. Children may be neglected in one home because their mother is always overworked, in another because she spends her whole time in outside amusements.

CHRISTIAN OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS SOCIAL ABUSES

We have, therefore, in the later chapters of our Report considered in detail many of the important social questions of our time—the results of the present bad housing conditions, the failure to plan our towns properly, the existence of poverty, the relationship of the State to children and of the mother to Society, and all the matters which profoundly affect home life and family life. Here love and faith must take control. There is a definite Christian obligation on everyone of us to see that the evils which surround us are remedied. As we have already pointed out, while much can be done by individual action, the fundamental wrongs can only be attacked by political and municipal legislation and administration. In future “to take no part in politics” must be regarded as a breach of duty. Unless those who represent us in Parliament and on Local Authorities regard their obligations from a definitely Christian standpoint, we shall never make real progress to-

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wards solving the social and economic questions which so vitally affect the welfare of the population. If they are to be solved, all those who profess and call themselves Christians must do everything in their power to get the right representatives upon national and local bodies. In no other way is it possible to create the new social order of which we dream and for which we hope.

CHAPTER II
THE FAMILY IN THE HOME

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY IN THE HOME

THE word "home" is often used for the building in which a family, or even a single person, dwells, but in the fuller sense it includes the dwellers themselves and the life they live together. This is the meaning we give it in the present chapter. In the main we are considering the *family home* as the normal unit which fulfils the great social functions of continuing the race and bringing its children through the long period of growth from infancy to manhood and womanhood.

It is the function of the family to be the first and most intimate group in the social life of humanity. Within its home the individual personality can unfold, and can learn the various forms of union with other different and complementary personalities; while around the home-centre wider contacts with social and national life develop.

If the family unit is to give the best opportunity to its members, and is to make its full contribution to the larger society of its neighbourhood or its nation, its life and its home must be beautiful.

The words Goodness, Truth and Beauty convey great conceptions, and are not very easy to define or to separate; but they all have their place in the complete family and home. Goodness implies the

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right impulse of the individuals to live to the full the life God has given them according to His Will : Truth the only sound basis for the human contacts and relations leading to beauty of life and ultimately of material surroundings. Beauty is a spiritual need, and without it we unconsciously starve ourselves. The conventions and restraints of the home, so far as such may be needed, must be directed to promote and maintain the degree of order and peace without which beauty of life and home cannot be secured. Not only should the home afford the most favourable soil for the growth within it of fine personality, but everyone who visits it from outside should go away conscious that contact has been established with a home life which has itself something to reveal, and to contribute to the common stock.

This does not depend on luxury ; it depends on loving care for the details of the home, on thought in their arrangement, and on taste in their selection ; but perhaps more than anything else on a harmony between the home and the life of the home. If the life of the family is a good and beautiful life, nothing will add more to the charm of the home than the expression of its complete adaptation to that life, however simple in its scale the life may be. Space in the house and in each room, allotted to the work, the culture, or the play, each according to the family value set upon it ; colours, furniture, decorations and ornaments, chosen because they, or their associations, are loved by some or all of the family ; these things lead to expressiveness, and, with a very moderate endowment of taste, to beauty in the home.

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Care for the life of the family and truth in expressing its habits do not demand or excuse the want of equal care and consideration for the visitor, who may be made to feel a true contact with the actual family life without necessarily being made to share all the sacrifices of comfort or luxury which the individual standard of the particular family may cause it to choose. In view of the imperfection of human faculties some conventions and restraints are always a necessary condition of social intercourse. The family should be the sphere in which these may be the least irksome and the most fully understood. As the sphere of contacts expands, conventions and restraints must increase. Good manners in the home and in society spring from a nice appreciation of these conventions and an understanding of their purpose, coupled with a desire to make them easily complied with and fearlessly set aside when the spirit of good relations clashes with the letter of convention.

The home is a natural unit needing no higher sanction than the very conditions which make it possible. It is one of the greatest witnesses to the nature of God. There are, therefore, many beautiful examples of home life outside the Christian religion, but the force of centuries of Christian example has combined with natural law to bring something like the ideal we set out within the reach of any two partners.

The home is the test of other social organisations which, however far they deviate in practice from its ideals, pay homage to them. The "father of his country" is the ideal ruler. "Patriotism"

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and the "mother country" are expressions that show that man's highest social hopes are in an extension of the principles of the home to wider associations.

Because of the primary quality and strength in the institution of the family its relation to religion is vital. The regenerating power of religion in other social organisations can at best be temporary, if not entirely illusory, unless it is the foundation of home life. But if religion is intimately related to home life, it will spread, with the other influences of the home, into all the wider associations of men.

Herein lies the importance of the Christian home. Jesus came to fulfil. He accepted the home as a natural organisation and filled it with spiritual power. He showed that if Christian home life was strong, Christian influences would prevail in the world.

The foundation of religion is in the influence of the home on children. Even those who would not be termed religious at all are conscious that they owe what religious ideas they have to what they learnt in their homes. The Church itself is constantly and naturally being recruited from Christian homes, and it is to the reality of the faith as seen and taught there that we must look for the main method of preserving and increasing its best life. If the place and method of the home were understood and taught, the foundation would be truly laid for the structure of the new society and the unit of power for its realisation discovered. Whatever ideals the citizen is to have, whatever

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principles he is instinctively to act upon, must first be found in home life and in family relations.

The answer to the questions with which we are faced is, therefore, of supreme importance. The life and ordering of the Christian home must be the foundation of the whole Christian order of Society.

The basis of the home must then be the same as the basis of Christianity—LOVE. Without love the machinery of the simplest household breaks down; it cannot even fulfil its purely material functions satisfactorily, and it certainly cannot be the leaven of Christianity for the whole world. According to the extent to which family life is governed by love will the family fulfil its important part.

If the ideal of a home filled with such unselfish love makes us conscious that we have all failed in some degree—whether from selfishness or thoughtlessness or hypocrisy—it also shows the causes of failure and the reasons why the average, ordinary home is the source of so much strength, beauty and healing. This is not, therefore, to set up a practically impossible ideal. To think so is to mistake utterly the purpose both of an ideal and of Christianity. An ideal is not for condemning but for leading into a healthy growth.

Love, it is true, means sacrifice; and the greater the love the more acute will be the pain for all when any member of the home suffers. Only a great vision can make that sacrifice be accepted willingly. But the Christian has that vision. Love is the centre of his faith and it covers the whole field. Failures of any kind or description in family relations

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and in the influence of home life rest at bottom on lack of love.

To discuss the actual application of this rule of love presents many difficulties. There is a danger of appearing to enunciate a series of platitudes which are too obvious to need statement. We are fully aware that much of what we say may appear obvious. This, however, does not remove the necessity for stating it. Until we are able ourselves to live in accordance with what we regard as obvious truths, those truths must be reiterated and restated. Again, the subject is so intimate and complicated that our own views are inevitably coloured by the homes we know. We cannot avoid this limitation. Every reader will think of problems in family relations known to himself and judge how the universal law of love should be applied in particular cases. He may also have studied family relations in works of fiction—in such novels as *Pendennis*, *Richard Feverel*, *The Forsyte Saga*, etc.—and considered why the home described failed to be a success. We cannot cover every circumstance in family relations, and it is not so easy to depict the family strength as the family weakness. Yet, if family relations are as fundamental as we believe, the subject is too vitally important to be passed over without fuller comment.

We recognise that the causes of home-making are complex. People act at least as much from instinct as from reasoned purpose. The desire to “have a home of one’s own” may have nothing to do with marriage or parenthood, though it will gain in force when these two come into play. It is the instinct for

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self-realisation, which demands a place for the expression of personal tastes and activities as well as for privacy and retreat.

But the fullness of meaning requires, in addition to these, the instincts for mating and for the making of a family. These work together, but they are sufficiently distinct for one or the other to be at times practically lacking. In some communities it is the rule rather than the exception for marriage to be arranged without reference to "romantic love"; regard being given chiefly to the establishment of a family. Conversely, there are many marriages based on purely personal attraction with little or no concern for the responsibilities of home-life and parentage. It cannot in fairness be said that the average results of the former are worse than those of the latter; probably from the simple point of view of "running a family establishment" they may be better. Sometimes, where the matching of personal qualities has been fortunate, such marriages may provide the ground from which a genuine love of the best kind will spring. Similarly, the romantic love may be wiser in its unpurposed selection than any other mode of choice, though the results of its mistakes may be the more tragic. But the home can only find a really satisfactory embodiment when both forces are working together. There is no need to stress the tragedy of a loveless marriage or a loveless home. Physically it may meet some of nature's purposes, but spiritually it is a failure.

Romantic love is then a firm foundation if it means more than mere mutual attraction. The outlook of people approaching marriage need not be

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identical—for differences are often valuable—but they do need to have a common vision of life and a deep understanding of each other. They are beginning a joint life whose influence is far-reaching for them and for the world, and they should face this fact. Above all they should know what marriage means and how it requires the full co-operation of all faculties—of body, mind and spirit. A great responsibility rests, therefore, on their parents and the home they have created. For parents to interfere after the choice of a mate has been made is generally useless. It is from the atmosphere of the home, from the lessons learnt there of mutual adjustment and forbearance and of the principles on which the parents' life is based, that the children will come quite naturally to choose their right partners. They will see the full significance of marriage and what it means—the greatest opportunity both for self-realisation and joy and for service.

Failures in married life are due to lack of love or to encroachments by the enemies of love, such as hypocrisy or selfishness. They may also be due to a misunderstanding of what love really means. Both romantic love and the love of one's household may remain largely egoistic, a preoccupation with one's own emotions, an appropriation of desired objects for the gratification of self, rather than what our Lord taught as love. This, in the words of the Apostle, is a love that "seeketh not its own," but the good of those who are loved, and finds its inspiration and its power in the love of God in Christ for us.

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Love is "a way of living." Of its nature it must grow and deepen; and the effort foreseen in marriage must be continually kept up. If this is realised, disappointment will not make the spirit dissatisfied. Love is always exploring and seeking a still fuller life; there are always more discoveries to be made and more experiments to be tried. It is too often forgotten that courtship should last as long as life. Sometimes even ordinary sociability and courtesy are left behind.

There are certain things for which everybody, single as well as married, seeks in his or her own home. They are quite legitimately looked for by both husband and wife, but if demanded as rights may be obtained only at the cost of clashing of wills and the defeat of one or the other. In any case, the fine flavour of the satisfaction will be missed. But where love is watching to serve, not only are the needs more fully met, but the true home spirit finds embodiment.

It must, of course, be an intelligent service. The husband who is relieved of all responsibility in his own home on the ground that business cares are sufficient for him to bear, or the wife who is "shielded from all anxiety," is not so much served as excluded from a great part of the other's life.

The solicitude to save the other from all trouble and pain is, in fact, often merely a subtle form of selfishness; it is not so much the other's pain as the effect of it upon ourselves that we want to avoid. The greater service is not to shield from effort, pain or trouble which it is the other's right to bear, but by sharing it to help in its mastery.

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With the grosser forms of selfishness which mar family life and often wreck homes—such as brutality, drunkenness and gambling—it is not necessary to deal, but a spirit of giving is needed in great measure in all aspects of family relations. This spirit is more than unselfishness, for that is a purely negative virtue. It is rather a positive joy—a natural part of love—involving no conscious sacrifice, for we rejoice to do it. Between husband and wife this spirit will be in constant operation, and where there are children the need for it is intensified. There is of necessity a large amount of drudgery and irksome work which easily leads to a sense of overstrain or injustice unless the drudgery itself becomes transmuted into a thing of joy by the ordering of love and by the help of the other partner. Towards and from the children this attitude must be maintained, even to the time when they have homes of their own or stay at home after they have grown up. It means that parents will often see events taking a different course from any they could have foreseen or wished. Family life demands great faith.

Some parents who have preferred to live a life of simplicity first find real difficulty when their children grow up. A conflict comes between the parents' ideals and the children's material advantages. The parents will realise that they should not surrender their own ideals, just as they would not wish the children to surrender theirs for them.

Nor must selfishness be allowed to envelop the family itself as a unit. Neither the family nor members of it should become so absorbed in itself

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that it neglects to cultivate outside interests. The home that concentrates solely on the welfare of its own children to the exclusion of other children is failing to see the vision of home life in relation to humanity. It is not really Christian, just as, on the other hand, there is something lacking in the Christianity of those parents who are so engrossed with world problems that their own homes are excluded. There may be a conflict of duties—both extremes are bad.

One of the forms which selfishness takes is that of jealousy, which is the outcome of the egoistic element in romantic love. There is, of course, a rightful exclusiveness in the relations of husband and wife, but it is only achieved by giving and not by demanding. We are here concerned, not with the sins against love which violate that exclusiveness, but with the jealousy that presses it beyond its rightful bounds.

This jealousy on the part of husband or wife may view with suspicion all friends of the other sex or even of the same. It may be oblivious to the truth that the growth of personality in each requires much greater variety of human association than any one being can give to another, and that this varied association does no violence to the sacred bond at the centre. The jealousy is almost wholly instinctive and can be dangerous. It should, therefore, be recognised and laughed away. Such friendships springing from a Christian home are of benefit to all concerned, and should be approved by the general Christian conscience.

One of the main pitfalls in married life is lack

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of mutual understanding. It is easy to feel that little things do not matter and are hardly worth considering. But in these little things is the germ of trouble, and the beginning of the loss of the essential balance. Frank and full discussion is necessary all the way. And, further, there must be agreement on joint action about everything. We select five things for special mention.

(a) Hypocrisy is the greatest enemy to any society. In the home it is fatal. This is most clearly seen where the spirit has gone out of religious forms; where pious practices and pious phrases make religion forced or sham. Against this there should and must be revolt, for it is unspiritual and tries to impose by force what can only be learnt by love. There must be no pretence or sham whatever in family relations, and least of all in their spiritual aspect.

(b) Love increases the power of friendship and would not countenance the giving up of pre-marriage friends and interests. A right attitude towards relatives also is of fundamental importance. The friends and relations of the other partner must be accepted and welcomed.

(c) It is not our province to discuss matters of sex and sexual relations, but the dangerous results of lack of mutual respect and confidence in this matter are so devastating to married life that we must point out the urgent importance of mutual discussion and understanding of any matters connected with it.

(d) True co-operation is impossible unless both parents know the financial position of the home.

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The husband earns his contribution to the home in cash payment for his services elsewhere; the wife gives her contribution by direct service. Both are of equal value. It is the family's money and not that of any one of its members. Thorough frankness here breeds the only family responsibility worth having, and there is much to be said for a joint bank or savings account.

(e) The training and education of the children is from the beginning a joint undertaking. And later on parents should consider the kind and place of education most suited to the individual child and try to keep in touch with its interests and teachers.

To keep even the smallest matters undiscussed does not prevent friction. It increases it in the end. It may be said that lack of sympathy in tastes ought to have been thought of before marriage, and that it is very difficult to remedy afterwards. Unfortunately it is too often the case that powerful personal attraction in one or two respects has obscured a diversity, even an opposition of intellectual and æsthetic interests, and this abides when the glamour of romance has passed. As most people want a home of their own for self-expression, it may become very difficult to express both personalities in the same home. This may lead to a struggle for the mastery, or to a drifting apart, so that the home is only an expression of the dominant self or a bit of crazy patchwork. Here again it is only the genuine love that seeks the other's good that can save the situation. It will at least respect the other's tastes, and such respect is the first

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condition of a possible sharing. As with friends, it will have to be recognised that there are more appreciations and satisfactions in any one personality than can be fully shared by any other one, and that to exclude all that is not common to both is to dwarf both. But the love that affords each other scope for self-expression, even though it begin, like Boffin's Bower, with part of the same room given to the "high-flier after fashion," and the other part to the homely comfort of an inn, will end by making the divers tastes complementary and creating a home that is more than "the sum of its parts."

Divergent tastes and opinions are bound to show themselves, and the only way to deal with them is to talk them over. And when, as may happen in the best of families, the jars do come, the point at issue must be discovered and faced. It is little use trying to make a virtue of patient endurance alone. The cause of friction should be thought and prayed about, and some definite step be taken to remove or minimise it.

The essentials of happy married life—truth, beauty, unselfishness and frankness—are simply the fruits of love, and the causes of failure are one and all due to people being too self-centred.

The ideal family as we picture it would start with all the romance of love. This love would be coupled with a realisation of mental and spiritual sympathies which would be so complementary to each other as to ensure that, as the years of married life rolled by, love would continue to grow and deepen. This will be achieved by co-operation in all the relations of family life, by complete free-

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dom of mental intercourse, by the tenderest consideration, and above all by a common desire that the lives of parents and children shall be ordered by continued communion with our Lord. When children come, the ties will be strengthened and tightened and the co-operation made more real in their up-bringing. By each member desiring the others to express their own personalities as much as he desires to express his own, all will be bound together by the attempt to make "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and thy neighbour as thyself" the fundamental rule of life.

In the true home Love Himself will be the Head of the house and His Spirit will pervade and test everything. Even those who but touch that home and pass on will feel that it is ruled by a spirit and a law that is not of the general world, and that there flows from it a determination to create love and joy and peace and make them possible in every home and habitation in the world.

CHAPTER III
PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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THE HOME A TRAINING-GROUND FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD

THE family home is not complete until husband and wife become father and mother. The coming of children has two profound effects: (1) it modifies the relation of husband and wife to each other, and (2) it introduces fresh *persons* into the home.

1. *The relation of parents to each other.*—We have said that while romantic love is the indispensable basis of home life of the best type, it may retain strong elements of egoism. A well-known cynical saying defines the absorption of each partner in the other as “*égoïsme à deux*”; a kind of co-operative selfishness. Parenthood seems to afford the readiest and most natural way of transmuting this into something that makes less appeal to passion but is of finer and more abiding worth.

There is a joint responsibility for someone else; a responsibility which from its nature calls for at least a certain amount of sacrifice. A new bond of interest is created, demanding a new kind of co-operation. There is an immediate challenge to the other-regarding love to which the romance should have been the natural prelude. If it is

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taken up, the mutual self-giving for the children brings a development of personality that is the richer for being not consciously sought.

To achieve this result, the co-operation must be real. Children must be neither "my" children nor "your" children, but "our" children. The mother naturally has most to do with the children, especially at the first, and her very devotedness may seem to push the father aside. He on his part, perhaps unconsciously, may tend to resent and become jealous of this deflection of time and interest which had been given to himself. On the other hand, the father may be so moved by the instinct of pride in offspring and continuance of his family line as to make his wife wonder whether she has been wanted for any other reason. These are the old pitfalls of jealousy and exclusiveness in a new form. A frank facing of the matter in the spirit of real love at the beginning will lead to making room for both fatherhood and motherhood to find expression, and holds out the only hope of settling satisfactorily the inevitable clashes of opinion.

Parentage, indeed, at every stage affords the fullest opportunities for the sharing of confidence and playing of different but complementary parts. What is given and what is received are reciprocal, and often the opportunity to give is itself the best gift that can be conferred. Neither parent should seek to "spare" the other the responsibility, pain or trouble that the true father or mother would be hurt to miss. Each has something that the other cannot ordinarily give, and children that are

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jointly loved do not, in spite of an exaggerated psycho-analysis, set one parent over against the other.

2. *The relation of parents to the children.*—The Christian principle of the sacredness of personality has already done much to deliver the child from being merely the chattel or the plaything of the parent. But it has yet much more to do. When Jesus "took a little child and set him in the midst," He set forces at work more powerful than the replacement of one code by another. The fact that each child in the home is a *person* challenges love itself to more intelligent and understanding service. It is a great thing to care for physical health by good feeding, clothing and similar ministrations. It is greater to give a good education. But the greatest is to develop a character. This is generally more dependent upon the home life than upon all other influences.

(a) *It must be the child's own character.*—The home has one supreme advantage over other institutions. Its laws and habits spring almost wholly out of its life and are not imposed by rule. The discipline of the home is natural, and therefore in a unique way it is a place for real education for prospective citizenship both of the Kingdom of God and of the world. Education received at home is not really given by a series of authoritative parental prohibitions, but by unselfish, temperate example and an appeal to the mind and heart by truthful and rational explanations. It is what they see rather than what they are told that has weight with children, and an atmosphere of understanding,

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frankness and sympathy does more than any direct teaching.

A standard of conduct, however excellent, that is merely enforced from without is liable to fail in important respects. It will be of no use to the grown boys or girls when they have to stand on their own feet and make their own decisions. Even while they are children, if it does not in some way command their own assent, it will lead to evasions and a sense of resentment. There is a strong case for the modern psychological belief that mere repression of instincts and desires leads to much mischief both of a physical and a moral nature.

This applies to tastes and abilities, as well as to what are more narrowly considered as morals. Where these are discouraged because they do not accord with those of the parents it may lead to the thwarting of the child's own personality and the loss of much that he might contribute to the common life. Parents will try to grow alongside of their children and be their real friends. For parent and child to differ is natural, but the parent who is a friend will at least understand how the child came to its conclusions, and not be so divorced in understanding as to put differences down to sheer "wrongheadedness." Nor is it necessary to maintain a tradition of parental omniscience, which is soon found out. A frank avowal of ignorance, and a readiness to contribute what one does know, will command much greater respect.

It is hardly necessary to say that parents should treat all their children with impartiality, and make it clear by action as well as word that boys and girls

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are of equal value, but in addition both boys and girls will be expected to contribute equally to the home and to their share of its service. No unfair proportion should fall on either the boys or the girls nor on any one of them. And towards them all the parents will remember that they grow in mind as well as stature, and be careful to treat them according to the years they have attained, and help them to reach full independence.

(b) *It must be a social character.*—The home itself is a society, in which the child must somehow adjust his own self-expression to that of others. There is here much opening for conflict, which is of frequent occurrence. Children have a keen sense of justice, and it is natural that this should be most sensitive about what is due to themselves. But in a really good home they learn to regard the just claims of others and discover that in a little community where this is done they find a fuller expression of themselves than when each has to fight for his own hand.

Amongst themselves they learn the first lessons about human nature and about leadership, co-operation and mutual forbearance. They learn to live together with others of differing temperaments and capacities, in peace and common service. The home makes a small world in which to learn both the pleasant and the disagreeable before entering the larger world.

In the main this training is gained unconsciously from the tone of the home life, but there are certain social matters worthy of mention which the parents will watch with especial care.

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It is at home that the value of money and the economics of spending should be taught.

The scale of living adopted by each family represents a rough measure of its consumption of the wealth available for the community, the share of the common stock which is appropriated to its maintenance. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, that each family should adopt such scale of living and expenditure within its available means as may be necessary for the efficiency of its members in their several callings, such as will secure reasonable intercourse with those who are working on allied lines and whose fellowship may be necessary to efficiency, and will enable a sufficiently wide experience of men and things to be enjoyed, according to the needs of each. Expenditure in excess of such a standard seems to fall into a different class, much more difficult to justify, much more open to the various criticisms which all needless consumption of wealth tends to call forth. Incidentally it is often found coupled—even in many so-called Christian homes—with the grave scandal of a wicked delay in paying bills, and even not paying at all. A great number of the bankruptcies among tradespeople is due to the failure to pay bills on the part of those who could well afford it.

We feel, therefore, that children should realise that in the home of each Christian family any expenditure which goes beyond what is required for the efficiency of its function or for the development of its real culture should be scrutinised with care and with suspicion, and should need some definite justification on grounds more worthy than

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those connected with social climbing or personal ostentation. If this course were adopted much of the scandal associated with great wealth would be removed, and incidentally a fund of some magnitude would become available which in various ways might help to level up the condition of many whose family spending is clearly below the minimum standard.

It also is not fair to allow children to grow up in ignorance of great social evils like drinking and gambling, or with strange half-morbid fears or unsatisfied curiosity about the "evil world." They must learn the facts and the reasonable Christian attitude as far as the parents understand it towards these as well as lesser problems of Christian conduct about which there may be difference of opinion.

Lastly, there must be education in the meaning of lasting love and of marriage. In the first place, to the parents falls a special responsibility with regard to sex. Sex facts must be taught with absolute frankness at home and from an early age: and it is the duty of parents to learn the best way of imparting this knowledge. Another Commission is dealing with what is called "sex teaching," and we would only say here that the frankness which imparts what ought to be known at the proper age is not inconsistent with a wise reticence—a reticence that implies sacredness and in no sense shameful.

In the second place, means must be found for wholesome and natural friendship between the sexes throughout growth, and every opportunity given for mixing with a wide social circle to enlarge understanding and range of choice. Over and above

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this for the children will stand the knowledge of what love and marriage means for their parents, who will unconsciously demonstrate its co-operative freedom and, while urging foresight, will show that romance is part of the life of the spirit and comes first, however serious economic considerations may be.

(c) *It must be a religious character.*—It is the concern of both parents to undertake the religious education of their children as a natural and simple part of the home life. Too often it is done by only one, or by both without complete agreement. Here, once more, example is much more valuable than precept or rule. If the parents really draw near to God regularly and with joy, the children will naturally do the same. The early formation of religious habits stands everybody in good stead. Habit within reason is the ground of efficiency. There can be no freedom until the method is mastered. Yet religious observance simply as such may become artificial and a real hindrance later on if parents are not ever watchful that the right balance is kept, so that habits, however useful, are not merely habits but have reality and life behind them. It is sometimes urged, with a show of fairness, that all teaching of religion should be left until with matured mind the grown man or woman is able to make an intelligent choice. In actual life this is not possible, for a child naturally seeks God from the very start. Moreover, neither the mind nor the heart can be kept like an unused slate through all the years of childhood. Something gets written on it, and if no care is taken to

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see that what is written is true and worthy of the child's acceptance, the result will be a curious mixture of beliefs, prejudices and superstitions, as is too frequently the case. The child cannot help forming some ideas and, what is of chief importance, making his personal response in life. He will put something in the supreme place and give it his allegiance. He will be moved by some guiding principles, will have his own standard of good and evil, and will put his faith in some power. If he does not trust in God, there are other gods that children and men make for themselves.

The importance, therefore, of the training element in home life is difficult to exaggerate, as it is in the home that character is formed. The moral standard, the social ideals and all the spiritual values are learnt consciously or unconsciously at home. Children leave the home with an attitude to life which it is very difficult to change. And in facing the world they have but to turn the good habits of home to the service of the community, to possess the highest standard and the best prospect of success. If this or anything like it is achieved, the home has fulfilled its function in society and in the universe. It has given to its founders the fullest, most useful, and most joyous life, and sends out its young members into the world equipped at all points to meet it in service of their own day and generation.

3. *The relation of children to parents* will be on the same basis. They have their duties and responsibilities too, and in a home after the pattern we are describing they will have been brought up to enjoy

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helping from the start. They will learn in the fellowship of the family its own rules of conduct, one to another. As they grow up it is for them to settle how much time they can give to outside work and still take their fair share in the work of the family. They will learn to distinguish the true respect for parents from the false, the one that springs from love and sympathy from that which is based on fear or the expectation of gain. And also the children as a group, whether married or single, will face their responsibility for the care and comfort of their parents' old age.

Every generation seems to have deplored the increasing laxity of the younger folk and a breaking away from parental authority and influence, so that the present age might be considered merely to repeat a usual experience. There are good reasons, however, for believing that it is one of those special times of transition which occur now and again. The general spread of education, the linking up of all parts of the world, and the extraordinary development of the Press have brought all kinds of problems within the range of boys and girls, and they feel themselves more or less equipped to deal with them on their own account. There has also been a great change of custom and public opinion, removing many restrictions, particularly in connection with the choice of recreations and the conditions under which these can be enjoyed. Possibly the reaction may have been over-stressed in some measure, and the years of war were not helpful. If anything has been lost, it seems clear that it will not be regained by attempting to restore the coercive methods.

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Children must be brought to understand what is due from them to their parents and to give it as the right and natural thing.

The general Christian conviction and teaching might well be more definite in this matter. It is more fitting that the Church should instruct the children in the honour due to their parents than that these should have to claim it for themselves. The best parents are the most sensitive about demanding as a right what they value most when given spontaneously; the others too often obscure the real reasons for it by the manner of enforcement. It will also have a fuller meaning for the young people themselves when it is put to them as part of God's good purpose, recognised as such by the community to which they belong.

CHAPTER IV
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CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY

WHILE in a true sense the family is the "social unit," it is not self-sufficient for the fuller purposes of life. It has much to contribute to, and it has much to receive from, the wider life of village, town, nation or the world. The families taken collectively *are* the community, and from them come continually the new citizens, giving a perennial freshness of vigour and possibility of advance to better things. This, however, is dependent upon the new-comers taking up in full the rich inheritance of acquired experience and knowledge and increasing it by rightful use. There are always dangers of retrogression as well as hopes of progress. The relations of the home and the community are therefore of supreme importance. The ideas, principles and purposes which the children are gathering in the homes to-day become the moulding forces of the nation fifteen or twenty years hence.

The question of the attitude of the family to the wider life and interests of the community is difficult. There is the vexed question whether Clubs, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, and similar activities impoverish or enrich the family life. It seems that in so far as each member brings back to the family all the enrichment of his own personality, all the fun

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and joy and interest that he has had, they must enrich it. But if the member ceases to have interests in the family, and to care only for the club, then family life is poorer. It is really the use and not the abuse of clubs that is important. The same applies to the clubs of either parent. Outside interests are essential for all the family, if the family life is to be the best possible. Our civilisation is too complex to allow of isolated family life, and where artificial isolation is attempted the community and the family both suffer. Marriage has been called the "death of public spirit." There is something radically wrong if this is so, for the family is not an end in itself. It should be the greatest support of a true community life.

Class distinctions present one of the great difficulties in the building up of a sound home life. They encourage family selfishness, giving a false class standard to be lived up to, and confusing function with worth. Real religion in the home will fight this by setting up its own true standards. Personalities and persons will be valued—possessions and material things will be subservient to them. To the Christian the individual counts most. The material environment of the home, though important, is not of first importance. If possessions were really subordinate to persons, many of the worst features of our present class distinctions would disappear.

If a sense of brotherhood is essential to Christianity, it becomes one of the most important duties of the parent to preserve in the child that sense of equality which most children instinctively

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possess, and which is destroyed by our artificial conditions. If we wish to abolish false class distinction we must educate our children with our neighbours'. This does not mean that we must send our children to any school of whose education or conditions we disapprove. It means that our choice must not be made on a purely class basis, and if we want the best for our own children, as Christians we must want it for all children.

We must also face the *Domestic Service* problem. In a really Christian community, the people who most need help, the aged and infirm and mothers with young children, would have the first claim on the services of the community. In our topsyturvy world, the mother with young children is often driven by financial stress to work for the wealthy, able-bodied and childless woman. The making of beautiful and clean homes should be considered a service of great value to the community.

The work of the home should be regarded as an honourable calling, but it will not be so as long as the worst rooms and the worst food are given to those who do it, and grown-up people are expected to call small children "Master" and "Miss" without receiving any such courtesy themselves from the children. We have forgotten the reason for domestic service. We should have it because we are not able through lack of time to do all the work ourselves. From that standpoint some of us have drifted into a frame of mind that makes us expect personal service as a due and not because we need it. We want an entire change of values—a real belief in the Christianity we profess.

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1. *What the family contributes to the community.*— In the home, the social relations and the spiritual atmosphere are, generally speaking, in marked contrast from those prevailing in the outer world. It is, for instance, impossible to base the relations of the members of a family upon the ability of each to take what he can for himself, or even upon relative merit. While it is the good of each, rather than the reward of merit or ability, that is assumed to be the purpose of all, the common good of the family is also the regulator of what each does and receives. It is not asserted, of course, that this co-operative harmony is found in perfection simply through the fact of family life, or that the members have in all cases consciously made it their ideal. But it seems undeniable that from the nature of the family association it is generally assumed, and selfishnesses and “family jars” are felt to be faults and failures because they are in conflict with it. So within these natural social units there is constant witness to the kind of social life that is the hope of what the larger social groupings may become, a rebuke and challenge to the wrong standards of the outer world, and a refuge from its rougher self-seeking ways.

Our Lord, in bidding us pray and work for the coming of the reign of God on earth, made the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man the basis. If the average home, so largely moulded by instinct and tradition, by its simple existence points the way to a better order, there are endless possibilities where the will of God is consciously and purposefully sought. The home will be the training-

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ground for the practice of service, and in this way the real Co-operative Commonwealth may eventually be built up, replacing our selfish acquisitive society by one more in harmony with the law of love which our Lord taught as the only truly practicable principle of social life.

2. *What the community contributes to the family.*—

It is only in thought that we can separate the giving by the home to the community and the giving by the community to the home. In actual life they are reciprocal. In material things the bread-winners of the family have, in the vast majority of cases, to give their labour in some shape to meet the needs of others, in order that they may draw from associated production the maintenance of their homes. The problems of housing and the development of towns are far too difficult and complex for separate families to solve for themselves. These material conditions and some of the social considerations involved are the subject matter of later chapters of this Report. On the spiritual side there are some things to be said here.

(a) It is through the community that the family shares in a larger social life. Comradships formed with members of other homes do not impoverish but enrich one's own. However strong may be the attachment of parents and children, brothers and sisters, it will be all the better for friendships formed with other households whose ways are not quite the same and whose members bring different ideas and points of view from those that have become perhaps oppressively familiar. The recreative and other associations may well give an enrichment of

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personality which in turn enriches the family. Especially it must be remembered that it is in the wider community that those attachments are formed which bring new homes into being. Whether the larger social life helps or hinders that of the home depends, of course, both upon its own nature and the use that is made of it. The community has a strong interest in seeing that its social arrangements make for a clean and healthy life, in which parents are not afraid to let their sons and daughters take part.

(b) It is through the community at large that the family enters, so far as it actually does enter, upon the rich social inheritance of the past. Through schools, colleges, universities, the Press in its widest significance, the associations, societies and institutions which gather up and diffuse the contributions of the arts and sciences, the trades and crafts which hand on from generation to generation their appropriate traditions and technique, the community puts at the disposal of its members this inheritance and the additions that are being made to it. This is the true meaning of "culture," and it is this culture which is needed to remedy what may only too easily become the narrowness and stagnation of a merely sectional tradition in the home.

(c) The better kinds of patriotism bring a stimulus and a vision into home life which give it a fuller meaning and purpose. This is perhaps peculiarly helpful to the housemother, whose especial pre-occupation with household matters may readily become too absorbing. Even the gossip of the village and small town should not be too hastily

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condemned. It is not the interest in other people's doings and fortunes that is unhealthy; only the ill-nature which turns gossip into scandal. But the interest in the common good which brings not only the father but the mother into touch with the needs of the village or the town for better housing or marketing or play spaces for children, or whatever it may be, does more than help towards the meeting of those needs; it breaks the monotony of the narrow round and makes the home itself an organic part of the larger common life. The loyalty to one's own household merges into loyalty to one's town, to one's country, to the brotherhood of man itself. There are other communities besides those that are described in regional terms, and each has its own larger life and interest which, while seeming to make demands, is really conferring gifts. All things must, of course, be done in due measure. But there can be no question that the home which is in organic relation with the larger communities receives a hundredfold what it gives.

(d) It is from the Christian community that home life ought to receive its greatest help and inspiration. For just as love is the essence of home life, making the ideal possible and actual, so the distinctive Christian teaching is that God is love. Fellowship with those who accept this both as their creed and their working principle should do much to maintain the high standard of the home ideal amid all that tends to lower it in the general practice of the world.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN HOME AND THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD

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WE believe that the subject with which we have been dealing is of pre-eminent importance to Church and State. If we claim that in Christianity there is the solution of all problems of social life and international relations, we must first show that it is competent to solve the simpler relations existing in the home.

Really Christian homes are most desperately needed. We may not be able to do spectacular public work ourselves, but we can all do most needed service in making a Christian home and thus influencing the world.

The home has always stood, and will continue to stand, as the very heart of what is called the "social problem." To maintain a home is the great motive which impels most men to industry, and there would be little "industrial unrest" if all were secure in its reasonable maintenance. And, indeed, it is the high business of the home to produce the men and women, boys and girls, for whose life's needs all other production and service are meant. The right line of advance is to direct all social adjustments towards making the true marriage and the happy, healthy home more possible. To make a world fit

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for children to live in would be to make it fit for everyone besides.

We have laid stress on certain aspects of home life that need more thought than has been given to them in the past. Perhaps the chief of these are two. First, the home is the supreme place of education and of training. The impact and the meaning of this we have as Christians hardly begun to realise. Secondly, a Christian home means a home governed by equality in personal values—between parents, between parents and children, between family and servants, in relations between families. This is, again, a standard and a value which as a Christian community we have not yet faced.

Both these principles of their very quality demand infinite faith on the part of parents and of children, but they are laden with tremendous power. They need unbounded faith if the vision of them is to be fulfilled. But behind them stands supreme the great principle and message of love—a love which if present in our homes will inevitably bring the whole world into its kingdom. If we can achieve the rule of love in family relations, we shall have created a magnificent instrument indeed, both for changing values throughout the world and for furthering the Kingdom of God in all generations.

CHAPTER VI
HOUSES AND HOMES

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HOUSES AND HOMES

AMONG the material conditions which vitally affect the welfare of the family, none is more important than the dwelling which it occupies. Many striking examples have shown that it is possible for a family to rise above the most depressing material surroundings and for its members in their relations with each other and their dealings with their neighbours to live an ideal life and to walk in our Lord's footsteps. On the other hand, people with ideal homes and ideal surroundings may be very far from Christian. But it is beyond question that the difficulties of a family are increased a hundredfold where the house is dilapidated, sunless and overcrowded. No Christian community can rest satisfied when a large proportion of its members is forced to live in such housing conditions as exist to-day.

That such conditions prevail is partly due to the culpable neglect or inertia of those in authority, partly to undue consideration of the interests of property owners, and partly to the carelessness and indifference of those whose own circumstances are easy and comfortable. If the material environment of large numbers of families is in any degree shaped by forces which are beyond the control of individuals, but are within the control of an organ-

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ised community, the Christian Churches will fail in their teaching of family ideals unless they concern themselves definitely with those material conditions. The right attitude of the Christian to social evils is easily misstated, but the pithy saying of one of those who dealt with our questionnaire comes very near the truth: "It seems to me," said the lady in question, "that our attitude must be that of saying, 'As a Christian I cannot rest until you have as good a sink as I.' We must, of course, avoid saying, 'You cannot be as spiritual as I am unless you have as good a sink.'" To this we would add that we must equally avoid saying, "I cannot be as spiritual as you unless my sink is as good as yours."

While the actual responsibility for action rests on Parliament and the Local Authorities, individual Christians must remember that these public bodies are composed of their representatives, who must be supported actively when they are pressing for the right reform and must be stimulated to action when they are neglecting their duty.

We, therefore, proceed to deal in some detail with the housing problem as it presents itself to-day, and to suggest lines of action which should be followed by Christian people in order to try to remedy the existing conditions.

THE FACTS

As a result of the war, housing conditions are to-day considerably worse than they were before 1914. It is wrong, however, to think that they have ever been satisfactory. The late Alderman Thompson,

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in *The Housing Handbook*, published in 1901, gives abundant evidence of the existence of a house famine so far as working-class houses were concerned, and the Report of the Royal Commission on Housing of 1880 is full of evidence of overcrowding and of slum conditions. Some picture of these in the period following the Industrial Revolution is presented in the novels of Charles Dickens, Mrs. Gaskell and other Early Victorians. Mr. Lloyd George's famous Land Enquiry Committee, which investigated conditions in 1912, accumulated a mass of evidence of the appalling conditions then existing both in town and country. Between 10 per cent. and 15 per cent. of the whole population lived in the slums of our towns, and a large proportion of our rural cottages was so dilapidated and unhealthy as to be entirely unfit for human habitation. The shortage of houses in the rural districts alone then amounted to 120,000. What this actually meant may be indicated by some cases quoted by the Medical Officer of Health for Mid-Warwickshire in 1912, in his official report. He mentions the position of seven specific families, of which the following two are typical :

Man, wife and eight children (males, 15, 6, 4, and 2; females, 14, 13, 9, 7) in one bedroom partitioned in two parts by sheets.

Man, wife and six children (males, 13, 11, 7, 5, 1; female, 3), one bedroom.

The Committee's investigations also showed that there was a shortage of houses in half the towns of England and Wales. The effects of the resulting

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overcrowding can readily be gauged from the following typical report from the Paddington and Kensington Tuberculosis Dispensary for 1912 :

“ Badly ventilated, overcrowded bedrooms, full of pre-respired air, and the fact that such rooms, and even frequently the same bed, are shared with a consumptive patient by other members of his family, are probably responsible for more tuberculosis than any other one single factor. Table XVI shows that only 134 out of 766 patients suffering from definite signs of pulmonary tuberculosis occupied separate rooms at night-time. The others were sleeping in rooms shared by one or more persons, and of these only 179 slept in separate beds, the remaining 453 actually sleeping in the same beds as one or more members of the family.”

In some of the boroughs one-third of the whole population was living more than two to a room, counting not merely bedrooms but living-rooms for the purpose of this average. Large numbers of families lived entirely in one room. . Medical Officers of Health had reported officially to their Councils the appalling conditions existing in their districts.

The Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland, whose investigations started just before the war, and whose Report was issued in 1917, summed up the position in Scotland as follows :

“ Insanitary sites of houses and villages, insufficient supplies of water, unsatisfactory provision for drainage, grossly inadequate provision

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for the removal of refuse, widespread absence of decent sanitary conveniences, the persistence of the unspeakably filthy privy midden in many of the mining areas, badly constructed, incurably damp labourers' cottages on farms, whole townships unfit for human occupation in the crofting counties and islands, primitive and casual provision for many of the seasonal workers, gross overcrowding and huddling of the sexes together in the congested industrial villages and towns, occupation of one-room houses by large families, groups of lightless and unventilated houses in the older burghs, clotted masses of slums in the great cities. To these add the special problems symbolised by the farmed-out houses, the model lodging-houses, congested back lands, and ancient closes. To these, again, add the cottages a hundred years old in some of the rural villages, ramshackle brick survivals of the mining outbursts of seventy years ago in the mining fields, monotonous miners' rows flung down without a vestige of town-plan or any effort to secure modern conditions of sanitation, ill-planned houses that must become slums in a few years, houses converted without necessary sanitary appliances and proper adaptation into tenements for many families, thus intensifying existing evils, streets of new tenements in the towns developed with the minimum of regard for amenity."¹

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland, Rural and Urban*, chap. xxxv., p. 346, par. 2232.

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Many Housing Acts had been passed to remedy the shortage, to close unfit houses, and to secure the clearance of slum areas. But little was actually accomplished. Vested interests, lethargy, fear of increasing rates and various other factors prevented action from being taken. Comparatively few individuals really made serious efforts to remedy the abuses. Here and there members of the Churches took an active part in trying to secure reforms, but as a whole the Christian Churches were apathetic. Insanitary houses were allowed to remain in existence, and families consisting of father, mother, and children of both sexes were forced to live, year in, year out, in a single room.

Bad as these conditions were, the war made them considerably worse. For four years practically no new houses were built and little was done to repair the old ones. When peace came, some enthusiasm was devoted to trying to improve conditions. A drastic Housing Act was passed and many of the Local Authorities began to build houses. But now, in 1923, the number which has been built does not even meet the normal increase in population. The result is that to-day the shortage of houses is estimated at nearly a million, and the slum areas and slum dwellings are more numerous and in a worse condition than they have been for many years.

The following are some typical examples of the present shortage of houses and its results :

Birmingham.—Ex-service man living with his father and mother-in-law in a two-bedroomed house. Father and mother-in-law occupy one bedroom; the other contains three beds—the ex-service man,

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wife and child in one; two sisters aged 29 and 11 in another; a brother 18 years old in the third.

On June 10th the Corporation had on its books the names of 11,600 applicants for houses. Fresh applications were pouring in. On three consecutive week-days there were 533 inquiries for houses as against 239 on the corresponding days of last year.

Nottingham.—The Housing Committee, in reporting on a scheme for the erection of 198 houses, states that there are nearly 3000 names on the waiting list for houses, and that the shortage is now more acute than ever.

Sheffield.—The shortage of houses at the end of the war in Sheffield was estimated at 20,000. The Ministry of Health cut the Corporation's estimate down to 13,000. Since the war approximately 2300 working-class houses have been built. Overcrowding is reported to be worse to-day than ever it has been. In one bedroom are sleeping husband and wife, a daughter aged 26, and two sons aged 21 and 19. The daughter goes to bed first, then the husband and wife, and lastly the sons, who have to climb over the other beds to get to their own. In the other bedroom of the same house sleep a husband and wife and three children of school age.

Prudhoe, Northumberland.—From the Report of the County Medical Officer of Health. House consisting of one living-room and one bedroom, occupied by father, mother, four adult sons (ages 28, 24, 21, and 19), two daughters, the husband of one daughter and their baby, and an adult male lodger. The seven male adults sleep in three beds in the bed-

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room, the three female adults and the baby sleep in the living-room.

Manchester.—House of two bedrooms, living-room and kitchen; tenant, wife and four children (two males, 21 and 14; two females, 19 and 16), all in one bedroom, and in the other bedroom a married man, his wife and two babies.

Four-roomed house, three families, comprising four adults and twelve children.

Four-roomed tenement. One tenant, a woman paying 10s. a week for one room. Each other room is let to a family, which pays 12s. 6d. to 14s. 6d. Altogether, nineteen persons live in the house, seven of whom sleep in the parlour.

Newcastle.—Medical Officer of Health reported May 1922, 2490 houses waiting to be condemned, at least half of which should be demolished.

Doncaster.—More than 1000 houses sheltering two or more families, 1100 applications in May 1922. List closed.

Cases of eight, ten, twelve, and sixteen people in two-bedroomed houses. In three-bedroomed houses instances of fourteen and sixteen people, and one case of eighteen people. A man, wife, and seven children sleeping in one room.

Malden, R.D.—Three fowl-houses 12' × 8' × 5½' high, are being used as bedrooms.

RESULTS OF BAD HOUSING

The evil results of these appalling housing conditions cannot be estimated. Some indication, however, may be derived from a comparison of the

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figures relating to infant mortality and deaths from tuberculosis in those districts where houses are satisfactory with the figures in districts where housing is at its worst. In some good districts the infant mortality has been reduced to under 30 per thousand, while in many of the slum districts it has often risen above 200 per thousand. In a certain slum area which was cleared by the Liverpool Corporation, when new and satisfactory dwellings were put up the deaths from tuberculosis were reduced by more than half.

This was not due to a change in the character of the population, as over 90 per cent. of those who had formerly lived in the slums inhabited the new dwellings after reconstruction had taken place. This shows that the community by refusing to clear its slum areas, is literally allowing large numbers of people to be slowly put to death.

At the annual meeting (1923) of the British Medical Association, Mr. Charles P. Childe, B.A., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P.E., President of the Association, said, "The breeding-ground of this disease (tuberculosis), the environment most encouraging to its activities, is the sunless, airless, overcrowded, and insanitary slum areas of our great cities, where houses are built forty or more to the acre, and stand back to back, and side to side, like any jigsaw puzzle, so that fresh air and sunlight, the proved destructive agents of the tubercle bacillus, can never enter. Is it a sound economic proposition to equip and maintain, at the cost of millions of the taxpayers' money, sanatoria for the so-called cure of tuberculosis, while we guard intact the very preserves of this

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disease by the exclusion of fresh air and sunlight, which cost nothing, and maintain in our midst a soil which can breed more tuberculosis in a week than all our sanatoria can cure in a year? . . . In overcrowding, confinement, want of air and sunlight we have an environment conducive to the development of rickets, either by the supply of conditions favourable to the activities of the virus, whether microbic or otherwise, or by lowering natural resistance to it. Conversely, fresh air and sunlight and good hygienic conditions furnish an environment which is powerfully antagonistic to the disease; they may have the power of damping down the activities of the virus, whatever it is, or they can so alter the metabolism of the body as to provide an increased resistance and immunity to it."

The medical profession can tell of numerous female patients now in mental hospitals whose condition is the result of the worry due to terrible housing conditions coupled with extreme poverty.

It is not possible to assess in figures the effect in immorality and intemperance of conditions in which whole families have to live in one or two rooms, but those who have any knowledge of the actual facts are only too well aware how serious these effects are. Under the heading "Sex-overcrowding in small houses," Dr. Chalmers, Medical Officer of Health for the city of Glasgow, gives the following appalling examples in his report for 1921 :

"In a one-roomed house a father of 52 occupied the same bed with a mentally defective daughter of 24, who had an illegitimate

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child of 10. In another, with space for five adults, a father and daughter shared the same bed. In another, a mother shared the same bed with two sons of 19 and 20 years respectively. In two-roomed houses, in one instance, a son of 19 and a daughter of 21 occupied the same bed; and in another a son of 19 and a daughter of 25 who was pregnant."

More than half the population of Glasgow live in one-roomed or two-roomed tenements. The President of the British Medical Association said at the Annual Meeting of 1923 :

"So long as the public house is more comfortable and more attractive than a man's home the former will claim his leisure hours. Give him a comfortable and respectable home, and the lure of the public-house will automatically diminish. In the debate on Lady Astor's bill, a few months ago, a good deal was said about the improvement of the public-house; but nobody suggested that, by devoting greater attention to the home, we might go a long way to improving the public-house out of existence altogether."

The conditions in rural districts are no better. The following extract from the Report of a special committee set up by the Ely Diocesan Committee in 1911 to investigate housing conditions in a typical rural area contains statements true to-day of a large proportion of our country districts :

"Not only are the cottages too few; their size is generally insufficient. On no point do

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our reports insist so earnestly as on the moral and physical evils which are caused by lack of proper bedrooms. Every cottage in which there is a growing family ought to have three bedrooms; one for the parents, one for the boys, and one for the girls. Exact statistics are not to be had, but it is plain that a small proportion of the cottages satisfy this elementary requirement. What this involves is well indicated by the words of one vicar, which may be taken as applicable to scores of parishes: 'Very few houses have three bedrooms; perhaps the largest number have one bedroom and an attic, but nearly as many have only one. And whole families live in all those houses, some with lodgers. Boys and girls who have come to puberty sleep in the same room: married couples sleep together in the presence of their children: crying children disturb a whole household beyond the possibility of sleep: related adults must undress and relieve nature in one another's presence. These evils will be accentuated in times of sickness, pregnancy, childbirth, or in cases of drunkenness, indecency, irreligion. The thing can't be put on paper—perhaps I have put too much already. But the mere heading of this section gives no clue to the vile enormity and magnitude of the evil.'

The lamentable frequency of incest is directly traceable to this cause.

The fact that many young couples after marriage

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have to live under overcrowded conditions in the home of their parents leads not merely to quarrels between the younger and older generations, but to the rupture of the relations between the young husband and wife themselves. This has been proved by the evidence in many separation cases before the Justices.

Many families in well-to-do circumstances and living in good homes who are to-day conspicuous for their love and consideration for each other, would find it difficult to preserve such ideal relations if they had all to sleep, eat and spend their evenings in one overcrowded room.

Moreover, it is obvious that children brought up in areas containing seventy or eighty dwellings to the acre—dwellings into which the sunshine can hardly penetrate—children whose only playgrounds are dark alleys and narrow streets, stand a poor chance of becoming healthy and useful citizens.

The Lambeth Conference of Bishops¹ declared that the supreme claims of life must never be interfered with by considerations of property. To remedy the housing conditions and to secure sufficient good accommodation for everyone, and to secure better surroundings for the people's homes, may involve considerable cost to tax-payers and rate-payers, and actual loss to owners of dilapidated property. But while every effort should be made to economise, economy must not be attained at the expense of the health and happiness of a large section of the population.

¹ *Report of Proceedings of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, 1921.*

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The Archbishops' fifth Committee of Inquiry summed up the position in these words :

“ We are not concerned merely, or even mainly, with the material benefits which would follow a resolute attempt to cope with the Housing Problem. Insufficient and insanitary housing is the source of moral weakness and spiritual degradation. It undermines the health of childhood, weakens the bonds of family life and impairs the comfort of old age. There are few more urgent duties for Christian men and women than to play their part in removing this great and inveterate evil from the life of the community.”

THE PROBLEM

Broadly speaking, the problem which confronts us in housing and town planning is fourfold :

- (1) How to secure sufficient houses to prevent overcrowding and to provide every family with a separate home, that its members may not have to occupy another person's house.
- (2) How to secure the demolition of slum houses which are unfit for human beings to live in, and how to secure the clearance and replacement of our congested slum areas.
- (3) How to ensure that our towns and villages shall be better planned than they have been in the past, so that each dwelling shall

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have sufficient air space and sunshine, and shall be near adequate open spaces.

- (4) How to secure better regional planning, involving the better laying out of new industrial and residential areas, and a closer co-ordination of urban and rural life.

The first two of these questions are considered in the present chapter, the fourth in the next, and the third partly in one and partly in the other.

In 1919 the Local Authorities estimated that the number of houses which would be required if the shortage was to be met and if the slums were to be cleared amounted to about 800,000 in England and Wales, and about 130,000 in Scotland. These figures are higher to-day. The main difficulty in finding a solution for the problem lies in the economic fact that to invest money in the building of new houses for the working classes does not secure what is commonly called an economic return. Even before the war, the vast majority of the working classes never got decent houses because it did not pay anyone to build them, but with the rise in the cost of building, and the higher rate of interest which has prevailed since the war, this has been the case in regard to houses for practically all weekly wage-earners. There is also the dilemma that, as a rule, the larger the family the more house-room it wants, but the less rent it can afford to pay—a matter to which we shall return later. In any case, unless incomes are very substantially increased, the vast majority of the people cannot

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possibly afford such a rent for a new house as will induce private enterprise to build. This fact was recognised by Parliament both in the Housing Act of 1919 (commonly called the Addison Act) and in the new Housing Act of 1923 (the Chamberlain Act), where provision is made for the State to subsidise the building of houses. We are not concerned here with the relative merits of the two policies contained in these two Acts, nor with the question whether it is a wise thing for the State to subsidise private enterprise to build the houses, or whether they should all be built by the municipalities.

There is no doubt that in the conditions prevailing in Great Britain, and apparently in most other civilised countries, there is always a tendency for the supply of adequate housing accommodation to fall short of the need, since the rents which can be obtained for such accommodation tend to lag behind what is necessary to maintain an adequate supply on a completely economic basis. This fact alone makes it quite clear that we cannot expect the unaided efforts of private persons to make up the exceptional housing deficiency due to the war. Consequently, there is no justification for postponing the task of dealing thoroughly with the whole matter.

In view of these considerations we set down quite definitely the following propositions :—

- (1) That the community should spare no effort to ensure the building of the necessary houses in the shortest possible time.
- (2) That the houses when built must be available on terms which will allow the

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families of weekly wage-earners to occupy them without stinting themselves in the other necessities of life.¹

- (3) That side by side with the building of the new houses steps must be taken by the public authorities to secure the clearance of slums and the closing and demolition of unhealthy dwellings.
- (4) *That it is the duty of individual citizens to see that the above measures are carried out.*

Obviously, it is difficult or impossible to pull down slum houses or to clear slum areas until there is sufficient alternative accommodation for the displaced population. Therefore, for the present, at any rate, our main concentration must be on the building of new houses. This must be carried out as economically as may be and with the minimum of loss to the taxpayer and ratepayer. Public opinion must therefore enforce such regulations as will prevent the making of undue profits either in connection with the manufacture of building materials, the sale of the necessary land, or the actual building of the houses. Economy, however, should not be secured at the expense of the tenants. The new houses must be sufficiently large and convenient to allow a normal family to live there not merely in health, but in comfort and decency. Moreover, in order that the rents may be such as the ordinary wage-earner can pay, it will be found in practice

¹ This may be achieved either by subsidising rents or by increasing family incomes (by raising wages or in other ways), or partly by one means and partly by the other.

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that a subsidy will be necessary.¹ It is no use to build large numbers of houses if the workers can only pay for them by depriving their children of adequate food and clothing. If the policy here indicated involves a considerable direct cost to the taxpayers or ratepayers, it must be borne in mind that substantial indirect savings will result from the better health of the community. We shall spend less on tuberculosis sanatoria, hospitals, general and mental, police services and other charges.

It is sometimes said that the amount of available labour in the building trade is insufficient to erect the large number of houses required within a reasonable time, and attempts are sometimes made to lay the blame of the present shortage on the building trade operatives. It must be remembered, however, that they have in the past suffered severely from periods of unemployment. They naturally tend to resist the flooding of the building trade labour market by means of dilution, when no guarantee is given that building schemes will be continued for a reasonable period. In 1920 the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour tried to get the Trade Unions to allow a large number of unskilled men to be brought into the trade. The Unions were prepared to consider this proposal if a guarantee of employment was given for a period of years. That guarantee was refused, and by the end of 1921 large numbers of building trade opera-

¹ It is sometimes suggested that subsidies would be unnecessary if the State made loans at a "low" rate of interest. It should be pointed out that if the State lends below the rate at which it can borrow, it is really subsidising.

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tives were actually out of work, as a result of the closing down of the housing schemes consequent on the "Anti-waste" Campaign. Under such conditions, no one can blame the action of the Unions. If, however, the community determined that one million new houses should be built in the next ten years in addition to the normal building required year by year to meet the natural increase of population and to replace the wearing out of houses (this amounted before the war to an average of 80,000 per annum), a reasonable guarantee of labour could be given and necessary additional men could be brought into the industry.

It must be recognised that the question of the supply of labour is complicated by the fact that the building of small houses only represents a proportion of the general building industry; and that, when a large volume of other building operations is in progress, the men normally engaged on the building of houses may be withdrawn, and a temporary shortage may occur. On the other hand, when for some reason there is a great shrinkage in the volume of other building, there may be considerable unemployment in the building industry even if the numbers employed on the erection of houses are maintained. Nevertheless, there is a great tendency for men to specialise on house building, and the fact that the conditions of employment in the general industry are bound to react upon house building does not very greatly diminish the importance of maintaining the steady absorption of a sufficiently large number of men in the building of small houses over a prolonged period; and it is clear that nothing

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would be more likely to cause labour troubles in house building than to add to the general fluctuations which take place in other building, additional violent fluctuations in the volume of house building.

The important point to emphasise is that if the erection of all these houses is necessary, the community should make its plans for their erection over a period of years and rigidly adhere to its programme.

THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

We now pass on to consider the essential requirements of the new houses in accommodation and surroundings. In our climate the primary requirements are :

- (1) Shelter from rain, wind and cold.
- (2) Sufficient air space in the house and around it.
- (3) Proper access for air and sunshine.
- (4) Plentiful supply of pure water.
- (5) A proper drainage system.

If shelter, space, sunlight or water is insufficient, or if the drainage arrangements are unsatisfactory, the health of the family is impaired, and it is difficult to realise the ideals of the home. Houses, therefore, must have a certain standard of construction and size; they must be separate and properly spaced in relation both to other houses and buildings, and they must be provided with certain equipments and conveniences. It is not proposed here to go into all the technical details of what constitutes a good house. It is of import-

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ance, however, to state a few minimum conditions. The argument often used against the provision of certain items, namely, that they are not properly used by the inhabitants of the house, is a false one, because their proper use cannot be learned where they are not supplied. To take two simple instances, windows should be made to open even if numbers of people still persist in keeping them shut; baths should be supplied even if a few individuals who were brought up in houses without baths have not learned to use them.

The following seem to be the minimum requirements for the home of the normal family with children. There must be a good large *living-room*, which will allow all the members of the family to enjoy each other's society and realise the family unit. This room should not only be well lit and ventilated, but original and pleasing in appearance. There should be full accommodation in a properly equipped *scullery* for cooking and washing-up, and this scullery must be carefully planned, in order to save labour. There is something to be said for making it possible occasionally to cook in the living-room, so that the expense of having a fire and also using gas in the scullery need not necessarily be incurred. But it should always be possible to cook in the scullery as well.

If the family is to enjoy the fullest opportunities for recreation and self-development, a second living-room must be provided, though this can be smaller than the first. Such a living-room, or parlour, may not be necessary in the case of childless couples, or where there is only one small child, but

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where there are growing boys and girls it is practically an essential. In view of the fact that there are already large numbers of "non-parlour" houses, the vast majority of the new houses should have parlours.

Sleeping accommodation in rooms separate from those used for domestic operations and the common life of the family is necessary for the whole family. The number of separate rooms should be sufficient to meet the needs of all the members of the household, and to allow for the separation of different ages and sexes. At present the latter end is only secured by putting a bed in the living-room. The result of this practice is that children are compelled to postpone their bed time until the whole family retires to rest and that they sleep in a vitiated atmosphere. Generally speaking, the new houses should have *three bedrooms*, although a limited number may be provided with two bedrooms to meet the case of quite small families and old people.

In addition to the foregoing requisites, a *bathroom*, a satisfactory hot-water system and proper sanitary conveniences should be provided in every house. In certain rural districts, where the only supply of water is from a well, it may be legitimate to put the bath in a partitioned recess off the scullery, but this should be done as seldom as possible. Adequate space should be provided for a perambulator and the storage of food and of fuel.

It is important to bear in mind that the mere provision of the above amount of accommodation is not sufficient. The greatest possible care must be taken so to plan the house that the amount of labour involved in running it is reduced to a

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minimum, whilst it is perfectly fitted for a healthy family life. Subject to these conditions, economy should be studied, *but considerations of economy should never be allowed to interfere with the essential requirements of health, comfort and convenience.*

Many working-class mothers to-day complain that they have no time to go out to play with their children or to share in their interests, and the faulty planning of their houses is to a large extent responsible for this. Every plan should be very closely scrutinised from this point of view, and we should realise beforehand precisely how the various domestic operations will be carried out in the house when built. For instance, the mother, after she has cooked the food, must bring it into the room where the family will have the meal. Dirty plates and dishes must be moved back again to the sink, and when washed up, crockery has to be put away. Careful planning can reduce the amount of walking to and fro very considerably, and the relative position of the scullery and the living-room should be considered with this end in mind.

The possibility of simplifying the labour of the housewife by communal arrangements has been, to some extent, explored in recent years. Clearly it is not theoretically essential to the completeness of family life that she should cook and wash for her own family. In practice, however, no means have been devised within the reach of working-class families to enable the necessary cooking and washing to be done communally. Moreover, it is difficult to cater for the needs of different groups. Meals are required at different times, according to the

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nature of the work of the bread-winners and to the ages of the children. Further, there is a disinclination on the part of most mothers to have the meals cooked elsewhere and fetch them into their homes. Probably the best way in which communal arrangements can be developed is along the lines of a common supply of heat and power and communal washing. Such arrangements are comparatively easy in blocks of flats, but it should be our aim to secure the self-contained house, since all the evidence so far tends to show that the great majority of working-class families object to living in flats.

No less important than the house itself is its environment. Most small houses are crowded close together with inadequate back gardens and open spaces. Consequently, not merely in what may be strictly termed slum areas, but in most working-class districts, they have insufficient light and air. The children have to play in the streets, and opportunities of healthy recreation and gardening are lost. In all new housing schemes, every effort should be made to ensure that not more than ten or twelve houses are built to the acre, that every house has a good-sized back garden, and that there are common open spaces for recreation. These are needed, not merely for the sake of health, but to foster a social and communal life.

The experience gained in carrying out various housing schemes since the war has amply confirmed the view that it is possible to provide the extra garden space if proper systems of development are adopted, in some cases at no extra cost, and in others at such small extra cost as is negligible in com-

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parison with the enormous advantage gained. The garden not only secures ample fresh air and sunlight to the dwelling, but it supplements the house itself, and relieves the pressure on the rooms; moreover, its cultivation is a healthy pursuit which yields a substantial return, often amounting to 1s. or 2s. a week, and thus it improves the economic condition of the family.

In those countries where the effects of war, revolution or famine have been most seriously felt, the demand for the provision of houses with gardens, in the place of the customary tenement dwellings, has been extremely insistent and widespread, and we are convinced that for the majority of working-class families it is essential to secure a house with a garden.

In addition to the provision of adequate gardens, it will be necessary, as has already been indicated, to secure adequate public open spaces. Some of these will be in the form of small children's playgrounds, others of playing-fields and parks for adults. Moreover, where the number of new houses is considerable, provision should be made for indoor recreational and educational pursuits. Institutions and clubs should be provided so that a better community life may be possible than has existed in the towns of the past. To build new houses is only part of our task. Whole schemes must be undertaken synthetically. Again, the people who make a bad use of their houses and their gardens must be prevented from spoiling the conditions for the rest. This can be achieved, partly by securing the election of a tenants' committee, and partly by a sympathetic

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management, in which not merely Local Authorities, but others take their part.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO

We conclude this chapter by summarising the more important responsibilities of private individuals. In the first place, in view of the fact that housing obligations are imposed by law and will in future have to be carried out in the main through the Local Authorities, it is the urgent duty of every citizen to help to secure the best representatives upon those authorities and to create a public opinion that will encourage and support them when they are carrying out their task worthily, and stimulate them to action if they are neglecting it. As for the choice of representatives, this must not be deferred too late. As a large proportion of the electors vote on party lines, the essential time for the right choice is when the different political bodies are selecting their candidates. Men and women, therefore, who are anxious to secure better conditions should seriously consider joining one or other of the party organisations, that they may take their part in selecting candidates when the time comes.

Once the Local Authority is elected, individuals can do much by making themselves acquainted with the conditions in their town, by calling attention to the existence of slum areas, to the defects in new houses, or to the shortage of houses, and by exerting continuous pressure in the direction of reforms.

Those who have a certain amount of capital can

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unite with others to carry out housing schemes themselves through the formation of Public Utility Societies or other bodies, or they can purchase existing property which is not being well managed, and initiate a better and more sympathetic management. Enterprise of this kind has been carried out by many bodies in the past, and could be widely extended if larger numbers of people were interested.

Above all, it is only by the continuous activity of men and women of good-will that the housing problem will ever be seen clearly, in all its aspects, and solved in a working fashion.

CHAPTER VII
THE PLANNING OF TOWNS

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THE PLANNING OF TOWNS

To see that new housing schemes are thoroughly satisfactory is, however, only one part of the task before us. To-day we are suffering because our forefathers never looked ahead in the planning of towns and villages; and urban areas have developed in a perfectly haphazard manner, to the detriment of health, amenity and industrial efficiency. Wherever we turn there is hopeless confusion. Industrial landowners and builders have been allowed to treat their sites as isolated units, without regard to the requirements of the rest of the town. Especially in working-class areas, the largest number of houses possible has been built to the acre. There has been no attempt to separate industrial from residential districts, and factories and dwelling-houses have been put up side by side. Natural beauties have been destroyed and natural advantages neglected. There has been practically no provision for future needs with regard to transit and main arterial roads. Houses have too often been erected in large numbers quite close to railways and docks, on sites eminently fitted for factories, while factories have been built in areas that should have been purely residential. Consequently, not merely have the residential areas grown less attractive, but a large amount of

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unnecessary traffic and cartage has been created. No better illustration can be found than the areas around the London Docks, where thousands of working-class dwellings are crowded together on low-lying ground, quite unsuitable for housing sites, and narrow streets are congested with heavy vans and drays; the whole situation being too often one of indescribable confusion and waste of energy. Another example of a somewhat different kind is afforded by the Rhondda Valley in South Wales, where slag heaps from the collieries practically surround the houses. But in every industrial town there is abundant evidence of the evil results of failure to plan.

It is true that here and there portions of a town have been admirably planned, but mainly in well-to-do neighbourhoods. Public benefactors, again, have sometimes given land for parks; but there has been no systematic effort to provide open spaces to the extent which is necessary both for health and happiness.

No doubt the changing conditions of industrial progress made a certain number of mistakes inevitable. For instance, no municipality, however wise and far-seeing, could anticipate or make full allowance for the altered situation arising from the introduction of the railway, and later on, the tramway and the motor omnibus. Nevertheless, much of the present chaos could have been avoided.

The lack of planning in the past has cost us much, both in money and health. Industrial progress has been delayed. Slums have been created. As towns have developed, street widenings have become

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necessary, which could only be carried out at great expense.

In the future the fullest possible use must be made of the Town Planning Acts which are already on the Statute Book. These Acts enable the Local Authorities (and, therefore, the community whom the Local Authority represents) to ensure that all buildings, whether industrial or residential, shall proceed systematically, on land at present not built upon, in accordance with a town-planning scheme. The community, therefore, can control the whole future development of the town and see that not merely in their own housing schemes, but on land owned by other people, development shall be ordered, the number of houses to the acre shall be limited, adequate open spaces shall be provided, and the factories located in areas reserved exclusively for this purpose. Examples of how these schemes operate in practice may be seen on the outskirts of Birmingham, where the Birmingham Corporation has for some time past enforced a town-planning scheme. Many Corporations up and down the country are preparing to take similar measures; and individual citizens can do a great deal both to stimulate their own Local Authorities, and see that schemes are framed which will be for the utmost advantage of the whole community concerned.

It is outside the scope of this Report to deal in detail with the technicalities of town planning. The main points, however, for which a good town plan should provide are :

- (a) "Zoning," particularly the separation and

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distribution of industrial, commercial and residential areas.

(b) The limitation in residential zones of the number of houses which may be built to the acre.

(c) The provision of new roads and transit facilities and the reservation of land for the widening of such roads.

(d) The reservation of adequate open spaces.

(e) The preservation of natural beauties.

Another important matter to be considered in connection with town planning is how to prevent the segregation of classes which is so common in most of our towns to-day.

It should be pointed out that the preparation of such town-planning schemes is compulsory on all urban Local Authorities with a population of over 20,000.

In addition we hope that in the future the existing built-up areas will be gradually replanned. Obviously, this will be a more difficult and a longer process than the planning of new areas, and at present no general powers are given to Local Authorities which enable them to undertake it. Where, however, slum areas are cleared, they can be replanned on better lines, and certain progressive Local Authorities are thinking of applying to Parliament for powers to prepare replanning schemes. Such efforts should be encouraged, and if any real improvements are to be made, Local Authorities should ultimately be not only enabled but required by the State to prepare schemes for the gradual replanning of their towns.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE LARGE TOWN

Those who have attempted to take part in social reforms in our largest towns are continuously faced with peculiar difficulties. In such towns there is generally no coherence, and little community life. The congestion of the population is tremendous. There is small chance for a large number of those living in the central parts to get open-air recreation, or more than occasionally to see the open country. Again, the houses themselves are often packed so closely together as to constitute slum areas. If the Local Authorities determine to clear these areas, they are immediately faced with a dilemma. If after clearance they try to rehouse the same number of people upon the same space, they will make but a slight improvement in the conditions and will perpetuate congestion. Even if they build flats, which are unsuited to the needs of a working-class family, they are still unable to secure proper open spaces. If, on the other hand, they replan the area in such a way as to limit the number of families to the acre to, say, fifteen or twenty, thus reducing the inhabitants to less than one-half, where are the remainder to go? In a small town there is no difficulty about rehousing them on the outskirts, because in any case they can get easily to and from their work. In the large towns, however, the position is different. The people evicted from the slum would perhaps have to move four or five miles before they could find fresh accommodation in the suburbs, and this would not only increase the congestion of the traffic, but would lay a heavy

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burden upon the poorer wage-earners who had lived near their work and were now remote from it. It would mean not only additional expense in tram or railway fares, but wasted time and wasted energy. In Greater London, even now, something like £30,000,000 a year is spent by workers going to and from their work, and this expenditure is steadily increasing. What is true of London is true in a less but substantial degree of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow and other big towns.

Frequently, although the population of the individual town may not be exceptional, the close proximity of other towns produces the same problem. For instance, Manchester and Salford are completely one, and other towns such as Oldham and Stockport are so close as really to make the whole area one vast town with an enormous population. Other examples are Leeds, Morley, Bradford and the other towns and urban districts in the immediate neighbourhood, Birmingham, West Bromwich, Dudley, Walsall and Wednesbury, etc., Newcastle, Gateshead and Wallsend, and the conglomeration of towns surrounding Glasgow and the Clyde. The only real solution of the problem such areas present would be entirely to remove part of their industries and part of their population to new satellite towns well planned with residential and industrial districts, and surrounded by permanent belts of agricultural land. This may sound a huge task, but it should be borne in mind that there is already a tendency for industries to move out from the centres of the towns. While certain industries may have to remain, many

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more can and would move if proper facilities were provided. What is required is to co-ordinate this tendency of industry with the new housing schemes. Some pioneer efforts have been made in this direction at Letchworth and at Welwyn Garden City, but more collective action is needed. The public in general, and the Churches in particular, must impress their will upon both Parliament and the Local Authorities.¹ The success of Letchworth, which is already a town of 12,000 inhabitants with about forty different industries, many of which moved from London, shows that the proposal is a practical one. At Letchworth the workers live in houses with gardens and near open spaces, and all the factories are grouped in a factory area which, though separate, is within easy walking distance. Moreover, by reserving a permanent agricultural belt, the future of the town is safeguarded and the population will always be within reach of the open country, and at the same time close contact can be secured between urban and rural workers. If all our large towns were surrounded by a ring of such satellite towns, each with its agricultural belt and each offering good facilities for factories and healthy conditions for the workers, it would be possible in a relatively short time so to reduce congestion in great urban areas as to render their replanning on better lines a practical measure. The Unhealthy Areas Committee, over which Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., presided, unanimously recommended this

¹ For a fuller discussion of the Garden City method of development and its practical application see *Town Theory and Practice*, edited by Mr. C. B. Purdom. 5s. (Benn Bros.)

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method of dealing with the slum problem. It pointed out that unless broad measures of decentralisation were adopted, no permanent and satisfactory improvement could be effected.¹

The proportion of population living in towns has increased enormously, and the social organisation has not kept pace either with this increase or with the changing character of urban conditions.

The life of a great city has become extremely complex, dependent on elaborate organisation for supplying the necessities and comforts of life and transporting both the people and goods. This increasing elaboration can only work smoothly if the individual citizen can be relied upon to perform a part in the complicated organism which calls for increasing capacity and character for its proper fulfilment; and in turn this increased capacity and higher standard of character will only be forthcoming if the organisation of the city secures to every individual citizen the necessary space and opportunity for developing these qualities. It is not enough that towns should offer greater and greater opportunities, as they undoubtedly do, for a limited number of their citizens. They must provide adequate place for every citizen and adequate scope and opportunity in that place to enable each citizen to play his part.

It is the duty of those who really care about the nation to work not merely for immediate results, but for the benefit of future generations, even of future centuries. A century, after all, is a comparatively

¹ *Unhealthy Areas Committee, Second and Final Report.* 4d. See p. 16 for summary of conclusions and recommendations.

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brief period in history! But, be the task long or short, it is incumbent on us to-day to do all we can to hasten the development of attractive and well-planned towns that offer to every family rich opportunities of health and happiness. In such towns the social and communal instincts which, in our crowded cities, are stifled or run to waste will find their proper outlets and build up a communal life better and fairer than we have ever known.

CHAPTER VIII

RICHES AND POVERTY IN THE HOME

CHAPTER VIII

RICHES AND POVERTY IN THE HOME

VARIOUS difficult questions which arise when we consider the problems of poverty and riches are dealt with by other Commissions, and more particularly the Commission on "Property and Industry." We shall not here discuss all the economic questions involved. It is, however, essential to examine certain aspects of poverty, in so far as it affects the possibility of leading an ideal family life, the principles of which we have attempted to lay down in the first part of our Report.

On the subject of riches our Lord had much to say. A great deal of what He said, if included in speeches to-day, would be regarded as "setting class against class," or as the most extreme form of socialist doctrine. In His advice to the rich young ruler to sell all that he had and give to the poor, in His saying, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God," and in His warnings to the rich in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, He made it clear that excessive riches were a stumbling-block to the individual who owned them or was obsessed by the care of them. No doubt these sayings must be

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interpreted in relation to their context and the occasions upon which they were uttered, but when due allowance has been made for all attendant circumstances, our Lord's teaching remains quite clear.

Upon the subject of poverty we have such sayings as "Blessed are ye poor" (Luke vi. 20), and "Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money, neither have two coats apiece." There is also much teaching on the attitude which should be adopted towards those who are in poorer circumstances. "Give, and it shall be given unto you," and the parable of the Good Samaritan are but two examples.

While Christ's views with regard to riches in the main are unambiguous, there has been a good deal of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of His sayings on poverty. It has been argued that if the poor are blessed, there is no merit in relieving poverty and thereby removing the blessedness. Again, the words "The poor ye have always with you" have been taken by some to mean that the problem of poverty is insoluble and ineradicable. It is generally found, however, that those who interpret the sayings on poverty literally contend that the sayings on riches must not be taken literally. We propose, therefore, to consider to what extent extreme riches or extreme poverty hinders the development of Christian family life and the building up of a Christian community, and also to discuss what lines reforms might take. As already suggested, we shall not go at length into the economic aspects of the question, but shall concentrate upon

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the main ethical principles which should determine our individual conduct and our attitude towards action by the community or the State.

POVERTY AND FAMILY LIFE

“Poverty,” said the late Canon Barnett in 1913, “is not, as the survival of mediæval teaching seems to suggest, a source of blessing. Conditions have changed. The want of money did not hinder St. Francis and his followers from making friends with the flowers and the birds, from enjoying natural beauty, and from having leisure and silence; or, in the society of their fellows, of learning the best of what men knew. Poverty cut them off from the ‘deceitfulness of riches,’ but was not so pressing as hourly to add to the ‘cares of life.’ The poor in pocket could then claim the blessing of the poor in spirit. But poverty to-day has far different effects. If it is still very hard for a rich man to see the way into the Kingdom of Heaven, it is almost impossible for a poor man to enjoy the fullness of life.” “Growth, we are taught, depends on the capacity of the individual to absorb nourishment from environment. The body cannot grow in health and strength unless it can take in freely of the food, air and water which nature provides, and the mind cannot grow unless it can feed on the thoughts, deeds and dreams of mankind. Man lives by food, and also by admiration, hope and love. Poverty may thus be defined as the condition when, for want of a sufficient income, people are unable to draw from nature or from their fellow-men the food which is necessary

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for their bodies and minds. The poverty of St. Francis, the poverty which is voluntarily borne by the enthusiastic and the cultured, is not of this character, but the poverty of the great mass of English working people is of this character. The majority of the people of England, to put it strongly, are not in receipt of an income which is sufficient for them to reach man's stature in strength and wisdom."

There is a distinction between poverty voluntarily undertaken and poverty imposed by economic circumstances; and also a distinction between poverty and destitution. No family can have the fullest life without sufficient income to secure a decent home, adequate food and clothing, education and leisure. Moreover, if people's minds are not to be continually worried with the cares of this world, they must not merely have for their family's needs a sufficient income from week to week, but reasonable security for the future. *As Christians, therefore, we cannot rest until we have placed every family in a position in which as the barest minimum they can obtain all these necessaries.*

The causes of poverty are many, but among the principal ones are :

- (a) Low wages (the effect of which is aggravated where there is a large family) ;
- (b) Unemployment or casual employment ;
- (c) Sickness and ill-health ;
- (d) Old age ;
- (e) In a limited number of cases, intemperance and other vices.

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We propose to consider these causes briefly, and to indicate the principles which should guide us in trying to remove them.

LOW WAGES

The investigations of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, Mr. Charles Booth, Prof. Bowley and others have shown beyond all question that both before and since the war a large proportion of the manual workers in regular employment have received wages which are inadequate to maintain a family in reasonable comfort. Opinions differ as to the amount necessary for this purpose, which, in money terms, must vary with the cost of living, but that in many industries the wages are so low as to bring the family below the poverty line is beyond question to anyone who takes the trouble to investigate the facts. Large numbers are below the bare subsistence level, while the majority of the workers have wages which are inadequate to enable their families to have the fullest life. Attempts have been made to remedy these evils both by Trade Union action and by such legislation as Trade Boards and the Corn Production Act and Coal Mines Acts, and considerable improvements have been made as a result of these methods. Much, however, remains to be done, and it is necessary to arouse an enlightened and vigorous public opinion which will protest against the payment of sweated wages and which will insist that adequate steps are taken to secure that a living wage is paid in all industries.

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Canon Barnett, speaking in 1913 of the labourers earning 20s. a week, says :

“They have few thoughts of joy and little hope of rest ; . . . their lives all through the days and years slope into a darkness which is not ‘quieted by hope.’ Even if wages be 40s. a week, the condition is still one to depress those who on Sunday thank God for their creation. The skilled artisan, having paid rent and club money and provided household necessaries, has no margin out of which to provide for pleasures, for old age, or even for the best medical skill. . . . England is the land of sad monuments. The saddest monument is, perhaps, the ‘respectable working man’ who has been erected in honour of Thrift. His brains, which might have shown the world how to save men, have been spent in saving pennies ; his life, which might have been happy and full, has been dulled and saddened by taking ‘thought for the morrow.’ ”¹

A problem which requires careful consideration in connection with securing a wage sufficient to meet the worker's needs is the variation in the size of families. A wage which may provide reasonable conditions for husband, wife and one child is starvation where there are four or five children. There are various ways in which this problem may be solved. One of the proposals is that wages should be based on the needs of husband and wife, and special allowances, depending on the number

¹ This was written before the war. The figures corresponding to the 20s. and 40s. would be roughly to-day 34s. and 68s. Large numbers of agricultural labourers are at present receiving only 25s. a week.

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of children, should be paid out of a common fund contributed by employers as a whole. Free meals at school have been given under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act to necessitous children, and certain other forms of assistance have been given at schools, all of which tend to assist the large family. So long as the primary causes of poverty remain, the provision of meals and such-like relief measures are not merely desirable but necessary. They are, however, but palliatives and in our opinion attack the problem at the wrong end. The solution is more likely to be found in some such manner as allowance for children as is proposed in Australia, and as was, in fact, adopted during the war in the case of the families of soldiers.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND CASUAL EMPLOYMENT

To those who suffer from it, unemployment is an even greater evil than low wages. As a cause of poverty its effect varies from year to year and from season to season. Even, however, in the best periods of trade there is always a considerable amount of unemployment. When trade is bad, from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the employable population are unable to find work. For the last four years, well over a million persons have been unemployed and a large number more have been suffering from intermittent employment and short time. In certain trades, such as riverside work, employment is always of a casual nature. In others, such as the building trade, there is always seasonal unemployment.

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Unemployment is not merely a cause of poverty in the household, it is one of the most fruitful causes of deterioration of character and morale. Where the father is out of work, the family goes short of the necessaries of life, and to a less degree this is the case where there is unemployment among the boys and girls who have left school. For some time past now there has been serious unemployment not only among adults but among boys and girls.

Various attempts have been made to find partial solutions for the problems which thus arise. Insurance against unemployment and poor law relief have done something to mitigate the extreme destitution of the families of the unemployed, but these measures are admittedly but palliatives. In the first place, the amount allowed is in most cases quite insufficient to give reasonable conditions of life, and, in the second place, such help does nothing to prevent the deterioration of character and depression of spirits. Moreover, after a long spell of unemployment, especially if it is recurrent, the producing capacity of those affected is seriously impaired. Again, so far as the community is concerned, less wealth is produced and the general average standard of life is bound to fall. In our opinion there is no more pressing and urgent problem to which Christian people should devote themselves than the devising of some means of securing for all an opportunity to work. Some hold that this goal will never be achieved without a complete re-organisation of our whole social and economic system. Others take the view that by carrying out various forms of public work employ-

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ment can be increased both directly and indirectly through the increased purchasing power of those engaged upon such works. A large house-building programme, afforestation, improvement of canals, improvement of transport facilities, whether by road or rail, electrical power schemes, are some of the undertakings advocated not merely by the representatives of Labour but by prominent industrialists such as Sir Allan Smith.

It is outside the scope of our Report to discuss in detail the various methods suggested. We content ourselves by expressing our conviction that it is the duty of Christian people to see that all those who wish to work should either have an opportunity of doing so, or should be provided with such maintenance as will safeguard them from destitution, emphasising the fact that the former is the only satisfactory solution of the problem. There is a definite obligation on Christian people to study how to solve the unemployment problem and to support those measures which will in their opinion go furthest towards this.

Those who have money can help also in a small way by subscribing to such schemes as "Home Helps" (see pp. 142-5), and by investing in public undertakings such as Garden Cities, both of which give employment.

SICKNESS AND ILL-HEALTH

It was estimated by Lieut.-Col. F. E. Fremantle, M.P., in a paper which he read before the British Medical Association in 1922, that the total direct

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material loss in England and Wales from sickness and disability amounted to a minimum of £150,000,000 a year, a large part of which was the result of preventable diseases. Disease and ill-health which are not preventable must be met by a wide extension of sickness insurance if they are not to result in extreme poverty. Where disease and ill-health are preventable, however, it is the duty of the community to secure their prevention. The spread of tuberculosis, the prevalence of rickets among infants and many other scourges could be suppressed by a better system of public administration. A large amount of ill-health is caused by bad housing, by insufficient nutriment, by the pollution of the air through noxious fumes, and by a number of other causes all of which could be removed. As the late King Edward said when Prince of Wales, speaking on the subject of the Report of the Royal Commission on Housing, "If preventable, why not prevented?" So far as Housing and Town Planning are concerned, we have elsewhere indicated some necessary measures. But many other steps could be taken, such as the provision of better and ampler supplies of new milk, and greater assistance in connection with infant welfare.¹ Above all, we must steadily endeavour to remove the causes of poverty.

¹ The possibilities of preventive medicine are discussed by a number of experts, and readers are referred, among others, to: *An Outline of the Practice of Preventive Medicine* (prepared for the Ministry of Health), by Sir George Newman; *Tuberculosis and the Public Health*, by H. Hyslop Thomson, M.D., 5s.; *Health and the State*, by W. A. Brend, 10s. 6d., and *Housing and the Public Health*, by John Robertson, M.D., 5s. See also Chapter X of this Report on "Mothers and Babies."

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OLD AGE

To those whose incomes are ample, old age, as a rule, has no terrors as a cause of poverty. The vast majority of manual workers, however, has no means of putting by for old age. Something has already been done to mitigate their condition by the Old Age Pensions Act, and by various voluntary measures. Such provisions, however, are quite inadequate. Many manual workers are worn out long before they reach the age of seventy, and the amount of the old-age pension itself is the barest minimum. In practice, the support of aged parents often falls upon their children at a time when the latter can ill spare the money owing to the needs of their own families.

INTEMPERANCE AND OTHER VICES

Intemperance, gambling and other vices undoubtedly lead to poverty in a certain number of cases, but to a much less extent than is often assumed by those who are anxious to quiet their own consciences with regard to such evils as low wages and unemployment. We must also bear in mind that intemperance, for example, may be the direct result of depression due to unemployment, or of bad housing conditions, which make it impossible for men to find peace and comfort at home, and often drive them to the public-house as the only way of escape. If an adequate standard of life were established among the workers, if they lived in healthy surroundings and possessed economic

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security, there is no doubt that drunkenness and other vices would rapidly diminish ; and legislation could do much to deal with the residuum of cases. We must, however, aim, not at a merely negative policy, but at the building up of character by every possible means.

RICHES AND FAMILY LIFE

If extreme poverty has a disastrous effect upon large masses of people, extreme wealth, although it affects only a limited number of families, has often still graver consequences. In many rich households there is an atmosphere of luxury and self-indulgence that is fatal to the spiritual life of parents and children alike. Where this is coupled with a failure to appreciate the condition of others, and a reluctance even to pay taxes for the necessary services or for the alleviation of distress, we have a continuous festering sore in the community. It is unnecessary to elaborate what should be obvious to anyone whose eyes are open and who has taken the trouble to read the Gospels. One economic fallacy, however, is often used by the well-to-do as an excuse for their own indulgence. They say that to spend money on luxuries is to give employment, while to cut off such expenditure is simply to cause unemployment.

The real answer, of course, is that if the money spent on luxuries were spent in a useful way, employment would still be given, but it would be beneficent instead of harmful in character. For example, if a woman, instead of employing extra domestic servants in her own household, employed the money

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on providing "home helps" for overworked, hard-pressed mothers who are suffering from bad health, as much or more employment would be given, but the result would be very different. Again, if a rich man, instead of making a costly addition to a house already large, built cottages for the houseless, the building trade would still be quickened, but new houses, new centres of a healthy family life, would spring into existence.

It should be pointed out, also, that in general the expenditure of the same sum of money upon necessaries employs more labour than its expenditure on luxuries. Thus, £50 spent on a costly ball dress employs much less labour than £50 spent on a number of useful garments. Even where a large house and beautiful grounds are maintained, those who have the right outlook will take steps to see that others are able to share in their enjoyment. (For example, a well-known landowner entertains in the summer a succession of summer schools of working-class students.)

In conclusion, therefore, while we do not maintain that it is either desirable or practicable to secure complete equality so far as wealth is concerned, our efforts should be directed far more strongly than they ever have been in the past towards removing the more glaring inequalities. On the one hand, every family should have sufficient coming into the home to secure adequate food, clothing, housing and leisure for its members, and, on the other, the wasteful expenditure upon luxuries which is still so prevalent should cease. The complicated economic abuses of our day cannot be remedied by what is

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commonly called "charity." "The loyal citizen at this time (1913) has two duties—first to see that taxes are equitably imposed and carefully expended, and then to pay them cheerfully. In the days when our brothers' needs were met only by charity, it was said that 'God loveth a cheerful giver.' Now that they are more efficiently met by the State it can be equally well said that 'God loveth a cheerful taxpayer.'"¹ If this was true—as we believe it was—before the war, it is more patently true to-day.

¹ The late Canon Barnett.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMMUNITY, THE PARENT AND THE CHILD

CHAPTER IX

THE COMMUNITY, THE PARENT AND THE CHILD

WE have already pointed out that with the growing complexity of modern life it has become less and less possible for the family to be a law unto itself. We have long passed the time when, from an economic or social point of view, it depended on its own resources. Especially since the dawn of the industrial era and the growth of capitalism, children have gone out to work for other employers than their parents, and town life has brought them more and more into direct relation with the outside world. As a result, the State has been forced to consider children as individuals, and has had to concern itself both with their immediate welfare and with their position as future citizens of the country. Hence, it has become the practice in Parliament to legislate directly in regard to them, and for both Parliament and Local Authorities to vote money for education and various other purposes affecting the well-being of children. This legislation has helped parents to provide what they could not do out of their own resources, but it has also in some respects interfered with the freedom of parents in their dealings with their children.

Though the main body of legislation has been carried out during the last hundred years, it com-

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menced much earlier. Thus, as early as the Poor Law Act of 1601, the State regarded it as a duty and claimed it as a right, in the public interests, to protect children as future citizens from the results of their parents' poverty. The Act referred to gave power to the Overseers of the Poor to exercise guardianship over children whose parents were thought "not able to keep, maintain and apprentice them until they were independent." The Act of Settlement, 1662, caused great abuses to creep into this system of Poor Law custody, inasmuch as it made it to the interest of the Overseers to apprentice children in parishes other than their own, and thus to escape liability. Protective social legislation followed the realisation of the evils wrought by the Industrial Revolution, and since that date a great body of legislation has grown up, which regulates the employment of children in respect of wages, hours of work, health and safety, education, and protection in cases where they are treated with cruelty or negligence.

There is a large amount of legislation affecting children on the Statute Book, but we do not propose to do more than indicate the general principles which it embodies, in so far as they affect family life. The main Act is the Children's Act of 1908, which repealed twenty-one previous Acts and parts of seventeen others and codified and extended their provisions. This Act penalises parents for active cruelty, for negligence, or for exposing the child to conditions which will cause suffering (even where actual suffering has been obviated by the action of a third person). It also provides for the punish-

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ment of the parent or legal guardian if he fails to furnish food, clothing, medical advice or lodging for a child, or if, being unable of his own resources to furnish these necessaries, he fails to take steps to procure them under the Poor Law Acts.

The number of Acts codified in the Children's Act of 1908 bears evidence to the constant attention which, during the last century, has been paid to the welfare of children, and to the growing conviction that the State should step in to protect the child's interests when the parent is unable or unwilling to do so. The then Home Secretary was conscious, however, of the danger to parental responsibility latent in the 1908 Bill, and when introducing it he said that he desired to "strengthen and guide parental authority, not to supersede it." He thought it of great importance that children should be dealt with, when outside aid was necessary, not by official but by voluntary workers. This raises a further issue—whether the State has a right to commission private individuals, who may be actuated by any motive from public spirit to sheer love of interference, to intervene between parents and children.

The operation of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, gives perhaps the clearest example of State intervention in family life. Under this Act the children are fed, if in the opinion of the school officials and of the voluntary workers of the Care Committee they come to school in such a condition that they are not able to take advantage of the education given. The children can be fed and parents asked to pay for meals provided at the

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school. If the parent refuses to pay and is yet deemed able to pay, he can be summoned for the cost incurred. An important differentiation between this and other methods of State intervention is that the provision of school meals sometimes benefits only an employer who pays sweated wages. There are many cases on record of fathers who receive wages below the level of subsistence, and claim on that account that their children should be fed at school.

Other Acts which affect children are the Factories and Workshops Acts, which limit their hours of work, which prevent their employment in certain industries, and which in other ways limit the power of free contract between parents and employers with regard to the labour of children.

The Education Acts, by making education compulsory, imposed definite obligations upon parents. Whilst education is free to those who wish to avail themselves of the elementary schools provided by the local Education Authority, any parent who does not send his children to these schools must show that they are getting proper education elsewhere. The parent is not allowed to have the child taught according to his own ideas, unless the Education Authority can be satisfied that such teaching will be adequate. The Education Acts also insist upon the medical inspection of children, and treatment in certain cases. It has been held, for example, that refusal or neglect on the part of parents to provide spectacles for a child for whom they have been ordered by a school doctor amounts to legal cruelty. In practice, the duties imposed

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upon parents by the Education Acts are enforced in the case of working-class families, but in general the Education Authorities assume that parents in better circumstances are providing proper education for their children. This to some extent creates a class distinction which is extremely undesirable, and it would be well if those who serve on Education Authorities were to exercise the same control in the case of children of better-off parents as they do in the case of those less fortunately situated.

In accordance with the Labour Exchange Acts, information from the school concerning children which may be withheld from the parents is divulged or reported to the official employment agent or to voluntary workers. Cases occur where parents resent this procedure, and assert that their child's chance of employment is prejudiced by statements on health, efficiency and intelligence.

It may be said that all the above legislation and similar Acts are designed to protect children and to give them a reasonable chance of becoming good citizens. Certain measures, as, for example, the provision of school meals, are often criticised as "grandmotherly," or as calculated to undermine parental responsibility. In our view, however, such legislation, at present, is necessary. While it would be far better for all parents to be in an economic position which would allow them to provide entirely for their children upon an adequate scale, the fact remains that to-day large masses of them can do nothing of the kind. While this is the case, the State and the Local Authorities must continue to step in on behalf of the children,

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perhaps with more generous assistance in the future than in the past.

Part of the legislation as administered in certain localities, however, is criticised even more severely by the parents concerned. They complain that they are interfered with unduly, and that the State has no right to dictate to them how to bring up their children. Now there can be no doubt that in actual administration of the Acts much harm may be done by busybodies. Some of the members of Care Committees may be so tactless as to rouse feelings of resentment among parents. We do not believe, however, that this is generally the case; and, as a matter of fact, the *laissez-faire* method has become impossible. If, for instance, a doctor says that spectacles are necessary in order to save a child's eyesight, the community cannot acquiesce in the parents' decision that they do not wish the child to wear spectacles. On the whole, moreover, experience shows that while at first people may object to any attempt at supervision of their family relations, their attitude gradually changes, and they themselves are educated in the process. In our view the State or the community has an essential part to play as "over-parent," but, of course, every possible effort should be made to avoid friction, and to make the parents feel that their authority is not being superseded. Those who undertake Care Committee work should be properly trained for the purpose.

On the one hand, then, it is necessary to improve the economic position of parents, and thus enable them to provide properly for their children; and, on the other hand, to give better education. Many

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parents, with the best intentions, do not know how to use their powers aright, and as they become more enlightened, the need for State interference will disappear. A great deal can be accomplished by a frank recognition of the fact that adults *of all classes* require education in their responsibilities as parents.

The ideal would be for the State or Local Authority, as representing the community, to be ready with help and advice when sought. At present, however, unfortunately, those who most need help and advice are least aware of their ignorance. While this, no doubt, may also be the case among the wealthier classes, their children are more or less protected, physically if not spiritually, by the material conditions which habitually surround them.

The whole question of the extent of public assistance to education is dealt with by a separate Commission and we do not propose to discuss it here.

CHAPTER X
MOTHERS AND BABIES

CHAPTER X

MOTHERS AND BABIES

ALTHOUGH the theme of poets and of artists, the mother has received scant recognition in practice for her services to the community. There is no saying more trite than "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world," but to many hard-worked and over-burdened mothers it must have sounded as a bitter joke.

The mother is the centre of family life. Unfortunately, under present economic conditions, her life is often one of constant overwork. Not only does she bring the children into the world and is responsible for their welfare every hour of the twenty-four, but she cleans the house, does the cooking and feeds and clothes the family, she mends and washes the clothes and pays the rent—all usually out of a very small weekly income. If food is short, she goes short. When the children are young she has practically no opportunity for even half an hour's rest, much less any amusement or recreation. If she is ill or run down, she has no assistance with her daily work. If she is nursing or expecting a baby, she has still to cook, wash, clean and mend. All this would be bad enough if the house were well planned and well fitted, and the income sufficient for the family's needs. Where

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the house contains only two or three rooms in bad repair, with no proper facilities for cooking or washing, and the income is so small that she cannot provide even the children, much less herself, with sufficient food, the situation is one which no civilised community should tolerate. In many cases not merely has the mother to do all the work of the home, but, owing to the unemployment or low wages of her husband, she has to go out to work, and she may act as breadwinner up to within a few weeks of her baby's arrival and again only a few weeks afterwards.

Those who really know the conditions in industrial districts are accustomed to see how often the factory girl, who at eighteen was full of life and spirits, is almost worn out before she is thirty when a mother of three or four children. By the time she is forty she is frequently suffering severely in health as a result of improper care and insufficient food during the periods of maternity, of constant overwork and of the anxiety and worry of trying to make both ends meet on an insufficient and extremely precarious income.

During the last fifty years more attention has been paid to the needs and the rights of the woman, and since the war she has been given a political status in the country. From an economic point of view, however, the mother's position is still one of entire dependence. While, especially during the last few years, something has been done in the way of assistance and advice at childbirth, whilst slight palliatives have here and there been made through the feeding of school-children, through the supply of milk and occasionally by the supply of "home

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helps," it is undoubtedly the case to-day that the happiness of family life is for many thousands of families largely destroyed by the continual struggle against economic difficulties and depressing environment, and it is the woman of the household who suffers most. Those who wish for some picture of the position of mothers and their babies cannot do better than read extracts from letters from mothers collected in 1914-15 by the Women's Co-operative Guild and published in 1915 in a book called *Maternity*, with an introduction by Sir Herbert Samuel, an ex-President of the Local Government Board. Terrible as are the conditions depicted in that volume, they are not the worst, because the writers were not generally among the poorest of the working classes. Even so the facts revealed call for the immediate attention of the community.

It is a bitter irony to talk about the ideals of family life whilst the position of so many mothers remains as it is. We therefore propose to deal shortly with the position of married women and their babies in this chapter, and try to indicate some of the lines along which further reforms must proceed.

With some of the causes of the present evils we have already dealt in the earlier chapters of this Report. Important as good housing is to the father, it is ten times as important to the mother. She seldom gets out for more than an hour or two in the day—often not at all. In any case her burden is bound to be heavy, but the amount of time and labour involved in the actual management of the home and the consequent bad health and worry

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can be greatly reduced by good planning, adequate accommodation, proper arrangements for cooking and washing, and a satisfactory supply of hot and cold water. The mother's primary requirement then is a well-equipped, convenient house with good surroundings, which include a garden, and, if possible, playgrounds within easy reach.

The general problem of poverty must be referred to again in this context. Until there is a regular income which will enable the mother to provide sufficient wholesome food and adequate clothing for the family, and until there is some certainty that this income will continue, she can have no peace and no freedom from worry, nor can she be to her children and husband all that she would wish to be.

In reading the letters from working women to which reference has been made, no one can fail to be struck by the appalling effects of continued worry about employment and the immediate future. Thus the securing of a living wage in all industries, and the provision either of work or of an adequate maintenance during unemployment, are essential preliminaries to the improvement of the position of the mother. Under no circumstances should the mother of young children, still less the expectant mother, be forced to go out to work in order to provide for the family owing to the husband's illness or unemployment. We are not suggesting that married women should not be allowed to go out to work, but that they should not be forced to do so. It may sometimes be desirable for a woman to continue to work after marriage, but the income so derived should be additional to the husband's earn-

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ings, and should enable her to provide a substitute to perform her household duties in her absence. Generally speaking, of course, the mother of young children would not go out to work unless there were no alternative.

The case of widows with young children will require separate consideration. It is essential that some special provision by way of endowment or otherwise should be made for them. As to the precise form this should take it is unnecessary to dogmatise, provided that the result is achieved.

With a satisfactory home and with the assurance of a certain reasonable minimum income, many of the mother's hardships would disappear. There are, however, several important respects in which changes and fresh developments in administration are required, most of all during

- (a) The period of maternity;
- (b) Periods of illness of the mother.

There is also

- (c) The special problem of the very large family and of the too rapid increase in its size.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE

Since the beginning of the century more attention has been paid to infant welfare, with the result that there has been a steady decrease in infant mortality. At the end of the last century the average death-rate of children under one year of age in England and Wales was over 150 per thousand births. In the first ten years of the present century the rate

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was reduced to 128, in the next five years to 110, in 1916-20 to 90, in 1921 to 83, in 1922 to 77, and in 1923 to 69.¹ Infant mortality is, however, still far higher than it should be. While the average has come down to 69, there are some congested districts in certain boroughs where it is still over 150 per thousand. But the improvement is marked and is mainly due to the greater attention paid by the State and Local Authorities to the importance of preserving infant life. The high figure which still persists in many crowded districts is to a large extent the consequence of bad housing and bad environment and can only be remedied by drastic housing reform.

Until recently, efforts to assist the poorer mothers and their babies largely depended upon voluntary enterprise. It was only in certain localities, and then on a very restricted scale, that any public or municipal action was taken either by way of advice or assistance. The inquiries of the Women's Co-operative Guild show clearly that the vast majority of mothers and babies of the previous generation suffered nearly as severely from lack of proper instruction as they did from economic evils. We can only indicate quite briefly some of the measures more recently adopted by the State and the Local Authorities to secure better medical attention and better advice, and to render direct assistance both to mothers and babies :

(1) The National Insurance Act, by making provision for maternity benefit (originally 30s., now

¹ *Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1922-23, Cmd. 1944, p. 11.*

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42s.) helped to secure proper medical attention and nursing. Even now it is doubtful whether the sum is nearly adequate to meet the need.

(2) The certification of midwives and their proper training has undoubtedly improved the general standard of efficiency with regard to child-birth.

(3) The provision by the Local Authority, or by voluntary organisations assisted by grants from the Local Authority, of maternity and infant welfare centres to which expectant mothers and mothers with babies can come for advice and consultation has done much to relieve the mother from anxiety and secure both her welfare and that of the child.

(4) The employment by the Local Authority of health visitors who are properly trained and who have had experience in a hospital and qualified as midwives and sanitary inspectors has also proved of great value, especially where, as is usually the case, the health visitor works in close co-operation with the infant welfare committee.

(5) Maternity homes or hospitals have been provided by some of the Local Authorities, and so long as housing conditions remain as they are and there is a lack of facilities and assistance in the home, there will be a great demand for the increase in the number of these institutions, a need which is emphasised by the Ministry of Health in its Annual Report. A large proportion of mothers, however, would naturally prefer to remain at home, especially where they have other children to be looked after, and it cannot be regarded as an ideal state of things that they should have to leave home

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because the home is overcrowded or unfit. Municipal baby hospitals for treating babies and quite small children have been started in certain districts and render great assistance to the overworked mother.

(6) Milk at less than cost price to expectant and nursing mothers is provided by certain Local Authorities. Unfortunately, however, there has recently been a cutting down of public expenditure in this respect, and whereas £359,000 was spent upon this in the year 1920-21, the amount of expenditure in 1922-23 was only £226,000, which, even allowing for the fall in the cost of milk, shows a considerable reduction.

(7) A new form of assistance, and one which could well be extended considerably, is the provision of "home helps." Certain Local Authorities now employ women to do the house-work in poor homes where a baby has arrived. Only £7,000, however, was spent in the whole country in 1922-23 on this form of assistance.

The maternity and child welfare grant for all the above purposes and for other purposes connected with maternity and child welfare which was distributed by the Ministry of Health in 1922-23 amounted to £785,000. The Local Authorities expended a similar sum out of the rates. About one-third of this was spent upon health visitors, about one-fifth on maternity homes and hospitals, and another one-fifth on milk and food, one-tenth on infant welfare centres, 3 per cent. on day nurseries and 3 per cent. on midwifery, and about 7 per cent.

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on medical officers of health and assistant medical officers for maternity and child welfare work. Although the sum is substantial and shows an important increase on what used to be devoted to this purpose before the war, it is not nearly sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. The number of certificated midwives is still too small. The Ministry of Health itself states that "nearly 300 additional whole-time health visitors are still required to bring the number up to the Department's moderate standard of one whole-time officer to every 400 births." Both the number of infant welfare centres and their size are inadequate. Far greater attention, and a larger sum of money, should be devoted to the supply of pure milk.

Looking at the matter simply from the economic point of view, the State and the Local Authorities would do well to spend more money and devote more attention to this important branch of "preventive medicine." We have got past the experimental stage and have concrete experience to guide us, and it is generally admitted that the work already done has reduced infant mortality and improved the health of both mothers and children. Our scale of national expenditure is surely wrong when the total money devoted to maternity and infant welfare work in all its phases is less than 1s. per head of the population.

To most social reformers the work of infant welfare centres and health visitors is well known, but little attention has been paid to the possibility of extending the scheme of "home helps." Quite apart from the medical and nursing attendance

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necessary with maternity cases, the vast majority of workers' homes suffer from the lack of anyone to manage the house and do the cooking and washing while the mother is lying in. The result is that she herself goes on carrying out her household duties right up to the last moment and often gets up again within a few days of the child's birth, a practice which leads to serious permanent damage both to mother and child. Sometimes a neighbour or grandparent gives assistance, but there are many homes where such assistance is not possible or can only be provided for an hour or two in the day. In the letters from mothers to which we have referred, numbers of instances are given by women from their own experience, in which they were at the wash-tub within a few hours of the baby's arrival and had to get up five or six days afterwards. The scheme of "home helps," originally started in Whitechapel, and now adopted in a very limited degree by some other Local Authorities, provides for the employment of women to go and do house-work and look after the children for a certain number of hours a day in homes where there is a maternity case. They are at present usually employed by a voluntary agency which gets a grant from the Local Authority, the Local Authority in turn getting 50 per cent. of the expenditure from the Ministry of Health. As has been indicated, however, the movement is quite in its infancy, only £7,000 having been expended in this way in the whole country during the year. Even in areas where the scheme is in operation, its scope is comparatively small. For instance, in the borough of St. Pancras, with a population of over

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200,000, there are only three or four "home helps" employed. Much more could be done in this respect, and in some cases small payments could be received. The scheme has the additional advantage of providing useful employment at a time when unemployment is rife.

ILLNESS OF THE MOTHER

The scheme of "home helps" to which we have referred would also be of great value when the mother is ill. Often the doctor orders rest or even a visit to a convalescent home. In a poor district, however, he knows that this advice, though practically essential, cannot be taken. At present the community through the Local Authority only makes grants for "home helps" in maternity cases. We believe that the scheme could be extended to cover cases of mothers' illness, and possibly it could be coupled with an amplification of the measures for insurance against illness which at present only apply to employed persons.

LARGE FAMILIES

The special problems which arise in connection with large families need the earnest thought of Christian people. The consideration of them, however, inevitably brings us on to ground outside our province which is covered by the Sex Commission. We desire, however, briefly to lay stress on certain aspects of the question.

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We deprecate minute calculations about the number of children required in a family, but it is essential that the mother should take her due share in any decision that is reached, and her wishes and desires must be respected. Both parents also must remember the value of moderate-sized families to the children themselves if the home is to be the training-ground we have described. It is not really in the interests of the children to limit their number—with a view to increasing their material advantages—if the gain of mutual co-operation and education is lost.

The community must realise that the whole problem is intensified by wrong economic conditions, of which bad housing is the chief. It imposes restrictions which would otherwise not be tolerated, and the lack of space tends to prevent restraint in sexual relations. A community can hardly be called Christian which allows children to be brought into the world in circumstances where they cannot have a reasonable chance of growing up in healthy conditions. The larger the family the more do material conditions affect it, and this can only be mitigated—apart from some form of family endowment and by a better knowledge of the internal management and economy of the home—by both parents together giving thought to the responsibility of parenthood, and to the damage wrought to the health of the mother by too rapid child-bearing.

In some walks of life there will have to be as well an alteration in our standard of values. The new standard would contain what is essential for spiritual and physical well-being, and would eliminate much

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that we consider necessary in the way of amusements and luxury. We should cease to prefer three servants and two children to two servants and three children. We should cease to worry if our children were less finely dressed than our neighbour's. We should not have any ambition to change our "class," but only our culture and capabilities; and we should give up imagining that for real education we must send our children to the most expensive schools.

CHAPTER XI
CONCLUSIONS

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CONCLUSIONS

WE are aware that, within the compass of our Report, we have not been able to deal exhaustively with the intricate social and economic problems which are connected with the home and family life as institutions in our order of society. We have tried, however, to present the main principles involved and to discuss their application to the practical matters of every-day life.

Our conclusions, however, if accepted, will only be of value in so far as they lead to action by Christian people, both as individuals and as members of corporate Churches.

The Christian Churches have always claimed to be vitally concerned with home and family life. Because they are responsible for the family's spiritual life, they are responsible also for the material conditions which minister to this. If the Church is concerned with baptisms, it is also concerned with infant welfare; if it claims authority with respect to marriage and its inviolability, it must concern itself with home-making, and therefore with housing; if it performs the last rites over the dead, it must concern itself with the welfare of the survivors.

In this concluding chapter we summarise some of

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the chief points in our argument, and the main conclusions at which we have arrived.

1. The family and the home are institutions common to all countries and races with any degree of civilisation.

2. The family is the simplest social unit and is also the most rich in potential Christianity.

3. The phrases used to indicate love both in the teaching of our Lord and in common speech about human institutions which set before them co-operation and service as ideals, are culled from those used in regard to family relations.

4. The family has evolved from lower to higher types and—despite many set-backs and failures—has especially evolved under the influence of Christianity during the Christian era.

5. The establishment of a Christian Commonwealth—and in fact the Kingdom of God on earth—will best be founded on the family and home as the unit.

6. Our Lord, although He indicated that the family was the ideal social unit, and family relations those which most clearly revealed the spirit of love, made it clear that the family must not be regarded as an end in itself. He showed that occasions would arise when the home and the family might and would have to be broken up "for His sake."

7. Nevertheless, the family-home is the ideal training-ground for Christian life. The home is the place where the lessons of service and co-operation can first and best be learned.

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8. The basis of the home and the family must be the same as the basis of Christianity itself, that is to say, love.

9. Failures in family life, and particularly in married life, are due to the enemies of love, which may be summed up as selfishness. They may also be due to a misunderstanding of what love really means. Both romantic love and the love of one's household may and often do remain largely egoistic. Love is a way of living. Of its nature it must grow and deepen, and the effort foreseen in married life must be continually kept up.

10. The home that concentrates solely on the welfare of its own children to the exclusion of other children is failing to see the relation of home life to the community. Neither the family nor the members of it should become so absorbed in itself that it neglects to cultivate outside interests, and the service of others and of the community.

11. Education of children by parents is not best achieved by a series of parental prohibitions, but by example, and appeal to the mind and heart by truthful and rational explanations.

12. Parents should not try to bring up their children in their own image. There must be a development of the children's own character. The parents must remember that the character they are trying to develop must be a social character. The home itself is a society in which the child must somehow adjust his own self-expression to that of others. There must be

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education in the meaning of the lasting love of marriage.

13. It is the concern of both parents to undertake the religious education of their children as a natural and simple part of home life.

14. Class distinctions encourage family selfishness, giving a false standard and confusing function with worth. If we wish to abolish false class distinctions we shall educate our children with our neighbours'; and if we want the best for our own children, as Christians we must want it for all.

15. From the nature of the family association it is generally assumed that selfishness and family jars are faults and failures, because they conflict with the co-operative harmony which is found to be essential to happy family life. The achievement of such harmony should lead to the general social groupings being dominated by the same spirit.

16. The community can contribute much to family life. Comradeships formed with members of other families do not impoverish but enrich one's own. It is through the community at large that the family enters—as far as it does enter—upon the social inheritance of the past.

Under the foregoing heads we have summarised, what we have stated at greater length in Chapters I to V, some of the main considerations in connection with the building up of the family life which we believe to be in accordance with the Christian ideal,

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and also the relation between the family and the community. While family life of a high character can be achieved despite material surroundings and conditions, it is undeniable that the conditions which at present exist in our country are great obstacles to the achievement of the ideals at which we aim.

Extreme poverty on the one hand and extreme luxury on the other, bad housing and dismal surroundings, are all obstacles in the way of living the Christian family life, which may be overcome but which should be removed. If the Christian Commonwealth is to be achieved, there is a definite obligation upon individuals and the community at large to secure better social and economic conditions. Such improvement will not in itself secure the achievement of the Christian ideal, but it will make such achievements more possible. The following are the main conclusions at which we have arrived in Chapters VI to X as to reforms in our social and economic system which should be worked and prayed for, and which demand both individual and political action by Christian people. They are:

1. Every family should have the opportunity of occupying a home with accommodation adequate for the family's needs and comfort, so designed and with such surroundings as will secure health and amenity. At present there is a shortage of houses amounting to at least a million, and a large proportion of the houses which exist are unsatisfactory in themselves, or are overcrowded and have depressing and unhealthy surroundings.

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2. The present housing situation has, among others, the following evil results :

- (a) Bad health.
- (b) Excessive mortality.
- (c) In many cases, immorality and other vices.
- (d) Lack of opportunity for culture and education.

3. It is the duty of the community, and of the individuals that compose it, to secure the building at the earliest possible date of houses in sufficient numbers, properly planned, and with sufficient space surrounding them, to meet the housing needs of the time. We believe that if these houses are not provided in other ways, the public authorities should provide them, even though such a course involves a burden upon the tax-payer or rate-payer. In our opinion, however, such apparent cost would be more than balanced by the savings due to improvement in health and other conditions.

4. The fullest possible use should be made of the Town Planning Acts, and of such further legislation as may be found necessary to secure the better planning of towns. Such plans should provide for the separation of industrial, commercial and residential areas, the limitation of the number of houses that may be built to the acre, the provision of adequate transit facilities, the reservation of open spaces and the provision of recreation grounds.

5. In order to deal with the problem of the

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large towns, and to relieve their congestion, it will be necessary to start new satellite cities to which both industry and population can be moved, in accordance with the principles already put into practice at Letchworth and Welwyn.

6. Extreme poverty, involving continual anxiety from day to day about the means of life, is suffered by a large proportion of British families. This is due to various causes, and in particular to low wages, unemployment or casual employment, sickness or ill-health, old age, and, in a limited number of cases, intemperance and other vices.

7. As Christians we cannot rest until we have placed every family in a position in which, as the barest minimum, it can obtain all the necessaries of life with reasonable security of continuance.

8. Public opinion should be roused to protest against the payment of sweated wages, and to insist that a living wage is paid in all industries, that adequate measures are taken to deal with the problem of unemployment, that the Insurance Acts are extended to secure families against the evil results of bad health, and that Old Age Pensions are adequate.

9. In general the main responsibility for the welfare of the children rests upon parents, but the community must concern itself with their welfare, not merely by ensuring that the family shall have sufficient income to provide the necessaries of life, but also adequate education, and, where necessary, it must protect the

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children against the neglect even of their own parents. Meddlesome interference, however, should be avoided, and the administration of legislation for the protection of children should be in the hands of those who are properly qualified for the work.

10. We recognise the value of what has been done in recent years to improve conditions for mothers and babies, but are convinced that the community should press for far greater assistance than is at present provided. Maternity and infant welfare work should be extended on a far greater scale than is at present the case. The greater expenditure so involved will be the best form of economy.

We therefore submit the following resolutions :

1. That the building up of Christian homes lies at the root of the social problem, and that it is the duty of Christians to show what Christian family life can and should be when founded on love.

2. That Christians should work to secure for others the necessities and comforts of home which they enjoy themselves.

3. That it is fundamental to Christianity to regard every personality as of equal value in the sight of God.

4. That Christians cannot tolerate the present housing conditions, and that it is the imperative duty of all Christians and all Churches ceaselessly to demand and work, politically and otherwise, for measures which will secure :

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(a) that such a number of new houses be built as will completely meet the housing shortage and abolish the slums ;

(b) that all families have adequate means of subsistence and the reasonable comforts and opportunities of life.

This involves both a standard of personal conduct and an attitude towards public affairs. It involves making Christianity the governing principle and mainspring of action not merely in the home but in the Borough Council, in Parliament, and in the Departments of State. No Christian can ignore his or her share in the responsibility for the government of the country and for any neglect to deal with pressing social abuses.

To solve the housing problem and to prevent sweated wages and unemployment may call for measures which will involve sacrifices by certain sections of the community. Such sacrifices are as much Christian obligations as voluntary subscriptions to hospitals and to other "Charities." What our Lord said to the rich young ruler contains lessons not merely for individuals but for nations. No mechanical shaping and carrying out of legislation will have the full effect desired without that moral and spiritual force which it is the part of the Christian Church to pour into the national life.

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Signed :

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The members of the Commission who having co-operated in the preparation of the above Report attach their signatures, do so as individuals and in no way commit the Churches or Societies of which they are members. The acceptance of the Report by a signatory denotes agreement with the general substance of the Report, but not necessarily with every detail.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

I.

1. Trace the development of the home and consider what events in history affected it. Has there been a general progress until the present day, or is there any one period when you feel home life was at its strongest?

2. What was our Lord's teaching about the home, and what changes did it produce?

3. Consider the alternative suggestions to normal family life. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these proposals?

4. What bearing have material conditions on home life? Is it possible to divorce the spiritual from the material? Have Christians any obligations towards social abuses? On what does beauty in the home depend? Is it possible to have a beautiful home without a big financial outlay? (See *Everyday Religion*, by E. S. Woods, Student Christian Movement.)

II.

1. On what does the importance of the Christian home rest? Discuss the statement, "The regenerating power of religion in other social organisations can at best be temporary unless it is the foundation of home life."

2. Do you know of any successful homes that are not based on Christianity? Is a definitely Christian home any better than ordinary homes based on love and mutual forbearance?

3. Discuss the causes of home-making. Is there any specific contribution Christians have to make on the subject of the

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

spirit of approach to marriage? How should this contribution be made? Does the Church give any teaching or preparation before marriage?

4. Can you describe the ideal Christian family? What are the greatest obstacles in the way of its attainment?

III.

1. To what extent should parents subordinate themselves to their children? Does unselfishness in parents breed selfishness in children? Is it true to say that both parents have an equal place and responsibility towards the children at all ages? (Cf. *The New Psychology and the Teacher*, and *The New Psychology and the Parent*, by Dr. Crichton Miller.)

2. Discuss the type of character needed in potential citizens, and the various methods of upbringing for securing this. Consider what are the most important things which parents have to teach and the right methods of doing it, particularly with regard to religion.

3. Consider what the Church can do to spread Christian teaching about the home, to help the home-makers and to show children their right duty to their parents.

IV.

1. Are outside interests (both for parents and for children) desirable, or do they always distract from the home? There is frequently a conflict of loyalties between the home and public work. What should be the right Christian attitude towards such questions?

2. Are class distinctions good or bad? How can the home play its part in mitigating their evil effects?

3. How should servants be treated? Should they have meals with the family? How many hours a day should they work?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

4. Discuss the whole important interplay between the family and the community, and consider how each can help the other on the spiritual plane.

V.

It is stated in Chapter V that the home is the supreme place of education and that it should be governed by equality in personal values. Consider these two statements and think out their implications in all walks of life. How do they affect accepted ideas about :

- (1) Education.
- (2) Nurses and nurserymaids.
- (3) Poverty and unemployment.
- (4) Servants.
- (5) Outside interests ?

VI.

1. If possible, the circle might make a survey of the local housing position and needs.
2. What are the chief moral evils that arise from bad housing conditions ?
3. How should houses be built ? By private enterprise, by the State, by the Church, by the Local Authority ?
4. What are the particular problems of slum areas, large towns, rural districts ? How can these be met ?
5. What are the main essentials in a house and its surroundings ? (See C.O.P.E.C. Questionnaire.) Why is town planning so important ? What are the chief requirements of a good town plan ?

VII.

1. To a great extent responsibility over social matters has shifted from the individual to the community. How can corporate responsibility be brought home ?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

2. What can the individual Christian do to forward housing reform?
3. Consider the difference between poverty and destitution. What are the main causes of extreme poverty? How can they be mitigated?
4. Why do riches make home life difficult? Discuss the fallacy of luxury spending and Canon Barnett's remark: "God loveth a cheerful taxpayer."

VIII.

1. To what extent has the State a duty as "over-parent"? Is it desirable that the State should interfere between parents and children?
2. What can be done to help the over-worked mother? Is a scheme of domestic service on the same basis as the nursing service practicable?
3. What is being done at present for mothers and babies and how should it be extended? Consider particularly
 - (1) Milk supply,
 - (2) Home helps,
 - (3) Large families,
 - (4) Motherhood endowment.(See publications of the Family Endowment Council, 50, Romney Street, S.W. 1.)
4. Finally, we have to consider how Christian teaching can be extended in the home and about the home, and how we can bring Christian opinion to bear so that Christian homes are made more possible.