

HOUSING

The Present Opportunity.

By

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"Race Regeneration," "Maternity and Child Welfare," and "A Yorkshireman Abroad"

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LONDON

P. S. KING & SON, LTD.
ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER

1918

This series of Addresses is affectionately dedicated to my only son.

CAPTAIN DONALD C. SMITH.

to whose inspiration I owe whatever is best in them.

Love for his country and the sacred causes she is fighting to defend, led him to volunteer for active service on the outbreak of the War, when he joined the 1st Bradford Pals, which ultimately became the 16th West Yorkshire Regiment.

He was seriously wounded while leading his gallant men at Serre in the great advance of July 1st, 1916, and has not been heard of since. .

The influence of his high character and sterling worth is, thank God, ever present, and it is indeed fitting that it should be concentrated on making Britain a worthier place for the brave men whose heroism has saved it.

C O N T E N T S.

1. Housing: The Present Opportunity. By E. J. Smith. 1918. pp.1-50.
2. Proceedings of the Inquiry Committee appointed by a Resolution of the Working Committee of The All India Congress Committee dated 4-8-1921 to inquire into the firing on the Crowd at Dharwar by the authorities on the 1st of July 1921 and the full circumstances connected therewith. (Chairman: Abbas S. Tyabji.) 1921. pp.51-189.
3. Social Reconstruction in Germany. By Meyrick Booth. 1919. pp.190-207.
4. Reconstruction and Social Service. Being the Report of a Conference called by the National Council of Social Service. 1920. pp.208-299.
5. Public Services. Handbooks of Information on Social Service. (2nd Edn. Revised & Enlarged) 1920. pp.300-349.
6. Trusts. An Address delivered by Sir William Beveridge at the National Liberal Club, Political & Economic Circle, London, 1921. (Chairman: John A. Hobson.) pp.350-365.
7. The Workers' Educational Association. Its Aims and Objects. (London.) pp.366-375.

Housing Reform.

*Address given to the Bradford City
Council on October 9th, 1917.*

The housing of the working classes constitutes one of the most discreditable chapters in the dull record of the social life of the people. In the great industrial centres, "where wealth accumulates and men decay," workshops, factories and warehouses have competed with mean dwellings for standing room on congested areas, intersected by short, narrow, crooked streets, overhung with a thick canopy of health-destroying black smoke, under which flowers cannot grow or birds sing. In such a soul-degrading environment men and women have existed with inadequate accommodation for the sexes, almost total absence of domestic convenience and comfort, and no means of bringing nature's colour and gladness into the dead monotony of the child life, upon whose development the nation depends. The total absence of uplifting ideas and ideals among local authorities, whose members have regarded it as their duty to facilitate the making of money whatever became of the loftier purpose of the making of men, have allowed this higgledy-piggledy throwing together of the human and material instruments of the "workshop of the world," with the result that wretchedness and squalor, drink and disease, immorality and crime, have been catered for, and have poured their victims into costly workhouses, prisons, hospitals, asylums and kindred institutions with a prodigality we have failed to appreciate because they have been put quietly out of sight and therefore out of mind, and we have not been sufficiently interested to inquire the price of our folly. But this beginning at the wrong end, and trying to cure what could, and should, have been prevented, has involved more than the waste of money, it has transformed the human assets of the State into national liabilities, and neutralised the work of mental, moral and religious agencies struggling to raise the depressing lives of the people. Even now the problem is being lifted out of the realms of chance and the speculative builder largely because the terrible losses of the war, and the necessity for finding employment on the

demobilisation of the army leaves no choice. But whatever may be the motive, the opportunity behoves us to profit by the costly and painful experiences of the past, and remember that we are not going to build for to-day alone, but also for the to-morrow of half-a-century hence, when our children's children will know whether we have grovelled or soared. It is not difficult to believe there are many, inside the Council and out, who will regard these introductory strictures as exaggerated, and who take it for granted that the city's achievements in this, as in some other directions, are exemplary.

HOUSING AND THE DEATH-RATE.

Let us therefore test that belief by the logic of facts. Seventy-five per cent. of the working classes of Bradford live in back-to-back houses, probably a larger proportion than can be found in any other city in the Kingdom, and a class of dwelling which has not only been condemned by the Local Government Board, but the erection of which has been prohibited by Parliament since 1909. At the last census, taken in 1911, 26,367 persons, or 9.3% of the population were living in a state of overcrowding, and while the death-rate in 1913 in houses of four rooms and over was only 8.6 per 1,000, that in one and two-roomed dwellings was 25 per 1,000. 18.25% of the people occupying 13,717 houses are still provided with 11,801 antiquated and grossly insanitary privies and 8,171 wet ashpits. But to take a wider survey; three-fifths of the population live in houses of four rooms and under, and the remaining two-fifths in dwellings of five rooms and over. If the death-rate in the small houses was the same as in the large ones, only half the number of people would die in them, and *per contra* if the mortality in the large dwellings were as high as in the small ones, twice as many of their well-to-do occupants would succumb. In the three best wards of the city—by no means ideal—in what was practically the pre-war, and therefore normal, year of 1914, the infant mortality averaged 62 per 1,000 births, while in the three worst wards the figure was 179, or three times greater in the squalor of the centre than in the sunshine and purer air of the outskirts; and when it is remembered that the birth-rate has fallen in the suburbs rather than in the slums, such facts bear eloquent testimony to the heart-breaking task that confronts our maternity and child welfare departments in struggling to modify the evils which such conditions perpetuate. It is the duty of every thoughtful man and earnest woman to familiarise themselves with such death-traps as White Abbey, Mount Street, Wapping, George Street and Broomfields, districts where children are not so much born into the world as damned into it, and then try to form some idea of the relative chances of child life in the richest and poorest homes of the city. If, instead

of being gifted with mental, moral and spiritual attributes, women, were animals, maintained to supply the State with children, neither they nor their little ones would be permitted to live a single day in the slums, because as stock breeders we should know that "it would not pay." If it would not pay under those circumstances, will it under these, to rear the noblest work of God. in this Christian country—the richest in the world—with less consideration and care than are every day bestowed upon gentlemen's parks, conservatories and stables, for the man is unborn who knows in which cradle the genius is being rocked or under what roofs the world's saviours are being reared. If slums belonged to a great business trust, whose employees had to live in them, the commercial mind would sweep them out of existence, because it estimates profits not only by money made but also by economies effected. We talk about the cost involved in promoting decent housing; what is the financial burden, direct and indirect, that these dens—for they cannot by any stretch of imagination be called homes—which are rapidly becoming the cradles of great cities, as they have long been their coffins, impose upon the community every day in the week, all the year round? Is the man born who can estimate the handicaps to this and succeeding generations which these blots on civilisation must impose upon the activities and progress of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen; indeed, is anything either cheap or justifiable that maims and destroys the physical, mental, moral and religious lives of men, women and children? Nay, can anything be ultimately beneficial, even financially, that fails to make us into nobler creatures of God?

HOMES IN COUNTRY SURROUNDINGS.

Instead of letting the favoured few live in the midst of green fields, spreading trees, singing birds and meandering brooks, and the many in or near the centres of cities, why cannot we send the many out into the country and leave as few as possible near the towns, at the same time prohibiting the erection of houses on industrial sites, and industrial concerns on housing sites? Cheap and convenient transit, the rapid development and centralising of industries, the natural decay of dwellings near them, make the process a necessity, if human betterment is to have a chance. Land in the centre is far too costly for houses, while in the country it is cheaper than linoleum; on the other hand, the assessable value of slum property is negligible in comparison to that of business premises built on the same sites. It is true that slum dwellers would not in the first instance get out into the country, but what really matters is that the hovels would be demolished, those dishoused be pushed back, and an equivalent number have to seek better dwellings, so that from

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a library, a recreation room, a pleasure ground, and a suitable area set apart for allotments, etc.: indeed, it would be a model village where after a hard day's work men and women could live such a natural, healthy and wholesome life as would enable them to rest and recuperate both body and mind, instead of wearing themselves out by spending their leisure hours in a smoke-laden atmosphere, teeming with the morbid excitement and distractions of modern artificial existence. The future physical, mental, moral and religious well-being of city life cannot be ensured by the dissipating habits into which we have drifted, and unless we can get back to better things, graver problems, even than the war, are in front of us. The limits of collective enterprise and helpfulness have by no means been reached, many can do with ease what one could not even attempt; why should we hesitate, much less decline, to encourage and develop the very best of which mutual service is capable? It is, of course, obvious that for a time, at any rate, many would prefer to look on and see how the new venture succeeded, but as only 5,000 houses would be erected in the first instance, and only 10,000 in the aggregate, or a number capable of accommodating less than the total enlistment is likely to reach, it is much more than probable that sufficient of the 300,000 inhabitants of the city would be ready to enjoy the advantages long before they could be provided. The thoughtful portion of the upper and middle classes have long since learned the wisdom of everything contained in these proposals, though their money enables them to achieve the same results by different means, so that no need for conversion should exist in their case, while employers of labour ought, even in their own interests, to welcome whatever tends to promote the health, contentment, and happiness of those without whose services their enterprises must inevitably fail. We all hope that when the war is over a new and better world will rise Phœnix-like out of its ashes, and if Bradford were to seriously undertake such a project as has been roughly and inadequately outlined, the brave men who have defended our all would come back from an open-air life, not to a meaner city, which puts a premium on emigration, but to one where outlook and vision were being reduced from abstract faith to concrete practice, because, at last, actions had superseded words.

Housing Reform.

*Address delivered to the Bradford City
Council on December 11th, 1917.*

The tremendous possibilities for permanent blessing inherent in the building of 10,000 houses in Bradford constitute a great call to high duty, not only on the part of members of the Council, but also on that of every thoughtful man and earnest woman in the City.

For if the task is undertaken with imagination, outlook and vision, it is capable of so raising the general standard of home life as to elevate the ideals and aspirations of the whole community. Indeed, the magnitude and importance of the undertaking can scarcely be exaggerated, for it constitutes an opportunity such as has never occurred before, and in all human probability will never come again, but the fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that, if the field is left to those who have not realised how miserably inadequate is the housing of the working classes, and those who are too deeply interested in maintaining the *status quo* to willingly permit any uplifting departure from it, the new dwellings will not be allowed to rise above the dull, monotonous and inefficient level of the old ones. Consequently, every single agency and individual wishing well to the future of the city and its inhabitants, and particularly the women—for housing is essentially a woman's question—should realise the solemn obligation to be up and doing, or it will be found, when too late, that there has been much ado about nothing, and while the well-meaning, but inactive, sections of the community have been leaving their duty to be done by proxy, the next fifty years would have been robbed of their rightful inheritance by the erection, under the guise of a War-time emergency, of an abnormally large number of cheap and standardised dwellings as ill-calculated to meet the reasonable and permanent needs of those for whom they are intended as the temporary military hospitals and the buildings to which they have given birth, will

be found to provide for the after-war requirements of the civilian population.

THE MEANING OF STANDARDISATION.

If standardisation means what is commonly understood by it, it is a huge and fatal blunder, leading back to the old Poor Law conceptions and ever-increasing slumdom, rather than forward to the new and more equitable social order which every truly patriotic man and woman so earnestly longs to see established.

If, on the other hand, standardisation means something totally different, it is a thousand pities that those in high places should ever have used the word in this connection. It can, of course, be made easy and cheap for the present, but it would be disastrous to the future, and stultify every ideal we are seeking to realise through our physical, mental and moral education, while the enormous sums of money we are spending on these redeeming activities would be worse than thrown away.

These are not the purposes for which we entered the War, or the objects for which our heroes are making unparalleled sacrifices. Nature's never-ending charm arises from her countless variety and richness of expression. The gorgeous colourings of the rising and the setting sun, the fascination of the star-spangled heavens, the irresistible attractions of the mighty deep, and the illimitable grandeur of earth's boundless store, derive their inexpressible grip not from standardisation but from the wealth and magnificence of their perpetual change; for just as there are no two men alike, nature has made no two scenes the same, and she has done it for a mighty and beneficent purpose. Can we improve on God's handiwork, or should we follow where He leads? "Not low achievement, but the absence of high aim is our sin"; to drive men down by standardised houses and standardised thinking, with all the drink, gambling and lust inevitably associated with mean, sordid and materialistic conditions, is easy, but to lift them up is a Herculean task that only God Himself can accomplish, or the millennium would long since have dawned.

When the War is over our commercial prospects will depend, not upon standardised cloth or tariff reform, but upon the excellence, variety and taste of our goods, yet instead of developing in the men and women who will have them to make individuality, initiative, resource and adaptability, characteristics and qualities indispensable to their production, standardisation will reduce them to a level as unlikely to extend the Bradford trade, either at home or abroad, as the Prussian military caste is to build the moral fabric of the world.

I happened to be in Berlin when the Agadir crisis was at its height, and after very considerable difficulty—for there is probably no country in the world where they can hide so effectively the things they do not wish strangers to see—discovered that one half the population of that royal city lived in standardised one-room tenements, and that one-third of the births were illegitimate. A winding road, wide enough to accommodate four horses abreast and paved with stone sets, ran like a winding staircase from the ground floor of the Kaiser's palace on to the roof, and had been originally constructed for the specific purpose of conveying artillery from the court yard on to the top of the building for military purposes. In these three things there is cause and effect producing the very cataclysm that is now covering Europe with blood and tears. Do we wish to copy their example, for it is impossible to conceive of a more effective way of doing so than by beginning the new era that must follow the War either with standardised houses or a repetition of those dull, monotonous dwellings that constitute the homes of the overwhelming proportion of the community in the richest country in the world. Surely the lure of better things must lead to the erection in every city of a variety of dwellings calculated to meet, not only the widely divergent conditions of locality, altitude, exposure, industries, habits and customs of each neighbourhood, but the sacred duty of ushering in a new and happier day for the over-wrought working class mother, and bringing the sunshine and gladness of good books, inspiring pictures, elevating music and beautiful scenery into the unimaginative lives of the common people, whom, Lincoln said, "God must have loved, He made so many of them." To attend church parades and listen to sermons packed with the Christian ethic is little better than hypocrisy unless there is some really serious, definite and sustained attempt, both on the part of public representatives and the ratepayers themselves, to embody that redeeming power in the workaday life and activities of the city.

Whether the new houses are to be a success or a failure depends not only upon the capital outlay, but also upon the amount of unnecessary drudgery and needless toil which they eliminate, and the degree in which the mothers of those whose little feet have still to come along the world's highway, are provided with such labour-saving and health-promoting conveniences as single-storey dwellings, communal laundries and cooking kitchens, and the circulation of hot water through every house.

THE MERITS OF ONE-STOREY DWELLINGS.

The wisdom of one-storey buildings is recognised by every up-to-date hospital authority, and

many of the obvious reasons which prove the soundness of that conclusion, and a great many more that the daily round and the common task of the conscientious housewife supply, leave no room for doubt that the bungalow type of residence would be an unmitigated blessing in relieving the hardest-worked section of the community from the necessity to run up and down steps from morning till night where young families have to be cared for and attended to; while if the scheme were carried out in its entirety, the increased cost of the houses in some directions would be compensated for by reductions in others, leaving the net outlay approximately the same. To compel the doing of laundry work inside a cottage by antiquated means and manual labour, and to impose upon mothers all the unwarrantable disabilities inseparably associated with it, is a proof of considerate and humane bankruptcy, in view of the available facilities and the ease with which the work can be done by modern machinery and business organisation in central premises. Try to imagine the estimate which the business men of Bradford would put upon anyone engaged in the worsted industry who continued to use comb pots, spinning jennies and hand looms in private houses, in spite of the fact that combing machinery, spinning frames and power looms had superseded them, and factories were erected and equipped where they could be assembled and run. How long would these enterprising gentlemen give such a person to arrive at the official receiver's? What is it that still compels workingmen's wives to rely upon old-fashioned methods, and workingmen's employers to keep abreast of the times by up-to-date means? The question merits an answer.

What is true of laundry work is true of cooking, unless any sort of food will nourish and sustain the health and vigour of the great industrial army. It is notorious that the incessant and excessive labour involved in preparing wholesome meals and a reasonably varied diet for every family in every home is such that ready-made, poor and indigestible substitutes are being increasingly resorted to, with disastrous results both to parents and children. Even the occupants of better class houses, who are having to do without maids, now know something of the normal difficulties that must confront working-class women without help, adequate means or reasonable facilities. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that through the medium of a communal cooking kitchen a much better quality of food, a far greater variety of dishes, a higher standard of cooking, a tremendous saving of labour, and no greater cost would be assured to every family that put it to the test. Why hesitate about mutual co-operation and helpfulness, and insist upon the mothers who make our homes, supply industry with labour and main-

tain the race, being obliged to work excessive hours at unnecessary toil?

Will nothing but private profit induce us to exchange sailing vessels for steamships, and stage coaches for express trains, even where, as in the case of communal laundries and cooking kitchens, the modern method would be absolutely self-supporting after every penny of cost had been set against it?

COMMUNAL HOT WATER SUPPLY.

Consider the unqualified nonsense of making the housewives of the rank and file heat every drop of water that is required to keep a home and provide for the needs of a family, in a pan or kettle on a kitchen fire or gas stove. That folly cannot be perpetuated in the new dwellings, and investigation would probably prove that it is more economical to supply hot water from one or more centres than to put a fire-back boiler into each individual house, which if provided would often necessitate a fire in summer when otherwise that cost would be unnecessary. The absence of such provision is not only grossly extravagant and pitiably inadequate, but puts a premium on dirt and disease, and destroys that domestic pride which is one of the finest and most valuable assets of the nation, and for the absence of which superior critics are never tired of condemning the poor. Will nothing but dividends lift us out of the old ruts? Is our public regard for mothers as low as our personal affection for them is high? Will their horizon never be lifted in this Christian country till the just retribution of callous neglect leaves industry without labour, as indeed it is doing at present, though those who will ultimately be directly concerned are unaware of the fact, because they only count men and women, not the boys and girls, much less the babies, without whom all else must perish. In commercial affairs those who keep Britain in the van of the world's progress never rest satisfied, and we erect monuments to captains of industry who have sufficient business acumen and courage to throw out good machinery in order to put in better, and who are constantly seeking and ever welcoming new and better ways by which to excel, but very few even of these otherwise shrewd pioneers take any active interest in improving the standard of living, the measure of comfort and the use of the spare time of their work-people, on whose health, happiness and efficiency the magnitude of their success so largely depends.

Neither public spirit, personal obligation nor commercial instinct carry many of them in that direction, though enlightened selfishness alone should lead them to enter with enthusiasm into the promotion of an ever-rising level of home life, mental equipment

and moral outlook for those who cannot be elevated without bringing to their work-a-day duties the tangible results of such uplifting growth. What is true of those who go out to work cannot be less true of those whose thoughtfulness, consideration and care keep them busy within the four walls of the little homely domains where men and nations are made or marred, indeed, the most elementary reflection would convince us that our first and highest duty is ever and always to them. Yet we seem afraid of removing the unnecessary and laborious tasks that actually rob them of the opportunity to rise, and to render us higher forms of devotion and service, lest in some utterly inconceivable way the absence of heavy drudgery should spoil them.

We do not realise, perhaps it would be more accurate to say we never even consider, what a serious bearing this work, that is never done, has upon the vital and rapidly increasing problem of the declining birth-rate, which ere long will give all those who have the slightest concern for, or interest in, the future, furiously to think, for there is no instance in history where such a steady and clearly defined fall, as has taken place in this country during the last forty years, has ever been turned back. This truly grave menace has far too long been regarded as a strictly private and personal matter, but in view of the fact that the very existence of the nation, and the discharge of the multifarious and ever-extending responsibilities of Empire depend upon it, that ostrich-like policy cannot be regarded as other than fatal to the solution of such a supremely momentous problem, and it is difficult to believe that a more valuable opportunity for arresting the decline has ever presented itself in Bradford, than is embodied in the erection of 10,000 houses which can be built with due regard to all that is involved in the sacred office of motherhood, and the removal of stumbling blocks that hinder a mighty advance on the highway to better things and a nobler quest.

AN OBLIGATION TO OUR SOLDIERS.

At present we recognise and appreciate the stupendous obligation laid upon us by the heroes who are daily risking the supreme sacrifice on land and sea for us and ours, and when the war is over we intend to bear these gallant lads in mind, but the road to hell is said to be paved with good intentions, and I want to urge the Council and the public to crystallize their gratitude, not by sending these brave defenders back into the old conditions, but by giving them the opportunity to become the first tenants of the new houses. That would not only be giving tangible expression to our hero worship, but placing the dwellings at the service of those whose experience at the front had constituted an altogether excellent training for such a modified form of communal

life, indeed the wonderful social character of the battlefield has converted all sorts and conditions of men into ideal neighbours, whose good fellowship and mutual regard would rejoice in the privilege and pleasure of more permanent association during the peaceful years that we all hope will follow the War.

So far only one audible criticism has been advanced against the scheme, and its character indicates that it has emanated from a prejudiced source : it is suggested that the tenants would use their votes to reduce the rents below a reasonable figure. Such ingenious devices are so contrary to fact and experience that they only reflect upon those who voice them. Bradford has long provided such communal services as gas, water, electricity, trams, etc., and it would be interesting to know what section of the inhabitants has attempted, much less succeeded, in abusing its voting power to the detriment of the community as a whole, for if 12 to 14 per cent. of the householders would be capable of such a thing, why have the 100 per cent. who use the services named, not already exhibited some inclination in that direction, in view of the fact that their success would have been assured? The suggestion is intended to reflect upon the good sense, sound judgment and common honesty of democratic institutions, but the blessings that have, and are being conferred upon the City by its municipal departments, in comparison to what might have been expected if these enterprises had been in the hands of private companies, are so incalculable, and the undertakings constitute such magnificent assets, that the lending public are willing to advance money to the Corporation on similar terms to those offered by the Government. Taking the whole kingdom together, only a few days' war expenditure, out of a campaign that is now running its fourth year, divides 300,000 poor houses and a mean standard of living, from an equal number of dwellings that for fifty years would give to over one million tenants new outlook and vision, and to the nation a new conception of the value and possibilities of human life.

Is the momentous character of the choice capable of so firing our statesmen, local authorities and the public, as to lead them to choose the more excellent way, and make the first fruits of this horrible tragedy of war at least a partial answer to Ebenezer Elliott's mighty democratic prayer :

When wilt Thou save the people?

O God of mercy when?

The people, Lord, the people.

Not thrones and crowns, but men :

Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they,

Let them not pass like weeds away,

Their heritage a sunless day ;

God save the people.

Housing Reform.

*An Address delivered to the members
of the Bradford and District Trades and
Labour Council on January 3rd, 1918.*

HOW TO WIN THE WAR.

We entered the War to determine whether might or right should dominate the world, and took it for granted that the issue was confined to international affairs, but time, suffering and loss have given a progressively widening significance to the conflict, until it is rapidly embracing, not only the nations themselves, but the interests and relationships of those in them. Experience has proved that when hostilities break out on such a stupendous scale, allies are compelled to give up competing and are obliged to begin to co-operate, both in their dealings with each other, and in the fighting line on every front, and it is found that unless the same transformation takes place among the civilian populations at home, the life and death struggle will be lost. Such illuminating and suggestive facts should give us pause as we ask ourselves, whether the time has not come when we should do an ever-increasing number of things for public service instead of for private profit, in order to encompass in our work-a-day life at home the mighty and uplifting purposes for which we are fighting abroad. Indeed, if the reasons which left us no honourable choice but to enter the War, and in defence of which we have made, and are still making, unparalleled and heart-breaking sacrifices, are to be triumphant, an entirely new standard of values will have to be foreshadowed, which makes life, and not money, the great incentive for action. We are entering upon the most crucial and trying period of the campaign; the world is war-sick and weary, and the temptations to falter grow apace, but the sacred issues that led us to take our stand are still in jeopardy, and unless they are vindicated our noble heroes will have suffered and died in vain. It is the darkness of the horizon that makes men hesitate, the absence of a future which stifles enthu-

siasm, but if our statesmen will look far enough ahead, and have sufficient moral courage to make it unmistakably clear that we are not only fighting for righteousness abroad, but intend to establish it at home, the growing menace of disaffection will melt like snow before the sun, and the people will gird their loins afresh for sacrifice and victory. Such a well merited and inspiring promise is an indispensable stimulant to the morale and staying power which alone can win the War, and if it is made with whole-hearted sincerity, the nation will face the last stages of the dour and deadly conflict with a fortitude and heroism that will not only defeat the military ambitions of the Central Powers and the world bondage which is their ultimate goal, but will overcome the gigantic and perilous problems that must be solved for weal or for woe after the cataclysmic encounter has ended, a fact the significance of which cannot be over-estimated when viewed from the inevitable alternatives of victory and new life, or defeat and the recklessness of despair. To thus fire the imagination of the people with the alluring prospect of a new and better Britain is to go far to create it, and what nobler purpose or more effective weapon could be sent into the firing line. Clearly our brave defenders have earned it, their loved ones deserve it, and prudence demands it. In the light of all that has happened during the last three and a half years, it is incredible that anyone even hopes that the world will ever be the same again; the travail that heralds the birth of a new day has been long and agonising, and it is for us to see that the great to-morrow shall be the harbinger of a social and industrial emancipation worthy of the cruel experiences out of which it must emerge.

PROBLEMS CRYING FOR SOLUTION.

To that great end let us remember that it is impossible to touch the people more closely than in their own homes, or to give them more concrete evidence of genuine goodwill than can be expressed in the determination to help them to rise. What thoughtful man or earnest woman can be satisfied with the housing of the great masses of the people? Let us turn again to our own City, which is not altogether exceptional in these respects, and see how far it meets the reasonable demands of judgment and conscience when the three best Wards—by no means ideal—are compared with the three worst, in what was practically the pre-war year of 1914 :—

	Population census 1911.	Persons per acre.	Total births.	Infant deaths per 1,000 births.
3 best wards.	29,327	4.8	475	59
3 worst wards	36,559	47.5	946	179.6

A farmer who bred twice as many animals from

his worst stock as from his best, and then permitted a three times greater mortality among the former than the latter, would either be suspected of suffering from some mental aberration, or be regarded as a fool heading for bankruptcy, yet the same thing is complacently recognised as normal when dealing with infancy, for we have not yet realised that there is such a thing as bankruptcy in babies, though that state is rapidly overtaking us, and is being accelerated by the ominous fact that an ever-increasing proportion of the diminishing births are coming from the poorest stock and being born into the most discreditable conditions. Now turn to pulmonary tuberculosis in the same places and the same year :—

	Notifications.	Deaths.	Rate.
3 best wards ...	38 ...	29 ...	0.97
3 worst wards .	192 ...	91 ...	2.51

From these figures it will be seen that our attitude to consumption is just as devoid of the most elementary everyday common sense, for we take the stricken from smoke-laden, insanitary, overcrowded streets, to some sanatorium specifically erected to comply with exactly the opposite conditions, and having spent large sums of public money—to which the ratepayers who object to the cost of anti-tuberculous houses never take the slightest exception—in mitigating, and, if taken early enough, arresting the disease, we send the victims back once more to the sunless, health-destroying hovels, called "homes," to begin again the unequal struggle for life. At Bierley Hall, Odsal and Grassington Sanatoria—as soon as the latter is completed—Bradford will have provided 302 beds for pulmonary tuberculosis, and when the Bierley Hall extension has been carried out, there will be additional beds for surgical cases and late or hospital patients, making an aggregate of 382 beds for this white man's scourge alone. Yet it is essentially a bad-housing disease, which in the directions indicated would cost on a pre-war basis not less than £30,000 a year, a figure which must be equally divided between the Government and the ratepayers of Bradford, and when capitalised even on a 5 per cent. basis, represents an outlay of £600,000 sterling. If, instead of spending such a fabulous sum on a largely futile attempt to cure consumption, we devoted the money to the erection of new and better houses calculated to prevent it, we should not only be acting on perfectly sound humanitarian lines, but also be adopting the most rudimentary commercial principles. Why are these considerations eradicated when life, and not private profit, is the chief concern? That question calls for an answer in the light of the Christian ethic, for the only solution which that makes possible would have the practical effect of converting the human liabilities of slums into assets of the State, and in the process, those with eyes to see would find new forces for righteousness even among such "Broken Earthenware."

But for fear this taking of extreme Wards should leave a false impression behind, let us take the death-rate of the whole City in relation to the size of the dwellings in the strictly normal and pre-war year of 1913 :—

Rooms per house	1 & 2.	3.	4,	above
Death-rate per 1,000 ...	25	20	12.4	8.6

These figures prove that when the general mortality of the whole City is considered in the light of house accommodation, exactly the same conclusions are reached, for the death-rate is found to be three times as high in dwellings which consist of one and two rooms as in residences of five rooms and over, and the intermediate conditions lead to corresponding results. Will our patriotism and regard for the brave men who are defending our all on sea and land, in the air above and the water beneath, allow us to send them back, when the war is over, into such mine-swept areas and danger zones as these figures indicate?

OUR DEPENDENCE ON EACH OTHER.

Even if that were possible, would it be prudent from a strictly utilitarian point of view? Slums and suburbs may be separated by distance, and a large and varied intermediate class of people, but neither can live as though the other had no existence; each inevitably, however unconsciously, acts and re-acts on the other. In public streets, places of amusement, trains, trams, factories, workshops and other common gathering grounds, the whole community is brought more or less into direct and immediate contact, and is compelled to rub shoulder to shoulder; and the association inevitably influences the physical, mental and moral standards of the men, women and children who determine the City's future. When infectious disease is epidemic, when industrial strikes are dislocating the customary routine and when the horrors of war threaten the nation's existence, we begin to realise our inter-dependence, but in normal times we fail to appreciate the fact that a city, like a family, is so far one that neither individuals nor sections can dispense with each other, and that the only way to secure the happiness and prosperity of the whole is to promote the uplift and well-being of each. Why cannot we recognise these significant facts; compete less and co-operate more, that mutual consideration and helpfulness may accomplish the high ideals that independence, isolation and drift, commonly called "minding one's own business," can only destroy?

THE SLUM PROBLEM.

In so far as the slum problem is a housing problem, it must be materially modified by building

on the outskirts an adequate number of new dwellings, so that from the centre to the circumference the rank and file can be gradually transplanted, the denizens of overcrowded and insanitary areas be separated instead of huddled together in circumscribed districts, and the derelict houses, which not only cumber the ground, but contribute to the degradation of their tenants, be demolished and the debris removed. But while that necessary process is not only calculated to help the submerged, but also to elevate everybody concerned in it, it must be made unmistakably clear that there is no royal road to the uplift of the bottom dog, any more than there is a panacea for the tangled thread that constitutes the maternity and child welfare problem. Both are inseparable parts of the whole gamut of social, industrial, economic, educational, moral and spiritual disorders that become more intricate and perplexing as they are toyed with instead of tackled. When dealing with housing it is necessary to bear in mind that there is a false economy which ultimately becomes gross extravagance, and that it is usually urged upon local authorities by those who afterwards make capital out of its ultimate failure. Such is the plausible suggestion that new houses should be built for those whom private owners are most anxious to get rid of, though it is only fair to say that the people concerned often compare favourably with the property they occupy. This policy of putting new cloth into old garments really means the erection of subsidised concentration camps, or pill-boxes for derelicts, and comes from those who never grow weary of denouncing what they call public contributions for private purposes. When, however, rates are to be used to provide unprofitable accommodation for their bad tenants, these people not only take no exception, but actually give their enthusiastic approval to the pernicious principle, because the effect is to make them the indirect recipients of the bounty. As Jos Billings truly said, "There is a lot of human nature in men and women." The suggestion to transfer the inhabitants of slums to modern dwellings and facilities is, however, not only impossible—for experience proves they will not go—but even if they were willing, this side-tracking of the main issue would not produce any equivalent result, but to keep on building new houses and better on more desirable sites, and let those best able to appreciate them become the tenants, is to do them good, and to render equivalent service to those lower down the social scale, by enabling them to step up into the dwellings vacated which, in so far as they are better than those previously occupied, are as much new houses as the actual new ones to which their predecessors have gone. Houses, like books, need education and experience before they can be valued at their proper worth, and in the absence of the ability to appreciate and intelligently use them, the best things are worse than wasted, because in providing them for people who cannot be expected to

jump over the intermediate stages, we are withholding them from those to whom they would be a real stimulus and help to better things. The past has done its dehumanising work on slum dwellers, and, however sincerely we regret it, they cannot act as though it had never been, any more than a child can go from the first standard to the sixth at a single bound, clearly the scholar must reach that goal by way of the second, third, fourth and fifth. What is true of learning is true of housing, and we shall best serve the public interest, not by trying to reduce the problem to the dimensions of the slums, for important as that aspect of it undoubtedly is, it constitutes but a small part of the whole, which embraces the overwhelming proportion of the working and lower middle classes. We must therefore keep on raising the standard of the entire community by condemning houses that have obviously served their day and generation, and providing new and better ones to replace them, all the while pushing the people back in stages from the centre towards an ever-widening circumference, and in the process simplifying and reducing the routine and unnecessary work in the home that time may be given to the essentials of life which matter and abide, and we shall slowly but surely elevate the race.

HOUSES AND DEPRECIATION.

In order that this may be done, however, houses, like machinery, must be subjected to some recognised and adequate standard of depreciation. The latter only retains value so long as it is capable of producing, in a competitive market, the things that meet the needs it exists to supply. But the provision of houses is usually kept below the demand, so that instead of dwellings seeking tenants, as goods have to find customers, tenants have to go in search of dwellings, with the result that the rents of the worst houses are out of all proportion to the accommodation provided, and in spite of their unfitness for reasonable human needs, they are almost invariably occupied, and occupation rather than soundness of structure, healthy conditions and domestic convenience, is accepted as proof of fitness, hence the belief that so long as they will stand upright, houses should not be condemned, whatever physical and moral deterioration is coming from them. Not only so, but frequently the original owners anticipate indications of decay by selling to people with less knowledge of falling values of property and their dilapidations, and who, regarding them as a permanent investment, are liable to assume they are getting a bargain, whereas they often discover, when it is too late, not only the meaning of a heavy mortgage debt, but also the constant drain of expenditure without which the houses cannot even be kept fit for human habitation, much less be maintained as desirable dwellings. Such owners are all too frequently impecunious

persons who buy decadent property under the delusion that they will only have the privilege of drawing rents, not the responsibility of keeping derelict houses in reasonable repair, and they constitute the unfortunate class to whom sanitary authorities have far too often to look and be credited with bringing to ruin and the workhouse. Yet, if the public interest is to be made paramount, there is no option but to pursue the distasteful policy till the perfectly sound business principle of depreciation has been applied to this, as to other forms of property, in which no such human interests are involved. Only by these common sense means can hardship be avoided and the high road to public health be cleared of another stumbling block to progress and reform. Indeed, if drink, gambling and lust are the appalling evils we know them to be, the community must free itself from responsibility for their continuance in so far as the adequate provision of really convenient and attractive dwellings are capable of doing it. War is probably the most inequitable thing on earth, making and marring men with brutal indifference, and revealing traits and tendencies that normal circumstances would hide. Under its baneful influence selfishness grows by what it feeds on, becomes as callous as immoral, and tramples under foot every humane consideration that urges it to stay its rapacious and unfeeling career; but it is only the old selfishness of pre-war days that has become more insatiable and indifferent with ever-increasing opportunity, and as we look back in the light of the heartless profiteering that, if not checked, would have defeated our gallant sons who are sacrificing their all for us and ours and subordinated the world to Prussian rule, we cannot disguise the less obvious but discreditable results of a commercial system that has all along been subjugating the best of which men were capable to the amassing of private fortunes, or fail to long for loftier motives to prompt our material enterprises.

THE BULWARKS OF THE STATE.

The need for such a purifying uplift is nowhere more apparent than in the great centres of industry and wealth, and those most familiar with the housing conditions under which successful magnates live on the one hand, and those of the overwhelming proportion of the wage earners on the other, can only marvel at the patience and patriotism which the latter exhibit, and cease to wonder why, prior to the War, as many emigrants left the old country for the colonies in a single year as the aggregate population of Sheffield. Indeed, the dull, drab and monotonous dwellings where the great majority of the rank and file of the industrial army are obliged to live, and where in case of sickness and confinement the bed must be brought downstairs, prove that the lower a man is in the social scale, the more he is exploited;

while the rookeries in which the submerged have to exist on their cruel way to the hospitals, workhouses and cemeteries of the land, are such as no man or woman with imagination and fine feeling can possibly approve. Indeed, they demonstrate how mighty is the grip of mercenary instincts and how utterly unwarrantable our selfish disregard for the well-being of our neighbours as we continue to go down that wonderful road from Jerusalem to Jericho. Yet Britain's future will continue to depend upon Britain's homes, and when erecting them we must remember that they are not to be built for the present only, but for the needs of fifty years hence, and must, therefore, stand the test of time, experience and need when we have gone. No reforms, however thorough, which leave these in their present declining condition, can prevent an ever-increasing emigration of our finest stock as soon as the War is over, or ensure our future well-being as a nation. The brave men out yonder who are winning the redeeming victory for honour and freedom and truth would rejoice to testify to the sadly overlooked, but mighty fact that mothers' work is the greatest work in the wide, wide world, consequently, whatever exalts mothers and the homes in which their gracious influence is felt, exalts Britain as surely as the forces that neglect or degrade them would ultimately bring her to ruin. To thoughtful people not blinded by material interests and financial gain, this must surely be apparent and why, in the light of it, we have not long since focussed our attention on devising ways and means for their betterment, it is impossible to say. Probably the fact that everything is now valued by a money standard, and that humble homes have scarcely got one, is the chief reason for our indifference. If instead of hundreds of thousands of individual homes, we had hundreds of homes each containing thousands of families, such aggregations would be a force to be reckoned with, but because we divide our homes into separate units, the power of organised expression is lost, and in these days we only take account of big things, which, if ignored, become troublesome or dangerous. Corporate capacity, not real worth or need, is our criterion of value. That is why those going to and from large factories and workshops receive attention which in the old days, when the various processes were carried on in the individual homes of the people who had no voice, was denied. Wealthy men spend lavishly in promoting their own health and that of their families, and those with more modest incomes are prepared to make great sacrifices when their own flesh and blood are involved.

THE SECRET OF PROSPERITY.

Why are we so indifferent to the human needs of others? Surely nothing is so shortsighted or destructive of human interests as selfishness. Better

dwellings, better clothing, better food, and an ever-improving environment for the indispensable worker do not spell ruin, but ever-increasing demands on our industrial activities, and who has a juster claim to share in these reproductive and elevating advantages than the men, women and children whose labour is essential to their existence. Trade cannot prosper by keeping its customers poor, any more than money can make money without being put into useful circulation, and the wider and more equitable the distribution of wealth, the more certain it is to promote the material prosperity of commerce and the moral uplift of men. Our leaders of material enterprise are for ever talking about the need for new markets abroad, and no one can take exception to that so long as they are justly acquired, but these men overlook the new market which is waiting to be developed at home, and to provide not only profit and satisfaction, but a clearer conscience and new springs of personal happiness in knowing that their ventures are contributing to an ever-rising standard of life, and becoming part and parcel of those mighty forces that roll the great world nearer to God.

THE SACRED AND THE SECULAR.

To speak as though personal character were independent of environment, and all that that wonderfully comprehensive and illuminating word represents, is to ignore both facts and experience, and perpetuate the disastrous folly of dividing each individual into two entirely separate water-tight compartments, throwing upon the churches and kindred institutions the entire organised responsibility both for man's degeneracy and redemption, and upon the daily avocations that monopolise the overwhelming proportion of his waking hours, and such associations as minister to his physical and mental needs the onus for his material well-being. If ever God's kingdom is to be established on earth, and nothing but man's folly can prevent it, this fundamentally erroneous division of so-called, but sadly miscalled, sacred and secular will have to be destroyed and Christian principles applied, not to one day of the week but to seven, for surely everything that contributes to the completion of a man's life—from the most menial duty to prayer itself—either is, or ought to be, sacred, and the degree in which it falls below that high water mark is the measure of its unworthiness to find a place in his experience. Indeed, it should be unwarrantably superfluous to point out that the man and his circumstances act and re-act on each other, but our grossly materialistic obsessions have led us to decline to recognise the fact, or acknowledge any responsibility for it, and so without ever stopping to think—for serious thinking on these subjects is a very uncomfortable occupation for sensitive minds—we act as though slums were as favour-

able to man's growth and development as suburbs, and poverty and wealth, ignorance and knowledge, constituted equal opportunities for his moral and spiritual emancipation; and if they do not, we regard it as his business and not ours, and we have no intention to be drawn into it.

THE POSSIBILITIES IN HUMAN WASTE.

But when the war is over, it will be found that the prodigal sacrifice of the flower of our manhood has impoverished the nation in the only form of wealth that is worth hoarding, and just as the stress of circumstances have compelled us to turn to material rubbish heaps to recover much that had previously been thrown away, and to set store on the waste paper we formerly regarded as lumber, so even material considerations may ultimately drive us into the slums of great cities to search for men, as we grovel for gold, and find in the process the crown which, from the very beginning, has been hanging above our heads waiting to be recognised and won. Saltaire is said to have been built out of material which was thought to have no more useful purpose to serve than packing goods that were landed on the docks at Liverpool: and Manningham Mills are reported to have risen from the utilisation of a waste product, and we rightly extend to our great citizens, Sir Titus Salt and Lord Masham, all honour for these solid contributions to our material prosperity, but the man is unborn who knows in which cradle the genius is being rocked, or under what roofs the world's saviours are being reared. Why, therefore, cannot we devote more of our time and ability to the recovery and utilisation of human beings whom circumstances have misapplied or discarded, in the same way that our captains of industry won from waste the beauties of alpaca and silk? It is surely because we have failed to appreciate the supreme value and wonderful possibilities of human life that we have permitted men, women and children to be cribbed, cabined and confined in congested cages called cities where they must live in smoke-polluted atmosphere, intersected by short, narrow, crooked streets that are walled in by black stacks of brick and stone buildings, resulting in the human inhabitants being shut in above, below and on either side, as though the noblest work of God were to be for ever subjected to the wonderfully illuminating irony of a visitor to the Zoological Gardens who wrote about the "spacious" cages of the eagles.

WHAT OF THE MORROW?

Intelligence, judgment and means have long since discovered the folly of such a sinful policy, and so the leaders of great concerns and enterprises do not live in slums—a fact that indicates cause and effect

both ways—but have for years been making their homes in ever-increasing numbers not “where wealth accumulates and men decay,” but amid such natural, restful and recuperating scenes as led the Bard of Avon to pen those exquisite lines—

“ And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

What a redeeming ideal for those who long to take some humble part in building God's kingdom on earth! Alongside it the Bradford Scheme of ten self-contained villages on the hill tops sounds sordid, puny and mean, yet it constitutes a really practical and helpful step in the right direction, for instead of extending the congestion by building on the vacant land nearest the centre—as though open spaces were a menace to public health and civic well-being—it seeks to house the surplus population on the outskirts of the City where there is room, and such sunshine and pure air as the hub of a man-made and industrial centre permits. If every reforming agency is willing to combine, and throw itself wholeheartedly into this unprecedented opportunity for blessing, abstract faith can be reduced to concrete practice, and the redeeming task will not only bless both “him that gives and him that takes,” but it will relegate our hovels and rookeries to that limbo of incredible human errors that have steadfastly defied the onward and upward march of men in Christian England, the richest country in the world. Are we willing to turn our eyes from the wilderness, and set our faces steadfastly towards the Promised Land, and in doing so—

“ Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring out the false, ring in the true,
Ring in the valiant man and free,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.”

Housing Reform.

An Address delivered to the Clergymen, Ministers and Leading Laymen of the City, January 21st, 1918.

SELFISHNESS OR SERVICE.

Selfishness and war are synonymous terms, and if we desire to estimate the hellish possibilities of the one, we have only to turn to the appallingly horrible results that still continue to grow out of the other. It is true that selfishness does not always lead to such carnage as is now darkening the world with its black mantle of destruction and death, but war in one form or another is inherent in it, and though it may differ in kind and degree, the same spirit prompts it all. Consequently, until selfishness is superseded by service, and altruism becomes the great dynamic of life, war will continue to deprive men of those redeeming forces by which alone we can march forward to better things. If we could be persuaded to sit down and think what a fascinating transformation would pass over the world if all the enterprise, resource and ingenuity that are at present devoted to the making of money were transferred to the redeeming purpose of elevating men, we should stagger at our own short-sightedness and the terrible results of our own folly, for it would be unmistakably clear that the responsibility for all the ills that flesh is heir to actually lies at our own door. To say that it is impossible to eradicate selfishness from human nature is rather an excuse for continuing the old order, than a good reason for declining to examine the new, until we exhibit a really serious willingness to try, for in the meantime the whole of our activities are fashioned in such a way as to put a premium upon it. It is forever true that "The means to do ill deeds make ill deeds done," that is why the Prussian military caste were determined to fight, and the absence of preparation for war the incontrovertible proof that we had no intention to do so, a fact which will deliver us from the irrevocable stigma that history must impose upon the authors of the war when the story of its infernal inception comes to be written. But it is no less true that incentives to selfishness produce their inevitable results in peace as in war, and fix the corroding quality more firmly upon those who are supposed to be unable to throw it off. If, however, selfishness can be multiplied by increasing the facilities upon which it thrives—and profiteering has left neither the Allies, the Central Powers, nor neutrals in doubt on that point—it is at least equally clear that it can be diminished by reducing the opportunities without

which it would ultimately die. To suggest that such action would retard, if it did not actually destroy, progress, is to ignore the significant fact that the best work in the world has always been done without its incentive, just as the meanest has been prompted by it. The evidence in favour of this contention is overwhelming from the cradle to the grave. In the beginning the disinterested endeavour inherent in men is seen in the fact that the child, innocent of sordid forms of inducement, and toddling for the first time without help from father to mother, illustrates the great truth that "the virtue is in the struggle, not the prize," and thereafter, stimulated by its initial success, never rests till it can walk alone. Go past a school playground and see if it is not natural to try to excel, and what goes on outside the school is equally evident in it. Stand round enclosures where the great national games are being played, and ask yourself if individual effort and personal skill are measured by the money received or by the desire to win fame and victory, and remember that the best players are usually the best workers also.

PRACTICAL TESTS.

It is indisputably true that the finest achievements not only are, but always have been, the result of high-minded and disinterested motives, as is proved by the incalculable number of voluntary agencies engaged in educational, social, moral and spiritual activities, a remark that is equally true of the numberless units in that mighty army of thoughtful, earnest men and women in every walk of life, who quietly but gladly pour the milk of human kindness into starved and troubled hearts during every one of the twenty-four hours of every day. When we come to what some regard as the more practical testimony, the witness is the same, for in the realms of commerce the rapidly extending co-operative movement cannot be explained away, neither can the ever-increasing municipal activities that replace private enterprise with tremendous advantage to public well-being be ignored, while when we turn to the great professions, where education, training and culture are indispensable, there are no such financial inducements held out as are daily appropriated by captains of industry, to whom these refining qualifications are largely unnecessary. Indeed, look in what direction we will, the tremendously unjust distribution of the world's wealth is everywhere confronting us, and the proportions absorbed bear no relationship whatever to the service rendered or the risks—for the most part totally unnecessary—that are supposed to be run.

THE MODEL VILLAGES.

It is in the hope that such co-operation in house-keeping as has proved to be uniformly helpful in other branches of public service, will promote equi-

valent results, that the scheme for ten self-contained villages to be erected on the hill tops surrounding the City has been proposed, with the suggestion that each should contain not only 1,000 houses of the bungalow type, but also communal cooking kitchens, laundries, hot water service, baths, schools, libraries, recreation rooms, playing fields, allotment gardens, Churches, Sunday Schools, etc., and be served by trams run at a universal penny fare. Against one-storey dwellings no medical or sanitary reason can be urged, or well-to-do people would not stud the countryside with their rough cast walls and red-tiled roofs, while their convenience and labour-saving advantages to mothers, who are compelled to do the whole of the work involved in keeping a house and rearing a family, are too obvious to need pointing out, particularly during periods of sickness and disablement. Communal cooking kitchens have in them real possibilities for revolutionising the people's food by substituting what is wholesome, palatable and fresh for the rapidly degenerating meals that would ultimately destroy the stamina of the working classes. If restaurants and bakeries can be successfully run for private profit, there is no reason in the world why such results as are foreshadowed should not be forthcoming when public service and not dividends is the object. So far as the laundries are concerned, experience has long since eliminated the "washing day" from better-class houses, where they are far more able to deal with it than in workmen's homes, and as the communal enterprise would only have to pay its way, it is unjustifiable to expect any woman to continue the labour and disadvantages involved in washing clothes, summer and winter, in a cottage house, and it may be taken for granted that on this point public opinion is agreed, as well as on the provision of hot water in every home, for in no other way can cleanliness, which is indispensable to health, be either expected or maintained. At this time of day nobody questions the need for bringing a bath within easy reach of every man, woman and child, for a peggy tub or a bowl for adults is abhorrent. To this again it is difficult to see how reasonable exception can be taken, if cleanliness of body and the promotion of public health are to be regarded as indispensable features in these model villages.

UNIVERSAL PENNY TRAM FARES.

An exceedingly useful step towards getting the people out of the low-lying industrial portions of Bradford, on to the wind-swept uplands, and amid the purer air and less obtruded rays of the life-giving sun, would be the adoption of a universal penny tram fare from the centre of the City to each of its boundaries. Even if this desirable simplification in working the system, and the increased amount of long-distance traffic, did not actually make up for the smaller fare, it is safe to say that the reduced

revenue would be more than compensated for by the higher standard of public health that would inevitably follow. Indeed, one of the forms of retribution that has to be borne by the community for allowing its citizens to exist in areas, and under conditions, that put a premium on disability and disease, is the maintenance of large and costly institutions such as sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries, etc., etc., and there can be no doubt that the transference would lessen the demand on doctors, increase the happiness of homes, raise the level of the people's earnings through more regular attendance at work, mean less standing for machinery and more efficient service all round. That surely is true economy from every point of view, and if the public are to get the best out of the ten self-contained villages, they will give the most careful and painstaking consideration to such a proposal, and in doing so remember that physical health is one of the finest correctives for morbid minds, that send their poisoned shafts broadcast and lower the moral standards of the City.

THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW.

When these proposals come to be considered in the light of what has already been done, their novelty is at once remarkable and significant, and proves how the public mind has been so obsessed with gross materialism and money-making, as to ignore altogether the most elementary human needs; had it been otherwise, actual experience would long since have demanded their coming. The growth of cities and the claims of industry have already enforced far greater co-operative effort than most people have yet realised, and, let us remember, it has never been found necessary to turn back. Formerly, people walked miles to and from their employment all the year round, with the result that life was very largely an animal existence of working, sleeping and eating—little wonder that imagination, outlook and ideals are so rare among the rank and file—then omnibuses came along, and ran with more or less regularity, except in very bad weather when people needed them most. These were followed by horse trams, usually owned by private companies, which ran short distances at long intervals for excessive fares; then came steam tram cars, with their engines polluting the atmosphere and snorting through the main thoroughfares, and as these, too, were run, not for public convenience, but for private profit, the cars were clumsy and dirty, the conductors badly paid and without uniforms, and the fares out of all proportion to the length of the journey. Ultimately, local authorities began to see the folly of allowing dividend-hunting companies to monopolise the centre of the chief arteries of cities in order to secure maximum returns for minimum services, and so electric cars were put upon the rails by public bodies. This has resulted in something closely approximating to a continuous

service, and double the distance for the same fare, while in normal times the cars are kept in good order and clean, the drivers and conductors are well paid for reasonable hours, the public are admirably served and a margin of profit remains. Were it not for the vested interests the tram lines would be used for the conveyance of goods at night, as well as passengers during the day, thus relieving the busy streets of heavy traffic and public danger, and the ratepayers of the serious cost of maintaining them, while the expensive electric plant and tram rails could be used continuously, industry and commerce be facilitated, their charges for carriage reduced, and the public revenue materially increased. That is a matter worthy of the most serious consideration in the light of reconstruction and the inevitable shortage of labour that must follow the war. What is true of trams is practically repeated in the history of gas, from candles and oil lamps onward, and in the record of water supply, from the days of private wells and polluted streams, up to the present. Indeed, the wider the survey of public services, the greater is the justification for extending them, and the more insistent the call for local authorities to be up and doing. If all this is true of enterprises from which selfishness has been eliminated, it is useless to suggest that private profit is indispensable to material progress, and the sooner we cease to whet men's appetites with personal gain, and turn their minds into the uplifting channels of public service, the sooner will the greatest stumblingblock to human advancement be removed and God's Kingdom be established on earth. If we do not set out for this better way of choice, it is more than probable we shall be driven there by necessity, for the shortage of men will compel the most comprehensive and drastic re-organisation of industry and commerce, from the handling of the raw material to the actual retailing of the finished article.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

Under such circumstances we shall do well to endeavour to apply the principle of co-operation, not only through the formation of a League of Nations—which is believed to be the most promising way of avoiding war abroad—but also to the trading relationships of men, which constitute the real menace to peace at home. Try to imagine the incomprehensible transformation between what is, and what might have been, if the combined forces of the Allies and the Central Powers, which have been, and still are, focussed on war, had been concentrated on the glorious purpose of making a better world and elevating the people in it. Strange that such a thing should sound so foolish and its opposite be so real. But the tornado of scientific barbarity and the holocaust it has produced have laid the old order in ruins, and when we remember that the greatest war in history, and the most callous rapacity in the form

of profiteering, have grown out of it, we can only hope that its restoration will prove to be impossible. That is why the war is compelling thoughtful men and women to face new and truly momentous issues, and to reconsider their attitude to old ones, for the world can never be the same again, and, whether we will or not, actively or passively, we are compelled to take sides on the colossal problem of determining its new character. There is nothing wrong with the Christian ethic, except that it has been confined to the pulpit, and regarded by the pew as an ideal to be admired rather than realised, with the result that all the nations which profess to believe in it—and they include both friends and foes—are engaged in the most awful and hellish encounter the world has ever known. If, in the presence of such an appalling exposure, pulpit and pew are to continue to live in separate water-tight compartments, the one pointing to the new kingdom, and the other assiduously cultivating the old, it is clear that no serious effort can be made to apply the redeeming gospel of Jesus Christ to the work-a-day life of men, and we shall be well advised to close the Churches which, under such circumstances, can only cumber the ground, and make way for a more faithful witness of the only truth that can make men free.

It may be that the connection between these remarks and the ten self-contained villages we are anxious to build on the hill-tops surrounding the City is not apparent, but closer examination of the problem may bring them on to common ground, for Christianity is the most practical thing in the world, and its conceptions can be embodied even in bricks and mortar. What we need is better men and women, and so long as man and his environment act and re-act on each other, the duty will continue to be two-fold, and instead of each being isolated as though it had no connection with the other, reciprocal helpfulness should characterise those engaged in the mutual task.

MAKING THE DRY BONES LIVE.

Having, therefore, suggested ways and means for transferring the people from smoke-begrimed rows of monotonous and ill-adapted houses near the centre of the City, on to the sunlit outskirts, and into homes specifically constructed to contribute to a life worth living, let us pursue the possibilities that would lie at their feet. To build the houses and their appurtenances, and even to get the people into the homes, is not to complete the scheme, for self-contained villages must have local pride, helpful neighbourliness and corporate life. To this great end, each of the ten communities would call into being a social service committee composed of the finest men and women within its borders, and these would seek to foster and express the best of which their constituents were capable. That inestimable boon would create a wholesome public opinion, a healthy rivalry

and uplifting forms of communal enterprise, and give to these areas the saving grace of collective interest, altruistic service and elevating results. Having devised new methods for relieving the hardest-worked section of the community of unnecessary drudgery and needless toil, it may reasonably be hoped that the new homes would be kept becomingly clean, tidy and attractive, and that the little ones would receive correspondingly increased loving attention and maternal care. Not only so, but that the number of these God-ordained citizens, whose mission is to continue and exalt the race, and keep the world young, thoughtful and expectant, would grow, for a village without a reasonable number of healthy, intelligent and happy children to make it resound with their merry laughter and innocent fun is a body without a soul, a community whose future is behind it. Indeed, it is a contradiction of terms to talk about a model village the homes of which do not echo with that exuberant vivacity and overflowing gladness that testify not only to the presence of child life, but to the far more important fact that they have come into a world that welcomes them with all the warmth and affection of loving parentage and honoured trust. In the meantime, the nation will begin to realise its indebtedness to the sacred office of motherhood and all that is involved in its endowment and uplift, and the great day of new and better life will begin to dawn. The village school, impregnated with the congenial atmosphere, will gradually fill with fascinating little ones, and being staffed by teachers who have caught the fire and enthusiasm of these new-born communities, knowledge will be imparted and minds developed under ideal conditions such as will ensure for the education authority ample compensation, even from a financial point of view, for their capital outlay, in the form of steadily-rising grants. The winter would be thoughtfully anticipated by the social service committee, who would be determined to win from the golden opportunity all that enthusiasm, devotion and thoroughness could produce. Story-telling evenings for the children, helpful gatherings of mothers anxious to learn, and meetings of fathers to impress, direct and inspire, would all find a place. Entertainments and concerts where local talent would be discovered, encouraged and developed; choral efforts by the village choir and string band would be anticipated with becoming pride, while literary, scientific, social and other lectures would contribute to the wealth that ought always to be hoarded. The mutual improvement and debating society would set out to interest, instruct and enthuse the young men and maidens, and thus the wise use of spare time, and the faculty of clothing ideas in words, would become unconscious but invaluable treasures. The library would be in charge of a man who knew exactly where to find the best book for every class of reader, and who would create a thirst for knowledge in

those who had never even felt a desire to get into the society of the world's heroes in every department of life, and he would become an honoured member of the new community as his friendship was extended and his helpful influence grew. When summer suns begun to glow, prizes would be offered for the prettiest gardens, and the villages would be a blaze of colour, sweetness and perfume. The allotment holders would be similarly encouraged to friendly rivalry, and patient application, increasing knowledge and intelligent care would find tangible expression in the steadily-rising standard of the quality and quantity of their produce, for nature never fails to respond to those who respect and treat her with generous goodwill. The recreation ground would be the scene of refreshing animation, from the children's portion with its swings, see-saws and games, to the cricket crease and football enclosure, where dour battles were being lost and won amid excitement, enthusiasm and rejoicing, and through it all the initiating, organising and controlling hand of the social service committee would be seen winning for the little community—not by coercion, but by opportunity, inducement and reward—the very best of which its citizens were capable, that the good of each might contribute to the well-being and uplift of all. But the enterprise of these stirring centres would not be confined within each border: there would be inter-village rivalry encouraged in every direction; each would vie with the other for pride of place, and make tremendous efforts to secure the prizes offered by the Lord Mayor, and the lesser honours gladly bestowed by the local representatives on the City Council, for the prettiest village, the most beautiful garden, the finest allotment, the winning team, the best choir, etc., etc. To say that these are word pictures is not to destroy their value, "Not low achievement, but the absence of high aim, is our sin." There is no lack of elevating possibilities in men and women; all that is needed is to discover, develop, focus and apply them, as the things that degrade and destroy are scientifically organised and scattered broadcast in the very soil it is your duty and mine to cultivate and save.

THE SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC.

But do not let us assume that when the physical and mental needs of these fascinating places have been met the scheme is complete. Man is a spiritual being, and, unless he can be brought and kept in direct contact with God, he is a ship without a rudder. Material transformations of the most drastic and far-reaching description are indispensable, but only as means to ends, and never as ends in themselves; the open sesame to the millennium is personal character, and whatever contributes to the building of that is sacred as prayer. Here, surely, the churches will find a magnificent opportunity for the practical expression of that unity and brotherhood which the new era increasingly demands: over-

lapping and waste would be unforgivable, but the application of the Christian ethic, through the medium of the Christian spirit, would win from these new villages adherents, loyalty and service, that would leaven the little communities and lead them to reach out to better things. To-day the world is studded with men who are devoting themselves to the attainment of what other men regard as the impossible, and to-morrow it will be achieved. Why cannot men do for God what they are willing to do for themselves? Why is the heroism of life withheld from Him who gave the qualities of mind and heart which alone produce it? When Alexander said, "Let him who bears my name bear my nature," he only demanded what God has been pleading for from the beginning. Are the Churches going to fail Him in this hour of unprecedented crisis and peril? If not, and they will undertake in His strength to spiritualise the mighty movements of reconstruction, the nation will be saved; for the milk of human kindness, mutual consideration and positive goodwill, will be poured into society, and by the every-day common-sense application of Christian principles, men will gradually be lifted nearer to God, and His Kingdom be established among them.

Given anything even approximating to such conditions as have been foreshadowed, a new and better Bradford would be assured. The substitution of collective interest and concern for the indifference of an ultra individualism, and the provision of wholesome surroundings and elevating inducements for repressive measures, would promote an uplifting revolution in the home life of the whole City. Natural pleasures and soul-inspiring ideals would gradually destroy the artificial longing for the mean, sordid and degrading, that lead to a loose morality and kill the best of which young people would otherwise be capable. This transformation, however, will not come automatically, but only by a definite, united and long-sustained effort on the part of every man and woman in Bradford who really longs for the dawn of a new and better day. Yet if the proposals constitute a really serious effort to reduce Christian principles from the abstract to the concrete, and I am profoundly convinced that they do, it is not asking too much, on the contrary, it becomes the solemn duty of every church in the City to throw itself into the uplifting task with all the willingness, invincible courage and undying heroism of the noble lads who are at present delivering the world from the heel of the oppressor, until the ideal has been realised, for—

"We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths; in feelings, not in figures on a dial. We should count time by heart-throbs; he most lives who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

Housing Reform.

An Address delivered at the Annual Open Meeting of the Leeds University Debating Society, March 1st, 1918, Professor C. M. Gillespie, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, presiding. Mr. Smith moved—"That it is the duty of the Local Authorities to provide for the adequate housing of the working classes." The resolution was opposed by County Councillor M. Cheverton-Brown, of Hull, four years President of the National Federation of Property Owners. The motion was carried.

I am greatly honoured by the invitation to speak on Housing at your Annual Open Debate. It is always a privilege to talk to those who are filled with enthusiasm, imagination and ideals, and who, having life and its infinite possibilities for redeeming service in front of them, intend to play a full part in its uplift and development—the men and women who, as seers of visions and dreamers of dreams are destined to become the architects of a new and better world. May I be forgiven for reminding you that the best work has always been prompted by altruistic motives, just as the worst has been done for material gain.

THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL ERA.

If I were asked to find an epitaph for the great industrial era, I would write over its tombstone those wonderfully illuminating and poignant words, "Will it pay?" for time will, in all human probability, prove them to have been its vital force, its sustaining power and its ultimate doom. In the great industrial centres, "where wealth accumulates and men decay," we have failed to realise that the true value of wealth is determined strictly and alone by the standard of life it produces. The dominating obsession and atmosphere of private profit and the god of "Getting on" led our forefathers to believe

that only men who could make money—the lowest of human attainments—had any claim to public confidence and esteem, and that the measure of their fitness for office was in proportion to their worldly possessions. What these men can do for themselves, said the simple-minded electors, they can do for us, and so they were called upon to build cities, house the people and manage affairs. Their conception of prosperity was busy factories and low rates, and so these guardians of the public purse constructed short, narrow, crooked streets, erected long rows of dull, monotonous back-to-back houses, huge, sombre and oppressive looking factories, workshops and warehouses, surrounded by congested areas, overcrowded hovels and thick canopies of black smoke, that life-giving sunshine could only partially penetrate and where flowers could not grow or birds sing. Married women with young children and half-timers of tender years were regarded as indispensable to the makers of private profit; and tea and bread, fish and chips, and other improvised substitutes were, and still are, relied upon to produce and maintain the backbone, stamina and grit of the great industrial army. Under such conditions, with their long hours, low wages and bad environment, the drink traffic could not help but thrive, any more than questionable amusements and brutal sports. These in their turn necessitated the rapid growth and extension of penitentiaries, healing institutions and relieving agencies. In this way the great industrial era sacrificed life to money and permeated society with soul-destroying greed. Yet it does not appear to have occurred to us that these products of the workshop of the world should be debited against its profits, though until that has been done an accurate balance cannot be struck, and we do not even know that our human losses have not far exceeded our material gains.

WHAT IT HAS COST US TO BECOME THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

In the meantime, however, a few suggestive and disquieting facts may be considered. First, by the policy of sacrificing the life of to-morrow for the wealth of to-day, we have become an old and dying community; old because, owing to the declining birth-rate of the last forty years, there are now three middle-aged persons for every two young children; and dying because, apart from the war and notwithstanding increased longevity and the fall in infantile mortality, the deaths of old people must ultimately exceed the births of babies. Second, Sir George Newman, Medical Officer of the Board of Education, informs us that out of six million children of school age, 250,000 are seriously crippled, invalided or disabled, while a further million are so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from their State education: an

inditement which involves 20 per cent. of the whole, and that after one child in four, under one year of age, has died either before or after birth. Third, the present shortage of labour, the number of unfit recruits who have been accepted and the more than one million men of military age who have been rejected prove conclusively the insufficiency of healthy life, and the superfluity of "neglected children of an older growth." Fourth, at the census of 1901, it was stated that there were 483,000 degenerates in the United Kingdom, while the medical officer of a large prison regards 40 per cent. of the boys admitted as mentally defective, and 70 per cent. in homes of retreat are similarly afflicted, yet these pathetic human derelicts are permitted to go on reproducing their kind. These four items of cost are part of the price we have had to pay for becoming the richest country in the world, and we shall do well to consider them in the light of the fact that, though we have twice the area of the German, French and Japanese Empires combined, we have little more than one-third their white population, though before the war Germany was adding two to her numbers every year to our one.

BOOK-KEEPING OLD AND NEW.

Had that perfectly sound and equitable system of accountancy which includes, instead of ignores, human liabilities—not to mention the anxiety, suffering and bereavement involved—been adopted throughout the great industrial era, our cities and their activities would not have been the hideous, higgledy-piggledy, death-dealing eyesores they are to-day, neither would our future have been menaced by a comparatively mean standard of life which is falling numerically as our responsibilities grow. These things would have been avoided because the debiting of our industries with the evils they were creating would quickly have convinced those who were accumulating wealth at the expense of life, that such a short-sighted policy would not pay. That revelation would have been a blessing rather than a curse even to the captains of commerce, for the human machine is still the most indispensable part of all their equipments, and the higher the standard of health, education, morals and happiness of the workers, the finer the quality of their service, and the greater and richer the reservoir of imagination, ideas and ideals at the disposal of those whose prosperity is so largely dependent upon them. That is true through life, and if this country is to have a future it will have to adjust itself to the redeeming fact. When we come to departmentalise the national concern, we find the same misleading system of book-keeping has been employed and produced identically equivalent results. Men have built houses for profit and incidentally for people to live in, and in so doing have put money before domestic convenience, comfort and life.

THE RESULT OF RELYING UPON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

This trusting to private enterprise has, according to the census of 1911, left us with 3,140,000 persons living in a state of overcrowding in England and Wales alone, while the same return for the same area shows that in relying upon the same agency we have :—

483,000 persons living in 1 room.
2,098,000 persons living in 2 rooms.
4,429,000 persons living in 3 rooms.

Overcrowding is inevitably responsible for a considerable amount of drinking, loose morality and crime, necessitating the maintenance of police, prisons, workhouses and asylums at the public expense. In so far as these institutions are the result of bad housing, it is clear that the owners concerned should be debited with their cost. Disease usually breaks out in hovels and slums, which are a constant menace to the health of the community and are largely responsible for the expenditure involved in costly public health departments, infectious diseases hospitals, dispensaries, sanatoria and domiciliary treatment. To the extent to which such property is responsible for this lavish public spending, it should be debited with the outlay. Infantile mortality is three times as high in the worst wards of cities as in the best, and as twice as many babies are born in squalor as in comfort, there are six times more infants die in slums than in suburbs. This discreditable fact is rapidly bringing into being costly maternity and child welfare schemes, in the hope that some modification may result. Is it unfair to the owners concerned to suggest that whatever proportion of that expenditure arises from the existence of rookeries, called houses, should be taken from the rents instead of extracted from the public purse? From the private owners' point of view, it pays to have tenants seeking houses, rather than houses waiting for tenants, and so the whole system puts a premium on shortage, high rents and overcrowding, together with the terrible evils that grow out of them. When the public conscience is reluctantly driven to make some attempt to modify these evils it does so in the name of charity, but if we were willing to go back to causes, instead of calling a halt at remedies, we should find that justice must precede charity, and until that has been done we are responsible by our acquiescence in wrongdoing for the human scrap-heaps that have grown out of it. When we speak of hovels and slums we of course refer to the places where these things are most acute, but do not let us assume for a moment that these are the only areas where bad housing is to be found. Many working-class dwellings suffer from lack of the most elementary domestic conveniences, defective light, insufficient ventilation, dampness and insanitary conditions. Indeed, if such perfectly reasonable

charges as have been suggested were debited against the owners of the property responsible for them, it would be found that these people are not rate-payers at all, but very substantial rate-drawers; and that as a matter of fact their business is heavily subsidised out of the public purse, or it would pass through the bankruptcy court, the menacing property be demolished, and the public well-being correspondingly advanced. It would also have this wonderfully beneficial effect: houses would be better constructed and maintained, because jerry-building and hovel-owning would not pay.

HOW TO IMPROVE THE HOMES OF THE PEOPLE.

Once we get to that point, the whole standard of the housing of the common people, whom Lincoln said, "God must have loved, He made so many of them," will be lifted, and the public purse be correspondingly relieved of burdens that ought never to have been thrown upon it.

To suggest that such a system is impossible till the whole incidence of assessment and rating has been revolutionised is not to destroy either the soundness or the equity of the proposition, or to disprove the fact that notwithstanding the rate charges levied on poor and dilapidated property, the owners draw the rents and the public take over the liabilities. There is, however, one way in which this gross injustice can be remedied, and that is by letting the Local Authorities build the houses. Once that duty is transferred to them, the inducement to erect and maintain good property will be obvious, because to the extent to which that is done, they will be rewarded by correspondingly decreased charges for the support of institutions which are rendered necessary by the existence of houses that cannot by any stretch of imagination be called homes.

Such an inducement to Municipalities is far more likely to be effective than all the repressive measures that can be imposed upon private owners, who value their property by the profit it yields and not by its contribution to public well-being and safety. The present housing problem is not a slum problem, though that is involved in it, but a real and alarming shortage of working-class dwellings that private enterprise has done nothing to meet because it builds for profit and not for human needs. If the general building trade is quiet, a man will often erect houses to keep his men together; if labour and material are cheap, and he sees what he regards as a fair margin of profit he will build working-class dwellings, but in every instance the determining motive is profit, not need, for that has been abnormal since before the war broke out and has grown more acute and

menacing ever since. Local Authorities have built little, and if private owners and private builders, who are always well represented on public bodies, had had their way, they would not have been permitted to build at all. When, however, they have erected dwellings—and the proportion is said not to exceed 3 per cent. of the whole—it has been to supply a public need that private enterprise, with its 97 per cent. of the aggregate number of houses, has failed to meet. That has often obliged them to build when prices were comparatively high, and they always insist that the recognised standard rate of wages shall be paid to everybody engaged in the work, conditions the private builder does not impose upon himself, but which have done much to raise the conditions of labour. Not only so, but before public bodies can build they have to get borrowing powers from the Local Government Board which impose upon them interest and sinking fund charges that compel repayment within a specified number of years—say 60 for buildings and 80 for land. This means that at the end of that time both the houses, and the land they cover, are an untrammelled asset for the community to the extent of their then present value.

The absence of such a perfectly sound business-like system of depreciation is one of the greatest curses resting on private property, which is never supposed to come to an end so long as it can stand upright, hence the deplorably mean character of many working-class dwellings.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE AND HOUSING ENTERPRISE.

But there is another outstanding reason why Municipalities should build the houses of the future for the rank and file of the community. During the whole industrial era ingenuity, resource and adaptability have been working out a silent revolution in the realms of industry and commerce. In the worsted trade, for instance, comb pots, spinning jennies and hand looms have been giving way to combing machines, spinning frames and power looms with wonderfully fascinating results. But what has been the cause of all this commendable enterprise?—The making of private profit.

Now turn to working-class dwellings, where mothers live who endow the nation with new life, supply industry with labour and maintain the race; mothers who work longer hours for less pay and less recognition than any other section of the community. What has been done by private enterprise to revolutionise their tasks by eliminating heavy drudgery and needless toil? Little or nothing. Why? Because a home is not a place where private profit can be made, it is only a place where life—the

one thing without which all else must perish, the most sacred thing in the world—is produced, developed and maintained, and so long as there are sufficient men, women and children available to run the machines and do the work, out of which fortunes are accumulated, it does not appear to be anybody's business to ask the price of our gains. Notwithstanding the tremendous strides that have been made in laundry machinery, mothers are still compelled to stand over peggy-tubs and wringing machines for hours together, and convert their homes into steam chests once a week, and a drying ground whenever the weather is unfavourable. They are expected to make three or four wholesome meals a day all the year round, though they have neither the education, training nor facilities for doing so; the home and its occupants should be kept reasonably clean and healthy though comparatively few houses have either a bath or a fire-back boiler; the children must be cared for and got ready for school or work with unflinching regularity; sickness creeps into the dwelling; another little stranger enters the home from time to time, and the mother is withdrawn from active participation in its work, though that must go on in some fashion or other till she can once more return to it, and if in addition to these multifarious duties, and others they imply—alongside which the bulk of men's work is child's play—she does not also work ten hours a day in a factory—which, including going, returning and meals, means twelve hours—a tremendous amount of machinery, that is now kept running for private profit, would have to stand. I say without the slightest hesitation that the whole system is a public scandal that ought to make us hang our heads in shame. Why do we leave these mothers dependent upon domestic stage coaches, while profit-making concerns have express trains? Why must they still rely upon antiquated sailing vessels, while industry and commerce have Atlantic greyhounds at their disposal? Only for one reason, that is, that there is private profit in the one and nothing more substantial than public well-being involved in the other.

THE WAY TO BETTER THINGS.

Does it ever occur to us to ask how far this Housing problem bears upon the declining birth-rate and infant mortality, which is so terrible that, "If the death-rate in the first fortnight of life were maintained for ten months, every child would die." Now, the question arises as to whether mothers should be relieved of their children or of needless drudgery. If we desire to undermine home life instead of strengthen it, we shall institute nursery schools and leave mothers struggling with heavy work, but if we want a finer race, we shall determine that mothers shall be mothers looking after their own little ones, and not slaves weighed down with

unnecessary and unremunerative toil, that the most elementary consideration could remove. Is there any wonder that in dwellings of four rooms and under, which constitute 60 per cent. of the aggregate, and are obviously the homes of the working-classes, the death-rate is twice as high as in houses of five rooms and over, where the middle and upper classes live? Comparatively speaking, the dwellings of the rank and file are in congested areas, and those of the well-to-do are out in the country, but there is as little justification for that as for the unsuitable character of working-class houses. There are said to be some 77,000,000 acres of land in the United Kingdom, and about 9,000,000 dwellings, so that if each family were given half an acre it would only amount to 4,500,000 acres out of the 77,000,000. Before the War, though only 23 per cent. of the Belgian people were employed on the land, 56½ per cent. lived in the country, with tremendous advantage to themselves and their children. There is nothing to prevent that example being followed here if we are willing to put life before money, and remember—what we studiously forget—that in reality money depends upon the very life it destroys. But private enterprise will never do it, because it begins from wrong premises, and cannot therefore arrive at right conclusions. One of the most remarkable revelations of the war is the wonderful improvement in the physique of our men when transferred from unhealthy industrial conditions to an open-air life, wholesome food and outdoor exercise. Surely that lesson is neither going to be lost nor ignored. Yet one cannot imagine a private builder being responsible for the Bradford scheme of ten self-contained villages to be erected on the outskirts of the City, with the suggestion that each should contain one thousand houses of the bungalow type, together with communal laundries, cooking kitchens, hot water service, baths, libraries, recreation rooms, playing fields, allotment gardens, churches, Sunday Schools, etc., and be served by trams run at a universal penny fare.

Yet what are the objections to such a humanising scheme, and how otherwise can we modify the glaring disabilities already referred to, or make life the full and rich inheritance that God intended it should be? Clearly, we need imagination, optimism and vision; brightness, colour and cheer; enthusiasm, ideas and ideals; priceless treasures for those who stand on the threshold of life, but only to the extent to which selfish competition can be superseded by a great era of co-operative altruism can these redeeming national assets be so preserved and developed as to enable us to march forward into a new and better world.

Housing Reform.

*An Address delivered to the Bradford
City Council on April 9th, 1918.*

Resolution passed by the Bradford City Council at their meeting on April 9th, 1918, respecting the Local Government Board's offer of financial assistance for Housing Schemes :—

That in view of the definite proposals foreshadowed at public meetings by the President of the Local Government Board, a strong protest be made against the ambiguous nature of the proposals now submitted by the Government, which proposals are that the Government shall for a certain period (that of not less than 7 years is suggested) make a contribution towards the loan charges, representing 75 per cent. of the annual deficit, and that at the end of that period the property shall be valued, and after such valuation, the Government will accept responsibility for 75 per cent. of the loan charges in respect of the difference between the debt then outstanding and the ascertained value of the property, no indication being given by the Government as to the basis upon which the Local Authorities are to fix the rentals of the properties and it being impossible to frame any reliable estimate of the value of the properties, at the valuation period, as this must inevitably depend on circumstances which cannot now be foreseen.

That, having regard to the fact that the present proposals of the Government, upon which Local Authorities are urged in the National interests to formulate Housing Schemes, afford absolutely no indication of the financial responsibilities which will have to be borne ultimately by the Local Authority which undertakes a Housing Scheme, the Government be urged—

- (1) To fix a definite proportion of the cost of the Scheme in respect of which they will make contributions either in the way of a capital sum or towards the annual charges; and

- (2) To confer upon Local Authorities powers enabling them to acquire at reasonable prices any land which may be needed for the purpose of Housing Schemes and thus to relieve Local Authorities of the difficulties and financial burdens which would probably otherwise be encountered.

That, whilst it is recognised that it is the duty of Local Authorities to carry through a programme of housing for the working classes, it is felt that no Local Authority would be justified in undertaking the task on such uncertain terms as are now proposed.

And that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the Local Government Board, the Local Members of Parliament, and the Council of each County Borough, with a request that the last-named will pass a similar resolution.

Coun. E. J. SMITH, in moving the Minutes of the Health Committee, referred first to a criticism of the Bradford Housing Scheme and afterwards to the above resolution. He said :—Councillor Walker Sutcliffe made an interesting criticism of the Health Committee's Housing Scheme at the Gillington Liberal Club on Tuesday, March 26th, and as considerable publicity was given to it, it is in the public interest that his objections should be considered. First, he regards the scheme as incredible in size, though carefully ignoring the evidence upon which it is based, given at the Council Meeting on October 9th last. For the past twelve years the people have been deprived of adequate housing, and the City of increased rateable value, owing to the rapid diminution of building, with the result that considerable leeway needs to be made up both by erection and demolition. There are over 72,000 houses in the City, and if the generous life of 70 years is allowed as a reasonable average, a thousand dwellings should be built annually to replace those which have served their day and generation. During the last twelve years only 4,778 houses have been erected, leaving a deficiency of over 7,200, while not less than 3,000 need to be closed as unfit for human habitation as soon as others can be provided for those who are unfortunately compelled to occupy them, a figure in no sense exaggerated when it is remembered that during the last four years dwellings as a whole have been going without adequate repair, and little or no expenditure on maintenance. After allowing for all the factors involved, the Registrar-General has found that between August, 1915, and June, 1917, there was an increase in the population of Bradford, over and above what would have occurred in normal times, of 13,000 persons. Assuming this number has not, and will not,

increase, and that only 5,000 of the 13,000 will remain in the City after the War, an exceedingly modest calculation, it means that on the basis of an average of four-and-a-half persons per family, which is above Bradford's experience, over 1,100 additional houses will need to be provided for them. The last census returns of 1911 revealed the discreditable fact that in 3,749 dwellings, 26,367 persons were living in a state of over-crowding, so that on the same basis it would be necessary to erect over 2,100 houses before the people concerned could have normal provision. Some 60,000 men have joined the colours, and in consequence wives have gone to live with parents, and mothers with children to a very considerable extent, yet dwellings under £25 rental are unobtainable, except by purchase, and the turning out of present tenants. To these facts must be added the 25 per cent. increase in the marriage rate that has taken place during the last four years, which probably means that some 2,500 more weddings have been celebrated in the City within that period than would otherwise have taken place. When the war is over newly married couples, who have not in the meantime begun housekeeping, and those who have deferred their weddings till peace is declared, will need houses, and, notwithstanding the number of men who have been killed, it is not unreasonable to assume that over 2,000 dwellings will be necessary to meet that demand. Consequently, without considering such problems as the natural increase in population or the further immigration of people from outside the City, which the new villages would be certain to bring, the factors dealt with give the following summary of demands for new houses :—

To meet normal wear and tear on a 70 years' basis	7,200
To provide for the abnormal increase of population since the War	1,100
To abolish overcrowding revealed in last census (1911)	2,100
To supply the needs of War and post-War weddings	2,000
	<hr/>
	12,400
To replace condemned houses when demolished	3,000
	<hr/>
	15,400
	<hr/>

To meet these needs which, notwithstanding the most careful calculations, are recognised as somewhat speculative estimates that may err on either side, the Health Committee have begun by deducting over 33 per cent., or 5,400 houses, a fairly liberal allowance, and propose to provide the remaining 10,000 dwellings, in two successive batches of 5,000 each. In the face of this evidence, which leaves

out of consideration whatever demands may arise between 1917 and the houses being ready for occupation, it is difficult to see how even Mr. Sutcliffe can regard the scheme as excessive, let alone incredible.

Second, he accuses me of giving no indication of what is to be done with the slum areas and their residents. Evidently he has not done me the honour of reading my address to the Bradford and District Trades and Labour Council on January 3rd last, though I provided him with a copy, otherwise the criticism could not have been made, for at that meeting I dealt with the problem.

After that address I received from Dr. Addison, the Minister of Reconstruction, the following letter :

2 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings,
Westminster, S.W. 1.
9th January, 1918.

Dear Mr. Smith,

I have read with great interest your most excellent address on Housing Reform which you delivered on January 3rd, and I would like to congratulate you most warmly upon one of the clearest and best put together statements on the social aspect of this question that I have read for a long time

Yours very truly,

(Signed) C. ADDISON.

E. J. Smith, Esq., Chairman
of the Health Committee, Bradford.

Third, Mr. Sutcliffe objects to houses being built on the outskirts because he says the time spent in travelling to and from work is monotonous, inconvenient and expensive. If this objection is valid, it means that the very large number of people who live outside the City, and come in by tram and train to work, would be glad to reside within its borders, if the necessary houses were provided, in which case the 10,000 it is proposed to build, and which excludes this factor altogether, would be hopelessly inadequate. It is very significant, however, that well-to-do people, in ever-increasing numbers, are more than willing to put up with the drawbacks to which Mr. Sutcliffe refers in order to enjoy the inestimable advantages of the green fields, sunshine and pure air of the country, and every right-thinking man and woman will endorse their judgment. On the other hand, some regard must be had to the important fact that we shall have to build, not only for the needs of to-day, with its cribbed, cabined and confined ideas, but for the comfort and convenience of the rapidly broadening outlook of fifty years hence, and that tramway enterprise can do much to facilitate journeys to and from the outskirts by reducing both the time and money at present involved, while the new world we are so rapidly

entering will make industry the servant instead of the master of men, and in so doing must materially reduce the hours of labour and increase correspondingly the opportunity to live a natural and elevating life further afield.

Fourth, Mr. Sutcliffe does not mind where the new houses are built so long as they are not near gas-works or destructors, and he puts in a plea for the White Abbey district. It is more than difficult to believe that a public representative can be found to make such a statement; but I fear it will be no injustice to Mr. Sutcliffe if we say that that illuminating remark sums up his alternative housing scheme. The low end of Manchester Road, Broomfields, George Street neighbourhood, the district between Mount Street and Leeds Road, the Wapping area and White Abbey are Bradford's notorious slum areas, and all comply with Mr. Sutcliffe's conditions. If the people were animals such a proposal would never be made because they cost money, but when men, women and children are involved, "it does not matter where their houses are built so long as they are not near gasworks or destructors." If such a degrading standard of human values is to obtain, revolution at home is as sure to follow war abroad as night follows day; fortunately, from a financial point of view—the only medium of appeal to mercenary minds—the proposal would be disastrous, for it would involve (1) the buying by the Corporation of the present congested "rabbit warrens" and narrow streets, at the abnormal prices established by the deplorable shortage of houses; (2) the demolition, carting away and tipping of the decaying material at the public expense—where the dishoused people would go it is impossible to say; (3) the acquisition of the bare land which, being central, has very considerable value for commercial purposes in comparison to the agricultural areas we intend to acquire on the outskirts. Having followed the precedent of the Longlands improvement scheme, by writing off over 81 per cent. of the capital outlay, and reduced business sites to the value of housing sites, we could then begin to build with the knowledge that so long as the houses stood, the rate-payers would be deprived of the high industrial assessments that would have been available if the land had been appropriated for the only purpose to which it ought to be put.

Fifth, Mr. Sutcliffe then refers to the small increase in the number of inhabitants, and from that draws the astounding conclusion that "the problem is not a question of housing for a growing population, but one for the removal of slumdom and of re-housing." That ingenious device for reducing the housing of the working classes to the dimension of slums might have some chance of success if everybody could ignore facts as easily as its author. In the meantime, however, we are called upon to face and not

to shirk responsibility, and Mr. Sutcliffe must both deal with the figures and reservations I have given, and the notorious and menacing fact that we cannot even find decent dwellings for the people already in the City, apart altogether from those herded in slums, until we can put a quart into a pint-pot, for the demand is such that where a house is advertised to-let, housing queues threaten to supersede butter queues. Mr. Sutcliffe's policy compels people who earn their money inside the City to live and spend it outside, and then deplores the absence of a growing population. It is most sincerely to be hoped that we shall escape some of the exacting penalties of overcrowding, but child life is bound to pay a heavy toll, and the terrible deprivations of immorality and mean and sordid standards of life must inevitably be emphasised, while public health cannot be maintained under conditions that favour its destruction. For the time being the abnormally low birth-rate modifies an otherwise intolerable situation, but that is only losing life in order to save it, for the man is unborn who can tell what succeeding generations will have to do in order to staff industrial concerns. Yet nobody stops to ask what bearing the disastrous shortage of houses has upon the declining birth-rate, or to what extent the same problem is rapidly becoming more acute because in proportion as parents enrich the nation with new life, supply industry with labour and continue the race, they impoverish themselves. And so we ignore the vital claims of motherhood, live on our capital, and send future mothers to learn house-keeping and the sacred duties of maternity in the factory instead of the home because it pays us to sacrifice the future to the present, and we find race-suicide more profitable than race-preservation. Truly the millennium is not yet.

The resolution on housing is comprehensive and explanatory, and calls for little comment. At Manchester, Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the Local Government Board, foreshadowed a national grant of one-third the capital outlay: which appeared to indicate that the Government were willing to contribute that amount in recognition of the fact that the housing problem is a national question, and that the work of construction is to be undertaken by Local Authorities when prices are abnormal, in order to facilitate demobilisation. Such a subsidy would have left the tenant to pay an increased rent equivalent to the added rate of interest on the remaining two-thirds of the capital cost of his house. That proposal had the indispensable merit of enabling the Government, the Municipalities and the people concerned to know the limit of their respective liabilities, whereas the actual proposition is not only ambiguous, but incomprehensible, and leaves everybody involved in a state of uncertainty altogether inconsistent with the purpose to be served, the magnitude of the scheme and the vast sums to be

spent. The omission of any power to enable municipalities to acquire land at reasonable prices is equally to be regretted, for the housing question is inseparably associated with the land problem, as is admirably illustrated in a Parliamentary Return (No. 119) for the year 1911-12. This relates to County Boroughs and Urban Districts with an aggregate population at the last census (1911) of 21,206,450 persons. The total area of land involved was 3,884,139 acres, contributing through 5,169,709 assessments, a total amount of £35,429,301 in rates. 2,533,035 acres, or two-thirds of the whole, were assessed as "agricultural land," and contributed through 153,452 assessments, an aggregate amount of £400,689 in rates, the balance of 1,351,104 acres paid through 5,016,257 assessments, £35,028,612 in rates. There was in addition an area of vacant land, but as that escapes rating altogether, it is not accounted for. These figures leave no room for doubt that one of the most urgent needs of the country is the taxation of land values, and it is a great pity that such a demand for urban areas as the new housing schemes must bring, has not been anticipated by putting such a measure on the statute book. But whatever may be our opinions on that problem, the need for land at its natural, in contradistinction to its communal, value cannot be questioned, neither can we deny the necessity for such a capital contribution by the Government towards the cost of the new houses as will leave us in no room for doubt as to our own liabilities. Under these circumstances we propose to ask the County Boroughs to combine by passing a similar resolution to our own.



Housing Reform

*An Address delivered to the Bradford
Managers' and Overlookers' Society on
April 20th, 1918.*

One of the most urgent needs of every great city is the preparation of a thoroughly comprehensive and carefully co-ordinated decennial record of its activities. The absence of such an essential compendium is perhaps the chief reason why one half of a city does not know how the other half lives, and this public misfortune is largely responsible for perpetuating the very evils we so deeply deplore. Each department of municipal, educational, moral, social, industrial and other forms of civic enterprise has a more or less complete record of its own work, which is known to those members of the community actually associated with or directly interested in it, but outside that particular section there is almost as much ignorance as though the knowledge were purposely kept in watertight compartments. This deplorable fact only arises because it is nobody's business to collect and edit the epitome, a duty the Corporations might well undertake through their respective Town Clerk's departments. Such an invaluable book, to which reference could be made at any time, and from which reliable data could be obtained, would constitute a summary of city life and progress more illuminating and helpful than long years of residence and active interest could supply. It would become the indispensable possession of every organisation, every library, every club, and every earnest man and woman who could afford to buy it, and, through these intelligent and interested mediums, it would be the disseminator of light that would not only make the darkness visible at other than election times, but help very materially to dispel it. This faithful and unbiased blue book and balance sheet would educate public opinion not only on the good aspects of city life, but also on its bad ones: it would not only throw into bold relief the human and material assets we always remember, but also the corresponding liabilities which, being out of sight and largely out of mind, are singularly liable to be forgotten. And so we should learn something about abnormal wealth and abject poverty; industrial enterprise and human stagnation; country houses surrounded by beautiful gardens and overcrowded hovels in mean streets; fine suburbs with their low mortality and dehumanising slums with death hovering round the door;

strong, intelligent and happy citizens and the inmates of sanatoria, fever hospitals and infirmaries; public buildings, churches and schools and prisons, workhouses and asylums; ignorance, injustice and wrong; drink, gambling and lust; and the human scrap heaps of sin and sorrow and shame that constitute the handwriting on the wall, and as we drew nearer to the great and sad realities of city life, they would give us furiously to think.

THE CITY'S PROGRESS.

In the meantime we must turn to the problem we are met to consider, and in doing so it may not be out of place to remind you that at the beginning of last century the population of Bradford consisted of 13,000 inhabitants, who were so peacefully disposed that policemen were unknown within its area, such protection as was thought necessary being provided at night by two watchmen in summer and seven in winter. In 1804 it was resolved "that two new coats be provided for two of the oldest watchmen, and that three of the old coats be appropriated in repairing four old ones," an indication of respect for age and economy which these later days have largely forgotten. In 1847, when the Charter of Incorporation was granted, the population had risen to 100,000 persons, whose life and property were still unguarded by police, that important function devolving upon 28 watchmen. Since then our boundaries have been extended more than once till, from the extreme end of Thornton to the farthest point in Tong is over ten miles as the crow flies, and the altitude of the city, which is supplied throughout with water by gravitation, varies from 250 feet to 1,100 feet above sea level, while the number of persons per acre averages about 12. Within the same period the population has trebled, and in 1914, practically the last pre-war and, therefore, relatively speaking, normal year, lived in 72,000 houses, largely built alongside the 3,350 streets and highways intersecting the city. At that time the tramway system covered over 60 miles of route by means of 95 miles of single line, and 9½ miles of rail-less trolley route, and had cost about £1,043,000. If this service is wisely developed and used, it will tend materially to bring out-lying lands within convenient distance of the centre, diffuse the value of property, and improve health, sanitation and morals. At the same date the police force numbered some 400 officers and men, who were called upon to protect the 300,000 inhabitants, some £40,000,000 worth of property, and to conduct and regulate the traffic in 354 miles of streets, a significant transformation from the 28 watchmen for a population of 100,000. The Corporation then employed 7,850 persons, to whom £12,000 per week was paid in wages, and had a turnover of some £6,157,000 per annum. The municipal debt was over £8,411,000.

equal to £28 17s. 9d. per head of every man, woman and child in the city, but as the assets stood at £13,129,000, or £45 1s. 10d. per head, there is no cause for alarm in that direction, each member of the community having an average credit balance of £16 4s. 1d., which would be immediately increased if the monopolies were to be sold.

LIFE SUPREME.

But do not let these interesting facts and figures, that are only intended to give some rough, though totally inadequate idea of the size and financial responsibilities of the city, divert our minds from the main issue, for the only thing that really matters in this world is life, and every activity that is not directed to, and actually achieving, its uplift and physical, mental and moral enrichment, is either out of place or misdirected. Not only so, but whatever prejudices the best of which that life would otherwise be capable, imposes a corresponding disability on the human well-being and material prosperity of the whole community, for whether we will or no, the fact remains that we are, and cannot avoid being, our brother's keeper, and his progress or downfall reacts for weal or for woe on you and me. Sickness, disease and crime are public as well as private liabilities that increase in proportion as they are neglected, and the most mercenary considerations compel even the meanest citizens to consent to the spending of rates and taxes to keep them in check. On the other hand, health, education and character are real communal assets that it pays to cultivate and develop, and a far-seeing and high-minded community would, under any circumstances, gladly devote its time, ability and means to the redeeming task of converting its human debits into human credits in order that the city might be continually marching upward and onward to better things. But when the flower of our manhood is being sacrificed and maimed with unprecedented prodigality, when our financial liabilities are growing to incomprehensible proportions, when our trade has been thrown into the melting pot, when there is a world shortage of food that must last for years, when the deaths in the city exceed the births, which have fallen by more than one-half, when those who would have been our best fathers are dying on the battle-field, and those who would have made our most devoted mothers are being absorbed by industry, when the future can neither be foreseen nor provided for, but when every man, woman and child is rising in value, the most elementary minds must realise the imperative necessity for protecting life on the one hand, and for reducing unnecessary public expenditure on human waste to a minimum on the other, by recovering it as material waste has been recovered, first for its own sake, and then in order

that what has been permitted to become a liability may be converted into an asset, contributing its quota to the sadly depleted common store.

A LESSON FROM THE WAR.

This essentially practical proposal is pathetically illustrated in thousands of cases of discharged soldiers. Had the necessary accommodation and medical skill been available, these men would have been restored to such a measure of physical fitness and health as would have enabled them to earn the whole, or part, of their own living, and to enjoy to a not inconsiderable extent the life that is still before them. Unfortunately, the absence of these facilities has left many brave men in the position of hopeless cripples who must be a heavy burden to themselves and their friends, and who will have to be wholly maintained out of the pensions fund. Similar results, though differently produced, are being multiplied in every slum area in the kingdom, and in more reputable places to a less degree, through our shortsightedness in not preventing the evils we afterward try in vain to cure. Human beings are permitted to herd together under conditions that inevitably reduce them to a lower level than animals, and it does not yet appear to have dawned upon the community as a whole that the retribution it is compelled to suffer for allowing such culpable influences to damn those it is our duty to protect is two-fold; first, they cease to make any useful contribution to society, and second, they begin to impoverish it, for costly institutions have to be provided at the public expense in order to maintain them, whereas insistence upon right beginnings would have preserved their self-respect, and the ability and willingness, not only to support themselves, but also to provide their quota towards the general well-being of the community. This fascinating mania for trying to recover spilt milk in preference to keeping it in the basin; this fatal but firmly established policy of first letting men get out of their depth and then beginning to organise a lifeboat service, has characterised our actions from time immemorial, and though experience has proved they are contrary to sound judgment and everyday common sense, and are foredoomed to failure, we still persist in adopting them.

EXISTING OR LIVING, WHICH?

Obviously it is this folly that is at the back of the minds of those who, by ignoring facts, persuade themselves that the housing problem, which embraces the well-being of the whole community, is in reality only a slum problem, and as they regard slums as inevitable, they urge the pulling down of old ones and the erection of new on the same sites. The ravages of degrading environment on those

most susceptible to its continuous onslaughts are excluded from their consideration. The dense blocks of buildings that wall in these victims of civilisation; the noise and nerve-rack of ceaseless traffic passing over granite sets; the perpetual pall of black smoke that constitutes the tent they dwell in; the flagrant multiplicity of public houses, that are at once the brightest and the deadliest places in slums; the obliteration of the star-spangled heavens; the exclusion of the unspeakable glories of the rising and the setting sun; the absence of the restful green of the meadows, the foliage of the spreading trees, the beauty of the running brook, the singing of the birds and the coming of the flowers; the utter lack of peace for wearied minds, the want of a quiet corner for the company of good books, the need for opportunity to reflect on the great problems of life, the joy of beautiful pictures, inspiring music and elevating hobbies. All these and other blessings they suggest, which, by contributing to the boundless and uplifting possibilities of life, make that gift of God so well worth living, are denied to the humble creatures who exist in slums, while the innocent and helpless little ones, who are as plentiful in hovels as they are scarce in villas, and of whom Jesus said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," are deprived of the most elementary essentials of earth. What would happen if the critics of this heterogeneous mass of under-world humanity were to spend the next five years under identical conditions, keeping steadily before themselves all the time the tremendous advantages which good parentage, careful training, liberal education and ample means had conferred upon them? Would it be too optimistic, under such circumstances, to predict the rapid disappearance of slums, and if not, why cannot we begin to abolish, instead of to perpetuate, them now? Let us answer that question when we are urging the adoption of the Christian ethic, or when we are sitting in our pews and being thrilled by some great democratic message from the humble Carpenter of Nazareth, to Whom we claim allegiance and loyalty.

THE COST OF RE-HOUSING ON THE SAME SITES.

Fortunately for the future, re-housing on the same sites is prohibited in two ways, first, by the wise decision of the Local Government Board not to permit the erection of more than 12 houses per acre, a proviso which obviously makes central schemes impossible, and second, because the cost of bare land, after purchasing, demolishing and clearing the derelict property upon it, would be exorbitant, as is proved by the experience of great cities where that retrograde policy has been tried, and where, strange to say, the land works out at a comparatively uniform average of 25s. per yard, or £6,050 per acre. On

the Local Government Board's basis this means over £500 per dwelling for land alone, a greater sum than the Health Committee would be justified in spending on both. On the other hand, we already own two separate building areas on opposite sides of the city, each within two miles of the Town Hall, measuring together over 66 acres, and averaging not £500 per house, but less than £12, and when the time comes to purchase sites for the ten self-contained villages on the outskirts, we shall be clearly entitled to acquire the necessary land at as much less money as the larger areas, and the increased distances from the centre indicate, for we intend to build on agricultural land and not upon industrial or commercial sites.

MAN-POWER THE KEY TO THE FUTURE.

To-day the great watchword is "Man-Power," and as the ruthless slaughter of our gallant men goes on without a break, we begin to realise something of its meaning, but when these horrors are past, a great proportion of the flower of our manhood will either have made the supreme sacrifice or be maimed for life, and in that condition, we shall have to face greater problems than have ever confronted the world before, and man power will be the only key to their solution. Under such circumstances the most urgent duty, after winning this stupendous campaign for honour and freedom and future—which has been forced upon us by civilised mad-men, who, if they were as good as they are clever, would rule the world with general consent—will be to bring within reach of every man, woman and child in the kingdom the finest opportunity for their highest development in every realm of service. Every single dependent who can be won back to semi, or complete independence, must be restored, first for his own sake, and then for the nation's, while every efficient must be made more efficient, and the general standard of intelligence and conduct, not of slum dwellers alone, but of the whole community, must be lifted. Only by such means can we provide compensation for our lost man power, or overcome the gigantic difficulties we shall be compelled to grapple with. The heroism of war will have to be followed by the heroism of peace, or our noble sons will have died in vain. Indifference to, or neglect of, these fundamental needs will wrong our people, increase our burdens and leave us less able to bear them, for it will have the effect of depleting our industrial forces, multiplying unnecessary pensions and raising the number of costly public institutions, while the rates and taxes thus needlessly spent will be tantamount to a tariff on our goods which will help to shut them out of the markets of the world. To thus allow our human capital to be reduced, and our standing charges to be increased in the presence of the national

calamity that has overtaken us, would betoken commercial incapacity and utter disregard for life.

OBSTACLES TO EFFICIENCY.

Something equivalent to a permanent surplus in the labour market has led us to under-estimate seriously the value of men, and to discard them with a thoughtless prodigality that scarcity would have prevented, but now that we are to be dependent upon an industrial army that war has deprived of its best, a new and vital problem must be solved, the problem of how to multiply the number and increase the usefulness of a less efficient force. Probably not less than 10 per cent. of the population is constantly under medical treatment in public institutions and private dwellings, while so long as housing conditions remain what they are, doctors despair of effecting any radical cure of pulmonary tuberculosis, which, owing to the war, will soon be responsible for carrying off over a tenth of the population of Great Britain; indeed, between 1916 and 1917 it increased by 12½ per cent. in our own city. Sanatorium treatment is neither more nor less than applied common sense, but it is as wide apart as the poles are asunder from our cribbed, cabined and confined methods of housing the people in long, dull, monotonous rows of dwellings, built alongside narrow, crooked streets that resemble stone passages, are entirely devoid of outlook, imagination or beauty, and appear to have been erected regardless of human considerations. To live in the midst of such dismal surroundings, work among the whirl of wheels and the rattle of machinery, and spend the intervening hours in the restless atmosphere of the street, the picture house, the music hall, the drinking saloon or other artificial means of reactionary excitement, is ill-calculated to promote physical fitness, mental sagacity and moral strength, and it may be taken for granted that till a more natural, wholesome and elevating life is brought within reach of the great masses of the community, neither the nation, its activities, nor its people can ever give of their best.

THE "TIDE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MAN."

Fortunately the crisis and the opportunity have come together, and if we are wise enough to take occasion by the hand and erect our ten self-contained villages on the outskirts of the city, monotonous rows of houses and narrow streets will become relics of the past. Having got into the country we must build artistic dwellings and eliminate all unnecessary toil—which is waste—that the wives and mothers of the future may be able to devote themselves to converting houses into homes where body, mind and heart are cared for and developed, and healthy, intelligent and happy children, who

keep the world young, sensitive and expectant, fill every day with rejoicing and every home with pride. To this end we propose to erect bungalows with dormer windows, abolish the "washing day" by communal laundries, and ensure a reasonable variety of wholesome meals, well cooked, at a moderate price by communal kitchens. Each house must be supplied with hot water either from central heating or a separate fire-back boiler, and a modified but efficient bath should be provided. It is estimated that half the smoke in Bradford comes from domestic chimneys, and if these centralised sources can be secured, a great step will have been taken to purify the air we breathe twenty-four hours a day, and let in the priceless gift of sunshine, which is as essential to good spirits as to good health. It is intended to provide each village with such amenities as a school, a library, a recreation room, a pleasure ground and allotment gardens, and to give local pride and neighbourliness through the medium of a duly elected social service committee within each area.

HEROES AS TENANTS.

It is sincerely to be hoped that we shall express our gratitude to the gallant men who have defended our all by giving them the opportunity to become the first tenants of the new dwellings. That would be a thoughtful and tangible recognition of services we can never repay, and the social life of the battle-field and the good fellowship it creates would make these wonderful heroes into ideal neighbours. But whatever may be our decision on that point, it may be taken for granted that mean dwellings—and I am not now referring to slums—not only contribute nothing to national well-being, but constitute a perpetual clog on the wheels of human progress, whereas good homes, healthy environment, and wholesome living are the bed-rock upon which alone the fabric of the future can be erected if it is to be worthy and enduring.

Housing Reform.

*An Address delivered to the General
Union of Textile Workers on Monday,
May 6th, 1918.*

The longer this dehumanising war, that is destined to end the monarchial system and secret diplomacy, goes on, the larger must the issues involved in it become, and the more drastic the changes it will inevitably produce. Already, consciously or unconsciously, we are entering a new world, and are compelled to become the active or passive architects of its future. With or without our help, though not without our responsibility, the next ten years are likely to produce a greater transformation than the last hundred.

TASKS THAT CONFRONT US.

When the guns have ceased to thunder, and the old world has been buried in blood and tears, the first part of our stupendous duty will have been fulfilled, but the redemptive portion of that sacred task will remain to be done. At home we shall be tried as by fire, and unless the heroism of war is followed by the heroism of peace, disaster is certain, for we shall be confronted by such momentous problems as are involved in man-power depleted of its best, an incomprehensibly fabulous debt, the maintenance of scores of thousands of partially or totally disabled soldiers and sailors, the loss of those who would have been our best fathers, and the absorption by industry of an unprecedented number of women, many of whom would have been devoted mothers, a birth-rate declining with ominous, if not fatal rapidity, a world shortage of food that must last for years, the sudden and complex reversion of workshops that have formed an integral part of the mighty national arsenal to peaceful occupations, the demobilisation of millions of men from battlefields, training camps and fighting craft, and their re-settlement in factories, forges and farms. These and other enormous difficulties must be undertaken and carried through by a democracy which in the very nature of things will, notwithstanding a general election, be largely out of touch with Parliament, and in a land where the value of everything has been artificially inflated, and normal laws and regulations have been set aside. In view of the

fact that we have had no previous experience to guide us in passing through such a revolutionary ordeal, it will be obvious that the period of actual transition will call for those indispensable forerunners of rapid recuperation and recovery, statesmanship and sagacity at Westminster, and a spirit of universal sweet-reasonableness and personal and collective good-will in the country.

It will be equally apparent that this great epoch in our history can only be safely negotiated if it is undertaken with due regard to the needs of to-morrow, rather than the impatient and selfish claims of to-day, but if we are as willing to make sacrifices ourselves as we have been that others should make them for us, we shall unhesitatingly decide, at these cross roads, to grasp the standard of new and uplifting opportunity that our brave sons have placed in our hands, and carry it upward and onward to more glorious heights. Indeed, as we listen to the voices of those intrepid volunteers who have laid down their lives for honour and freedom and future, we shall realise the privilege of being permitted to pay whatever price is involved in completing the mighty task they have so heroically begun. That distinction is greater than we know, for on the way in which we discharge the solemn duty they have entrusted to us depends not only the weal or woe that is to emerge from their sacrifice now, but what is still more important to every true lover of the race, the character of the inheritance that must be handed down to generations yet unborn.

FROM THE OLD ORDER TO THE NEW.

If this gigantic civilian task is approached in the anti-patriotic spirit of the profiteer and the plunderer, the outlook is not only gloomy and depressing but tragic, for such men are not only devoid of every quality that reduces chaos to order, but possess that fatal faculty of eliminating both morals and conscience, which rapidly makes confusion worse confounded. If, on the other hand, the stupendous duty is undertaken in the truly patriotic spirit so magnificently exemplified by our wonderful defenders on land and sea, the prospect is indeed inspiring, for a nation deprived of its heroes by such a noble cause as ours have died to win, is not impoverished, but enriched, for their glorious example will call other heroes into being, and through them our gallant sons will live on, and help to hasten the coming of that great day in which the foundations of righteousness and peace shall be laid broad and deep and indestructible. Indeed, if the memory of their triumphant lives once really grips us, the blood will course more quickly through our veins, and in seeking to give as they have given, we shall not only vindicate the mighty cause that made them

mighty men, but we shall add lustre to their deeds by enshrining them in the casket of the new victories for duty and truth, which their sacrifice has given us the opportunity to win. That way lies not only a new world but a better one, and honour to the glorious sons to whom honour is due. Such an all-conquering spirit would make our smaller numbers more powerful for good after the war than the larger ones were before it, and we should face the searching trials that confront us conscious of the fact that, the greater the difficulties, the more certain we should be to rise above and triumph over them. Communal ardour and enthusiastic good-will could find no more practical or remunerative application than is involved in a really drastic improvement of the housing of the working classes, the generous endowment of motherhood, the lifting of education on to a higher platform of efficiency, the humanising of industry by shortening the hours of labour, improving the conditions of service, and establishing a liberal standard of post-war wages. Such invaluable aids to reconstruction would enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of the people in grappling with the problems already mentioned, and would be much more potent for good both at home and abroad than tariffs and bounties, which are far better calculated to re-create international friction and ultimately another devastating war, than a league of nations and permanent good-will.

BACK TO THE LAND.

To ignore the justice and urgency of a great all-round human uplift and redemptive effort, particularly in cities and towns, is to create resentment and beget opposition, at a time when every member of the community should be standing shoulder to shoulder, inspired by a common purpose and the will to achieve. Congested areas are self-destructive, not self-supporting, and it is notorious that for generations the large centres of population have drawn their vitality from country districts, where a natural and healthy life provides the backbone, stamina and grit that artificial existence all too rapidly undermines. Consequently, unless our great industrial armies can be housed under such wholesome and elevating conditions as will enable them to become at least independent of the rural areas, we are heading for the rocks, because in all probability our migratory sources of supply will be cut off. Agriculture is rapidly becoming, and is likely to remain, a much more important factor in national life, and there can be little doubt that higher wages, better dwellings and materially improved social conditions in the country will arrest the steady flow of young life to the cities, if these, added to the open-air experiences of the army and navy, do not actually tend to turn it back. It must be no less apparent that emigration will have to be reckoned

with, for the Colonies, like the Mother Country, are being denuded of their best, and as the sons of our glorious Empire have lived and fought side by side, and the spirit of adventure and daring has been kindled in our men, the interchange of experiences will have made the brave lads from our dominions into wonderfully fascinating and effective emigration agents, as they have painted in glowing colours the vast expanse, the virgin soil, the unlimited opportunity, the increased need, the rich rewards, and the exhilarating life of those magnificent countries that rightly appeal to the imagination and unconquerable soul of youth.

Indeed, if we are prepared to take a really comprehensive view of facts, and look them fairly and squarely in the face, we shall not only realise that we cannot begin to prepare our plans too early, or anticipate our work too soon, but every city in the kingdom will forthwith complete the town-planning of its own area and to a reasonable depth that of adjoining sites, in order that clearly defined districts may be allocated to definite purposes, and the higgledy-piggledy conglomeration of factories, workshops and houses—which have ruined both our industrial centres and the people compelled to live in them—may be relegated to the limbo of pre-war days. It is true that the cost of living and wages bear a singularly close relationship, as war time experiences have proved, and that if all the workers lived in slums remuneration would be lower, just as if all the great industrial army resided in good homes on the outskirts it would be correspondingly higher. But we are singularly liable to forget that physical fitness, mental capacity, and moral character have a commercial value that indifferent health, ignorance and a low standard of living can never supply, and that as our industrial prosperity depends upon the excellence, variety and taste of our goods, rather than their cheapness, the greater the all-round efficiency of our staffs the more certain we are to succeed.

RECRUITING AND GOLD.

Apart altogether from actual military training as such, what would have become of us if we had been obliged to depend upon such physical fitness as our recruits possessed when they joined the army, and what a significant transformation takes place in these same men after twelve months of camp life? Why cannot we get as near to that natural and healthy way of living as circumstances permit, instead of drifting closer and closer to an artificial existence, which creates false desires and appetites that undermine health and self-respect, and constitutes the high road along which broken humanity wends its weary way to those costly public institutions, that are discreditable monuments of our willingness to squander rates and taxes in trying to cure what it is our duty to prevent?

Have we nothing to learn from the abnormal number of unfit recruits who have been accepted, and the far more than one million men who have been rejected? Can it be doubted that if correspondingly suitable tests were applied to women of like ages, similar, if not worse, results would be revealed? Yet these are the people who will form a very considerable proportion of the industrial army upon which the nation must rely to carry it through the strenuous and exacting period of reconstruction and recovery, and their physical condition is part of the price we are called upon to pay for putting money before life, and selfish disregard before communal well-being. Is that crime to be repeated in defiance of both experience and need? Will nothing but self-immolation teach us, and that only when it is too late? Even the exigencies of war cannot justify that suicidal policy, for the United Kingdom will still be able, if it has prudence and foresight enough to make it willing, to remove these dead weights that hang like a millstone round the neck of its future. The system that produces the extremes of poverty and wealth in this country is much more powerful for evil than organised religion is for good, and unless it is made subservient to human needs, the period of stress in front of us will neither be free from anxiety nor peril. We may be poorer, but if we utilise what we have with greater justice and worthier consideration, that is no reason why we should not be happier. The richest country in the world can never be the greatest in the things that really matter, for the corroding influence of the one is destructive of the vitalising power of the other, and the two can never be made to run in harness. The old world was imprisoned in gold, and kept on reducing its possibilities for spiritual expansion by increasing, on the inside, the thickness of the precious walls in which it had voluntarily incarcerated itself, and that material prosperity, applied to selfish ends, was slowly but surely closing in upon the only force that could deliver it. Through sacrifice to victory is the only way, and our heroes are trading it, and unless we are prepared to walk in their footsteps in order to win the mighty victories for peace which their losses in war have made possible, we are unworthy of them, for we are not called upon to cheer but to follow.

HOME-MAKERS OR SLAVES.

The new housing scheme depends on the new spirit. There are, for instance, great possibilities for reducing labour, promoting cleanliness and increasing convenience, inherent in gas and electricity. If mothers are to be enabled to do their duty to their children, and enjoy sufficient leisure to make their lot more comparable with the limited working hours of men, coal fires are certainly not the last word in working class homes, however firmly they may be rooted in our affections and prejudices.

A tap or a switch turned on or off would be all that was necessary, no labour would be involved, no continual cleaning of the grate called for, far less dust would fly about the house, and only when the gas or electric fire was actually needed—which in summer would be seldom, in view of the provision of communal laundries and cooking kitchens—would any expense be involved. Indeed, when coal-fires have gone and the value of their successors has been realised, we shall wonder why habit and custom have been allowed to enslave us so long, just as we are now amazed at our stupidity in laughing to scorn the author of the Daylight Saving Bill, to which experience has given universal approval. If new ideas and a more humane outlook are to be ignored, and old problems are to be approached from the old standpoint, everything will once more filter down to a mercenary standard of values, and the men with "something at stake" again fall back upon the influence and power of scientifically organised opposition, conscious of the fact that before the war money was more magnetic than service. Under such untoward circumstances those with nothing more sacred than life hanging in the balance—the only thing without which all else must perish—would lose hope, and the great era of reconstruction and human uplift miss its redeeming opportunity. It is, however, incredible that after these four sad and terrible years, money is again to dominate religion, politics, industry and life; surely we have learned through suffering to turn our minds to something higher than the product of the meanest attribute in man, otherwise we shall sacrifice once more the higher reaches of our being, and drag in the mire the great purposes for which our noble sons have given their all.

ORGANISED RELIGION AND SMALL OWNERS.

So far the churches have adopted a non-committal attitude, doubtless concerned lest the removal of people from their vicinity to the outskirts should increase their present difficulties. As, however, they are only touching a tithe of the population, and least of all those who need them most, the new circumstances, heroically used, would save both the churches and the people. If, on the other hand, they allow the commercial instinct, or even self-preservation, to dominate their action, and by negative or positive means retard this redeeming purpose, they will stultify the gospel they preach, and alienate themselves still more completely from the masses. Indeed, if the church is to have a future, it will have to shed its worldly wisdom, come out into the open, and fight for the embodiment of righteousness in the work-a-day life of men, for we are rapidly approaching a time when the Christian ethic, the greatest redeeming force in the world, must either be applied to the abolition of the poverty, ignorance and

selfishness inherent in the economic system that enslaves us, or be abandoned. If it will not bear application, why preach it; while if it will, why not apply Christian principles to social problems, and begin to build the new kingdom here and now?

The man who has bought the house in which he lives has, like every other owner of good property, everything to gain and nothing to lose from the new venture, for in proportion as members of the community are compelled to live in poor and inconvenient dwellings, which are by no means confined to slums, loss of working hours, doctors' bills and unhappiness, will provide inmates for a variety of institutions that must be maintained out of the public purse, in order to mitigate the evils inseparably associated with them, whereas better houses, built amidst green fields, sunshine and purer air on the outskirts would go far to prevent the largely unnecessary personal suffering at present involved in such devastating and pathetic diseases as tuberculosis, and the tremendous waste of rates and taxes necessitated by them. Substantial evidence in support of this contention is to be found in the improvement that takes place in early cases of pulmonary phthisis when removed to a sanatorium, and the rapid reaction when the patient returns to a house that lacks the fundamental needs of health, and it must be remembered that the statement applies to all dwellings and all the diseases in them in proportion as they are without the essentials of wholesome life. When submitted to a commercial test, similar results accrue, for the country has prospered financially in proportion as social conditions have been made better, and it may be taken as an axiom that as the general standard of human welfare is raised, and the physical, mental and moral development of the people is promoted, the nation's industries will reflect the uplift, and profit in a vastly different way from anything that can be achieved by substituting for these humanitarian enterprises artificial protection, which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, for even in material matters virtue is still its own reward. Indeed, it is surely self-evident that a community cannot suffer by doing right to its individual members, any more than parents by doing their duty to their children, for what, after all, should a city be but a great, united and happy family, in which each is concerned about the well-being of the whole. We do not want Bradford to become as lonely a place as London, neither is it necessary that it should; indeed, one of the high purposes of the housing scheme is to make that tragic journey from Jerusalem to Jericho as safe as our own fireside, by fostering village neighbourliness and pride, establishing inter-village relationships and service, and gradually overflowing till the life of the whole city becomes one great communal and altruistic concern. Let us make no mistake, the war is being won by the personal character of

our heroes, and the sacredness of the cause that has inspired them, which if withdrawn would bring immediate disaster, and the victories of peace can only come from the same combination of forces. To turn back is to grovel, to go forward is to soar, and if we are willing to live for the things for which our gallant lads have died, we shall enter upon our new duties, not by getting as much as we can grasp, but by giving nothing less than the best of which we are capable, till the triumphs of peace have justified the sacrifices of war.

SLUMS, SMALL TRADESMEN, AND DRINK.

10,000 dwellings must be built somewhere and somehow if the people are not to be herded like animals. Will those who object to our scheme on public grounds tell us openly and frankly what are the insuperable difficulties associated with it, and what feasible alternative they have to suggest? It is, of course, impossible to carry out such schemes of well-being as are involved in the ten self-contained villages without arousing some opposition from those sections of the community interested in maintaining the present deplorable condition of housing in great centres of industry, and perhaps three classes of men may be expected to take exception to the new scheme:—(1) Owners of slums; (2) small tradesmen in them; and (3) the defenders of the drink traffic and its gains. Slums exist because normally there are more tenants seeking houses than houses needing tenants, and also because human dwellings are never regarded as uninhabitable so long as they will stand upright. Such crimes against the disinherited and voiceless, who inevitably filter through to the most antiquated, unhealthy and squalid hovels, are never allowed to go unpunished, however, for, as degrading environment is a factor above which only supermen can rise, slums are always accompanied by an equal proportion of their inseparable adjuncts—police, prisons, workhouses, hospitals, asylums and kindred costly institutions, the maintenance of which is the price the public are compelled to pay through rates and taxes for permitting private property to over-ride human needs. Industries are developed by eliminating waste, old machinery, and ancient methods, as well as by bringing enterprise, resource and adaptability to bear upon constructive extensions, and men who ignore such elementary essentials drift out of the trade, if not into the bankruptcy court. Were anything even remotely approaching such fundamental forethought and attention devoted to the perfecting of men, women and children, the race would long since have risen above selfish materialism and entered the new kingdom. It is impossible to deny that commercialism, as at present carried on, sacrifices life to money, for when human beings are at stake slums are good enough, and the vested

interests would rather pay the penalty for their existence than put themselves to the trouble of asking questions and finding answers to them. Little wonder that though this sordid and callous standard of values is generally applied, nobody can be found to defend it openly, and only plausible excuses can be invented to do duty for truth. Still, when the owners of slums, often well-to-do people hiding behind property agents, have pulled down their dehumanising lairs, where neither good horses, dogs nor plants could live, they will have as compensation the difference between the value of centrally situated land, when it is misappropriated for soul-destroying dens and when it is properly utilised for industrial purposes.

The small tradesman in such areas presents significant food for reflection, and it is interesting to note the dual position taken up by organisations opposed to all municipal enterprise. Cheap trams and large central stores are rapidly squeezing the little shopkeeper out of existence, but as this is the work of the so-called law of supply and demand that can do no wrong, neither he nor his friends make any claim on his behalf, in spite of the fact that large numbers of these unfortunate men are being driven under every day. When, however, public well-being is involved, indignant protests are raised by his would-be friends, and he becomes a convenient stalking-horse for ulterior purposes. These people overlook the fact that the competitive system, as at present applied, has no bowels of compassion or altruistic concern, and when that mountain of evil has been modified by its defenders, it will be soon enough for them to take up the case of the small tradesman, and in the meantime he, like everybody else similarly placed by an endless variety of circumstances, will need to look in other directions for the living which slums will no longer afford.

The strength of the drink traffic is derived from the extraordinary number of influential people who draw dividends from it, and so long as large profits can be earned, the human sacrifices involved in their acquisition will continue to be ignored, and we shall be told that the workers will either have it or "down tools." To-day fathers, brothers and sons are laying down their lives to defeat our enemies abroad, and whatever we can do to bring the cruel slaughter to an end ought not only to be a duty, but a supreme privilege which every man and woman should eagerly seek. Yet because there is money in the drink traffic, we close our eyes to the terrible fact that it constitutes one of Germany's most effective allies, and refuse to withdraw its fortifications from their ranks. In the slums it is notorious that it has been an unmitigated curse, enslaving its victims and rivetting them to noisome conditions that destroy manhood and future. Let its defenders tell us

frankly what it is doing to enable us to win the war, and what will be its contribution to the stupendous tasks of reconstruction. In the meantime its record is black with crime, and every right-thinking man and woman must long for its banishment from a country that is passing through perils such as history has never known, and, when these are gone, is confronted with problems whose solution will call for every jot and tittle of physical, mental and moral strength that it is in our power to command.

REVOLUTION OR IDEALS.

After the war we shall either take a mighty leap forward or fall into anarchy and revolution. A nation without ideals is a nation without hope; it can neither fire imagination nor kindle enthusiasm; it has nothing either to look forward to or to live for. Let those so-called, but sadly mis-called, practical men, who condemn every upward movement and throw cold water on every project that reaches out to better things, ask themselves what is to happen when the terrible ordeals of reconstruction have to be faced, if cynics and pessimists are allowed to destroy the outlook and vision which alone can carry us through. The spirit that would mean disaster on the battlefield would ensure calamity at home. Is that what we want? Our heroes are imbued with an optimism that is unquenchable in the face of suffering and death such as words cannot attempt to portray, and we rejoice because of it, for we know that so long as that magnificent courage possesses them "All's well, and the lights are burning brightly." Are we to invite them to return to depression that would breed despair? Is that to be their reward? Let us either walk in their footsteps and pour sunshine and gladness into this sorely troubled land, or hold our peace, and we shall make better men and women and become more worthy of them.

Maternity and Child Welfare

An Address delivered at Manchester, Bradford, Preston, Halifax, Birkenhead, Stoke, Bolton, Oldham, Bury, Dewsbury, Brighouse, and other towns during 1917.

POPULATION AND THE WAR.

The declining birth-rate in England and France during the last 40 years, together with the neglect of child life, is in my judgment responsible for the War, for had our numbers been maintained, Germany would never have faced the risks involved. It must be no less apparent that we owe our present security of person and property, not to those who for reasons good, bad and indifferent have evaded the God-ordained duty of continuing the race, but to those who have had children, and whom the State they have maintained, and the industries they have supplied with labour, refuse to recognise; yet unless this is done the birth-rate will continue to fall and the nation decay. If the sacrifice of mothers and infants which was going on in this country before the War were to continue for the next 70 years, it would mean that in England and Wales alone half a million mothers, and, including the estimated deaths before birth and those within the first year of life, 17½ million infants would be lost to the State, or as many as the aggregate mortality of all the belligerents is expected to reach in the greatest war in history.

In the brief space of 20 years we should have lost five million babies, a number equal to the total voluntary enlistment on which the King so justly and generously congratulated his people. Indeed, we have failed to realise that life, the one thing without which all else must perish, is slipping from us with a rapidity that threatens the State, and that we are unconsciously becoming an old and dying community. Old because, owing to the declining birth-rate of the last 40 years, there are three middle-aged persons for every two young children; and dying because, apart from the War, and notwithstanding increased longevity, and the fall in infantile mortality, the deaths of old people must ultimately exceed the births of infants. Yet if the higher civilisation we claim is to wield its influence in the world, we cannot allow our numbers

and vitality to fall below those of nations with meaner conceptions; for even Christianity itself depends, in more senses than one, upon the birth-rate in those countries which claim to believe in it.

Yet, if the "not wanted" children—who are worse than orphans—were deducted from the legitimate births, the fall would be still more marked, and we shall do well to keep steadily before us the disquieting fact that declining births constitute one of the highways to moral bankruptcy. The problem of child life is a reliable indicator of the social, industrial and moral conditions of the country, and unless we recognise the duty of filling the cots as being not less vital and patriotic than that of manning the trenches, we shall convert a glorious victory into an ultimate and self-imposed defeat. If we are to have a future, actions must supersede words, the declining birth-rate be arrested, and life take the place of unnecessary death. The truth of this statement is to be found in the fact that Sir George Newman, Medical Officer of the Board of Education, has found it necessary to inform us that out of six million children of school age, 250,000 are seriously crippled, invalided or disabled, while a further million are so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from their State education; an indictment which involves 20 per cent. of the whole, and that, after one child in four under one year of age has died either before or after birth.

Every worthy citizen ought to know not only the infantile death-rate of his city, town or district, but also such rates in the best and worst parts of it, for general averages are fatal to the discovery of causes and the finding of remedies. There is not only ignorance, indifference and neglect on the part of parents to contend with, but still more culpable carelessness on the part of their critics and the community, who permit such unnecessary "slaughter of the innocents" to continue; and it may be taken for granted that if Britain does not pull these rookeries down, those who come out of them will ultimately pull Britain down. Owing to the declining birth-rate which has taken place in the upper working and middle classes, the nation is losing its backbone, and being divided into a handful of supermen, and a mass of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Nay, we are turning the pyramid on to its apex, and while gradually increasing the proportion of children born under bad conditions and diminishing those who have a reasonable chance, we are contemplating a material extension of national responsibility with an ever-diminishing number and quality of recruits.

Yet the poor, who are laying us under a constantly enlarging obligation, are the inevitable victims of people willing to fatten on their necessities; the rack-renting landlord—not infrequently an eminently respectable person, hiding behind an

unknown nominee—the hire-system extortioner and the doubtful food purveyor, all extract their pound of flesh; while licensing magistrates conspire against them by permitting as many publichouses to exist in their midst as their power to resist temptation is notoriously small. Clearly these gentlemen should either adopt in the slums the same policy they pursue in the suburbs, or give up sentencing the victims of their own folly to terms of imprisonment. In 1870-1, when the Germans besieged Paris, nearly all the infants born, died, says Dr. Saleeby, but when the Prussians were again approaching our Allies' capital in 1914, the French authorities placarded Paris with striking posters which read, "Parisians! The fathers are at the frontier; the mothers and little children are in danger: To their aid and quickly." They also forbid the sale of spirits to soldiers, women and children, with the result that the death-rate fell abruptly.

The fact seems to be constantly overlooked, though it can never be too strongly emphasised, that the unfit are not only unable to make any contribution to the State, but have to be maintained by it, so that instead of being assets enriching the nation, they are actually liabilities impoverishing it. Consequently, the difference is two-fold, and 20s. transferred from the credit to the debit side of the balance-sheet makes a difference of 40s. no more, in money than in men, so that even from the £ s. d. point of view "it does not pay." Unfortunately, in public work, far too many men act as though the best way to make money was not to spend it. They only ask how high rates are, not what human well-being and opportunity are being got out of their spending. This short-sighted policy compels such men to regard slums as inevitable, and to waste ratepayers' money in maintaining the whole gamut of costly institutions in which to hide the discreditable army of human derelicts that their mistaken policy ensures.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

In Bradford over 10,000 married women, 90 per cent. of whom are of child-bearing age, work in factories in normal times. This means something approximating to that number of neglected homes, overworked wives, and as many forsaken little ones as are entitled to their care. Already the Corporation have decided, and as soon as the War is over intend to seek Parliamentary powers to prohibit the employment of married women who are mothers of children under three years of age in any textile factory in the City, unless the owner or occupier makes arrangements to the satisfaction of the Corporation for the care of such children during the period of such employment. If mothers are compelled to take care of industry, it is perfectly reasonable that industry should take care of the little ones, and it should do it with a good grace, for, as

the breast secretion of milk inevitably fails when intervals of twelve hours elapse between one feed and another, it is only by such arrangements that mothers can both work in the mill and suckle their children, thus ensuring that continuous provision which Nature intends for the major part of infancy. For there neither is, nor can be, any adequate substitute for mother's milk.

How true this is may be seen from the fact that in 1911 the deaths in St. Helens among infants artificially fed was found to be $5\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than in the ranks of those fed at their mother's breast, while the experience of Birmingham, Liverpool and Bradford proves that during epidemics of infantile diarrhoea, the deaths of hand-fed infants have been from 15 to 20 times greater than among those naturally fed. Indeed, it is perfectly monstrous that it should be either necessary or possible for mothers with young children to go out to work at all in the richest country in the world. Why should married women who make our homes, sustain the Nation's life, and feed industry with labour, be less adequately rewarded—as mothers they are not rewarded at all—than single ones, who would be the first to admit that they render no such supremely important service to the race? Yet the present system actually makes it more profitable for women to work in the factory than to have children. Indeed, in proportion as the family grows they are penalised and impoverished, and if they succumb to the same mercenary spirit that prompts the community, who is responsible for the falling birth-rate?

Even if such women possessed every qualification it would be a physical impossibility for them to work ten hours a day in a factory, which—including going, coming and meals, means twelve hours—and do their duty to themselves, their homes and their husbands; while when, in addition to being wives, they are also mothers, the task is not only beyond the bounds of possibility, but to the extent to which the children increase in number, the work means slavery for the mother, cruelty for their little ones—who must be turned out of bed to "nurse" by those who, not infrequently, have only a pecuniary interest in their well-being, before six o'clock on winter mornings—and a menaced and deteriorating race for the nation. ❖

Talk about an eight-hours' day, such mothers put eight days' work into every week, for their work is never done. Indeed, alongside it, the bulk of men's occupations are child's play, yet they neither can, nor strike. Try to imagine what would happen if they did. Such a system stands self-condemned, it sacrifices the future to the present, and accumulates the wealth of to-day at the expense, and to the detriment, of the life of to-morrow, and is even more costly to an indifferent nation than in the meantime it is profitable to the industries it would ultimately ruin. The truth of this

statement is proved by the fact that in the South Wales coalfield of Rhondda, the chemical and glass centre of St. Helens, and the iron town of Middlesbrough, three districts where there is no employment for women, the birth-rate is 75 per cent. higher than in the worsted districts of Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, whose trade depends upon a steady stream of young life being maintained.

It is quite erroneously assumed that such mothercraft as is indispensable to modern conditions comes by instinct; while, strange to say, we are thoughtless enough to take it for granted that anyone in skirts is capable of managing a home and doing justice to its children, though the best mothers with adequate means, education and equipment, know how far short their highest endeavours fall below the ideals they would fain realise. The time is rapidly coming, however, when the nation will have to choose between mothers and money.

THE HALF-TIME SYSTEM.

In addition to 10,000 married women, there were prior to the War some 6,000 half-timers working in Bradford, to the detriment of their physical and educational development—many of them because, without their earnings, the income would be inadequate to meet the needs of the home. The Factory and Education Acts, altogether excellent in themselves, have impoverished parents by reducing the earnings of young children, and in the absence of any monetary compensation, the diminished income has been tantamount to an economic tax on family life.

Education has been percolating through society, and rightly demanding a steadily rising standard of leisure and comfort. The maintenance of families, by leaving these things out of consideration, made such amenities impossible, so the decline in the birth-rate began where more popular education started, with the middle and upper working classes, and unless drastic steps are taken, it will continue to influence a progressively widening mass of the population, until it reaches and includes the base. But though the race is being ground between the upper and nether millstones of declining births and needless deaths, neither organised religion, the representatives of industry, nor Parliament itself, stops to think seriously or to inquire, "Watchman, what of the night?"

Indeed, though the proper care of the mother and the child would be far less costly, and much more beneficial to the State, than the maintenance of prisons, workhouses, hospitals and asylums, which constitute the inevitable alternative, we continue to provide ambulances at the bottom of the cliffs rather than erect fences round the top. Surely it must be apparent that we are working on the wrong side of the river, spending our money and strength in

dragging men, women and children out of the turbulent waters, whereas knowledge, experience and need are urging us to cross over on to the other bank and try to prevent their falling in. If we will only stop to think, we shall see that while there is no limit to the declining birth-rate until it has been wiped out altogether, there is a point below which infantile mortality cannot go until the social, industrial and moral causes responsible for it have been removed, and these are clearly beyond the power of Maternity and Child Welfare Schemes, however admirably they may be worked. Consequently, while wishing God-speed to every effort, it must be apparent that such compensation for diminished births as can be extracted from the falling death-rate, is steadily approaching the limit imposed upon it by the bad stock and worse conditions from which a steadily-rising proportion of children are coming, and that it will be much easier to allow the maternal instinct and love for infants to die a natural death, than to resuscitate these when the need for new life has at last dawned upon us, and we have realised, though we now studiously ignore the fact, that it takes 20 years to grow a man.

Sir Robert Baden-Powell says that the real issue of the present War will be decided in 1940 by the quality of life then surviving at early manhood and womanhood in the now combatant nations, a profoundly sagacious remark which should give our statesmen furiously to think.

THE ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD.

The present shortage of labour, the number of unfit recruits who have been accepted, and the more than one million men who have been rejected, prove conclusively the insufficiency of healthy life on the one hand, and the superfluity of neglected "children of an older growth" on the other. In addition to these significant facts we are losing our finest heroes on land and sea, and the duty of improving what is left and of adding to their number can no longer be denied. If this acute and momentous problem is toyed with, we shall be compelled to keep on maintaining at the end of life those we have ignored at the beginning and forfeit our position among the nations of the world. We believe this race-suicide can only be arrested by recognising that though the moral aspect plays a singularly important part in the well-to-do sections of the community, who have fallen victims to pleasure, luxury and ease, the fundamental cause which influences the masses is that in proportion as parents enrich the nation with new life, they impoverish themselves.

The theory of a family wage is a pure fallacy: remuneration is not paid for the absence or presence of a man's family responsibilities, but strictly and alone for the services he renders to his employer

At any large establishment in this country there will be found three types of men, one, being single, has only himself to house, feed, clothe and maintain; another, being married but without children, has similar services to render to two people; while the third, being married and having half a dozen children, is responsible for eight. Yet each of these three types are doing identical work and drawing exactly the same remuneration for it. Where, under such circumstances, and they are quite normal, is the family wage? Further than that, the War and conscription have made it unmistakably clear that men of all classes belong not only to their parents but also to the State, which has the right to call upon them even to make the supreme sacrifice on its behalf. Consequently, it is both right and just that the State, as well as their parents, should help to maintain them until they are able to support themselves. If family life is to survive, it must be made economically desirable, instead of being penalised as at present, by giving to every married mother a national grant of 5s. per child per week until it is old enough to earn its own living, subject to three conditions :—

1. That the house is suitable to meet the physical and moral needs of the family in size and convenience, so as to get rid of the terrible evils of overcrowding and the inevitable loose morality that grows out of it.

2. That the home is kept clean and healthy so as to (a) abolish the dirty, unwholesome conditions from which sickness and disease spring; (b) Raise the standard of public health; and (c) Reduce the demand for costly hospital accommodation.

3. That, on the evidence of a medical certificate, the child is being properly fed, clothed and cared for.

If such a system were carried out the State would get a magnificent return for its money, and the social problem be much nearer solution than the most optimistic can at present claim for it. The birth-rate would begin to rise, infant mortality to fall, and the damage rate to be abolished. As some 800,000 infants are born in England and Wales alone every year, such a scheme would cost about nine million pounds the first year, or just over one day's war expenditure, after which it would rise by annual increments of that amount, until it reached an aggregate of, say 120 millions, or 15 days' war expenditure per annum with this difference, that the one is being expended for the specific purpose of taking life, while the other would be concerned only in saving it. The grant would, however, begin to work out a wonderful revolution in the homes, health, education, character and industries of the nation, long before the maximum could be reached, while the economic results would be no less remark-

able, for the money would not be lost and could not be spent on drink, and to those with actual experience it will be clear that parents cannot do their duty to their children and make a profit out of less than 9d. per day per child. The grant, if earned, would of necessity have to be spent on better housing, better clothing and better food, and thus become as great a stimulus to industry as to high-minded motherhood.

Incidentally it would prove to be a tremendous boon to that great army of deserving widowed women who have the misfortune to be left to bring up a family of young children without the father's earnings or anything to compensate them for that irreparable loss beyond the Poor Law, and the sooner industry realises that it cannot prosper by keeping its customers poor, the better for both it and them.

Money makes money only when it is put into circulation, and if the three conditions were complied with, and without that the money could not be paid, there would not be a single desirable industry in the country that would not profit materially by it, making the home trade (always more desirable than foreign) steadier and more reliable, and the calls on labour correspondingly better. Children brought up under such conditions would be fitted to profit by the education provided for them, and instead of an ever-increasing excess of school accommodation, such as at present exists, the places would be filled with children blessed by good mothering, and earning for the education authorities higher grants for greater numbers, more regular attendance and increased efficiency, because half-time labour would no longer be necessary, neither would too early full-time employment be essential.

When such little ones had passed through the schools, they would bring to the aid of industry those qualities of resource and adaptability that neglected children can never supply, but upon which our future commercial prosperity inevitably depends. We should then realise that for at least a generation it would be as necessary to train older girls for domestic and maternal duties, under a system equivalent to apprenticeship, as it is to render a similar service to boys for the callings they are likely to follow. To accomplish this purpose the time would have to be equally divided between the girl's ordinary occupation and a properly equipped school house, with competent staff, carrying out domestic duties, including the nursing of actual babies and the training of older children, until future mothers had become equal to the exacting demands of homes and little ones. Sex teaching to adolescents would be equally indispensable, but unless more harm than good were to be done, this supremely important task should be carried out not only with knowledge, but in an atmosphere of reverence and purity.

A MUNICIPAL MIDWIFERY SERVICE.

Endowment should be accompanied by free ante-natal supervision, attendance on confinement, and after-care for both mother and child, subject to compliance with medical instructions and advice. This could best be done by transferring the Maternity Benefit under the Insurance Act to the Local Government Board, and increasing the amount to a uniform £5. The Local Government Board—pending the arrival of a Ministry of Health—would then work through the Local Authorities, who would provide a competent midwifery service and an efficient maternity home in each area, with a thoroughly qualified medical and nursing staff. Such a scheme, by the employment of thoroughly competent midwives, with a full nursing certificate, who are at present far too often squeezed out of the profession, would secure voluntary notification of pregnancy (compulsory notification is neither desirable nor practical), adequate ante-natal supervision—a *sine qua non* to a rising birth-rate and improved child welfare—and the immediate call upon specialised services whenever such became necessary. The money would probably be best appropriated by giving £2 to the Authority for the service it rendered, and £3 to the married mother, 30s. a month before confinement, and 30s. when that event took place to meet the extra expenses involved, after which the grant would begin to operate.

The factory and educational aspects of the problem are, however, obviously dependent upon these provisions, for until the obligation to work in the mill has been removed by such an endowment, neither are feasible. Indeed, until the State and its industries adopt an entirely new standard of values, our short-sighted selfishness will keep on driving the mother from home and the child from school to supplement the father's earnings, thus sacrificing both the present and future contributors to the race. In meeting the needs of the lower middle classes and in dealing with the urgent problem of the physically, mentally and morally unfit, modifications would be necessary, but these aspects, though singularly important, are matters rather of detail than of principle.

If, however, the State has any regard at all for its own life and progress, it will gladly concede the right of every married mother to an endowment for every child, so long as she complies with the three conditions, in the same way that it has long since acknowledged the justice and wisdom of educating it. Indeed, if first things had come first, instead of our adopting the English method of attacking effects when we want to destroy causes, such an endowment would have preceded free education, because it is only the healthy child, blessed by good mothering, who can reap the reward which wise education offers.

When we come to ask, "How could the money be raised?" let anxious inquirers again be reminded that it would only be circulated, not destroyed, thus bringing to the producing and distributing trades entirely new demands, which would create additional employment, profits and wages. Probably the most equitable way would be to tax single men and childless married couples up to a point which did not involve hardship, for both enjoy all the advantages which child life confers upon the nation. This, and the grant, would discourage celibacy, late marriages and childless unions; the balance could then come from the income-tax as a just recognition of the State's indebtedness to motherhood, the obligation of industry to labour, and national insurance for the country's future well-being.

There are hard-headed business men who would dismiss such a proposal without further consideration on account of its cost, but even they would do well to look before they leap and examine some of the economic factors in which they are involved. Our industrial and commercial enterprises rest not upon the security of buildings, plants, steamships and the money and credit associated with them, but upon the human factor of unborn babies, without whom neither the producing, distributing nor consuming public can continue to exist, and in whose absence factories and workshops, however efficiently equipped and managed, would be but so many white elephants.

We assume that municipalities borrow money on the security of rates and the public property behind them, but closer thinking will convince us that these are only the tangible evidences of the people who produce them, and who in reality are the actual security, for rates depend upon ratepayers, and such collateral security as town halls, trams, parks, etc. derive their value strictly and alone from the public they exist to serve, a value that rises or falls in proportion to the number of people who need and use them, which in its turn depends upon unborn babies.

This generation is bearing the burden of debt accumulated by our predecessors in years long past, and the bulk of the colossal borrowings now being piled up will have to be handed on to our descendants, and it is only because the investing public have taken it for granted that the Government will be able to redeem its loans as they fall due, that thousands of millions of pounds sterling have been subscribed to carry on the War. That security, however, is entirely dependent upon unborn babies, and if these fail it is surely obvious that the fabric of our activities must come to grief, however great may be the victory of the Allies over the Central Powers.

Consequently, from the standpoint of finance alone—apart altogether from human considerations—the industrial and commercial world, municipal enter-

prise and Government credit rest upon unborn babies. Given a steady contribution of healthy, intelligent and happy children, "All's well, and the lights are burning brightly," but if these fail us, no combination of material factors, however strong, can save us from disaster. In the light of such facts the sum of money involved in the endowment of motherhood is a negligible quantity, and we shall be well advised not to follow the short-sighted policy of landlords who, by declining to let their houses to people with children, destroy their chance of prospective tenants, but to introduce such a sense of proportion into this supremely urgent and vital problem of child life and welfare as will prevent our sacrificing the mountain of national, local and industrial activities in endeavouring to save the molehill of cost involved in the protection and care of those without whom all else must perish. There are, of course, a great many people who seem to think that the results accruing from neglect should be rectified in as many years as they have taken generations to accumulate, and that the only true test of efficiency is to be found in the mortality tables, not in the improved fitness of those who survive, but earnest citizens cannot be guilty of such folly, and our appeal is to them.

It will be obvious as time goes on that voluntaryism, however enthusiastic and devoted, can never hope to meet the ever-increasing needs of maternity and child welfare; while in view of the fact that a time of considerable stress is certain to follow the War, the organisations which attach more importance to the redemption of child life than to the machinery by which it is to be achieved, will do well to induce their Local Authorities to assume full responsibility for the work. One of the obvious drawbacks to voluntaryism is that it imposes upon the benevolent and allows the remaining members of the community, who are equally responsible (many of them selfish and well-to-do) to go free, whereas to the extent to which the work is carried on through the medium of rates and taxes, the burden is equitably distributed over all those whose duty it is to help to bear it.

THE CHURCHES.

Though in the meantime such maternity and child welfare schemes as we are all trying to promote are indispensable steps to education and better results, their tendency is to encourage the doing of things outside the home which ought always to be done in it, whereas the whole object must for ever be to strengthen and not to destroy the home life of the community. Here there is a wonderful voluntary work waiting to be done by the churches. If each church, or combination of churches, would take a house, composed of two or three or more dwellings

in the very heart of every slum, and staff it with re-lays of say half-a-dozen earnest, tactful and intelligent Christian men and women, who for a month at a time would be willing to live there for the purpose of exhibiting, not ostentatious or patronising, but sympathetic and practical neighbourliness, maternity and child welfare would get a mighty lift on the road to better things. From these God-directed centres of inspiration and service helpful visits could be paid to surrounding houses, and some attempt made to show how to get the best out of well-nigh impossible circumstances. A friendly cup of tea could be given from time to time in the home itself, where useful talks and stimulating social intercourse would form indispensable features. Children's evenings, which would transfer the urchins from the gutter to the home, could be made irresistibly attractive by the playing of games, story telling and the provision of suitable entertainments; while occasional social evenings could be set apart on which to induce the men-folk to go and listen to good music, recitals, etc., and a direct, wholesome and candid chat, and there is little doubt that the morning after, when the results were compared with those obtained at the "Blue Lion" or the "Spotted Ox," serious cause for reflection would not be wanting.

Indeed, we cannot be too forcibly reminded that it is neither by talking nor reading about these things, but only by getting into direct and immediate contact with the complex problems involved, that we can really gain that education of experience which alone will enable us to know either who the poor are or how they live. But once we actually set out on that journey, the sense of injustice and wrong from which these victims suffer will so burn itself into our souls, that we shall never rest till the children's Promised Land has been reached. Then we shall understand why we have had to sojourn in the wilderness. In the meantime, some of us are optimistic enough, in spite of the War, and prophetic enough, because of our belief that right is destined ultimately to triumph, to feel with intense sincerity—

" 'Tis coming up the steeps of time,
 For this old world is growing brighter;
 We may not see its dawn sublime,
 But high hopes make the heart throb lighter;
 We may be slumbering in the ground
 When it awakes the world in wonder;
 But we have seen it gathering round,
 We've heard its voice of living thunder;
 'Tis coming! Yes, 'tis coming,
 For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Reply to a Criticism.

"The Housing Problem, with special reference to Mr. E. J. Smith's Bradford Scheme," by J. W. C. Atkinson.

Since the preceding addresses were delivered a coterie of interested critics have circulated, with the above title and in the name of a local architect, Mr. J. W. C. Atkinson, a typical exposition on housing, the value of which is that it indicates the line of cleavage that divides public and private interests as men face the mighty and momentous tasks of reconstruction. As a serious contribution to a vital and urgent problem, however, it is miserably conceived and pitiably executed; for it lacks all sense of fitness and proportion, and alternates between taking a steam hammer to crack a nut and employing boy scouts to defeat the Prussian army. If everything for which it is supposed to contend were conceded, it would still leave things as they are, for the houses would have to be built, their character determined, and the situation fixed; indeed, the contribution is about as futile as the wrangles that used to be entered upon in order to ascertain whether drink causes poverty or poverty causes drink, whether slums make slummers or slummers make slums. Fortunately, every student of social reform who really desires to get forward knows perfectly well that they are all causes and all effects, and instead of wasting time in such a vicious circle, does what he can to get rid of the lot. Still, special pleading and specious sophistry are the most natural things in the world to men who have deliberately dug themselves into the past and resolutely refuse to have anything whatever to do with rearing a worthier future, and there is nothing to be wondered at when such people take infinite pains to reduce a great opportunity for human uplift to the dimensions of a meaningless quibble over trivial minutiae, and range themselves against Parliament, the Local Government Board, the Municipalities and every force that stands for betterment and well-being. Fortunately, there is sufficient momentum to carry the world forward, and those who cannot go with it must remain behind. The publication reminds one of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark, for though it claims to have been written for the specific purpose of dealing with the Bradford

Scheme, it appears to be confined to everything but that, and diplomatically overlooks the ten self-contained villages and the Social Service Committees that are to give them corporate life, altruistic service and communal pride. The Authors of the pamphlet and myself approach the subject from totally different points of view, they to make the new houses subservient to private interests and private profit, and I to turn them into the medium through which the whole of the dwellings in the City shall ultimately become something more nearly approximating to homes. There is, therefore, nothing remarkable in the widely divergent conclusions arrived at, and one could have thoroughly appreciated a really slashing attack on the broad outlines of a bold and comprehensive scheme, but instead of helpful criticism we are presented with microscopic details that might have value in a metaphysical treatise, but are manifestly out of place as contributions to the gigantic tasks of reconstruction. Indeed, it is perfectly obvious that these moral surgeons have had to make an opening by using the scalpel to cut, carve and dissect the virtues of humble folk till they assume the appearance of vices, and create the impression that the things which make men and nations truly great and free are only to be found in the ranks of the well-to-do. From the first page to the last these captious critics seem to be repeating that historic question which is ever uppermost in the minds of those who live upon, rather than help, the poor, "Can any good thing come out of Israel?" To spend our time belittling human nature is to cover ourselves with shame, for its shortcomings are man-made. God has endowed it with infinite possibilities for uplift and blessing, and if high purpose and lofty endeavour had been kept before it as steadily as these men underline its weaknesses, we should long since have entered the Promised Land. That, unfortunately, is an aspect of life that materialistic critics entirely overlook, and so the incalculable loss of physical, mental, moral and spiritual power goes on as though fatalism had decreed it, and we ignore the supremely important and significant fact that no section of the community has ever been able to demonstrate its superiority in natural gifts. Had we been wise enough to appreciate that redemptive fact, we should not have squandered our human inheritance in slums, but should have insisted upon every boy and every girl being developed to the highest point of efficiency, for the proper training and education of children is the soundest, as it is the noblest, national economy. Indeed, of those men at the front who have come out of these hovels had treated us as these pamphleteers would treat them and theirs, we should have gone into German bondage and stayed there.

The character of the writers and the value of their criticism may be judged by the singularly unfair

methods of controversy that run through the pamphlet and convert it into a dangerously misleading document. For instance, I am charged (1) with asking that "houses should be destroyed and replaced by new ones" because in the meantime they are provided with privies and ashpits. (2) They say "He viewed with horror the ugly possibility that private enterprise might provide a cheaper and more suitable house and was prepared to stop the tenants from getting such houses." (3) They follow the suggestion that seventy years should be allowed for the life of dwellings, which would necessitate their replacement at the rate of 1,000 a year by the statement that "If the rents are stationary and a penny produces £6,400, this means an increased rate of 3s. 1½d. in the £, for replacing houses to be destroyed at the rate of 1,000 a year," as though I had suggested that in future the rents should be paid out of the rates. (4) I am accused of "false representation of facts" and "untruth," though I believe the statements made in my addresses are perfectly true, or I would not have made them, but in any case that aspect of the question can be left to the judgment of those who read, not extracts lifted out of their context and sentences manipulated for ulterior purposes, but the whole of the addresses, so that no further time need be devoted to such matters, though they occupy the greater part of the pamphlet.

BACK-TO-BACK HOUSES, OVERCROWDING, AND INFANT MORTALITY.

The type of mind behind the publication is clearly illustrated not by concrete proposals, for it has none, but by its plausible attempts to defend the indefensible. Back-to-back houses, which have been condemned by the Local Government Board (whose report in 1910 stated that the general death-rate in them was from 15 to 20 per cent. higher than in through houses in the same locality) and prohibited by Parliament, are upheld, though arguing round that subject is just about as profitable as trying to resuscitate the slave trade.

The terrible evils of overcrowding are minimised, and the responsibility for it is laid at the door of the tenants, though it is notorious that scores of thousands of people are condemned either to live in that condition or camp out in the streets. Yet these callous critics would permit indecency, immorality, sickness and crime to continue to vegetate and throw their human fungus on to the community. Police, prisons, workhouses and asylums are the living monuments of such folly, and the cost of their maintenance an inseparable part of the retribution the public are compelled to pay for its continuance. The great Dr. Koch said—"It is the overcrowded dwellings of the poor that we have to regard as the real

breeding places of tuberculosis; it is out of them the disease always crops up anew, and it is to the abolition of these conditions that we must first and foremost direct our attention if we wish to attack the evil at its root."

Dr. Leonard Findlay, of Glasgow, writing on Rickets in its relationship to housing, says:—"During the years 1912, 1913 and 1914, I conducted a statistical study of the dietetic and home conditions of 500 rachitic children, and came to the conclusion that the chief factors in the production of the disease were overcrowding of the home and insufficient exercise in the open air. In order to amplify this limited study and to test the truth of these conclusions I, along with Professor Noel Paton and Miss Ferguson, have conducted during the last three years, on behalf of the Medical Research Committee, a more extensive research into the conditions, dietetic, hygienic, etc., of actively rachitic and non-rachitic children belonging to the same social class. In my original investigation I showed that the frequency of rickets was directly proportionate to the air space in the home available per person, and the latter investigation, carried out in association with Professor Paton and Miss Ferguson, completely corroborated this finding. Of the markedly rachitic children, 3.93 persons inhabited each apartment, whereas 3.0 persons per apartment was the average for the non-rachitic families. When the average air space per person was estimated the results were even more striking. In the case of the markedly rachitic families this figure was 422 cubic feet per person, in the case of the mildly rachitic 483 cubic feet, as against 625 cubic feet per person in the case of the non-rachitic families.

"When we compare the health of the children in a garden city like Port Sunlight, situated on the fringe of Liverpool and inhabited by the working classes, the absence of rickets and the further absence of those same factors which we have incriminated as the cause of the disease accentuate if possible the deplorable conditions under which the working classes of our cities live.

"The garden city house differs widely from the home of the same class of tenant in Liverpool, and even more from that in Glasgow. The village of Port Sunlight occupies an area of 140 acres, and has a population of over 4,000. At present there are 800 cottages, and never more than 10 to an acre. They are built in blocks of 4 to 7, separated by wide roadways and large gardens. All the houses have front lawns 18 to 30 feet wide. The houses themselves contain a living room, a pantry and a scullery downstairs, and 3 bedrooms upstairs. Some have, in addition to the living-room or kitchen, a parlour on the ground floor. The average cubic space per person in 50 houses visited was found to

be 1,568 cubic feet, which is three or four times what the rachitic families in Glasgow enjoyed. The striking points in the homes were the airiness, the cleanliness and the great facilities for the children playing about.

“ The 50 families visited consisted of 180 children, and of these only 6 presented some evidence of the disease. Just as in Glasgow, the homes inhabited by these 6 children were the least satisfactory, and in 4 instances the mothers admitted that the children were not taken out regularly, either owing to illness on the part of the child or herself.

“ It is unfortunate for the future of the race that the children, which are a nation's greatest asset, should be housed under conditions which make their well-being so dependent on the intelligence and energy of their parents. The want of care on the mother's part is usually not due to indifference to her responsibilities, but simply to the fact that as a result of her unfavourable surroundings she has lost all interest in life and the vitality to contend against them. How many of us under similar conditions would retain our hearts in the great struggle?

“ The remedy lies in the making of these conditions as stimulating as possible, in providing everything that will lighten the task of the mothers of our race, which task in the case of the wife of the poor working man or labourer is certainly herculean, in approximating the conditions of her home as nearly as is consistent with reason to those of her more fortunate and wealthier sister; in short, to allow our poor working classes to inhabit a garden city.”

Infantile mortality in the three worst and the three best wards of the City during 1914 does not impress our sensitive and humane critics, though no amount of juggling with figures can bring those dead children back to life again, for the facts are as stated, and I have been careful from the very beginning to confine myself to official statistics. If, however, a wider survey is desired, it will be found that if six wards of either sort are taken instead of three, and the same six are adhered to for ten years instead of one, the death-rate on that basis is twice as high in the bad wards as the good ones, and the latter are in no sense ideal. As, however, my figures have been used for comparative purposes only, I should have been justified, had I wished to make the case as black as possible, in giving statistics, not for complete wards, because the better portions materially modify the figures for the worse ones, and to that extent create a very misleading average, but in comparing the infantile mortality in such notorious slum areas of Bradford as the bottom of Manchester Road, Broomfields, George Street, between Mount Street

and Leeds Road, Wapping, and White Abbey, with that of the best suburbs, in which case the results would not only have been much more disastrous but actually startling. If good homes and reasonable domestic facilities are indispensable to well-to-do people, why not to the rank and file? If character is the one thing needful, whether are slums or suburbs the likeliest places to develop it?

PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS, THE GENERAL DEATH-RATE AND LIFE INSURANCE.

When the six wards and the ten years' test is applied to tuberculosis, it yields an even worse average of deaths than when confined to infantile mortality, and that sad fact cannot be explained away by throwing stones at the tenants. The deaths have actually taken place, and the avoidable calamity will continue so long as we confine ourselves to the methods relied upon in our critic's pamphlet, which are about as likely to get rid of this white man's scourge as a few harmless tacks knocked into the side of an Atlantic liner would be to sink her. Sir Arthur Newsholme, Chief Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, says that every improvement in housing conditions will effect a diminution in tuberculosis, and Sir Berkeley Moynihan has very pithily declared that it is better to demolish a slum than to erect a sanatorium.

When the general death-rate of the whole City is considered in relation to the size of the dwellings, it is just as unsatisfactory to these critics, who have no difficulty in seeing what they look for, and immediately begin to try and minimise the official figures and leave one wondering whether they are more interested in conjuring with statistics than in saving lives. In 1911 the infantile mortality of the City in houses assessed at £6 and under was 163 per 1,000, while in dwellings of £12 and over it was only 88 per 1,000. But as the dead and their own City make no appeal to such men—who can explain away, to their own satisfaction, every local Black Hole of Calcutta—let us go further afield and take the living. Dr. Mackenzie made an investigation into the effect of housing on 72,857 school children in Glasgow. He found that the boys from four-roomed houses were, on the average, 11lbs. heavier and 5 inches taller than boys from two-roomed dwellings, and that the girls from four-roomed houses were, on the average, 14lbs. heavier and 5 inches taller than the girls from one-roomed dwellings. Similar statistics obtained in Dundee revealed the fact that the average weight of boys of 13 years of age was 9lbs. less in the poor districts than in the well-to-do areas; and both in Glasgow and Dundee the mental capacity of the children closely followed the gradation of the prevailing economic conditions. But figures mean nothing to our local mathematicians, and so every conclusion upon

which the medical profession, social reformers and housing experts are agreed, together with the evidence upon which it is based, goes by the board, and the handwriting on the wall makes no appeal, though the flowering of our manhood has been submitted to unprecedented slaughter for over four years, and we are still being rapidly robbed of our best.

As a last resort insurance companies are called in to give evidence, and we are told they ignore the things to which we attach importance, and attach importance to the things we ignore. What a discovery! Life insurance in slums is confined to the industrial branch, for which the profit is said to be made, not out of the policies that mature, but out of the abnormal number that lapse, and for which there is, of course, no surrender value. What has housing to do with that part of the business? When we come to the general section of life insurance, it only begins, and in a very small way, with the upper working classes who live in relatively good houses, and from that strata it gradually increases in both numbers and amount till the wealthiest members of the community are reached. Why, therefore, should insurance companies be concerned about housing? If, however, the business could be turned round in order to make comparison possible, and the small industrial policies that lapse were confined to suburbs, and the large life policies that mature were confined to slums, would the insurance companies ignore the vital question of housing then, because that is the only way to test the illustration.

These subtle devices of Laodicean reformers are repugnant to men who realise that they are toying with grave issues of life and death, and the only solid consolation that can be got out of their pamphlet is that it will re-act on its authors and give an impetus to the sacred cause they seek to destroy. To spend time, ability and means in attempting to reduce the mountain of human well-being involved in the present housing opportunity to the molehill of subterfuge and sophistry relied upon by these men is to trifle with the public, if not actually to fiddle while Rome burns, and it certainly betrays an utter inability to appreciate and grapple with those vital problems the solution of which will go far to determine the weal or woe that must follow the War. No church in the kingdom could preach such cold, calculating selfishness and survive, for it divorces life from the Christian ethic, and if generally applied to the solution of the gigantic problems that confront us would end in revolution.

THE SPECULATIVE BUILDERS' SCHEME.

Now let us turn to the alternative that the pamphlet offers under the heading, "The Demand

for Houses," which we are told may be ranged under the three heads, A., B. and C. :—

A. "The ordinary demand is for a house which will accommodate the tenant and his family in the manner customary in the class to which the tenant belongs, and at a rent which the tenant can afford to pay."

According to the last census, taken in 1911 :—

483,000 persons lived in 1-roomed dwellings.

2,098,000 persons lived in 2-roomed dwellings.

4,429,000 persons lived in 3-roomed dwellings.

These 7,000,000 persons, representing nearly one-sixth of the total population of the kingdom, were obviously living "in the manner customary to the class to which they belonged," and must therefore continue to do so. A not inconsiderable proportion of them existed, and according to the pamphleteers must consequently remain in slums where the accommodation is hopelessly inferior to that provided by the landed proprietors and financial magnates of the country for their horses and dogs, and where the humanising and enriching influence of birds, flowers and music cannot be found. The figure will also include the dull, monotonous rows of houses, devoid of elementary domestic convenience and comfort, and built alongside narrow streets towards the centre of every great city, and as these, like those previously named, are occupied "in the manner customary to the class to which the tenant belongs," they must continue to provide shelter for the heroes who have gone out of them and their families who remain in them.

No one who has read the preceding addresses can have any misgiving as to my attitude to this cold-blooded attempt to perpetuate the very worst features of a callous and calculating materialism that would make revolt inevitable. If the nation has a right to demand that men from these places shall go into the firing line and risk the supreme sacrifice on its behalf, these citizen soldiers have an unanswerable right to demand, and the nation is under an unqualified obligation to see that they get, dwellings for their wives and families which will make life worth living, for it is only because these big-hearted and fearless warriors have risked their all for us and ours that the sacred causes of honour and freedom and future are destined to triumph. Sir James Crichton-Browne says :—"We cannot send back the brave men who have fought for us abroad into hovels and dugouts and funk-holes at home. We must not any longer leave multitudes of our people huddled together in habitations that are incubators of disease and debasers of morality. We must recognise the right of every civilised man to a clean wigwam and of every civilised family to a decent

lodging, whether they can afford to pay for it or not. It is elbow room that is wanted."

B. "The next demand is that the house shall be within reasonable distance of the tenant's place of employment."

Hitherto that has usually meant that working-class dwellings should be built as near to the congested and smoke-clouded industrial centres as land could be found on which to erect them, and in all probability these pioneers who march backward have that in mind now. The railways have practically become, and are likely to remain, State property, while the tramways are largely in the hands of municipalities. If these great services are wisely used they are capable of revolutionising the housing problem, and through that the vital factor of public health which is largely dependent upon it. What is needed is comparatively long, local journeys at a quick speed and a low fare, so that the people could live in the healthiest and prettiest localities and still be nearer to their employment, so far as the time taken to get there is concerned, than at present. Such a system, by making the houses accessible from any part of the City, would remove the necessity to build dwellings in undesirable places in order to meet the needs of industry, and would thus import that elasticity into housing, the absence of which has created one of its greatest difficulties. Trains constitute no insuperable barrier to that purpose, and trams could be made amenable to it by the adoption of a universal penny fare from the centre to the outskirts, while the utilisation, without serious additional capital outlay, of the great electric plants, tram lines and overhead equipment for the conveyance of goods during the night, at lower rates than are now paid, would probably leave a reasonable margin of profit. Such a process, by taking the heavy traffic off the roads, would not only make them safer, but would be equivalent to widening them, and by materially reducing the cost of their maintenance and repair, create a saving which, when added to the profit on goods transport, would probably provide sufficient to meet interest and sinking fund charges on the combined services of roads, electricity and trams, and at the same time prove a wonderful investment for the promotion of housing, industry and health. Such a wise utilisation of facilities already in existence would make possible what might be termed an express tram service during the busiest parts of the day, that is, not quicker running than we are accustomed to, but stopping say once in a mile, instead of about a dozen times within that distance, a process that is largely responsible for both taking up the time and causing much of the abnormal wear and tear to rails and rolling stock. To enable the slower but indispensable cars to continue to run at such periods, it would be necessary to

add a number of passing places outside the present lines in order that the expresses might have a clear course kept for them. Generally speaking, the great public services need carefully considered co-ordination not only in London through the medium of such organisations as a Ministry of Health, but also within the realms of the ever-expanding responsibilities of local authorities, that they may become more effective servants than departmental independence and jealousy make possible, and thus ensure the promotion of that all-round public well-being which is the only true test of communal efficiency.

C. "The third demand is not made by the tenant usually, but by other persons who, for various reasons, some wise, some foolish, think that houses should possess certain qualities fittings and other attributes, but as the tenant does not ask for them he does not like to pay for them."

The obvious and true reply is that the tenant has never had a voice in such matters, which have been confined to builders and owners, but the demand will be best understood when read in the light of its two predecessors, and when viewed from the standpoint of the miserably inadequate provision of the things that constitute domestic convenience, and make elementary comfort in the average working-class house possible, for its authors hasten to tell us that "So far as it is reasonable it has been fully met." In the light of that illuminating statement what a wretched vista of human degradation unfolds before the masses of the people if their homes are to continue to be provided by the speculative builder and his associates, who, generally speaking, do not appear to have heard of, much less to have understood, the meaning of ideals and vision. It is well, however, that the writers of the pamphlet should be reminded that this principle was applied to education *without individual parents asking for it*, and for the perfectly sound reason that mental development is essential to both the individual and the State. But a moment's consideration will satisfy the most superficial that if first things had come first the needs of the body, to which good housing is absolutely indispensable, would have preceded those of the mind, because health must forever be made the essential forerunner of education, and until that sequence has been established, much of the money spent on education will be little better than wasted.

So-called private enterprise has never yet realised that the only justification for its existence depends upon its being carried on primarily for public service and incidentally for private profit, and that the moment the order is reversed and the community's progress is made subservient to personal gain, it sacrifices the greater to the less and forfeits all claim to public confidence. Indeed,

insistence on that vital fact, and the frank recognition of it by the vested interests concerned, is imperative, if general well-being is ever to become paramount. Such a position, however, cuts athwart the spirit and purpose of our self-centred critics, who would fain confine housing and the features it should embrace to their financial conceptions of the tenant's needs. For instance, if cleanliness is indispensable to public health, and local authorities are compelled to deal with the sickness and disease that spring from dirty houses and dirty people, municipalities are not only entitled, but are under an obligation, to insist upon every house being provided with hot water service and a bath, before they are justified in demanding in the interests of the community a reasonable standard of such a necessary and wholesome habit.

Out of 72,000 houses in Bradford, only 21,000 are provided with baths, and though the City is exceptionally well equipped with public and cottage baths, these constitute no adequate substitute, as will be gathered from the fact that according to the last published report less than 231,000 ablutionary baths were taken in the year, or just over an average of one bath per person per annum among the 220,000 occupiers of the 51,000 houses. If from that number all under 15 years of age are deducted, it still leaves something like 165,000 persons for the 231,000 baths taken in the year, or an average of less than 1½ per annum. This means that whatever baths were taken over and above that number had to be taken in the home without reasonable convenience, and must have been confined to a tub or bowl or even less desirable facilities and no adequate means for heating the water. All this inevitably leads to a low standard of personal cleanliness and unnecessary disease. It is when confronted by such facts as these that we begin to realise how effectively undesirable habits are catered for and cultivated, and how easy it is for those who live in homes fitted with every reasonable convenience to cast singularly unjust reflections upon people who are not only without these things, but who in addition lack the education, training and means possessed by their critics.

THE TWO ALTERNATIVES.

So far as housing is concerned there are now two alternatives, the speculative builders' scheme confined within the four corners of "the three demands," A., B. and C., and in support of which the Authors ask, with a truly staggering assurance of finality, "What can public authorities hope to do so far as housing is concerned better than has already been done by private enterprise?" Such apostles of a premature millennium have confronted every forward step in the world's progress with an equivalent query. Self-preservation no doubt prompted the builders of

stage coaches and sailing ships to submit what they deemed to be equally unanswerable interrogations, and so long as the nation moves on to better things those who profit by standing still will endeavour to alarm the public by similar devices. In a recently published volume entitled "Glances Back," Mr. G. R. Sims says :—" It was not so many years ago that one of our great authorities on the brain, giving instances of insane delusions, quoted the case of a man who believed it would be possible to sail the air and carry passengers from point to point." The moral is obvious. Stripped of its camouflage the pamphlet is a most carefully prepared exhibition of special pleading on behalf of those financiers, architects, builders and lawyers—in contradistinction to their workpeople—whose methods are responsible for such jerry-building as is all too common in working-class houses, and whose profits have to be added to the rents of dwellings erected by speculative enterprise. Why the provision of homes for the people should be left to those who can only be expected to undertake the task when more remunerative employment is lacking it is exceedingly difficult to understand, for this precarious source has resulted in a supply of such houses built at such times and in such positions as financial considerations rather than human needs called for, and has unquestionably had the effect of sacrificing life to monetary gain.

That, however, is one alternative, and the other is the Corporation's proposal for ten self-contained villages to be erected on the hills surrounding the City, with the suggestion that each should contain not only 1,000 houses of the bungalow type, with hot water service and bath, built on the basis of twelve houses to the acre—there are places in Bradford where the number reaches 70 per acre—but that in addition there should be communal cooking kitchens and laundries, schools, libraries, recreation rooms, playing fields, allotment gardens, churches, Sunday schools, etc., etc., and that the villages should be served by trams run at a universal penny fare. For those in the wilderness to thus turn their faces towards the Promised Land and keep marching steadily forward is to gradually shorten the distance between the two places. That is the purpose of the housing scheme. I have never suggested that it was a panacea, but it is a central feature of environment that must be dealt with, for though man does not live by bread alone nor by houses alone, good bread and good houses are helpful to good living. If every official figure were false and every statement based on it were untrue, if my addresses had never been delivered and the pamphlet had never appeared, the choice would still rest between dull, monotonous rows of houses without domestic convenience and comfort and self-contained villages with communal opportunities and co-operative pride.

That is the issue before the public, and the verdict may safely be left to their judgment.

If life is worth more than money there can be no answer to the Corporation's proposals; if money is worth more than life the speculative builders hold the field. When considering the two schemes we must not forget that it is of supreme importance that the foundations of reconstruction should be laid in the homes of the people, so that every man, woman and child may share its blessings. The war has already transformed our outlook upon life, our ideas and ideals have changed, and in the light of that fact poor working-class dwellings can no longer be regarded as satisfactory. If such houses are out of date now, and they are, why should we commit the folly of multiplying them? What is totally inadequate for us to-day will be a miserable bequest for our children twenty-five years hence, yet the new dwellings will retain much of their newness then, and if that is so, what of fifty years hence, when the houses will not be old? We are far too liable to forget that we are not only going to build for ourselves but for our children, and for theirs. Do we realise that we are fashioning the future and are actually determining whether it is to be a place in which those who are to come after us shall grovel or soar?

Life, the one thing without which all else must perish, has become supreme, for every hero lost yonder enhances the value of every life that remains here. Mothers are the hardest worked people in this country, for their work is never done and, if they are to be mothers and not slaves, whatever can be achieved in the way of removing heavy drudgery and needless toil must be accomplished in order to free them for their sacred task. Unfortunately our critics, who claim concern for mothers, not only suggest no way of helping them, but pour ridicule on those who do. They appear to be quite unconscious of the fact that actions speak louder than words, and have probably never heard of the Yorkshire saying that "Pity without relief is like mustard without beef." Such people are far too liable to think of working-men's dwellings as they think of lodging-houses, and to forget that they are intended for homes, the most sacred places on God's earth. To see that they actually become such is the very highest form of patriotism, the loftiest purpose it is in our power to fulfil. We rightly erect monuments to captains of industry who devise ways and means for doing by machinery the hard labour that has previously been done by hand, and whose ingenuity accelerates the output. If that is wise for money-making, why not for life-building? It is health, education and character that count, they are the great determining factors in every activity, and when we become wise enough to devote the very best of which we are

capable to promoting them, we need have no mis-giving about the future, for its glory will already have been assured. An ever-rising standard of home life, facilitated by uplifting environment, communal spirit and altruistic concern, means a nation that will ultimately do honour to the noble men who are laying down their lives to win the golden opportunity for us. Mean houses, mercenary outlook and morbid excitement run in harness, and if not arrested will ensure our doom. Our heroes—not only the well-to-do but also the rank and file—have crossed and re-crossed the water and gained that broadened mind and enlarging outlook which travel so effectively supplies. Many will have picked up a useful knowledge of foreign languages, not from books, but from actual contact with the people who speak them, and the insular disposition that bound them to this tight little island will have been shed. Such men will not willingly go back into slums and poor houses. Emigration will be a much less formidable undertaking than formerly, and if those who constitute what is left of the flower of our manhood are to be kept at home to help to make good our terrible losses abroad, we shall do well to remember that this is a time when they are sensitive and responsive, that indeed there never has been a period in our history when such men, their wives and their families could be so effectively influenced and helped. Having seen our errors in the past, are we to perpetuate them, as these sordid critics would have us do, or are we to begin to end them by bringing within reach of every man, woman and child a reasonable chance to make the very best of their lives, both for their own sake and the nation's?

THE CRITICS' VICIOUS CIRCLE.

Suppose that, in the light of these facts, a painstaking and microscopic analysis of official statistics bearing on such national sores as overcrowding, infant mortality, pulmonary tuberculosis and kindred problems should reveal here and there exceptions which, in the aggregate, slightly modified the figures quoted, would that be regarded as a sufficient answer to a sweeping but irrefutable indictment of social conditions that prejudice the well-being of millions of human beings? Our "do nothing" reformers who have other than public interests to serve appear to think so, and assume that if their mole-hill of exceptions can be extracted from the mountain of rules, the lesser will henceforth overshadow the greater, and lead the public to assume there has been much ado about nothing, and that in reality all's well. That process of self-deception is typical of those who, putting money before life, are determined to see only what they look for; it never seems to occur to them that similar painstaking and microscopic analyses applied in the opposite direction would produce at least a corresponding balance of contra-exceptions, and that consequently, instead of entering such a vicious circle, they had

better face facts as they are, and try, if they can, to find a satisfactory answer to them. In the meantime their manipulation of the "bill of quantities" is like kicking those who are down.

I am running through this reply in what is normally a quiet and restful resort, but war has transformed it into a veritable hive of human devilry. On the sea Dreadnoughts thunder forth their screaming shells at targets far, far away, and make the houses shake, while every form of fighting craft keeps the ocean alive as it seeks to perfect its death-dealing propensities. On the land the diabolic art of gas manipulation and the manoeuvring of men goes on apace. In the heavens monster Zeppelins and airships glide through the sky like gold fish in a glass; aeroplanes loop the loop, make spiral descents, and now and again burn their occupants to a cinder or smash them to pieces. Out of this infernal traffic huge fortunes are accumulated and men's appetites for war whetted by the profits it produces, while hundreds of thousands of the bravest and best heroes that Britain has ever produced are being sacrificed, maimed, and demented. Abroad, human butchery goes on on a scale never even dreamed of; at home everybody seems anxious to rob everybody else for fear the opportunity to plunder should be allowed to go by unimproved. The deteriorating character of the tragedy is only seen in its proper light when relatively small expenditure is suggested for reconstructing the nation after the war has laid it in ruins. That beneficent work causes men who have grown rich out of the unprecedented calamity to hold up their hands in horror, for it has no higher purpose in view than to try and make it more possible for men "to have life, and to have it more abundantly," to commence to build out of this war-shattered state the kingdom of God on earth, and to turn the attention of those who have been made "a little lower than the angels" to the road that leads upward and onward to better things.

PUBLIC RIGHTS AND PRIVATE RESPONSIBILITIES.

The public have a right, which will be increasingly insisted upon, to protect themselves against the encroachments of private enterprise on the one hand, and its failure to promote their betterment and uplift on the other. For instance, apart altogether from any opinion for or against the drink traffic, it will be generally conceded that an excessive number of publichouses in any locality inevitably leads to excessive drinking, because the districts affected are always those where poverty is greatest and the power to resist temptation is least. It will be quite as readily recognised that excessive drinking undermines manhood and womanhood, and that human derelicts are ultimately thrown upon communal care, consequently the public are reasonably

entitled to insist either that the surplus licences shall be abolished or their owners be held responsible for the results that accrue from them, and as the latter is impractical, the former must be made operative. The uniform application of such a just principle would go far to solve the social problem and be as helpful to commerce as to reform, for at present every human derelict who has been converted into a public liability is on the books of every industrial concern, and the cost of their maintenance and supervision has to be charged against the business in the form of rates, taxes and other contributions. To the extent to which such an enlightened public policy as has been inadequately foreshadowed is applied, these debits will not only cease to appear in the ledger, but the broken man-power they represent will be saved, and the tremendous advantage which prevention has over cure be demonstrated.

Fortunately for the ultimate triumph of right and the survival of men, there are forces beyond our control that compel the community to have regard to the well-being of its individual members, either in the beginning of life, when reasonable consideration and enlightened care produce a rich harvest of wonderfully progressive results, or later when, for the want of this prudent foresight, mischief has been done and potential promise blighted. If the shortage of man-power drives us from strictly selfish occupations to the redemptive and elevating purpose of building the new kingdom here and now, we shall give up dispensing homeopathic doses of interested advice through the medium of a speculative builders' pamphlet, and begin the more profitable work of helping to right the wrong by such means as (1) replacing soul-destroying dwellings with houses and surroundings that invite conversion into homes; (2) realising that if the Salvation Army can win from notorious criminals such wonderful results as Mr. Harold Begbie records in "Broken Earthenware," the Churches have it within their power—if they will but turn from the self-satisfied suburbs in which they perish, to the rookeries and hovels where lost men and women are waiting to be saved—to convert human scrap heaps into gold mines for God; (3) beginning at the right end of race regeneration by exalting the mother and her child, who must be the greatest factors in the State not only for the next twenty years, but as long as the race endures. To thus undertake the inspiring and feasible tasks of removing the need for sanatoria, hospitals, workhouses, asylums and prisons, the cost of which is the price the public are compelled to pay for their neglect, does not spell ruin to industry, but salvation, for human capital is still the most indispensable part of successful business, and it is indeed significant that in proportion as it has been developed and more considerably employed, profits have increased and fortunes multiplied. To elevate the race is not to destroy its prosperity but to ensure it, just as cer-

tainly as to allow it to deteriorate is to undermine every activity in which it is engaged. It cannot be wrong to do right. The outstanding need of this mighty epoch of reconstruction is healthy, intelligent and happy people, who possess the ability and the will to devise ways and means of winning from shorter hours, higher wages and ever improving conditions more work and better than long hours, low wages and bad conditions can yield. Surely one of the most effective methods of promoting that singularly desirable result is to make it unmistakably clear to men and women that a new era is dawning, in which a truly generous outlook and a wonderfully inspiring vision are going to give them something to look forward to and to live for.

THE NEW WORLD AND ITS HEROIC ARCHITECTS.

Whether these hair-splitting and cheese-paring critics realise it or not, we no longer live in the old world where such plausible pabulum was allowed to deprive men of their rights, for the greatest War in history, and the awful sacrifices it has cost, have transferred us to a new world in which these mean and puny efforts to foist the responsibility for social, industrial and economic wrongs on to their helpless victims will have short shrift, for in future Britain will belong to the British in a vastly different sense from what it did when its obligations had to be discharged and its Empire defended by a standing army and navy. Between fighting, munitions and the multifarious activities indispensable to carrying on the War, the great masses of the people, men and women alike, have earned their title, not to a niggardly pittance, but to a generous share of the best the nation can command, for without their help both its wealth and its prospects would now have been mortgaged by the Germans. Under such circumstances our duty is not to ask how little we can do for our heroes, but how much, and, realising that we owe them everything we possess, determine to give them, not the opportunity as soon as the war is over to eat, drink and be merry for a few brief and afterwards long-regretted days, but the permanent recognition that can only be expressed by enabling them and theirs to enter the new kingdom, in which men and not money will be the supreme concern. These mighty facts and the recognition that should follow are far too liable to be overlooked by men with "muck rakes," but they will be the determining features in the momentous tasks of reconstruction. The vested interests seem to forget that the flower of our manhood is still "out yonder," and that consequently the men who turn to the political struggles of the past in contradistinction to the stupendous issues of the future, are in an altogether misleading preponderance here, but when the War is over the pendulum will adjust itself.

The noble heroes who have fought our battles and won our victories, while we have been safe at home, the magnificent optimists who have kept the flag flying through evil report and through good, the intrepid warriors who do not know the meaning of defeat and intend to rear a greater because a worthier Britain, these inspiring deliverers will return, and though their serried ranks have been ruthlessly depleted, the memory of gallant and devoted comrades who have given their all, and the tender and irresistible appeal of those whose little feet have still to come along the world's highway, will make them even more invincible in peace than in war, and enable them to decide the character and extent of the uplifting transformation that alone can justify the appalling price of victory. What a mighty blessing to know that the future is in the hands of those whose magnificent heroism has cut it off from the ghastly past, and who, thank God, have not only outlook and vision, but the will, ability and means to reduce them from the abstract to the concrete. Let us consecrate our lives to the coming of that great day and no other, and use every opportunity that comes to our hands in the light of its redeeming purpose, for—

“ WHERE THERE IS NO VISION
THE PEOPLE PERISH.”



WM. BYLES AND SONS,

PRINTERS,

LONDON AND BRADFORD.

**Proceedings of the Inquiry Committee appointed
by a Resolution of the Working Committee of
the All India Congress Committee, dated
4-8-1921 to inquire into the firing on
the Crowd at Dharwar, by the
authorities on the 1st of July
1921 and the full circum-
stances connected
therewith.**

Members of the Inquiry Committee

- 1. SHRIJ. ABBAS S. TYABJI,**
- 2. SHRIJ. M. B. NIYOGI**
- 3. SHRIJ. S. S. SETLUR**

Secretary of the Inquiry Committee:—

SHRIJ. N. H. DAMBAL,

Secretary, Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee

The Rojanama--PRELIMINARY.

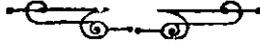
16th Aug.

The Chairman called upon the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police of Dharwar to appear and cross-examine the witnesses offered before this Inquiry and to produce evidence on their behalf if they so choose to do. Similarly wire was sent to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council to the same effect.

17th August 1921.

Notice circulated broad-cast requesting people to come and give evidence before this Committee of the facts relevant to this inquiry.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.



This volume needs no introduction since it contains only the evidence placed before the Committee. Some of the exhibits which were either Kanarese originals or only formal witnesses have been omitted e. g. Ex. 99 D. & E. Exs. 139, 141, 142, 143, 144. The opening remarks and the argument (Ex. 147) of Mr. Koujalgi have been also omitted thinking that the public might judge for themselves from the evidence put forth. Ex. 148 confidential file, Ex. 149 Miscellaneous file and Ex. 150 Statements and papers received late have not been included for obvious reasons. Ex. 151. The Report of the Commissioners has been printed as a separate book.

The summary of statements of the Accused, in the Sessions Court as appeared in Bombay Chronicle, has been attached as a supplement to this though it does not form part of the evidence before the Commission.

The illustrations are from the photos taken by R. G. Hukeri Photographer Dharwar. Some of them are exhibits, and others are inserted just to throw more light upon the evidence.

GADAG, }
18-12-21. }

N. H. Dambal,
*Secretary, Karnatak Provincial
Congress Committee.*

The Rojanama.

18th August 1921—First day.

PRESENT :—Shrijs. Tyabji (Chairman.) & Niyogi,

PROCEEDINGS BEGUN AT 3 p. m.

N. B. —Before the proceedings commenced a warning is given to reporters as well as to the public that if details of the proceedings are published they themselves are to stand the risk.

It was called out whether any body on behalf of the Government or the Police was present and none responded.

Mr. Kowjalgi opened the case for the people.

Exhibit Witness
No. No.

1—1 Vinayakrao Babaji Joshi,

President, District Congress Committee Dharwar.

2 Notice issued on the morning of 1-7-1921.

3 Sketch map of the scene of offence and surroundings.

4 Resolution passed in the meeting of the 1st July 1921.

5 Copy of the resolution appointing an investigating committee on 2nd July 1921 into the fring on 1st of July 1921.

6 Copy of the Government communique of 2nd July appearing in Bombay Chronicle dated 4th July 1921.

7 Copy of memorial sent to the local Government by wire.

8 Statement issued by the Congress Committee to the Bombay Chronicle.

9 Government communique of the 8th July 1921.

NOTE — A Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. M. A. Kaji, was present and taking notes of the proceedings.

19th August 1921.—Second day.

PRESENT :—**Shrijs. Tyabji & Niyogi.**

Ex.No. W.No.

- 10---2 Raghvendrarao Gopalrao Kadapa.
Mr. V. B. Joshi, *further examined.*
- 11 Reply to Ex. 9.
- 12 Copy of of wire sent by Mr. R. P. Karandikar
Pleader.
- 13 Copy of wire sent by one of the pleaders insulted.
- 14---3 Krishnaji Hanamant Mudvedkar.
- 15 Copy of memorial sent to Government of Bombay
and to Viceroy.
- 16 Copy of the application sent by the accused about
the pleaders, dated 19-7-21.
- 17 Original application by Ex. 14 to the Additional Dist.
Magistrate, dated 2-8-21, with the order thereon.
- 18 Copy of circular issued by the Collector regarding
boycott of foreign cloth.
- 19---4 Anant Subrao Yatgiri, Pleader.
- 20---5 Dr. Raghvendra Hanmant Shirhatti.

20th August 1921—Third day.

PRESENT :—**Shrij. Tyabji.**

Mr. V. N. Joshi for the people.

- 20 Dr. Raghvendra Hanamant Shirhatti's *evidence*
continued.
- 21 Photograph of dead body.
- 22 " "
- 23 " "

Ex.No. W.No.

- 24 Notes of wounds made by Ex. 20 of the dead bodies.
- 25—6 Shripad Raghunath Kirloskar.
- 26—7 Keshav Gururao Huilgol.
- 27 Case of treatment produced by Mr. Huilgol, Ex. 26.
- 28—8 Gurunath Nilkanth Deshpande.
- 29—9 Balwant Mahadev Betdur.

21st August 1921—Fourth day.

PRESENT :—**Shrijs. Tyabji & Niyogi.**

- 30—10 Hanamant Laxman Senapati.
- 31—11 Mahamadgous Imamsaheb Langoti Jamadar.
- 32—12 Ulveppa Chanbassappa Hapli.
- 33—13 Trivikram Kashinath Pitre, Pleader.
- 34—14 Dattatrya Dinkar Joshi, Pleader.
- 35—15 Kasimsab Dharwadi Fakir.
- 36—16 Laxman Gopal Sabnis, Pleader.

22nd August 1921—Fifth day.

PRESENT :—**Shrij. Niyogi.**

- 37—17 Rustunkhan Maktunkhan Jali Jamadar.
- 38—18 Ramchandra Pundlik Belgaumkar.
- 39—19 Bhaskar Ramrao Karnik.
- 40—20 Devendra Baswantappa Salunke.
- 41—21 Abdul Chandsab alias Kalya Pindari.
- 42—22 Yellappa Bhimappa Dodmani.
- 43—23 Parabrahma Shankar Tapas.

Shriji. Abbas Tybji joins here.

s.No. w.No.

- 44—24 Hussensab Imamsab Nalband,
 45—25 Shankar Narayan Krishnappa.
 46—26 Bhimappa Mahadevappa Chitragar.
 47—27 Abdulkarim Gudusab Jainapur.

23rd August 1921—Sixth day.

PRESENT:—Shrijs. Tyabji & Niyogi.

Abdulkarim Gudusab examined further.

- 48—28 Hasansab Kasimsab Mali.
 49—29 Guracharya Balacharya Avadhani.
 50—30 Govind Krishna Kolhar.
 51—31 Moula Abdulkhalir Halbhavi.
 52—32 Waman Krishna Gokhale.
 53—33 Shrinivasacharya Ramacharya Shurpali.
 54—34 Bhimappa Fakirappa Kittur.

Srj. S. S. Setlur joined and also examined this witness.

- 55—35 R. G. Sabnis.

24th August 1921—Seventh day.

PRESENT:—Shrijs. Tyabji, Setlur and Niyogi.

- 56—36 Krishnaji Durgaji Joshi (Gondli).
 57—37 Gafarsab Madarsab Pendari.
 58—38 Raghappa Fakirappa Yaligar.
 59—39 Budansab Peersab Narti.
 60—40 Shrinivas Narayan Athanikar.

- 61—41 Abdulkhadir Imamsab Langoti.
62—42 Syedmohdin Syedkhadir Bavdi.
63—43 Bapulal Abdulrajak Pendari.
64—44 Balkrishna Anant Joshi, Pleader.

25th August 1921.—Eight day.

PRESENT:—**Shrijs. Tyabji and Setlur.**

- 65 { Mr. Krishnaji Hanmant Ex. 14 recalled and the wit-
66 { ness files Exs. 65/25-5-20, 66/6-7-20, 67/14-6-21,
67 { issues of Karnatak Vritta & the translation Ex. 68.
68 { Ex. 68 is the translation consisting of the extracts
in translation in the above.

- 69—45 Abdulla Madarsab Tongawala.
70—46 Krishnaji Rangrao Perjabadi.
71—47 Yashwant Bhaskar Jathar.
72—48 Sitaram Vaman Jathar.
73—49 Ramchandra Shesho Nargundkar, Pleader.
74 Letter from the District Court, signed B. S. Potdar
1-8-21.
75 Copy of application of 30-4-21 filed by Ex. 73 in the
District Court with order dated 2-8-21.
76 Copy of application of 8-8-21 filed by Ex. 73 in the
District court with order dated 3-8-21.
77—50 Raghvendra Rangrao Perjabadi.
78—51 N. R. Deshpande, Pleader.
79—52 Bhalchandra Ramchandra Patwardhan, Pleader.

26th August 1921.—Ninth day.

PRESENT—**Shrijs Tyabji, Setlur & Niyogi.**

- 80—53 Tukama kom Imamsab Kakar } These two were examined
81—54 Maktumbi kom Rajesab Sutar } in the morning.

Ex.No. W.No.

- 82—55 Fakirmahamad Maktumsab Hulkop.
- 83—56 Balwant Dattatraya Godbole.
- 84—57 Jamal Watabsahib Dharwadi.
- 85—58 Ulaweppa Mallappa.
- 86—59 Shamrao Govind Badari.
- 87—60 Vasudevrao N. Asundi, pleader.
- 88—61 Shambhuroo Ranganath Kirloskar.
- 89—62 Ahmadsab Imamsab Betigeri.
- 90—63 Bodhrao Shrinivas Sawakar, pleader.
- 91—64 Gururao Ramchandra Sidenur, pleader.
- 92—65 Shrinivas Krisbna Sarapali.
- 93—66 Dattatraya Tippaji Deshpande.
- 94—67 Hanmant Balaji Laxmeshwar, Pleader.

27th August 1921—Tenth day.

PRESENT—Shrijs. Tyabji & Niyogi.

- 95—63 Hajratsab Hasansab Shirur.
- 96—69 Langesha Budhansha Attar.
- 97—70 Yellappa Venkappa Sambrani.
- 98 Draft in type produced by Ex. 97.
- 99—71 Shrinivas Raghvendra Deshpande.
- 100 Memo of Collector No. 1/21 produced by Ex. 99.
- 101—72 Moulakhan Navajkhan Pathan.
- 102—73 R. S. Hukerikar, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Dharwar.
- 103 Copy of list of ornaments put to auction etc.
- 103A Copy of of judgment in case No. 23/21 in 1st Class Magistrate, Dharwar.

- 104—74 Satyavrat Venkatesh Karandikar.
105—75 Mahabubsab wd. Maktumsab Dasankop.
106—76 Mahmudghous Khwajahhussen Gutti.
107—77 Mahmadsab Nasirahmad Pendari.
108—78 Ramchandra Gundo Bettigeri, Pleader.
109—79 Hanmantrao Bhimarao Kalghatgi.
110—80 Alikhan Husenkhan.
111—81 Dadabeg Fattesab Kaji.
112—82 Dattatraya Keshav Sontakke.
113—83 Dattatraya Narayan Chandavarkar, Pleader.
114—84 Vishwanath Narayan Joshi, Pleader.
115 Marked portion statement of Hussensaheb
 Mommigatti.
116 Narayan Gurunath Kargudri's statement.
117 Budan Chandulal Chapparband's statement.
118 Statement of Miyakhan Khajakhan.
119 Certified copies of Medical certificates of the Com-
 mitting Magistrate's file—kanarese—in book form.
120 English translation of the above in book form.

28th August 1921.—Eleventh day.

PRESENT :— Shrijs. Tyabji, Niyogi & Setlur.

- 121—85 Venkatesh Dinkar Tiwari.
122—86 Jamal Allisab Haveripeth.
123—87 Imamsab Fakruddinsab.
124—88 Shaikh Ajmoddin.
125—89 Davalsaheb Mulla.
126—90 Khaja Miya.

Ex No. W.No.

- 127—91 Madarsab Abdulsab.
- 128—92 Ahmedsab Dadasaheb.
- 129—93 Raghavendra Narsinha Huddar.
- 130 Panchanamas (copy) Ex. 90 A. Committing
Magistrate.
- 131 " " 90 B. "
- 132 " " 90 C. "
- 133 " " 90 D. "
- 134 " " 90 E. "
- 134 A. Translations of the above.
- 135—94 Krishnaji Bhimaji Ankalgi.
Dr. Shirhatti re-called and examined.
Dr. Kirloskar re-called and examined.
- 136 Issue of Raj Hansa dated 10-5-21.
- 137 Copy of judgment in Criminal Case No. 35. 1916,
I Class Magistrate, Dharwar.
- 138 Copy of judgment of Sessions Case No. 20/1919,
Dharwar.
- 139 Copy of judgment of Sessions.
- 140 Copy of judgment in Criminal Sessions Case No.
1/1915.
- 141 To Rajhansa paper by Venkatswami Narayanswami:
a letter for publication dated 9th August 1921.
- 142 Do Laxman Madaya Telgar.
- 143 Do Subanji Sangoji Karikatgar.

Argument by Mr. Kowjalgi begun.*29th August 1921.—Twelfth day.***PRESENT:— Shrijs. Tyabji & Niyogi.**

Mr. B. R. Patwardhan Ex. 79 re-called,

Ex. No. W. No.

144—95 Ramchandra Govind Hukkeri.

145 Photograph of liquor shop.

146 Do door of toddy shop.

Argument of Mr. Kowjalgi heard.*1st September 1921.—Thirteenth day.***PRESENT:—Shrijs Tyabji & Niyogi.**147 Arguments of Mr. Kowjalgi taken by Mr. Abbas
S. Tyabji attached, along with opening remarks.

148 Confidential file.

149 Miscellaneous file.

150 Statements and papers received late.

151 Report of the Commissioners, dated 31-8-1921.

N. H. Dambal.*Secretary to the Inquiry Committee.*

The Dharwar Shooting Case

THE CONGRESS COMMISSION INQUIRY.

Depositions and Other Evidence.

EXHIBIT 1. WITNESS 1.

Vinayak Babaji Joshi.

Brahmin, age 60, Pensioner.

Examined by Mr. Kowjalgi.

I retired 4 years ago after a service of 33 years. My last post was that of Educational Inspector, S. D. Government made me a Rao Bahadur and awarded me a good service medal. I gave up my Rao Bahadurship in compliance with the Congress mandate. I am the president of the Dharwar District Congress Committee and also Vice-President of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee. The workers under me acted as propagandists of the Congress views. I helped also to start a National School here. I think about half a dozen or more National Schools have been started in the District. Rs. 38,000 were collected for the T. S. Fund. About 25,000 members were enlisted for the Congress. We also gave lectures to inform masses of their political rights. I preached against the *begar* system; so also the workers under me. I advised the introduction of Churkha and the boycott of foreign cloth. I also preached against the drink evil and so did my workers too. Picketing was organised in Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag, Ranebennur and elsewhere where there were liquor shops. The attitude of Government officials was one of non-interference in the matter of picketing except at Dharwar, Hubli and Ranebennur, to my knowledge. The notice (Ex. 2) shown to me is issued on the morning of the 1st of July. The proceedings of that meeting commenced at about 6-30 p. m. I went there at 6 p. m. When I first went the number of people was about 50 but when

meeting commenced there were about 200. Meeting went on till 8-30 when the number was over 1000. I was in the chair. Mr. Hukerikar Mr. Kulkarni B. G., Mr. Divakar, Mr. Kamalapur, Mr. Anantrao Dabade and a Moulvi, whose name I do not know, were the principal speakers after me. All of *these were present till 8-30 at the meeting.* Messrs. Divakar, Kamalapur, Dabade are accused in the Sessions case. Mr. Divakar is editor of Karmavir, a national weekly paper He is an M. A., LL. B. of the Bombay University and was Professor for some time in the Rajaram College at Kolhapur. He was a promoter of the Rashtriya Shala here. Messrs. Kamalapur and Dabade are active preachers of non-co-operation. Mr. Kulkarni is Secretary of the District Congress Committee and editor of Shubhodaya. He is also a graduate in Law of the Bombay University. The distance between the place of meeting and the liquor shop is about 2 furlongs, as the crow flies. A sketch map Ex. (3) now shown to me is correct. At about 7 p. m., I heard shouts of boys coming from towards the liquor shop. I could not distinguish what they were shouting. The liquor shops could not be seen from the place of meeting. The noise did not increase until I heard some whistling at about 7-30 p. m. The whistling was of police whistles. Several whistles were blown. This lasted about 10 minutes. I found people to be agitated on hearing the whistles. So I advised them to remain there as the matter appeared to be serious. Most of the people stayed and the meeting continued. About 100 or so might have left the meeting. To keep the people there I asked Mr. Kamalapur to give the history of Khalif Omer. I heard sounds of firing a few minutes after the whistles. First I heard half a dozen shots and then a wounded man came crying. I heard the second firing about 5 minutes later. Then a volley was fired. About 50 shots were fired. The man who came before the second firing, was not heavily wounded. He cried out for a doctor. After the second firing, wounded persons came there. I followed some of the wounded who were with Dr. Shirhatti. Dr. Shirhatti was in the meeting till the arrival of the wounded. I accompanied the wounded to the dispensary of Dr. Shirhatti after dissolving the meeting. I did not hear any third firing that day. The dispensary was 3 or 4 minutes' walk from the

place of meeting. I was at the dispensary for half an hour. About 20 or 25 injured came there during that time. Some of the wounded were treated in the neighbouring dispensary of Huilgol. Dr. Kirloskar helped at Shirahatti's dispensary. I then went home. A resolution Ex. 4. was passed at the meeting against the severe sentences awarded to the volunteers convicted that day. Funds were collected for the relief of the family of those sentenced. This work was done by Messrs. Dabade and Bhise. Both of these are under trial now in the riot case. The gold rings which had been given for the T. S. Fund were auctioned at the meeting. Mr. Dabade acted as the auctioneer. All castes were represented at that meeting. I know Mr. Kabbur M. A., LL. B. one of the editors of Karmvir. He was at the meeting. I saw him at the time the meeting was going on, I did not observe him coming and going. I saw him at about 7 p. m. I know the President of the local Khilafat Committee. I know the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Mr. Darji. Mr. Khalasi is the Chairman. I know the President by sight but not by name. They were at the meeting that day until the meeting dispersed. Messrs. Khalasi and Darji are accused in the riot case. I know Sultan once a school master. He is a Khilafat worker. He was present keeping order at the meeting. He was there from *beginning to the end*. He is also one of the accused in the riot case. I know Messrs Venkatrao Mudvedkar, Damodar Herlekar. They were in the meeting that day. How long they were there I can not say. They were at the meeting at about 7-30 p. m. Mudvedkar, Herlekar are accused in the riot case. Mudvedkar is a pleader of about 10 years standing. Herlekar is the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Dharwar City Municipality. Mr. Narayanrao Karigudri was the President of the Municipality. He died last night. On the 2nd of July an investigating committee was appointed to investigate into the shooting. Ex. 5. (copy of the resolution.) Ex. 6. I have read the Government Communique of the 2nd July. Ex. 6 is a copy of that communique as printed in the Bombay Chronicle of the 4th of July. I received it on the 5th at about 4 p. m. Ex. 7: Immediately on receipt of it I sent this memorial to the Government of Bombay by wire and also to the Viceroy. Ex. 7 is a copy of

that wire as published in the Chronicle of the 6th. Before I received Ex. 6 I sent Ex. 8 to the Chronicle. It is a statement by the Congress Committee. After Ex. 7 was wired Government issued a communique Ex. 9 printed in the Chronicle of 9th July.

(Mr. Kowjalgi brings to our notice the fact that a Sub-Inspector M. A. Kazi is present here taking notes.)

Sd. A. S. T.

Ex. 11 of 1366 of July.

Examination of Mr. Joshi continued.

This document shown to me is a reply sent by me to Ex. 9. Mr. Karandikar was here on the day the trial commenced before the Magistrate. Ex. 12: Chronicle of 18 July. I have seen the original telegram sent by Karandikar to the Government of which this is a copy. Ex. 13: a wire was sent by one of the insulted pleaders to the Bombay Chronicle which appears in its issue of 19th July. We had only one Kitson light at the place of the meeting about which I spoke yesterday. It was placed before me on the ground near the table. I could see about 50 feet off. The crowd extended beyond 50 feet. When the injured people came the lamp was taken away towards the liquor-shop.

To Tyabji—

I had on the whole a distinguished career in the Education service. I was in touch with the Government officials. After adopting non-co-operation I have not been in touch with them. The picketing volunteers at Dharwar work under my advice. My advice to them has been that they should preach and entreat people not to drink but to use no sort of violence. So far as I know it was scrupulously carried out. I have been present at shops which were being picketed. Picketing attracts some people but not large crowds. Sight-seers and children collect. I never noticed sight-seers and children jeering and molesting people after they had drunk. Picketing had been proceeding for 3 months before the firing. I heard no complaint of the conduct of volunteers.

There were some pleaders amongst the workers of picketing. There have been cases of stones being thrown at volunteers by the

servants of the shops. One of the pleaders was very severely beaten viz. Guttal. This was two weeks before the firing. He had been struck on the arm, shoulder and the back. He has not yet recovered quite from the injury. Messrs Hukerikar, Kulkarni, Divakar, Kamlapur, Anantrao Dabade and Moulvi have been working with me for the national cause. All these gentlemen were seated near me. Owing to the confusion on the dispersal of the meeting I cannot say who and how many accompanied the Kitson light. A statement was taken from me by the Committee two or three days after the firing. This was on the 3rd.

To Mr. Niyogi :—

There are 3 liquor shops in the town owned by different men. All three were picketed. The volunteers were from among respectable family, well-to-do people. At the place where the firing took place the Collector came with his servant and asked him to drink and desired the volunteer to do what he liked. The volunteer said he could *only take down the name. The servant refused to drink.* This was a month or so after the picketing commenced. The three doctors mentioned above all hold medical degrees.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

19—8—1921.

Commissioner.

Exhibit 2.

Public Notice.

Under the auspices of the Congress and Khilafat Committees, a public meeting will be held to-day in the evening at 6 p. m. in the Maidan in front of the Rajahansha Office. The main object of the meeting is to make known about the Bizawada Programme. Many golden ornaments, given towards the Swaraj Fund will be sold by auction.

DHARWAR

Dated 1—7—21

B. G. Kulkarni.
R. S. Hukerikar
Abdulsahab Khalasi.

fat volunteers for robbery. Large crowds escorted the prisoners to jail and afterwards stoned the liquor contractors' houses and a *Hartal* was observed. A meeting held the same evening culminated in an attack on liquor shops, which were damaged and stocks stolen. Three attempts were made to set fire to the shops. The fire was extinguished by the police. The mob attacked the police who were compelled to fire. The District Magistrate with the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police arrived shortly after the firing. The mob then dispersed. Two rioters are reported to have been killed and several are believed to have been wounded. One Sub-Inspector of Police and nine police sepoy are wounded by stone. The situation is under control and all is reported quiet this Saturday morning.

EXHIBIT 7.

Bombay Chronicle July 6-1921.

“WANTON AND UNPROVOKED.”

THE DHARWAR FIRING.

**GRAVE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST
COLLECTOR & POLICE.**

ACCURACY OF GOVT. COMMUNIQUE CHALLENGED.

DIST. CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S TELEGRAM TO

GOVERNOR & VICEROY.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

Dharwar, July 5.

The President, District Congress Committee, Dharwar, has sent the following wire to H. E. the Governor of Bombay and H. E. the Viceroy:—

“Dharwar public seriously shocked to read hurried and misleading Government communique re Dharwar shooting affair to



LIQUOR SHOP STREET.

View from Thana Corner.

On the right side are the liquor & Toddy shops.

Ex. 145.



LIQUOR SHOP.

Photo taken on 2-7--21 at 5 p. m.



THE TWO VOLUNTEERS.

Being taken out of Magistrate's Court after judgment.

hand just now. Information contained therein is false and perverted. Crowds escorted convicted volunteers to jail and dispersed about 3 P. M. For four hours afterwards nothing untoward happened. Armed police were seen guarding liquor-shop near the market that evening, which, being unusual, naturally attracted crowds. Picketing was going on peacefully as usual.

Another party of armed police arrived on the scene when the people shouted " Mahatma Gandhi Maharaj ki Jay ", " Hindu Musalman ki Jay ". At this, Shiylingappa, Sub-Inspector, opened fire wantonly, unprovoked and without warning. At this signal, volleys were opened by the police indiscriminately. Two men died immediately and about forty were wounded. Later on, men succouring the wounded were also fired upon and wounded. No Magistrate was present at any time.

The meeting referred to in the communique had been convened as advertised in the morning, long before the judgment in the picketing case, for the Swarajya Fund, and was still going on when the wounded men were taken past the meeting place. The story of stone throwing, attempts at arson and the attack upon the police is concocted and an afterthought to cover unwarranted unprovoked and wanton shooting. The whole affair of the shooting was prearranged and deliberate. Mr. Painter, District Magistrate only the previous day, had said to Messrs. Kabbur and Divakar of " Karmavir " paper, now under arrest: " I am thirsting for your blood. I will not be satisfied until I see you in the jail at least for one year. "

A Challenge.

We challenge the accuracy of the communique. We charge the Sub-Inspector and his subordinates with deliberate murders. We further charge the D. M. and the D. S. P. with conspiracy to suppress Non-Cooperation at all hazards. Many prominent citizens including the Editors of four Nationalist papers are arrested. No security of personal liberty, the reign of terror prevails. Immediate intervention solicited. Pray order immediate suspension of investigation by these very officers and appoint independent Commis-

sion of Inquiry. Yesterday afternoon, Mr. Guttal, pleader, who was bedridden having been severely beaten at picketing fifteen days back, was arrested and taken in a tonga along with Mr. Mudawedkar, the Editor of the Nationalist paper and four Khilafat Committee members.

EXHIBIT No. 8.

Bombay Chronicle 4th July 1921.

FIRING AT DHARWAR.

SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS AGAINST POLICE.

"AN UNPROVOKED ATTACK."

The President, District Congress Committee, wires from Dharwar under date July 2 :—

Two Khilafat pickets were sentenced to six months' rigorous punishment at 2 p. m. yesterday. At evening when picketing at the Market liquor shop near the Police Station was going on, the police, it is alleged, opened unprovoked and indiscriminate fire at the pickets, spectators and passers by in the dark without warning and without any magistrate's presence on the spot. Two died on the spot; one more this morning and two are lying serious; about forty are lying wounded as at present known. Persons going to help the wounded even after half an hour were fired on and some were wounded. No Government medical help on the spot. Private medical practitioners are attending to the injured.

EXHIBIT No. 9.

Bombay Chronicle 9th July 1921.

THE DHARWAR INCIDENT.**GOVERNMENT VERSION OF AFFAIRS.**

The following Press Note has been issued by the Government of Bombay on the 8th July 1921 :—

The attention of Government has been drawn to various statements appearing in the Press regarding the riot on the 1st instant at Dharwar, alleging among other things, that the firing by the police was unprovoked, that no stone-throwing, attempts at arson, or other violence on the part of the rioters occurred and that no Government medical help was available. As several arrests have been made and as the facts in connection with the disturbance will be in due course the subject of a judicial inquiry, Government consider that the publication of statements likely to prejudice the course of such inquiry is undesirable. As, however, allegations to the above effect have been made, Government think it proper to intimate that the information before them indicates that they are entirely unwarranted.

MOB STONES POLICE.

They have received reports that about 6-30 p. m. on the 1st July, customers going to the market liquor shop were molested and assaulted. A small police party who advised the assailants to desist, was stoned and had to take shelter in the shop. Three attempts were then made to set fire to the shop, which were in each case frustrated by the police. As the crowd increased in numbers and violence, further police assistance was summoned. In spite of warning stone-throwing became more intense. One constable fell hit by a stone, the senior Sub-Inspector was wounded and others were injured. The Sub-Inspector again warned the rioters without

avail and then ordered his party to fire. The rioters retreated but returned with a Kitson light and again advanced on the police, who were again compelled to fire in self-defence. The liquor shop is reported to have been badly damaged and to have been full of stones-

PROMPT MEDICAL AID.

The District Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate arrived and the rioters dispersed. The District Magistrate made arrangements for the removal of the three rioters left on the spot and also of the wounded police to the Civil Hospital. He found the liquor shop badly damaged and traces of fire, including a still smouldering cloth, were evident. The statement that on the day previous to the riot the District Magistrate threatened Messrs. Kabbur and Divakar of the Karmavir newspaper with imprisonment is untrue. He conveyed to them under the orders of Government a warning with regard to two inflammatory articles which had appeared in this paper. In the communique published on the 4th instant the word 'stocks' appears to be an error of transmission instead of 'cash' and 'shops' instead of 'shop.' No further correction of the facts then stated appears necessary in the light of the later reports. The scene of occurrence has been visited by the Commissioner, Southern Division.

Exhibit 10.

Raghavendrao Kadapa.

Brahmin age 37, Pleader, Non-co-operator.

Witness 2.

Examined by Mr. Kowjalgi.

I am a graduate of the Madras University and have passed Pleader's examination of the Bombay High Court. I have practised in Dharwar for the last 12 years. I suspended my practice in accordance with the Congress mandate. For the last eight months I am carrying on the Congress propaganda in the southern district.

I am a member of the Karnatic Provincial Congress Committee. Karnatic Provincial Conference was held in May 1920 at Dharwar under the presidentship of Devan Bahadur Madhavrao. The object of the Conference was to bring about political awakening in Karnatic as it was backward in politics and also to secure from the Congress an independent Congress Circle for the Karnatic on linguistic basis. A resolution was passed calling upon the Karnatic voters to vote for the Legislative Councils only for those who sided with the Congress. This was not liked by all those who attended the conference. It was the anti-nationalist section among the non-brahmins who did not like it. This section at once called a conference of non-brahmins at Hubli. This was presided over by Sir P. Tyagraj Chetty of Madras. The Maharaja of Kolhapur attended the conference as a distinguished guest. This section is entirely hostile to the Congress movement. This hostility has increased in its intensity. This section consists mostly of Lingayats. The whole Lingayat community is not comprised in that section. After the Nagpur Congress, non-cooperation propaganda was begun in right earnest. Ten pleaders suspended practice in the district. About 9 national schools were started with 6 to 7 hundred pupils. We preached the Congress resolutions in most of the important villages of the District. This occasioned awakening in the masses and they expressed their determination to have Swaraj. The attitude of the officials became very hostile. They asked people not to attend our meetings. We took up the Churkha work. We extended hand-spinning. We carried on active non-violent picketing of liquor shops. This began in April. We collected also funds in accordance with the Bezwada resolution and enrolled members. We also preached Swadeshi and as the result of that Gandhi caps became visible in towns and villages. I carried on picketing in Ranebennur. A Khatib was convicted of using criminal force to one who had gone to drink and sentenced to 15 days' rigorous imprisonment. There were other cases in Dharwar, Hubli and Gadag, but I have no personal knowledge of them. For a month or so after we began picketing, the officials remained passive but later on became hostile and encouraged drinking. At Ranebennur a day before

Khatib's arrest whilst I was picketing the Sub-Inspector of Police and Abkari Inspector came to the liquor shop encouraging drink. As people came whom we wished to prevent going into the shop these officers told them not to mind us but to go in and drink and pushed them in.

To Abbas Tyabji :—

Khatib belongs to a respectable family at Ranebennur. He was not a volunteer. There is a Khilafat Committee at Ranebennur. Not certain whether he belongs to it. I had two Moslem and three Hindu pickets who worked under me. I used to give instructions as to how they were to act. I insisted on there being non-violent and depending on entreaties and advice. In my presence no one was touched by the volunteers. People were entreated and advised and sometimes volunteers lay before them prostrate but never used force. Small crowds used to gather which were sympathetic with the movement. No small boys collected whilst we were picketing. If any one drank and then came out he was not molested on his way. I had not given any particular instructions on this point. I had experience of picketing at Haveri and Hirekerur and Hangal. My experience at these places was similar to that at Ranebennur. Most of the volunteers were unpaid. One or two in each place were paid. The volunteers had to be 18 years of age and college students. I never saw any volunteers attacked by the police or the people. The difference between Brahmains and a section of Lingayats has existed since some ten years but it has intensified after the resolutions at the Dharwar Conference. The differences were due to the desire of that section of the Lingayat community to get possession of seats in the Municipality and Legislative Councils and get Government posts. In Dharwar District the majority of officials are Brahmains. The Lingayats form a large majority of the population. They are backward in education.

To Niyogi :—

I did not find that my volunteers used sticks or other weapons. Picketing had stopped liquor traffic in some places whilst in many places sales had gone down. So far as I know the drinking public

made no complaints to the Government. They made none to me. I know of no case in which attempt was made to disgrace those who had taken drink.

19—8—1921.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,
Commissioner.

EXHIBIT No. 11.

Bombay Chronicle 14th July 1921.

NO FAITH IN PRESENT ENQUIRY.

WANTED AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION.

The President of the Congress Committee, Dharwar, writes under date 13th July 1921 :—

The Dharwar District Congress Committee has perused the Bombay Government's communique, dated the 8th instant. Government is misled by the reports of local officials. No useful purpose will be served by this Committee's challenging the communique in details. A brief summary of the actual facts was supplied to Government by this Committee, on the 4th instant. Investigation and enquiry by the local police and magistrates will not command the least public confidence. A statement recorded before this Committee, clearly shows that evidence is being concocted by coercion and other means. There are sufficient grounds to show that some underlings of the police are being arrested deliberately, with a view to making them approvers. The Committee urges the appointment of an impartial and independent Commission to investigate the cause, and trace the real offenders. Pending the report by such a Commission justice demands the stay of the present investigation and all further proceedings and the immediate removal of police and magisterial officers, whose complicity in the offence is alleged. Nothing short of this will ensure public confidence.

EXHIBIT No. 12.

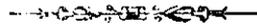
Bombay Chronicle 18th July 1921.

**DHARWAR TRAGEDY.**

" INVESTIGATION A MERE FARCE."



PRAYER OF 28 ACCUSED.



**TO DISALLOW OFFICIALS CONCERNED
FROM ENQUIRYING.**



We understand that the following telegram has been sent by Mr. R. P. Karandikar, High Court Pleader, Satara, who went to Dharwar on the 15th instant.

THE TELEGRAM.

To H. E. The Rt. Hon. The Governor in Council, Bombay.

" Your Gracious Excellency.

I arrived Dharwar this morning. Saw some of 28 undertrial prisoners, Dharwar Jail. They handed over to me for transmission signed writing, countersigned by Superintendent Jail, Mr. Reid, containing the following:—

" We the 28 accused being really conscious of our innocence and quite willing to stand a fair trial strongly protest against no action being taken as yet to withdraw investigation of alleged Dharwar riots from the District Superintendent of Police and his subordinates who, we have strong grounds to believe, have been fabricating and continue to fabricate, false evidence mainly to save themselves and justify their illegal and unwarranted firing by involving scores of innocent peaceful and respectable citizens indiscrimi-

nately. The investigation, as at present conducted by, persons whom we allege to be guilty of murder, with the connivance, if not with the active help of the District Magistrate would be a mere farce, and has the appearance of striking horror into, and making an impression upon, the people.

We earnestly pray that the District Superintendent and his entire staff be withdrawn altogether from taking part in investigation. We further pray that Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa who is at the bottom of the whole affair and the District Superintendent of Police should be removed from this District.

We trust and pray that the bogey of prestige would not hinder justice which emphatically requires that local police be immediately withdrawn completely from investigation and investigation hitherto conducted be set aside.

(Here is the signature of 28 persons.)

SIGNATURES.

The signatures above referred to in the telegram are as follow:-

1. R. R. Divakar; 2. G. G. Guttal; 3. M. S. Kamapur; 4. T. K. Joshi; 5. Anant Shrinivas Dabade (in Canarese); 6. K. H. Mudvedkar; 7. V. R. Mudvedkar; 8. Shalambhat Khandbhat Narendra (in canarese); 9. Madhav Krishna Kalkeri (in Canarese) 10. M. B. Kabbur; 11, D. V. Herlekar; 12. H. R. Desai; 13. Narsing Narayanrao Bhise (in Canarese); 14. Wamanrao D. Jathar; 15. Abdullakha Khalasi; (in Canarese); 16. Modinsab (Durji) (in Canarese) 17. Mahamadsab Soudagar (in Canarese); 18. Abdulkhadar vd. Khadarsab Attar (in Canarese); 19. Mahamad Husain vd. Khadar Modin (in Canarese) Soudagar; 20. Raidurg; 21. Abdul Rahiman Abdul Khadar (in Urdu); 22. (Mark) Madarsab Husaf Tiwari; 23. Sultan Saheb Master (in Urdu); 24. Abdulla vd. Imambusen (in Canarese); 25. Abdulkhadar (in Canarese); 26. Usmansab Mulla Bettigeri (in Canarese); 27. A. B. Hoskeri; 28. Gopal Dhondrao Deshpande.

EXHIBIT No. 13.

Bombay Chronicle 19th July 1921.

DHARWAR SHOOTING CASE.

**DEFENCE PLEADERS NOT ALLOWED TO ENTER
COURT COMPOUND.**

ALLEGED INSULT TO VAKILS.

(From a Correspondent.)

Dharwar 18th July 1921.

The Court in the Dharwar shooting case is held in the jail. It is highly objectionable that Defence pleaders are not allowed to enter the compound for Court work. Mr. Kemp, Public Prosecutor, with Mr. Hulkoti, pleader, have been engaged by a liquor contractor and they are allowed to enter. Defence pleaders are insulted by the watchmen at the prison gate under orders. Defence pleaders after waiting for one hour at the gate, and after having been insulted, left the place in indignation at 2 p. m. There is no hope of justice. The principle of the open Court has been defied.

EXHIBIT No. 14.

Krishnaji Hanamant Mudvedkar.

Brahmin, age 48, Editor 'Karnatak Vritta'

Witness No. 3.

TO MR. JOSHI :—

I do the work of propagandist—Congress Propaganda. Since 1908. I am the sole proprietor. I take part in politics. The tone

of my paper is Nationalistic. I am a Congressman and a follower of Mahatma Gandhiji. The political atmosphere of the Karnatak before 1920 was dull. In 1920, May 12, 13, 14, the first Karnatak Political Conference was held at Dharwar. The Conference was held in order to unify the Kanarese speaking population and bring about a re-distribution of the provinces on linguistic basis. The political activities have improved after the Conference. It has secured the formation of a province on linguistic basis. There was an opposition from a section of people calling themselves Non-Brahmins. The Government officials fostered this opposition. On the 11th of May 1920 a Manifesto was issued by the Non Brahmin party to induce other Non-Brahmins to take part in the Conference to be held the next day. On the 9th of May there was the Divisional Co-operative Conference of which Hon. Curtis was the President. He and the Commissioner of the Southern Division had come here and it is my belief that they set up the opposition. I have some grounds for holding this view. I set this out at that time in my paper. I have no objection to file that issue of the paper. This statement has never been challenged. The local Government and the District officials get my paper. My movements are watched by the police and my lectures are reported by them. A Non-Brahmin Conference was held at Hubli in July. Sir P. Chetti of Madras presided. Maharaja of Kolhapur was present. For the time that Conference was to sit Mr. Joshi and Mr. Tabib were gagged by an official order under Sec. 142 of the Cr. P. Code. I know that this order was disobeyed by Mr. Joshi and as a result he was prosecuted. The Court held that the order was illegal. This year a second Non-Brahmin Conference was held at Belgaum about the end of May or beginning of June. A similar order was passed to gag Mr. Baman-gaokar. He is a Nationalist Lingayat. He had to go out 8 miles to address the people. Another Non-Brahmin pleader of Belgaum was also gagged. The gagging order was under Sec. 144 Cr. P. Code. The Government is trying to suppress all movements for Swarajya. After the Non-Brahmin Conference party factions have increased. As a counter move in opposition to the Congress propa-

ganda lectures were arranged for by the Non-Brahmin party. The leaders of the Non-Brahmin party have been advising people not to pay towards the Swarajya fund. The Government officials are trying to persuade people not to boycott foreign cloth by means of Circular or talk with people to this effect. I know of one meeting organised by Government officials against the boycott. Prior to the Calcutta Session of the Congress the political atmosphere here was not encouraging. Afterwards it took another shape. Since the Nagpur Sessions the progress has been completely satisfactory. The Government officials have always been hostile to Non-co-operation. The hostility has been increasing since April and has assumed the form of actual repression. The change has been due to the change in the personnel of the officers in the shape of the Collector, and the District Superintendent of Police. Up to the end of February 1921 Mr. Emanuel was the Collector and since then Mr. Painter is the Collector. Up to April 1921 Mr. Priestly was the District Superintendent of Police. The present incumbent is Mr. Marston. Both of them have come from Nasik. I know about the temperance movement in our district. I have taken some part in it. It began in April or the end of March. Picketing was resorted and Caste Panchayats formed. There has been no change in the method of working the pickets from the inception of the movement up to date. Prior to May the drunkards and Contractors were afraid of the moral force exercised by the picketeers and the caste panchayats. Attempts were made to oppose us. The attitude of the police was one of indifference. Before Mr. Painter arrived the District officers were not opposed to picketing. Since May the attitude of the Police has simply been arrogant. The attitude of the Contractors is equally bad. I know of no case in which force was used by the Contractors prior to May. Since I know of violence being used by servants of the Contractor. Mr. Guttal was beaten by a servant of the Contractor and his bone fractured. This was about the middle of June. One Mr. Karmarkar a picketing volunteer was once slapped on the cheek by the servant of the Contractor. Of the Contractors I only know Maneckji Karaka, and Mervanji Karaka. One Mr. Dabade was molested and bespattered

with mud whilst picketing. Picketeers have been dragged before Courts of law since May. I know of 8 or 9 cases in this District. Offences charged were of robbery. Picketing movement caused considerable decrease in the revenue. I know Mr. Painter's attitude towards our movement. It is completely hostile. Sales of toddy have not been held this year. They were announced once. I know about the Dharwar picketing case. Judgment was given in it on the 1st July. I was not here then. I was at Yellapur in the District of Karwar, about 40 miles from here. There is no railway communication. I left Dharwar on the 29th at 12-30 to go to Halliyal for collection of funds. I reached Halliyal same evening at about 4 p. m. The same evening there was a public lecture by me. Next day I worked at Halliyal to collect funds till 1 p. m. and then motored to Yallapur which I reached at 4 p. m. I gave a public lecture the same evening to the knowledge of the Police. On the 1st of July a police officer came and inquired of me my name &c. as I was about to start for Halliyal, Mr. Shamrao Badari and Mr. Kelkar (Secretary of the Halyal Congress Committee), Mr. Lingappa, a well known timber merchant as well as Abdul Khadar Maniar and the Moulvi of Halyal had accompanied me to Yallapur. We returned to Halyal at 7 p. m. of the 1st of July and spent the night there. We did some work there. I performed a political Kirtan from 8-30 to midnight. I left Halyal at 1 a. m. on the 2nd and reached Dharwar at 8 a. m. Mr. Badari travelled with me. I was arrested on the 4th of July. Whilst in Jail I engaged a pleader to apply for bail. The application was not granted. My pleader told me why it was not granted. He said that the Deputy Superintendent of Police informed the Session Judge that there were 19 witnesses against me to depose about my presence during the riot, so bail could not be granted. The trial commenced on the 18th of July. Myself and three other accused made representations to the Viceroy and the Government of Bombay praying for an independent inquiry Ex. No. 15, 5th July. This is a copy of that memorial. It is correct. I saw Mr. R. P. Karandikar whilst in the jail and desired him to send such a memorial with the signatures of the other 27 to the Governor in Council (Ex. No. 12). Some of us had

engaged lawyers to defend when the trial commenced on the 18th. Our pleaders did not come as it was rumoured they were not allowed to enter the Court. I know they had come as far as the gate of the Jail. Ex. No. 16. This is a copy of the petition all of us put in. I was discharged on the 27th as the prosecution withdrew the charges against me 65 witnesses had been examined up to the 27th. Only 3 witnesses mentioned something against me. After my discharge I made an application to the Committing Magistrate and sent one by post to Dy. Superintendent of Police asking for the names of the 19 persons who mentioned my name. Ex. No. 17. This now shown to me is the original application to the Magistrate with his *Shera*. I asked my pleader to get a copy of the Judge's notes of what the D. S. P. had said as to there being 19 witnesses against me. I did not get the copy. The Collector of Dharwar knows me by name as a political worker. I, Kadapa, and Vithalrao Joshi went to Hirekerur as Mr. Painter had gone there and was trying to break the moral of the people. We went and held a meeting and re-established the morale. The Mamlatdar and the Chitnis of the Collector carried on propaganda against us. In our lectures we attacked the begar system. The Government servants have taken this in very bad light as they cannot now get carts free of charge. I know that recourse to law courts has been had in some cases of *begar*. Ex. No. 18. Circular of the Collector as to boycott of foreign cloth.

19—8—1921.

Recalled. I produce the issues of 25 May 1920, 6th July 1920 and 14 June 1921. I also give translations of the passages marked in red pencil in the vernacular issues. (Issues marked Exs. 65, 66 and 67 and the translations Ex. 68).

25—8—21.

Sd. **ABBAS S. TYABJI,**

(BY WIRE)

EXHIBIT 15.

To,

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR

IN COUNCIL,

BOMBAY.

Camp, Poona.

COPY TO THE VICEROY.

May it please Your Excellency,

The humble petition of the following four persons who are accused and kept in Dharwar prison re Dharwar Police Shooting case :—

- (1) **V. R. Mudvedkar**, *Pleader Dharwar.*
- (2) **M. B. Kabbur** M. A., LL. B. *Pleader, Dharwar.*
- (3) **R. R. Divakar** M. A., LL. B. *Printer and publisher of Karmavir, a Canarese weekly, and*
- (4) **K. H. Mudvedkar**, *Editor Dhananjaya and Karnatak-vritta, a Canarese weekly, Dharwar.*

Respectfully sheweth :—

That the Shooting by the Sub-Inspector was unprovoked wanton and deliberate and that therefore the Sub Inspector is guilty of murder under the Indian Penal Code.

2. That the petitioners intend to prefer a charge of murder against the Sub Inspector and his Subordinates in this matter.

3. That the Sub Inspector is thus interested in concocting evidence against the petitioners with a view to shield himself against the charge of murder.

4. That the investigation of the case against the petitioners is now in the hands of the very man who was the culprit and offender that night (1st July 1921) and who knows that unless he concocts evidence against the petitioners he is liable to the punishment for murder.

5. That the petitioners are men of position and are double graduates and Editors of news papers and are making these statements quite aware of the consequences.

6. That in these circumstances it would be unfair to the petitioners that the investigation against them should be conducted by the said Sub Inspector Shivalingappa.

7. That the petitioners, therefore, pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to take the investigation from the hands of the said Sub Inspector and to appoint an independent officer to conduct the investigation against the petitioners and also the investigation of the charge of murder against the Sub Inspector and his sub-ordinates.

8. That the petitioners further beg to state that the District Magistrate, Dharwar on the 30th of June in an interview with second and third petitioners stated as follows :—

“ I am thirsting for your blood ”. “ I will not be satisfied until I see you in jail at least for one year.”

9. That, therefore the petitioners pray Your Excellency to direct that the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and their Sub-ordinates in Dharwar should have nothing to do in the conduct of the investigation of both these counter cases.

10. That, therefore, the petitioners pray that Your Excellency will kindly be pleased to grant this prayer in order to ensure the ends of justice. Petition posted.

DHARWAR,)
5-7-21.)

R. S. Margundkar,
Pleader.

Criminal Case No. 53/1921.

EXHIBIT No. 16.

IN THE COURT OF THE SPECIAL MAGISTRATE,

Dharwar.

Imperator Vs. Anant Shriniwas Dabade and 28 others.

Herein the following being under trial persons beg to state to the Court that they decline to take any part in the proceedings now launched against them for the following among other reasons:—

1. The same man who fired without any justification is still practically in charge of the investigation, preparation of the case and production of witnesses.

2. The officers who are responsible for the tragedy and who are the real offenders have not yet been removed from their offices.

3. The Defence pleaders were not allowed to enter inside the main prison-gate though they possessed passes while the prosecution people such as Messrs. Kemp, Shivarao and Hulkoti got admission without showing any tickets or passes whatsoever. Mr. Karandikar a defence pleader obviously ignored the attitude of the gate-keeper and stepped in as soon as the prosecution people got in and the other defence pleaders were pushed out even though they showed their passes.

4. As a result of the above no pleader in whom the accused have confidence in Dharwar nor Mr. R. P. Karandikar is willing to appear for them; so they must go undefended.

5. The place chosen for the Court-house is an additional index of facts driving the accused to the conclusion that they can have no fair trial and also the events from 1st July to up-to-date have shattered what faith they had in British Justice.

6. The rules for admission place needless and ridiculous restriction on admissions such as to deprive the accused of legitimate assistance in time from their relations and friends who, it is obvious must number more than allowed by the notice, having regard to the number of accused before the court and to the number of witnesses (123) that are appearing from several places against the accused.

For the above among other reasons the undersigned accused in the case refuse to take any part in these proceedings.

DHARWAR,	}	Signed by 29 accused
<i>Dated 19th July 1921.</i>	}	under trial prisoners.

EXHIBIT NO. 17.

To,

The Additional District Magistrate,

Dharwar.

SIR,

I was arrested in the Dharwar Riot case on the 4th July last and was discharged on the 27th by this court as the prosecution withdrew the case against me. The police officers stated in the sessions court on the 11th July at the time of the hearing of my application for bail, that 19 witnesses had stated against me in the investigation. I have very clear proof regarding my alibi on the date and at the time of the offence. I therefore wish to take such legal steps against these 19 witnesses both criminal and civil as I may be advised. I request your honour to kindly furnish me with the names of these 19 witnesses to enable me to do so in the interest of justice.

The diaries of the investigation are before your honour and the statements of the witnesses before the police can be had by your honour from the prosecution or the police. I therefore pray that the 19 names above referred to may be intimated to me as early as possible.

DHARWAR	}
<i>2nd August 1921.</i>	}

I beg to remain,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,

K. H. Mudvedkar.

ORDER.

I know of no provision of law under which I can grant this application.

Application refused.

DHARWAR,
2-8-1921,

Sd. **J. T. Lawrence,**
A. D. M.
Dharwar.

EXHIBIT NO. 18.

Dharwar 5th August 1921.

CIRCULAR,

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH.

All officers subordinate to the Collector and District Magistrate are desired to take steps to make people realize that in as much as India produces less than her population requires a boycott of foreign cloth and its destruction or export must inevitably lead to a serious rise in prices which may lead to disorder and looting, and that these consequences will be the result, not of any action on the part of Government, but of Mr. Gandhi's campaign.

2. The above steps may be taken by convening meetings at Taluka Head Quarters &c., or by counter arguments to be advanced at N. C. O. meetings. This is a good opportunity for Government officers to distinguish themselves on the lines already indicated in this office No. N. C. O. Conf. 5 of 25-5-21.

3. Any cloth dealers who are opposed to the boycott may with advantage be invited to discuss matters with the Prant officers or the Huzur Deputy Collector, and may there-after be asked to see the Collector in his office, any day from 12 noon to 2 P. M.

Sd/ **H. L. Painter,**
Collector and District Magistrate
Dharwar.

To,

All Prants, Huzur Deputy Collector, Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris.

Copies forwarded with compliments to the President of Municipalities, District Supdt. of Police Dharwar, Asstt. Supdt. of Police Dharwar, and the Deputy Supdt. of Police Dharwar.

EXHIBIT No. 19

Witness No. 4

Anantrao Yatgiri, Brahmin 31, Pleader.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I am a practising lawyer since 1913. I recollect 1st of July. I was in the Social Club at 7 p. m. which is known as Mitra Samaj. We were playing cards at 7-30 when we heard a noise from the direction of the Police Kacheri. Our Club boy came and informed us that there was a crowd by the Kacheri. Out of curiosity I went to see what was the matter. From the Police Kacheri I saw a number of people gathered by the liquor shop. A number of unarmed constables went from the Kacheri towards the shop. I went near the liquor shop. It was quite dark. There were no lights in the shop. Cries of Gandhi Maharajki jay and Tilak Maharajki jay, Hindu Musalman ki jay. I thought of directing the crowd to disperse but found no one of my acquaintance. There were about 50 persons before the shops. There was a line of the Police guarding the liquor shop. I saw nothing which would lead me to suppose the shops required guarding. I went to the meeting where Mr. Joshi was presiding. I informed the Congress Secretary and others that there were a number of constables near the liquor shop and asked them to send some one to get the people collected dispersed. Messrs. Gopalrao Deshpande and Venkatrao Mudvedkar came up to me and inquired what the matter was. I informed them so they volunteered to accompany me. We three then went to the liquor shop and

tried to induce the people to go away. I saw no rowdyism. As there were more constables than necessary I thought mischief would be done. I and Gopalrao went on one side and Venkatrao the other. We parted just in front of the liquor shop. We went towards the Police station and Venkatrao went towards the well. I and Gopalrao went and stood where the roads crossed. We saw the Police constables returning from the liquor shops to the Police Kacheri. About a minute or two later we saw 20 armed constables coming from the Head quarters. They went to the Police Kacheri and came out immediately headed by the Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa. They went towards the liquor shop. After 5 minutes I heard the firing shot. I was with Gopalrao by the Police front gate. Immediately after the first shot the constables fired from wherever they were. I and Gopalrao retreated and went to the Verandah of the Police Office. Some of the constables who were on the Verandah of the Police office also fired. The shots came from behind me. So we went behind those who were firing. I heard the firing by the shops. The firing lasted for some five minutes. Firing was not in one volley but independent shots were being fired. I saw cartridges being taken from the Police station towards the liquor shops. There were only about 25 persons by the Police Chowki standing here and there. They were mere spectators. Where I stood no warning was given before firing. Excepting the shouting by the crowd I saw nothing to justify shooting. When I came with Mr. Gopalrao I passed twice the liquor shop. There were more than 100 people behind the well and some 50 people were loitering near the liquor shops. The Police were standing quietly making no efforts to disperse the crowd. I saw no attempts to molest or assault the Police. I saw no attempts at destroying property. I saw no one inciting people to violence. I saw Mr. Kabbur also at the meeting. So also Messrs. Dabade and Kamalapur. Did not see Mr. Bhise. Mr. Gopalrao Deshpande is one of the accused. Gopalrao and I went to my house near the Sub-Judge Court after the firing. Gopalrao was with me till about 10-30 at night. Of the constables I first saw standing by the shop 2 or 3 were armed and the others not. I was examined by the Congress Com-

mittee in this matter on the 2nd of July. Mudvedkar was examined the same day, immediatly after me. More than a hundred shots must have been fired during the five minutes that the firing lasted. Whilst on my way home I heard a volley fired.

To Niyogi :—

The liquor shop was closed when I went up to it. It was about 8 then. as I left the club at 10 minutes to eight. From where I was in front of the gate I did not hear any cries of "burn, kill, repeat Malegaon," though I could hear the cries of Gandhi Maharaj ki jai &c. When I first saw the constables there were 15 or 16 of them. They were all in uniform. The police prevented people going to the shop to guard the shop. I saw no one going towards the shop. I saw one volunteer Abdul Rahiman. He is now in custody. He was only standing on one side. Some of the Police accompanied the Sub-Inspector and others stood in the verandah of the Kacheri and some were loitering near the gate. About 20 must have accompanied the Sub-Inspector to liquor shop. They were armed.

19—8—21.

Sd. **A. S. TYABJI,**

EXHIBIT 20.

Witness No. 5.

Raghavendra H. Shirahatti. *Brahmin, 40, Medical Practitioner.*

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a L. M. and S. of the Bombay University. I was in Dharwar on the 1st of July. After 6-30 I was at the meeting on the Khilafat ground. The meeting was for giving an account of the Swaraj fund. Work began after 6-30. Meeting lasted for about 2 hours. At the highest there must have been about 2000 persons. Mr. Hukerikar one of the District Congress Committee began the proceeding. Mr. Joshi was in the chair. Kulkarni, another Secretary read the accounts. Some rings were then auctioned.

Hukerikar acted as auctioneer for 4 or 5 minutes, then Mr. Dabade who is one of the accused in the riot case. Then a resolution was passed about the volunteers convicted that day. Mr. Divakar proposed the resolution. It was seconded by Moulvi Kasim Saheb. Kamalapur one of the accused supported it. The resolution was carried. Then a fund was collected for the families of the two volunteers. Messrs. Dabade and Bhise worked for this. Both the volunteers were moslims. There were many moslims at the meeting. I saw Abdul Khalasi, Chairman of the Khilafat Committee, Mohidin Darji, Soudagar book-binder, Sultan Master. Sultan Master is an active Khilafat worker. Mr. Kabbur was there. Mr. Mudvedkar was also there for some time. Herlekar was for some time at the meeting. He came late. Abdul Khadar Attar was present. Guttal was not there at all. Hanmant Ramrao Desai was there just before I left the meeting. I saw Gopalrao Deshpande at the latter part of the meeting. Bhise was there. We then began to hear whistles from the direction of the liquor-shop. In order to prevent the people going towards the whistling, we continued the meeting. The whistling created some fear among the people. Kamalapur volunteered to give history of Huzlal Omar. Whilst he was lecturing we heard gun-shots. I first heard shots fired independently and then about a minute later a volley. I could count in all about 50 reports. Our meeting continued for 4 or 5 minutes. People had got frightened. A boy came saying " Doctor, this is not the time for a meeting ; They are murdering us " The boy's name is Shivalingaya. The boy was wounded. I tried to take him to my dispensary. Others then came and said two or three were dead and wanted me to go towards the liquor shop. I suggested that a light should be taken there. I was really afraid of going to the place where firing had taken place. I sent the boy to another doctor's as my dispensary was closed. Then many wounded persons came there. I think I treated 20 to 25 persons that night. I treated 21 on the 1st and some more on the 2nd and 3rd. Kallya, Tangawala was wounded after Kitson light was taken. Patil, a Sanitary Inspector in the Municipality, Mr. Gilganehi, a clerk in the Municipality, Mr. Jali Jamadar, one Chitragar were also wounded during the last

firing. When I asked Patil why he had gone there he said to help the wounded. I treated a police constable and a police night watchman also. Of the accused Abdul Rahiman and Abdul Vajuddin Daroga had come to me also for treatment. Abdul Rahiman and Vajuddin Daroga were working as paid Khilafat picketing volunteers. I treated that night two Municipal servants for gunshot wounds. I treated no one else who belonged to the Congress Committee or the Khilafat Committee. I treated no one during the week for injuries caused by stones being flung at them. Eight of the persons treated by me were shot from behind and the rest from the front. At least three persons whom I treated were under 18 viz : Datar Madar Saheb Pendharee aged about 14, Veerbhadra Channappa Marihal (about 14 years) and Mahadevappa Yallappa (15 years), Ramchandra Belgaumkar aged 18 years. Vajuddin Daroga is about 18 years. Tapas is about 16 to 17 years old. Kalia alias Abdul Tongavala is between 18 to 20 years. Shivalingaya is about 18 years. Devendra (a barber) is about 18 years of age. All the wounds were caused by buck shots. I produce two pellets as specimens. The others were like them.

Ex. No. 21, 22 & 23. I examined the bodies of three persons who were killed. I have got photos which I produce. In the case of the boy seen in Ex. 21 I saw three wounds larger than those occasioned by buck shots. The other wounds were by buck shots. Ex. No. 24. Cases 31 filed along with Ex. 24 (vide Appendix B). I produce my post mortem notes. As soon as I went to my dispensary after the firing I sent for my Compounder, Dr. Kirloskar and Dr. Deshpande. I also asked Dr. Huilgol to come but he was working in his dispensary. Y. B. Jathar and B. A. Joshi and one Karigouda were taking down notes of the wounds at our dictation. I saw Venkatrao Mudvedkar near my dispensary. He came to me and wrote for me a yadi to the Police. I sent Dr. Kirloskar with Mr. B. A. Joshi for the assistance of the wounded. I know when picketing was started in Dharwar. It was started irregularly in March and regularly in April. By irregularly I mean some members of the public especially Mahomedans, without being organised. In the beginning the Congress people did not take a part in

Victims in the Dharwar Shooting.



Ex. 21. Malik age about 17.



Ex. 22. Abdul Latba age about 35.



Ex. 23. Gousu Rajesab age about 30.

it but when the Khilafat people came to us we joined the movement and organized it. We Congress men joined the movement as people who wanted to prevent the liquor traffic did not act properly. The movement had commenced before the Khilafat people had taken it up. When the movement began there was certain amount of violence in the shape of people being made to ride donkeys and faces being besmeared with tar. People were very much afraid of this. By the advice of Moulana Mahomad Ali the Khilafat Committee took up the matter. They formed Jamats in Mohallas to whom reports about people who drank were made. They fined such people. Mahomad Ali had told them to stop the ass riding and to picket the shops. Then some of the Khilafat people began to go to the shops to picket & also some enthusiasts from the Congress party. It was found that the shops could not be picketed the whole time; so the Khilafat and Congress bodies appointed paid volunteers with instructions to avoid all violence. When the movement was first started the Police was indifferent enjoying the fun of "ass riding" &c. The liquor contractors did not take much notice as it was thought the movement would fail in a week's time. The situation was considered serious when Khilafat and Congress men joined it. The Police remained indifferent but the contractors were terrified and began to appeal to high officers. Then D. S. P. Mr. Priestly did not much mind the matter but the Collector Mr. Painter was somewhat against it. One day he came to the liquor shop suddenly and began to question the volunteers and a dialogue ensued which has been printed in the Chronicle. Individuals began to feel ashamed of going to the liquor shops singly so the Collector used to collect several men and took them to the shops. Contractors began to supply liquor to their clients' houses. One such case was taken by a responsible person to the Excise Inspector but he said nothing could be done. By the end of April Contractors began to engage hooligans. The attitude of the Contractors changed and their servants began to ill-treat the picketeers. In order to avoid disturbances we began to preach in the Mohallas so that they should punish those who were reported to them as having gone to drink at the shops. To the picketeers we said there was to be no violence and we arranged that respect-

able persons like pleaders and the like should go to the picketing and not mere boys. In the first instance the Contractors respected such people but ended by abusing and ill-treating them and finally ended by assaulting Mr. Guttal. It was the Contractors' men that assaulted Guttal. The contractors did try to drag the workers to the Court. This had occurred in Hubli in the month of May and I heard similar reports from other parts of the District. One man told us that a Contractor wished him to lay a false complaint against a picketeer by saying that he had been robbed of Rs. 50. This man gave a report in writing to the Congress Committee. After the Hubli picketing case the attitude of the Police changed. Prior to May the Sub Inspector Shivalingappa was somewhat sympathetic but subsequently became hostile. It is an open secret that the change was due to the new D. S. P. Immediately after his arrival the attitude of the whole Police Department changed. Shivalingappa and myself were good friends. The picketing case at Dharwar was of a series of similar cases. The authorities thought the Hubli case was a success and so they started similar cases else where. I was a Municipal Councillor here but I have now resigned on account of the advice given by Mahatma Gandhi that we should give up our seats to enable the Non-Brahmins to get in. Some of the Non-Brahmin loaders are against Brahmins. The majority of Non Brahmins are indifferent but are led by their leaders. The Lingayats form a large portion of the Non Brahmins. Mr. Desai, Mr. Deshpande and Mr. Herlekar who are among the accused are important members of the Municipality. In the Municipality there are two parties. The Brahmins and the Lingayats. The feeling of the Non-Brahmin party is intense against these three.

I am quite sure that Messrs. Kabbur, Divakar, Dabade, Bhise, Kamlapur, Abdul Saheb Khalasi & Sultan Master were in the meeting till I left it. I say this as during the meeting they were seated close to me. Herlekar came late in the meeting between 7 and 7-30. I know Darji was there when Kamlapur was speaking because I said something to him about Oomer Khalif. I saw during the latter part of the meeting Messrs. Mudvedkar, Desai, Yatgiri, and Deshpande.

Just about the time the whistles were blown these gentlemen came to me and said 'people were collecting at the shop and so it would be better if we went to disperse them.' I and Moulana Kasim accompanied them for some distance and then stopped thinking it would be better to have a light. The others went ahead. Kabbur had not come with us so I began to call for him but he called me back to the meeting where Kamlapur was lecturing about the Khalif.

To Niyogi :—

The most vigorous propagandists in the District were Messrs. Mudvedkar, Kadapa, Dikshit, Vithalrao Joshi, V. N. Joshi, Raichur and Moorti. Messrs Hukerikar, Divakar, Kabbur, Kamlapur and Dabade, worked in Dharwar. Messrs Kamlapur and Dabade worked in their own Talukas and worked here as picketeers. Bhise was a vigorous propagandist. He was taken by all the parties as he is a Non-Brahmin.

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Sd/- A. S. T.

Further questioned by Mr. Joshi :—

Mr. Guttal came to my dispensary immediately after he had been beaten whilst picketing. Senior Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa was present there. A PUNCHAMA was made of the injuries. The left wrist had been injured. I suspected a fracture. He had marks of beating with sticks behind the right shoulder bone. The Sub-Inspector wrote a note to the authorities in the Civil Hospital to examine Mr. Guttal and prepare a case. From my dispensary Guttal who could not walk on account of the injuries was carried to Kabbur's house as he could not bear to go further. He was in agonies,

28-8-1921.

Sd/ A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 20 A.

SEE APPENDIX B.



EXHIBIT No. 24.

SEE APPENDIX B.

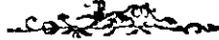


EXHIBIT No. 25.

Witness No. 6

Shripad Raghunath Kirloskar.

Brahmin, 35, Medical practitioner, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am an M. B., B. S. of the Bombay University. I am a private practitioner since the last eight years. I was in Dharwar on 1st July. At 7 P. M. I was in my garden outside the town. At about 8 P. M. I came to the Mitra Samaj. I was there for 10 or 15 minutes when I left to go home by the Market road. H. R. Desai, B. S. Sawkar & myself left together with a servant who carried a lantern. It would take 2 or 3 minutes to go from the Mitra Samaj to the corner of the Market. After I passed Dr. Shirhatti's I heard some shots fired. I had separated from H. R. Desai near the Khilafat office as he stood speaking to Mr. Narayanrao Deshpande, a pleader. Just as I had reached home and changed clothes I was called to treat the wounds of some who had been shot. I went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. There were a number of wounded persons there. Dr. Deshpande and Shirhatti and myself attended on the wounded. Information was given that a doctor was wanted as some people were dying near the toddy shop. I, Joshi, & Rambhat Joshi and a volunteer took a lantern ordering material and milk and went there. As we were going by the road to Jakni Bhavi we were stopped at the cross road. We saw a Cordon of Police. I was stopped at the point A marked on the map. At point B there was a cordon of Police. After my informing that I was a Doctor four of us were allowed to go forward. We saw two bodies lying in front of the toddy shop. Bo-

dies were at C & D and Kitson light at K. I examined the bodies. The boy lying at D was still alive but unconscious and the other at C was dead. This was between 10 and 10-15. None was attending on these two. The A. S. P. was standing by the Police Cordon. He remarked "This is Non-Violent Non-co-operation" pointing to the bodies. Mr. Joshi pleader said "This is not the time to talk of this matter as we have come only to attend the wounded. As I was attending the boy the D. S. P. and the Collector with a revolver in his hand came there. He asked me who I was I said 'Dr. Kirloskar'. Before asking me he inquired who we were and he was told. I was a Doctor. There upon he said "Are you Doctor Shirhatti?" I said "No, I was Dr. Kirloskar". The Collector took down our names. A man named Desai had accompanied us without our knowledge. That man just gave his name as Desai. The Collector said "Are you Hanmantrao Desai?" He said he was Surendra S. Desai. This man had a Gandhi cap on. The boy's condition was serious and so I advised he should be taken immediately to the Civil Hospital. The boy was aged about 15. Ex. 21 is the photo of the boy. The officials asked me to bring a *tonga*. I know the Collector has a motor car. I did not see one there. A large number of Police constables were available to fetch a *tonga*. A cart was brought and drawn by Volunteers as no bullocks were available. A Damni was at last got and the boy was sent in it to the Hospital. Volunteer Mutalik Desai was sent with the boy at the Collector's request. I put the boy into the Damni with the help of a constable. After that just as we were returning & had come upto A the people said another body was lying in the gutter. I with Collector's permission went back and found the boy at E. The person must have died just then, as the body was still warm. This was at about 5 to 10 minutes after I saw the first body. When I went no one was attending on the 3rd body. I did not examine to see of what he had died. Subsequently I examined the three bodies. Death was due in all the cases to gun-shot wounds. The boy, who was bleeding, urgently required medical assistance. When I was first talking to the Collector I recollect having seen Mr. Godbole. He reported to the Collector that Mudvedkar was attending to some

wounded in Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. Collector remarked " Mudvedkar is not a Doctor." The Collector asked us to advise people not to do such things again. I saw no stones scattered in the road.

I met the Hon. Mr. Hayward when he came here. On his asking me if the conduct of the Collector was callous and negligent as reported in the Chronicle, I said it was. Mr. Hayward had informed me that the Collector had arrived at the spot at 9 P. M. As I had arrived at 10 and yet nothing had been done I stigmatised the conduct in those terms. I treated no case of injuries occasioned by stones.

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Sd/ A. S. T.

Further examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I was present at the time Punchnama of the wounded boy was made. Mr. Shivalingappa was present there. He said the boy's age should be put down as 20 and we all said he was no more than 15. I and Shivlingappa were face to face at the time I first went there at about 10 or 10-15. I did not notice any swelling or blood mark on his face. I certainly would have seen the swelling or the dried blood on his face had either been there. There were no stains of blood on his clothes. If there was a small contused wound on the outer end of the left eye-brow I did not see. It may have been a small abrasion and was not noticeable from where I was.

28—8—1921.

Sd/ Abbas S. TyAbji,

EXHIBIT NO. 26.

Witness No. 7.

Keshav Gurao Huilgol

Brahmin, 30, Medical Practitioner, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am an M. B., B. S. of the Bombay University. On the night of the 1st of July I treated some cases of gun-shot wound. I treated 7 on the 1st and 3 fresh cases on the 2nd. Among those treated by me on the 1st day was a Municipal Sanitary Inspector. Among those I treated were 6 boys. I asked the Sanitary Inspector how he happened to go there. He said he had gone to help the wounded and was shot. One of those treated was wounded at the back of the knee joint. The rest were injured in front. I treated no case of injuries by stones during that week. I produce my notes of cases. The Sanitary Inspector's case is not amongst these as he was not satisfied and went to Dr. Shirhatti. I was present at the examination of the three dead bodies on the 3rd. Exs. 21, 22, 23 are the photos of the 3 bodies examined and Ex. 24 are the notes. I know Messrs Kabbur and Divakar of the "Karmavir". They are among the accused in the riot case. I know that these gentlemen had been to the Collector on the 30th of June. Mr. Kabbur saw me after the visit. He met me on the 30th. (Question allowed to be put as it is to be used as corroboration of what Kabbur and Divakar will state.) Mr. Kabbur told me that the Collector warned him and his companion for certain articles of his in the "Karmvir" and that he said he was thirsting for his blood and would be glad to see him in jail for one year. I was present for a few minutes at the meeting of 1st July. Vinayakrao Joshi presided. Of the gentlemen I saw there I recollect Mr. Dabade.

To Mr. Niyogi:—

I went to the meeting at 7 p. m. I went away a few minutes later. I think between 2 and 3 thousands were present.

To Tyabji:—

The meeting had commenced.

20—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT NO. 27.

SEE APPENDIX B.

EXHIBIT NO. 28.

Witness No. 8.

Gurunath Nilkanth Deshpande,

Brahmin, 32, Medical practitioner. Dharwar

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I assisted Dr. Shirhatti in dressing the wounds of persons wounded on the 1st of July. I examined three bodies of which the report is Ex. 24. Exs. 21, 22 and 23 are the photos. I met no case with wounds caused by thrown stones.

To Niyogi:—

I was in Government service for nearly 4 years as Sub Assistant Surgeon. I gave up the service and started private practice. I saw the Sanitary Inspector at Dr. Shirhatti's and treated him that night. I asked him how he happened to go there. He said he went with a Kitson light to assist the wounded when he was shot.

20—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

RECALLED.

To Mr. Joshi :—

On coming to my dispensary after the firing I wanted the key to open the dispensary to dress the wounds of a boy who had fallen into a gutter. The boy's name is Ghatigar. He had a cut on the lower chin, I asked Shripad the owner of the opposite shop to fetch the key. I had previously asked Kuber. Shripad brought the key and opened the dispensary. At that time Basappa Churmuri was also present. With Shripad Basappa also came into the dispensary and held the lamp whilst I was dressing the boy's wounds. Afterwards some four boys came to me and told me that Dr. Shirhatti wanted me. I, Shripad and Basappa went to the Doctor's dispensary. There I last saw Basappa. It was nearly 8-30. When we went to Doctor Shirhatti's.

25—8—21

Sd/ A. S. T.

EXHIBIT NO. 29.

Witness No. 9.



Balvant Mahadev Betdur.

Brahmin, 63, Pleader, Agriculturist & Money lender, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I practised about 33 years. For about 10 years I have not been practising seriously. I recollect 1st July 1921. I was near about the market between 6 and 7. I went that evening towards the Police Thana and the liquor shop. Whilst I was in the market I began to hear a number of Police whistles and Police bells. So I went to see what the matter was. I first went to the Police Thana. I passed out of the heart of the market by the bridge marked F. I crossed the road and then went over some open land and got to the Police Thana. I stood in the road near the Thana gate. I heard a call "Who is it?" which appeared to be a query made at the phone. I saw some constables in the compound. Many persons

were coming there. I did not try to find out who telephoned. I saw some people blowing whistles but they were not in uniform. The blowing of the whistles was going on from the compound of the Thana. A man was running ahead of me blowing whistles. Sounds of blowing whistles came from the direction of the liquor shop and the brandy shop. I saw people thronging from the town side by the road leading to the District Judge's Court and from the lane leading to Arur's house. About 1000 persons collected in this way. It may have been 7 P. M. I am not certain about this. It was not quite dark then. I stood in front of the Thana for about 15 minutes. Just as I stood there I saw a fire which looked as if in the Verandah of the liquor shop. - I stood watching. After 10 minutes I saw some Police armed and unarmed running from the compound of the Thana towards the liquor shop. After the Police went there the fire was not to be seen. After a few minutes seeing no disturbance near the liquor shop I proceeded that way. There were many on lookers at the Police Thana like myself. When I went to the liquor-shop I saw 8 or 10 constables in uniform in a row in front of the liquor shop. I saw no disturbance in front of the liquor shop, or any breach of peace. The road was full of people. The people were up to the Police. No space between them. On and off the people cried "Gandhi Maharajki Jai.," I stood at and heard the policemen ask one another for a match box. This struck me very strange. So I quietly stood there to see what would go on. Some one from among the bystanders gave a match box. As the Police kept quiet after getting the match box I retired. After I had gone about 80 paces from where I stood I saw a blaze due to a tatti being on fire by the Verandah. The blaze was between the shops and the police beyond whom was the public. I can say that at the time I left there was no one between the police and the partition. When the blaze was as high as the rafter I saw the tatti knocked down with a stick. As I heard the request for a match box and as no attempt was made to put out the fire till the blazerose to and the rafters, I became suspicious and stood where I was. As nothing was seen of the fire after the *tatti* was brought to the ground, I went on and came near the place where a meeting was being held.

The crowd in front of the liquor shop was not so great as to cause obstruction to those who wished to go along the road either way not even to men of my age. Before reaching the point N, I was overtaken by Hanmantrao Desai, Mr. Kirloskar and Sawkar. I had a talk with them. Hanmantrao Desai asked me what was up at the liquor shop. As he, being a young man, asked such a question without going himself to see, I cut a joke and told him to go and see for himself. We all then came to point H. I, Narayanrao Deshpande, Dr. Kirloskar and Hanmantrao Desai stood at H. Narayanrao Deshpande said that the preparations of the Police look to be grave and that the people in front of the liquor shop ought to disperse. Hanmantrao Desai and Narayanrao Deshpande went to the meeting to ask Vinayakrao Joshi and others to ask those who were before the liquor shop to come to the meeting or go home. They did not return soon. In the meanwhile I heard reports of firing. It must have been about 8 P. M. but I am not certain. I turned back and came along the market road tried to go to the Police Station by crossing the triangular piece of ground by the pipe-stand. The Police shouted to me from the road by the Police Thana not to come. I came to N and stood there for a couple of minutes and then heard a second volley of fire. I stood there sometime more and saw a motor car coming. It went and stood by the Police station. I turned back to H and turned up the road and went home. The meeting was going on when I first heard reports whilst at H. When I heard the second volley, I saw the glare of a light over the roofs. It looked like the light of a kitson light. I tried to go to the liquor shop next morning but Police prevented me. As I tried to come by the Arur-road at P the Police prevented me from going to the shop. I went on straight to the market road. On the 3rd day too I tried to go towards the liquor-shop. I was stopped at the same point. The roads were thus blocked for two or three days. I went 2 or 3 days after the firing towards the shop there being no Police men. On that occasion I saw one Policeman by the liquor shop. I don't recollect seeing stones on the tiles of the roof. As far as I could see no tiles broken. The tiles of the liquor shop were black but I saw pieces of red

tiles scattered among them. What happened to me curious was that small heaps of red pieces of broken tiles placed in the gutter of the roof. I was examined by the District Congress Committee. I was examined on the 2nd of July. As I was returning from H after the first firing I was overtaken by Kabbur and Mudvedkar. I heard them saying some cycle is required to send for the Civil Surgeon or some assistant from the Civil Hospital to assist to some wounded persons said to be lying by the toddy shop.

To Tyabji :—

The thousand people were assembled between the Thana and the well and the bye streets. The cry of Gandhiki Jai was only raised near the liquor shop. I only heard this once or twice. The door of the liquor shop, I believe, was closed at the time I was there. The people were attracted by the Police whistles so far as I could see. I did not see any picketers stopping or obstructing any people. I did not inquire why these whistles were being blown. Whilst I was present the police simply stood doing nothing whilst the people were moving about. No altercation between the people and the Police was going.

To Niyogi :—

I am not connected with the Congress or Khilafat movement. Dabade was not at the liquor-shop. I saw him at the meeting. So also Kamalapur. I did not see Divakar, Kabbur, Mudvekar, Herlekar, Guttal, Bhise and Deshpande. Guttal had been wounded 20 days or a month before the firing and he was living in his house. I had last seen him 10 days before the firing.

20-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 30.

Witness No. 10.

Hanmantrao Laxmanrao Senapati
Brahmin, 67, Cook, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I was standing before the Rajanhansa press on Friday the 1st of July to see what was going on at the meeting presided by Mr. Joshi. I heard Dabade and Venkatrao Mudvedkar addressing the people. Hearing an uproar from the west I went in that direction to see what was up. I went by the market road passing the public lantrines to the Jakni well and stood about the point K in Ex. 3. I saw a fire set to the bamboo tatti in front of the liquor shop. There were 8 or 10 policemen near the tatti in uniform. The public was in front of the Police on the other side of the road. No police were assaulted or attacked. There were many on-lookers but they were quiet. A whistle was blown after the fire and then as it was getting late I went home. I know the principal men of the town. I know Vinayakrao Joshi, Mudvedkar, Desai, Gopalrao Deshpande, Dabade, Divakar, and Kabbur. Also Kamapur, Damu Herlekar. None of these were present at the liquor shop.

To Niyogi :—

This was about 8 or 7-45. I heard no cries.

To Tyabji :—

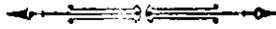
I did not see who started the fire. The tatti went on burning and no body put out the fire whilst I was there. I stood quarter of an hour at the liquor shop. I did not recognise any one present there. I don't know Abdul Rahiman. The door of the liquor shop was closed. During the 15 minutes people watched the fire, and no one even called out " Fire, fire. "

21-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. TYABJI,**

EXHIBIT No. 31

Witness No. 11

**Mahamedgous Imamsab Langoti Jamadar***Mahomedan, 24, trader, Dharwar.**Examined by Mr. Joshi :—*

I am a member of the Khilafat Committee. Abdulsalam Hakim is the President. Abdulla Saheb Khalasi is the Chairman. Mohiddin Saheb. Durji and Mahomedsaheb Soudagar are the Secretaries. The last three are accused persons in the riot case. Abdul Khadar Attar, Budan Saheb Chapparband, Mahomed Hussian Rotivala who are members of the Managing Committee are also accused in the said case. Sultan Master, a clerk of the Khilafat Committee is also an accused. Two volunteers Abdul Rahiman and Abdulla Daroga are also accused. Abdul Khadar Langoti, a volunteer was also charged but he has been discharged. There were six paid volunteers of the Khilafat Committee. Of these two had been punished on the 1st of July. There are 2 or 3 members of the Managing Committee who are not accused persons. I was in the town on the 1st of July. The prosecution against the 2 volunteers sentenced on the 1st began in May. Picketing was going on here since April. The Police did not obstruct us in the month of April. The owners of the liquor shop did not threaten or use force to us. Now since the month of may they have changed. The shop keepers began to abuse, to throw dust at the volunteers and others who went to picket and got the Police to make the volunteers move on. Prosecutions against the Khilafat volunteers were started in Betgeri, Gadag, Hubli and Ranebennur. In April only the Khilafat volunteers did picketing work. From May the Congress party also assisted us: Both in April and May the Sub-Inspector of Police was Shivlingappa. The present D. S. P. Mr. Marston turned his attention to picketing since May. The previous one had

not done so. My idea is that the Khilafat joined hands which was not liked. The D. S. P. took personal interest in carrying on the prosecution of the 2 volunteers. He used to attend personally. The complainant in that case was the D. S. P's Bhangi. I know personally that the Bhangi paid 13 annas as a fine and it has been credited as such in our books. The case was that the 13 annas had been taken by force. The decision was given at about 1-30 or 2 P. M. The Police Superintendent was present at the time. There was a police party of some 20 among whom were the Inspector and the Sub-Inspector. At the time of the removal of the prisoners the Motor of the D. S. P. came to a stand and people said it had been stoned. There were about a 100 or 150 of us there. We had taken flowers to garland them but we were not allowed to do so. The prisoners left the *Kacheri* at 2 P. M. About a 100 people followed them to jail. I too went. On the way back from the jail all dispersed. I have seen Manakji Karaka's house. I came back that way. None threw stones at it. We returned to the town at about 3 o'clock. On returning from the jail all the shops were closed. I also closed mine and went home. I came out of the house at 5 or 5-30 P. M. and went to the market liquor shop to see if the picketing was going on and to see if there was a change in the number going to the shop. Abdul Rahiman alone was there. He used to speak to those who were going to drink. There were some children in front of the shop about 50 or 60 in number. This was the usual condition. The children used to follow those who left the shop after drinking calling out "Gandhi-ki-jai" and so on. The crowd began to increase. After I went to the liquor shop a couple of armed policemen who stood in front of the door came armed. This was not an ordinary circumstance as only unarmed police used to come. There were some police in plain dress mingling with us. The number of 50 increased to about 200. The standing of 2 constables armed attracted a larger crowd. Just at this time a police man named Shahabuddin came for a drink. The volunteers tried to dissuade him but he went into the toddy shop and drank. People began to call him out, so he began to spit towards them. The boys began to call out loudly "Gandhi-ki-jai, Tilak Maharaj-ki-

jai, Hindu Musalman-ki-jai, Shaukat Ali-ki-jai " Shahabuddin throw some toddy out of a pot when the shouting became great. He threw stones and then closed the shop. The children outside threw pieces of tiles on the shop. They continued calling out. Whilst this was going some more police came. Neither the police nor I said any thing to the boys. The fresh police stood between the shop and the people. At about 7 P. M. I went to the meeting at the Khilafat maidan. I know that at that meeting ornaments were to be auctioned, that money was to be raised for the family of the 2 volunteers who had been sent to the jail. At the time I left the shop there was no Hindu or Mahomedan leader there. They were all at the meeting. Mahomed Oomar Foujdar of the Police Department was taking down notes of the proceedings of the meeting. Every one of those Muslims who have been arrested with the exception of Abdul Rahiman, Abdulla Darogha and Janglisab alias Usman Kasim Dadasaheb Mulla were present at the meeting. Many more Muslims including those from other villages were present. The Jahagirdar of Bad was present. Of the Hindu accused I saw Dabade, Jathar, Kamlapur, Divakar, Kabbur, Venkatrao Mudvedkar, Herlekar, Bhise, Shalambhat there. I am not now sure about Jathar but I am sure that Messrs. Guttal, Desai, and Deshpande were not there. I was for a short time at the meeting. Hearing sounds of whistles and bells by the liquor shop I went there at the same time as the Sub-Inspector Mahomed Oomar. The Chairman Mr. Joshi ordered the audience to be seated when some showed disposition to leave it. I went and stood by the fish market (R). From there I could see the toddy shop. When I moved to (S). I was able to see both shops. I saw the tatti in front of the shop on fire. By the light I saw two men who were there. One had 'Ijar' (trousers) on and the other was in cap and *dhoti*. I presumed they belonged to the Police. These people put out the fire. Between the public and the tatti there was the Police Cordon and the other two persons were between the Cordon and the tatties. On whistles being blown whilst I was at the meeting large numbers came from all sides. The tatti caught fire twice or thrice and then some one brought it down by a blow with a stick. Sub-Inspector

Shivlingappa came there with 15 or 20 policemen some armed. When I went to the liquor shop I found people standing astonished at the flame asking each other what had happened. They had ceased to call out. This was all the occurrence of about 5 or 10 minutes. Shivlingappa told the people to disperse and they commenced to do so. He recalled his men and then suddenly firing occurred. There was confusion and some were crying. I went inside the compound of the Mutton market and remained there half an hour. I came out as firing had ceased. There was no one by the shop. It was quite dark. Then 7 or 8 persons came with a Kitson light and put it before the shop. They began to search for the wounded. Just as they were bringing up one there was a second volley directed at the persons who had brought the light and were searching. On neither occasion was any warning given by the Police or any one else that fire was going to be opened. The second firing was from the direction of the Kacheri. Before the first firing no dispute arose between the Police and any one else. Nor did any one go to attack the Police. For two to three days people were debarred from going by that road. At the time of the light being brought the Sanitary Inspector Patil had accompanied it. He was wounded. One Kalia Tangawala was also wounded at the same time. None of the Khilafat party was killed. One of the three killed was a Moslim "Labba" (trader in skins). He was inhabitant of Alnawar. His photo is Ex. 22. Another was named Ghous whose photo is Ex. 23. A boy, whose photograph is Ex. 21, was a servant in the railway printing press. He had nothing to do with volunteering or picketing. Among the people who were attracted towards the liquor shops by the blowing of whistles there were some old women also.

To Niyogi :—

What Shabuddin threw was a piece of broken earthen pot. When I went to the meeting Kamlapur was addressing it. Bhise was collecting money. I went away after this. No stones were thrown at Shivlingappa after his arrival nor were stones thrown at the people. No body shouted 'he should be beaten.'

To Tyabji :—

The Policeman from inside threw pieces of broken pot twice or thrice whilst the boys went on throwing when I left about 20 minutes later. I saw no one on the road besides the men who brought the Kitson light at the time of the second firing. The second firing was from *inside* the compound of the Katcheri.

21-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT 32.

Witness No. 12.

Ulvappa Chanbasappa Hapli.

Lingayat 43, trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I remember the 1st of July. I was present in the evening at the meeting in the Khilafat Maidan. I was in the meeting till dark. As I heard whistles from the side of the Market and as some people went that side I too went there. I took the market road and stood by the brandy shop. People said the liquor shop had been set on fire. I went and stood at point T. Others had also come and were coming like myself and standing by the corner near T. I saw a crowd standing towards Jaknibhavi side and in front of the liquor shop some children were standing. Whenever the tatti flared up I could see policemen by its side. There were 10 to 12 policemen. The police were in front of the shop whilst there were crowds to the right and left of them and in their front. The first time the flare was not much. I saw a Muslim Sub-Inspector coming there with some constables. They told the people to go away saying it

would not be well for them if they remained thereafter. The Sub-Inspector came back and the children followed him crying 'Gandhi Maharaj ki jai'. They followed him about 10 to 15 feet towards the Thana side and then came back and stood where they were before. Shivalingappa then came with about 20 or 25 policemen. He took them back to the Thana and brought them back armed. He then asked the men to fire. Shivalingappa was 30 to 50 feet from me, between me and the liquor shop. First the firing was in the air, then on all sides. Some boys who stood somewhere near me on the other side of the 'damni' were injured by shots fired from the Thana. Their names were Guttyappanavar Basappa and Betdur. One is aged about 20 or 22 and another about 30. I call them boys as they are younger than myself. There was one Muslim boy however aged 8 or 10. He was also wounded in the leg. Being protected by the damni I escaped. Before the order to fire was given I saw no one molesting or attempting to molest the police. When the firing took place we all said it was sham and we stood where we were saying this. The second firing was within a minute or two. This was the firing from all sides. Shivlingappa's party fired towards the liquor shop. Those who were standing in the triangle in front of the Thana were mostly traders. These were the men fired upon from the Thana. None of them were either Khilafat or congressmen. No warning had been given to us. If it had been given we should have been the first to run away, our life being dear to us. When people began to be wounded we all began to run away. I ran to the market where cocoanuts are sold. In the meantime the wounded Muslim boy was brought by Virbhadrappa and Nilkanthappa and placed in one of the sides. I came from behind to the front on the market road. Just as I came to the well 10 or 15 persons came with a Kitson light from the meeting place. We were three or four together when some children told us not to go home but to the liquor shop where people were lying. We stood where we were whilst the people with the lamp proceeded. One Mr. Pitre a pleader met us and asked the details of those killed or wounded. We all accompanied him back to the liquor shop to see.

We went by the road passing by the public latrines. We went and stood at the crossing of the roads. The Sanitary Inspector had just lowered the lamp and people were searching for the dead bodies when a fresh firing took place. We were about 20 feet from the lamp. I could see two or three dead bodies lying on the ground from where I was. I was told another body was also lying on the ground. Just as I was straining my eyes to see it, shots were fired and a man in front of me was shot on the nose. This man was Jali Jamaradar. None of those who came with the Kitson light went towards the Police Thana. The policemen did not challenge the people as the lamp was being lowered. At the second firing too no warning had been given. Then I went home. As I was going home I saw Shivappa Shetty in front of his house. He asked me what I had seen and I told it to him.

To Niyogi :—

I cannot say by what means fire was set to the tatti, but it used to be set on fire and then put out. It used to be put out by the police. Each time the fire occurred policemen in plain dress used to run to put it out. At the meeting I saw Dabade auctioning gold rings &c. I saw Kabbur, Kamlapur and Mudvedkar (Vakil) at the meeting but not Hanmantrao Desai and Gopalrao Deshpande. Guttal was not present. I saw none of these either when standing opposite the police station or by the lamp. By the Kitson light I could see the shops. I saw pieces of broken tiles on the Verandah and roof of the liquor shops.

EXHIBIT No. 33.

Witness No. 13.

Trivikram Kashinath Pitre,*Brahmin, 51, Vakil, Dharwar.*

— — — — o o — — — —

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a practising pleader since 1901, 20 years.

I recollect the 1st of July. Till 7-15 P. M. I was at home. Then another pleader named D. D. Joshi came and suggested that we should go to the meeting and also see the picketing.

We went first to Rajahansa Press of Mr. Vamanrao Jathar, which was just near the meeting place. Vamanrao is one of the accused. He must be over 55 years—about 60. He was convalescent at the time after an attack of influenza & did not generally go out. Jathar was at home. We went to the meeting without him. We remained 5 or 6 minutes. I & Joshi went to the meeting but stood on the road. We remained 5 or 7 minutes. I don't recollect who was speaking. Vinayakrao Joshi was presiding. We heard noises from the liquor shop side. We heard whistles blowing. So it occurred to us to go and see what was going on. From A we went to V and stood there. It was very dark in front of us. After we had stood about a minute firing took place. We heard no warning. There were about 200 people, as far as I could guess, on the road. Within that minute we only heard the whistling but no shouts from the people.

I heard 8 or 10 reports, My companion left warning me not to go further. I however went as far as the point X. People were saying it was blank firing, Then second firing took place, one shot followed immediately by another. I can not say how many shots were fired. Much time did not intervene between the blank firing and the second firing. People came tumbling against one another saying some one had been hit in the leg, another in the arm and

so on. So, I too took to my heels. I heard no warning at the second firing. I returned to Vamanrao by the Jaknibhavi road. He was at home I repeated to him what I had seen.

A minute after I had been to Vamanrao's I saw a kitson light being taken from the meeting by the market road towards the liquor shop. I thought of following the lamp as I was told one or two were dead. I followed it at a distance of about 20 feet. I met the last witness (Ex. 32) and his companions at the well on the market. I induced them to come with me. Besides Ex. 32 there were 2 or 3 people more.

We returned to somewhere about X where I stopped. Ten or 15 people were round the lamp. Two Moslim women had come with water. All of a sudden without any warning there was another firing which was without any provocation. I was quite shocked as only the people who had come to help were present. The people with the lamp were not challenged or told not to come forward. I did not see those actually injured during the second firing. People said some had been injured. I again returned to Rajahansa and saw Wamanrao. I was there for 15 minutes.

To Niyogi :—

I did not see any of the pleaders who are the accused when Kitson light was there.

21-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 34.

Witness No. 14.

Dattatraya Dinkar Joshi,*Brahmin, 39, pleader, Dharwar.**Examined by Mr. Joshi:—*

I recollect going to Mr. Pitre's on the 1st of July in the evening at 7-30 P. M. From there we went to Mr. Jathar who was at his press. We stayed 5 or 10 minutes. Then we went towards the meeting. We stood on the road for about 5 or 10 minutes and then went towards the liquor shop by the Burud galli. We went as far as point V in the map when we heard two reports of shots fired in the air. Both of us got terrified. I ran back whilst Pitre ran by the Jaknibhavi road. I reached the place of meeting which had just then broken up. Immediately after, people came from the Market saying people had been shot and that there was no light. A Kitson light was taken from the meeting to the road. People were saying the light should be taken to the market. I went home to get a light to search for Mr. Pitre. After inquiring I went to Mr. Jathar's and found Pitre. Wamanrao was there.

21—8—1921.

Sd./ **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 35.

Witness No. 15.

**Karimsha Surfaraza Ali Dharwadi,***Moslim, 25 (looks 30), Fakir, at present in Dharwar .**Examined by Mr. Joshi:—*

One Friday night about a month and a half ago I was wounded on the ankle of the right leg at about 8-30 P. M. After finishing my begging I was returning home by the Jaknibhavi. Just as I was

crossing the road in front of the liquor shop I was hit by a bullet. I saw a kitson light in front of the shop. I identified the Sanitary Inspector and one more Lingayat. As I was hit I went behind the mutton market and fell in a swoon. As I was recovering consciousness, the two persons I recognised came wounded and we three first went to Dr. Huilgol and the next morning I and the Sanitary Inspector went to Dr. Shirhatti. I was not warned not to go on before the firing.

21—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

 EXHIBIT No. 36.

Witness No. 16.

Laxman Gopal Sabnis,
Brahmin, 31, Pleader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am an Art as well as a law graduate of the Bombay University. I have been practising for 3 years. I recollect 1st July 1921. I recollect having seen one Basaya that evening at my office at about 7. P. M. He looked frightened so I asked what the matter was. He told me there was a row in front of the Market liquor shop as a police constable who had got drunk spat upon the faces of the people in front of the liquor shop and poured toddy on them, that the constable had hidden himself in the liquor shop and that the people being enraged were trying to get at him. He also said that one of the persons who drank had been most roughly handled by the people. (On being asked Mr. Joshi says evidence of Basaya is not

obtainable). I was preparing at the time to go out for a walk and so thought I might go round by the liquor shop and see things for myself. I went with a friend of mine named Abdul Gaffar to the liquor shop. I went by the Arur's road as the shortest cut to the liquor shop. We went directly in front of the liquor shop.

To Tyabji:—

We had to push through a crowd to get there. The crowd consisted of all kind of people, Hindus, Moslims, traders and bazar people including people like Government servants and teachers. Most of them appeared to be sight-seers. I saw about 20 armed constables who were lined up along the Gutters. The crowd filled the space in front of the liquor shop as well as in front of the Police Thana. The liquor shop was closed at the time. When I entered the road which passes by the liquor shop I saw groups of about ten men standing in circles here and there talking among themselves. All these groups with the exception of one in front of the shop appeared to be of sight-seers. The group in front of the shop was of about 200 or 300. They were demonstrating by angry shouting. I did not care to catch the words of the shouting. As there was a regular Babel of cries I was unable to mark the expressions used.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I inquired from one of the smaller groups why people were shouting. I was told that the crowd was trying to get at the constable who was hiding inside. The Police were quiet and no attempt to disperse the crowd was made. They were passive lookers on. I did not apprehend from what I saw and heard any harm to myself or any one else. I took out a cigar and began to smoke. There was no altercation. No one was attempting to get into the shop by force and the Police attempting to keep them out. None of the Public were molested by any one. I smoked for about 5 minutes and then went by the road to the Police station and loitered there for some minutes trying to find out if there was any responsible Police officer to deal with the situation. I could see none. I did not hear any vocal incitement to violence, by this I mean no words inciting to violence were heard by me. Just a minute before I left the Police

left the liquor shop and proceeded towards the Thana. I did not see the Police molested as they were going back to the Thana. One or two might have remained behind. As it was dark I could not possibly be certain that no one had remained behind. I was about 150 feet from the shop when the Police left. The Thana is about a 100 yards from the shop. As I was turning back homeward and had reached the corner of the Thana I saw a blaze. I saw that the tatti of the Verandah was on fire. Tatti was on the edge of the Verandah. I saw one of the persons in front of the shop throwing something out of a bottle. I presumed it was Kerosine oil as the blaze increased. As it was dark I can not say who set the tatti on fire. Whistles began to be blown by the Police. Armed constables from the Thana came running to the shop and extinguished the fire. This took only a minute. The tatti was burning for a couple of minutes before being put out. This time the number of constables was larger. I can not say whether there was the Sub-Inspector with the constables. It was not conveyed to my brains by the shouts of the Police that I and others were ordered to disperse. I did not see any physical collision between the Police and the people on this second occasion. I saw no attempts on the part of the crowd to cause any damage to property or person after the fire had been put out. After this the Police formed in into a double line and carried something from the liquor shop to the Police Thana for safety. I did not see what it was. After the constables went to the Police Thana there was a prolonged blowing of whistles. I could understand that there was some communication between those who were blowing whistles *i. e.* between those blowing at the Thana side and the shop side. When the Police carried away something mentioned above, the shouts of the Police and the people increased and I got nervous and so left the place. Just a minute after I left I heard firing. I increased my speed and went to Joshi's wada and stood there. The shots were fired so rapidly that I could not count. I heard no warning in distinct words being given to people to disperse as otherwise they would be fired upon. The first firing lasted for some minutes after we got to Joshi's wada. Three or four minutes after the first firing ceased firing began a second time. I heard the second fire when I

left Joshi's wada and gone about 100 yards. I left Joshi's wada whilst the first firing was going on, being afraid I might receive a bullet wound. There was no crowd at all on that road still I was apprehensive of being hit. At the second firing I saw flashes and reports of firing. I could see the flashes of both the firings from (2) in the map. The flashes were all round between the Thana and the shop. I was examined by the Congress Committee on 3rd July between 8 and 9. I heard of some arrests that evening. Whilst loitering about the liquor shop and Police Thana I did not see, Dabade, Jathar, Hoskeri, Madvacharya Kalkeri, Kamlapur, Divakar, Kabbur, neither Venkatrao nor Krishnarao Mudvedkar, Herlekar, Guttal, Hanmantrao Desai, Gopalrao Deshpande, and Bhise. I did not see Mahomedsahab the book-binder who puts on spectacles!

To Tyabji :—

I am a man known to the public. Upto the formation of the double line by the Police I did not think the situation to be so serious as to call interference on my part. When I saw the blaze I felt it to be an occasion for interference. I did not interfere as I did not think myself competent enough to interfere.

To Niyogi :—

I did not see any damage done to the house. I heard the sound of a stone falling on the roof and then and there similar sound later. From (Y) I might have taken 3 to 4 minutes to walk to Mr. Joshi's. I could see a blaze from the middle of the tatti to the roof. The big blaze lasted for two minutes. I saw the tatti on fire and it was the tatti that constables struck. I am not able to say whether the blaze was occasioned by the burning of the tatti or by something steeped in oil and lighted in order to set the tatti on fire.

21-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. TYABJI,

EXHIBIT No. 37.

Witness No. 17.

Rastumkhan Maktumkhan Jalijamadar,

Musalman, 55, trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I was at Dharwar on the 1st of July. At the first firing I was at the meeting which was held near the Khilafat library. I was there for about half an hour. I saw at the meeting Kamlapur, Kabbur, Venkatrao Mudvedkar, Mahomedsab Soudagar, Sultan Mohidin, Budansha, Shekh Mohidin Darji, Abdul Khalasi, Abdul Khadar Attar, and Bhise when I was there. I was there for half an hour when I heard whistling from the direction of the liquor shop. I also heard continuous firing and then people came there shouting "injured, injured." Two or three of them were also brought to the place. As the wounded and other people were going to the Dispensary of Dr. Shirhatti I went with them upto the temple of Dattatraya. There I met one Husseinkhan. I asked him as to the whereabouts of my son of about 14 years. He told me that he was not at home. Then I turned back and went to the market. When I came up to the mouth of the road leading to Jaknibavi I met my son among the crowd at point (3) in red pencil. I sent the boy home. Abdulkhadar said to me that there were some wounded people lying at the *Gadang* and that we should go there. Abdulkhadar left me and went in advance. Just as I was going to Madarsaheb's *Adda*. While the Madarsaheb's *Adda* was still 25 or 30 feet ahead I got a wound on my nose by a bullet. The wound began to bleed profusely. The shot came from the direction of the Police Thana. The people near the Kitson lamp began to fly away. As the crowd pushed me I fell on my face. Then a boy helped me and brought me upto the public well on the market road called *Sâtgad-gadâ bhavi*. Then he went by Rasulpur road. Then I went to

Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. The people took the Kitson light with liquor to help the wounded, who were said to be lying in front of the themshop. No body gave a warning that there would be firing and that the people should disperse.

To Mr. Niyogi:—

Near the Madarsaheb's Adda where I was wounded I saw Ulavappa Hapli.

22-8-21.

Sd. M. S. Niyogi.

EXHIBIT NO. 38.

Witness No. 18.



Ramchandra Pundlik Belgaumkar,

Mahratha, 17, student, Dharwar.

I know the event of firing by the Police that came to pass on the 1st July 1921. I am a student studying in the Karnatak College Dharwar. I know the event because I received a shot in the hind part of the knee. That day I was present at the meeting that was held on the Khilafat ground from the beginning. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Vinayakrao Joshi. While I was there Mr. Divakar and Mr. B. G. Kulkarni spoke. Mr. Dabade and Mr. Bhise were collecting funds for the Tilak Swaraj fund. After a time I heard the whistles of the Police and some noise and instantly went there. I was walking to and fro before the toddy shop. The crowd consisting of some 200 or 300 people was shouting "Gandhi Maharaj ki jai and Vandemataram". There was no mischief being committed there. I heard three times the sound of stones being pelted on the roof of the shop. After 3 or 4 minutes had passed after I had been there, some policemen, it might be thirty or forty, marched to the front of the liquor shop and shot in the air. Then they re-

tired some 20 steps and fired on the crowd. Many fell wounded and I moved aside a few steps and watched the scene as before. Almost all the people ran away. In the mean while a Kitson light came to the spot attended by some 15 men. They placed the light down where the wounded had fallen down and carried it to other places also where the wounded were. Just then seeing that a wounded person was lying in gutter adjacent to the Mutton Market I and my friend Mr. Chulki went there to see him. Again there was a volley and I was wounded behind the knee. When I was there the man in the gutter was struggling there for water. The shots came from the Police Kacheri. There was no precaution given. After the Kitson light was brought to the spot the Police were not assaulted or no person went towards the direction of the Police Kacheri. As I was wounded I with my friends Mr. Chulki, retired from the scene of action and went to the dispensary of Mr. Huilgol.

22—8—21

Sd/ **Belgaumkar R. P.**

This statement was filed by the witness. It was read out to him aloud by Mr. Dambal. He admitted the contents to be true.

22—8—1921.

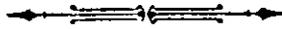
Sd. **M. S. Niyogi.**

To Niyogi :—

I was standing at point 5 (in blue pencil) on the road in front of the liquor shop when I was wounded by a shot. The firing was going on from the direction of the Police Kacheri. The firing commenced after I went to the place. There was no warning given by the Police or any body asking people to disperse or otherwise there would be firing, I did not find the people assaulting the Police and using any expressions of excitement, such as "beat" or "kill". Some 15 people must have come with the Kitson light. I saw Surendra Desai, teacher in the National School. These 15 were attending the wounded and were giving them water. I was examined by the local investigation Committee on 5-8-1921. I went to Dr. Huilgol for treatment that night.

22—8—1921.

Sd. **M. S. Niyogi.**

**Bhaskar Ramrao Karnik,***Brahmin, 25, Land Lord, Dharwar.*

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

On the 1st of July at about 4-45 P. M. I was near the liquor shop. I was going to one Mr. Vithalrao Hebbalkar. I saw two Khilafat Volunteers at the liquor shop and they had their Khilafat green *pattas* (badges) on. There was no Police at the time. The other people were few. I went to Vithalrao who lived in a house just behind the Bhusappa Chowki along the road in front of the liquor shop. I was with Vithalrao for about half an hour. Vithalrao keeps a hotel. Some 5 or 6 constables, who go there for taking food, were also there at the time. In the mean time one of Govindappa's (the owner of the hotel) sons said that there was disturbance going on in front of the liquor shop. Vithalrao asked me to go there and see what it was. There was a big crowd consisting of women, children, people going to the market &c. I stood at point 6 (in red pencil). The people assembled there appeared to me simply sight seers. There were about 7 policemen who were armed standing in a row in front of the the shop. I saw Mr. Palekar, pleader there. and also Ahetti pleader. I also saw Papamiya, a Maistry in P. W. D. and one *Sonar* who is employed as a draughtsman in the P. W. D. Then we four went in the direction of the Police Thana. Hardly we had gone a little distance when there was firing. It appesred to be blank firing. Then myself and Mr. Palekar slipped into the compound of the Police Thana and went to Joshi's wada. The other two companions went towards the Bazar. After we went up to Joshi's wada Palekar and myself separated. I went away along the house of Mr. Sabnis

pleader towards the hotel and came round to the road leading to the liquor shop. Mr. Sabnis pleader met me on the way. I heard Police whistling and bell. When I and Mr. Palekar were proceeding to Mr. Joshi's house. When I was again coming back to the liquor shop I heard shouts of people. I saw at that time some fire from the tatti. The tatti was between the policemen and the liquor shop. The crowd was removed from the policemen at some little distance to the other side of the road. Then I went by Jakni bhavi road. There were continuous shots at that time. Then I went to the meeting place. The meeting was in progress. Soon afterwards people who were wounded came there calling for doctor. I never saw throughout the people assaulting the Police. I did not find the Policemen even asking the crowd to go away.

To Niyogi:—

When I went again to the liquor shop the *Gadang* door was closed. I can not say who extinguished the fire, but I saw people pulling the fire. When I first went to the *Gadang* I heard some noise of stones proceeding from the roof of the *Gudang*. The Policemen who stood at the *Gadang* fired blank shots. No body at the time ever warned the people about the impending firing. As I simply passed by the way where the meeting was held and did not stop there I cannot say what was going on at the meeting.

22—8—1921.

Sd. M. S. Niyogi.

EXHIBIT No. 40.

Witness No. 20.

Devendrappa Basavantappa Salunke.

Maratha, 16, Barber. Dharwar.

:o.

About a month and a half ago I received a gunshot wound on my belly. While I was at point 7₂ (in red pencil) I got hurt. No body ever warned people not to go there as there would be

firing. I became unconscious. I do not know who took me to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. I think that day was Friday. On being treated by Dr. Shirhatti I recovered my senses when I went home.

To Niyogi:—

The crowd I found was quiet. No body had sticks and none was abusing the Police.

22-8-21.

Sd. M. S. Niyogi.

To Niyogi:—

The actual spot where I got hurt was just near the spleen. The pellet was not extracted as it went inside the abdomen and therefore I was senseless for a long time.

22-8-1921.

Sd, M. S. Niyogi.

EXHIBIT No. 41.

Witness No. 21,

Kallya alias Abdul Chandsaheb Pendhari,
Musalman, 20, Tangawala, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

On Friday 1st of July there was firing at Dharwar. I went along the Market road towards the triangular piece in front of the Police Thana, where fodder is sold. I went to the place. I purchased "Bhusa". While I was purchasing "Bhusa" I heard the sound of gun-shots from the direction of the liquor shop. After the firing ceased I went towards the Mutton Market by the same road which leads to the liquor shop. I purchased mutton. I went by the

gunny opening in front of the Jakni Bhavi. I saw a Kitson light on the road. I was asked to remove the Kitson lamp from where it was to a place where a dead body was lying. I was asked by some Brahmin boys to do it. Hardly had I kept it on the ground when I was hit by a shot on my right leg a little above the ankle. (The mark is distinctly visible). The pellet was extracted by Dr. Shirhatti. Before the firing no body gave warning to us of the firing. The people who were near the Kitson light were trying to search the wounded and dead bodies. They were neither abusing nor assaulting the Police. I found among the people by the Kitson light Sanitary Inspector who is a Lingayat, and one Municipal Karkun whose caste I do not know.

To Niyogi :—

I was wounded in the leg when I was at K. I was for some time engaged in picketing under the direction of my caste Punchas; I have no connection with Khilafat Committee.

22—8—21

Sd. M. S. Niyogi.

EXHIBIT No. 42.

Witness No. 22.

—•••••—
Yellappa Bhimappa Dodmani,
Vatshya, 23, Trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

On the 1st of July I was wounded on my right cheek by a gun shot. I came to the meeting but as I could hear nothing, I went towards the toddy shop where I was told there was some hubbub. I passed by the public latrines and stood near the Jakni Bhavi at point marked 8 (in red pencil) with my face turned towards the liquor shop. There were a number of people in front of me. Just

as I went and stood there I was hit. No warning was given previous to the firing. I was cited as a witness once by the Magistrate but they did not examine me. I am now summoned to appear in the Sessions Court.

To Niyogi :—

I was treated by Dr. Huilgol that very night. There was some bleeding. I went myself to Dr. Huilgol's dispensary. I did not see any people abusing or assaulting the Police. It was about 7-30 or 8 P. M. I am not any way connected with the Congress movement.

22—8—1921.

Sd. M. S. Niyogi,

EXHIBIT No. 43.

Witness No. 23.

Parabrahma Shankerdixit Tapas,

Brahmin, 18, Trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

On the 1st of July I was wounded by two shots just on the crown of the head and one on left side of the head and one on the left arm. (The three marks on the head are quite visible). I was returning home from the Edward Park side along the road in front of the liquor shop at about 7-30 or 8 P. M. By the same road I came up to Maruti's temple close to the Jakni bhavi and stood near the steps of Maruti's temple and at point marked 9. (in blue pencil) As I came by the road I saw no scuffle any where between the people and the Police. The crowd was simply shouting "Gandhi Maharaj ki jai." Within a short time after I was there, the Senior Sub-Inspector Shivlingappa arrived at the liquor shop with a posse of 20 or 25 Policemen. Then he went back up to the cross roads

near the Police Thana. The Policemen there formed a double line with Shivalingappa in the middle. As it was dark I cannot say definitely which side they faced. They opened fire. The firing began all of a sudden. They gave us no warning, until a man standing right in front of me was hit and dropped, I could not believe that they were shooting at people. I am not acquainted with him. As I was just trying to fly I was hit simultaneously by the four shots. I at once ran to Dr. Huilgol.

To Niyogi :—

As several people who were wounded wanted to go to Dr. Huilgol's dispensary I also went there. I am not connected with the Congress movement. The crowd was simply shouting "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai". They were not shouting cries of "Beat the Police or Shivalingappa".

22—8—1921.

Sd. M. S. Niyogi,

EXHIBIT No. 44.

Witness No. 24.

Hussensaheb Imamsaheb Nalband.

Moslem, 25 (about 30). Occupation Nalband, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I was wounded on a Friday about a month and a half ago. It was lamp light time. I was hit below the knee of my left leg. I was wounded by a shot. I was near Hiatsaheb's hotel. (Spot marked 10 on the plan). That hotel is near the Brandy shop on the marked road. I had gone to drink tea. There were people by the hotel but no scuffle or abusing was going on. The sound of firing

was from the direction of the liquor shop. At night I cannot see well. So I could see nothing. No warning was given to move away.

Note:—

(Blind of one eye).

22-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 45.

Witness No. 25.



Shankar Narayanrao Krishnappa.

Brahmin, age 15. Servant, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

On the 1st of July I was hit by a shot. It was at about 7-30. It was after dark. I was standing by the public latrines. (Spot marked). Before I went to this place I was at the meeting. No warning was before firing. I was hit just below the right eye-brow. Dr. Huilgol treated me. I went to him on the 11th.

To Tyabji:—

There were not any people when I stood by beyond the culvert towards the liquor shop. On being wounded I returned to my shop. I was led to my shop by some one. I only remember this. I was at the meeting for half an hour. As I am not acquainted with the people here I do not know who were present at the meeting.

22-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT 46.

Witness No. 22.

**Bhimappa Mahadevappa Chitragar,***Kshatriya 45, Carpenter, Dharwar.**Examined by Mr. Joshi :—*

On the 1st of July I was present at the meeting in the Khilafat Maidan. Accounts of the funds collected were read. I was in the meeting for about half an hour. Of my acquaintances I saw Dabade and Bhise collected funds. I did not see Kamapur. I was there till the auction took place. I left as the funds for the relief of the relatives of the convicted volunteers began to be collected. Hearing a cry of Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai coming from the market side I went there. I thought the shouts were from the front of some shop which was not observing hartal. As I went to the corner of the market, I found the cries were coming from the liquor shop side. So I went towards it by the Jakni Bhavi road. There is a Karanj tree opposite the toddy shop where I went and stood. (Spot marked 12 in the map.) There were people standing in the road with their faces towards the liquor shop. There were constables there 5 or 6 in number. I did not see any arms then in their hands. People were shouting Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai. The tatti got on fire. The Police were by the tatti and the people were further off. If any outsider had set fire to the tatti, the police could easily have arrested him. No one was arrested. The police who were standing there put the fire out. Then I heard sounds of one or two stones falling on the roof of the liquor shop. As the door of the two liquor shops were closed, no one tried to force his way in. No one attacked the police. The police too did not strike the people. Shivalingappa came with some 25 or 30 armed men after the falling of stones on the roof. Shivalingappa and his party came up to the toddy shop and then retreated. The police were drawn up in three

or four parallel lines and Shivalingappa was in the centre. They receded up to the cross road. Then bell and whistles began to be sounded. Then two shots were fired in the air first. Thinking it was unsafe to remain there. I was just turning back when a shot struck me on the back of the neck. The shot went from the side of the right ear and lodged by the left ear from where it was removed by Dr. Deshpande in Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. I walked to the dispensary without any assistance. The meeting was going on whilst I was going to the dispensary. By the time I got to the market road many others followed, who said they were wounded, some said some others were dead. When I came to the well I heard some people crying out at the meeting and informing the people that some persons had been killed. As I went to the well the meeting dispersed. Some five or six people took the lamp to the scene of occurrence and we went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary.

To Tyabji :—

I saw no one near the shop whom I knew. There were small children there. Some people from the crowd shouted Mahatmajiki-jai. Others remained quiet. No one asked us to disperse. There was no uproar in the crowd. No shots were fired from near the liquor shop. The shots were fired from a distance of 30 or 40 feet. I did not hear Shivalingappa telling the people to disperse or otherwise, they would be fired upon. If he had said this aloud at the cross road, I should have heard this. At the time at the police took up their position at the cross road. The people were quiet quite not shouting even Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai. I did not think any thing of the police taking up their position but when at last shot was fired I thought they wished to frighten the people away.

To Niyogi :—

I do not know the name of the gentleman who read out the accounts at the meeting. The tatti was set fire to near the ground. As soon as there was a blaze it was put out by blows with sticks. I did not see Abdulrahiman the man who has received shots on the thighs near the fire nor among the men near me. The Sub-Inspec-

tor who was taking notes at the meeting left it at the same time as myself. I heard the sound of the doors of the toddy shop being pulled. The doors of the toddy shop were of bamboos. The doors of the liquor shop were closed. The door was brought out on the road. I do not know by whom or by how many persons. Whilst I was there no damage had been done to the liquor shop except such as was done by the two stones I have mentioned. People did not shout anything with reference to Shivalingappa. Shivalingappa was saying in Kanarease 'Go, Go. You have finished now' I do not know what he was referring.

22—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 47

Witness No. 37.



Abdulkarim Gudusab Jainapur.

Moslem, 29, Trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I recollect the 1st of July. At about 5 or 5-30 P. M. I had been to the market. After finishing my shopping I went to the Mutton Market where I heard cries of Gandhi Maharaj ki jal, and Shoukat ali ki jai. I heard the cries from the direction where the 4 roads meet. So I went there. I came to point 13 in the map and from there I could see a volunteer picketting by the side of the gutter just a few paces on this side of the liquor shop. That was Abdulrahman. He had a Khilafat patta-green in colour-on. I stood a short while at a point a little beyond 13 and then came and stood near point 12 by the toddy shop. There were about 10 or 20 people under the tree. Some more were standing further off. As

I came to point 13 four or five constables unarmed came and stood by the toddy shop. After the police arrived, stones, toddy pots and toddy began to be thrown on the people from inside the toddy shop. The doors of both the shops were open. The people said these were being thrown by a police constable named Shahabuddin who was inside the toddy shop. Then I told the Head constable named Moulakhan to warn the police constable inside not to throw such things as the people would be irritated thereby. The head constable would not listen to me, and so, I was helpless. He treated it as a light matter and asked us to go away and never tried to speak to the constable. All the same we stood there when another pretty good stone was thrown at us. (mentions that it was as big as a cocoanut). Then Moulakhan and the 4 constables went inside the toddy shop. I also went inside with them. Behind toddy shop is a yard. There is a staircase in the yard leading to the open floor of a red tiled building. At the foot of the stairs was standing Gouskhan another constable, and at the top was sitting Shabuddin. I asked the latter not to throw stones. He asked me to go out and threatened me with a stone. At this time there were three or four others in the shop, who did not appear to be either clients or ordinary citizens. They all looked like policemen. They were in plain dress. Their *chappals* looked like those of the police. As I was being threatened by Shahabuddin, Moulakhan saw me and ordered me to be turned out by the neck. I told him there was no need to drive me out, and I walked out. It was 6-15 or 6-30 P. M. when I came out of the shop. Five minutes later another stone was thrown from inside over the roof. It fell on me. The stone struck me first on the left shoulder then struck on the back of my left hand and then it fell on the foot of another who was standing by me. I too became irritated. We all determined to wait until the man came out. The police who had gone in sat down to drink and we all waited outside. The people did not retaliate by throwing stones. I donot say we never retaliated but not at this point. The crowd at this time consisted of about 100 persons of whom about 10 or 12 were my of age and the rest were children younger than myself. Then it became dusk. Then about 20 or 25

armed constables came there with the second Sub Inspector at their head. Before the arrival of the police, Damodar Herlekar came there. He began to beg of us to go away. I replied that I had been injured and that he should mind his own business. He went away and others went away along with him. A minute or to later Mudvedkar pleader also came there. He asked the people to go away. Many went whilst he walked away towards the meeting. It was after this that the police party with the Sub Inspector at its head arrived. About 50 of the original crowd must have remained whilst about another 50 were looking from a distance. I had ceased to be an onlooker. I was on watch there. It was a shifting and a moving crowd. Those who had been me struck stood there. There were 10 or 20 of them quite close to me. There may have been others at a distance. None of those 10 or 20 were older than myself. None of these belonged either to the Congress or the Khilafat. They had come there casually and seen me struck. The constables marched up and down 3 or 4 times opposite the liquor and toddy shops in double file and then marched away. Just as I saw the police parading I also saw about 6 armed constables standing in front of the liquor shop. Our attention being diverted towards the arrival of the police we ceased to mind those who were in the the toddy shop. It became dark also. Just about this time a number of police in plain dress mixed up with us and began to create hubbub. I know these men by their faces, though not by name. One of the half dozen before the liquor shop pointed his gun at us. We told him he had no power to fire without authority and yet he was pointing it towards us. The constable who pointed his gun at us was struck by a stone and two others fell by him. These stones were thrown by the police in plain dress. There was a light in the verandh belonging to the "bhaji" vala who sits there. This light was burning there. Just at this time the tatti behind the policemen caught fire. The tatti was set on fire by the police in plain dress. I saw two or three of them there. I could recognise one of them who was a Moslem policeman and had an "izar" on. I saw the fire thus lit twice. The second time on seeing a big blaze the police from Thana came

and put it out. The police at the liquor shop took no action to put it out.

21—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

WITNESS No 27 *continues* (23-8-21)

To Mr. Joshi :—

One or two of the constables raised their sticks as if to beat us whilst returning to the Thana. As I knew one or two of the constables I went and inquired of them what it meant that they should be threatened whilst it was the constables who had set the tatti on fire. They were named Annu and Ibrahim. Both of them were in plain dress. They said "are you going away or not, 'kya?' You don't know!" I walked up along with these policemen right up to the crossing of the roads and then turned back to get the youngsters in front of the liquor shops to disperse before I left myself, which was what I intended to do. In the mean while a man with a cycle with a head lamp came behind me. He came from the cross road and stood by the gutter at the point marked 14. As I was asking the young folks to walk away, the Senior Sub Inspector came with 20 or 30 armed constables in uniform. I could see them distinctly as the man with the cycle on hearing their footsteps turned his lamp on their faces. I saw no arms in his hands. His hands were below his coat in the pockets of his pants. He proceeded towards the toddy shop when the blowing of whistles and ringing of bells began. At this the whole mass became very quiet, and every one began to feel that there was danger on some other side. Whistles are blown and bells rung when there is a fire or riot or something of that kind. As nothing of this kind was taking place there, people thought the trouble was elsewhere. I thought the police party was going to such a locality. I was thinking of going towards the Thana to discover where the disturbance was and to go there. In the meanwhile I heard footsteps of the police showing they were coming back. I was behind point 14 asking children to go away. The police returned from the toddy shop and stood between points 15 and 16. Then I heard the voice of Shivalingappa the senior Sub Inspector. The

police stood facing three sides, some towards the mutton market side, some towards the toddy shop side and some towards the market. The senior Sub Inspector was facing towards the toddy shop. After this the man on the cycle went away. He came towards the corner point 17 and then disappeared. Then I began to suspect they would fire. distinctively I began to push children away and when I had got one of them to point 18, I heard the word "fire," when I got behind a wall; in doing which I fell towards the wall. Then a firing began and the boy who was at point 18 fell also. He fell on my legs. After the firing ceased I lighted a match and saw that the boy had fallen wounded. I found the boy riddled by shots. He was struck in 10 or 12 places and was bleeding profusely. About 80 rounds were fired between my falling down and my examining the boy. I saw some birds also fallen there that had been killed on the trees. Seeing the boy was likely to die I thought of fetching Dr. Shirahatti. As I came to point R from inside the market I heard some people say that a man was lying dead on the road. I tried to see the dead from behind those who were talking, but it was dark and I could see nothing. I went to Dr. Shirahatti by the road passing the public latrines. As I came to point 3, I saw a Kitson light being brought. As I thought it was coming towards the scene of the firing, I returned. The light came and I saw people pouring water into the mouth of the wounded. The people came where I stood. People said another man was lying in the gutter. So the lamp was taken there. The first person was lying at C. I saw on the arrival of the lamp he was dead. Between point 5 and E Ghous was found lying. He opened his eyes and called for water and wriggled a bit. I thought of the boy whom I had left wounded and went to him. The boy was not where I had left him but at a distance. The boy was lying in the yard of the fish market. Just as I approached him I heard firing. Among the people who came with the Kitson light was the Sanitary Inspector. This was the only person whom I could identify out of the 7 or 8 with the lamp. No warning was given either at the first or the second firing. During the whole time I was present no one assaulted or threatened the police. The second firing came from the side of

the Police Thana. After this we, *i. e.*, myself and 2 or 3 others, carried the boy and placed him near the first dead body. I do not know who the others were. They were not my friends. The boy was still alive. After this I went to his house. Ex. 21 is the photo of the boy. Ex. 23 appears to me to be the photo of the man lying in the gutter. Ex. 22 is the photo of the man whom I found dead.

To Tyabji :—

During the time I was at the toddy shop I saw two or three persons coming out of it. When these came out we would go and tell them "why did you go and drink? It is on account of trying to stop this drinking that two volunteers have been sentenced. Even then you went and drank." As such people passed children used to follow them saying "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai. Shoukat Ali-ki-jai" etc., I did not see any one beaten. No one was beaten near the shop. Children followed people upto the main road. Before the whistles were blown and bells rung there were only about 50 or 60 people there. Even after the whistles were blown and bells rung, the number of people near the shop did not increase. Such people as may have come stood at a distance. When I followed the police I saw people standing along the street on the side opposite to the shops but not thickly. I saw large crowds standing at the cross roads and by the side of the wells. These were very large crowds but I cannot give the number. There was a large crowd at the well. then our party opposite the shops, then further on the police and lastly another crowd. The crowd at the well did not attempt to come up to the liquor shop. The crowd at the chowki too made no such attempts. Some children in the crowd on both sides, used to join in the chorus of 'jaya' started by the boys in the crowd in front of the liquor shop. The others forming the crowds did not do so. Picketings used to last till 8 & 8-30 P. M. Liquor shop used to be closed at 8 & toddy shop at 8-30. Crowds of children used to be there every night during the picketing. Other crowds used also to assemble at night during the picketing. It was a common practice to call out Mahatma Gandhiki jai etc.

when any one left the shops after a drink. I have not heard of any such persons beings beaten. There was no other case at Dharwar before the 1st of July excepting that of the two volunteers who were convicted, in which people were charged with assaulting or otherwise obstructing those who had gone to have a drink.

To Mr. Niyogi:—

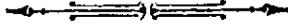
When I went into the shop I did not see Desai and Mudvedkar. I had not seen them outside too. I did not see Dabade either. Upto the time I was hit by a stone. The doors of the toddy shop were closed. My attention was not drawn to this shop when the Kitson light was brought. At the time the tatti was set on fire policemen were in front of it and at a side a little way off people standing. If any of the people had gone to set it on fire I should have seen it.

I know Abdulrahman, Langoti Abdul khadar, Langoti Gaus. I know Budhan and Soudagar Oosman. I saw none of these go near the tatti setting fire to it. I saw it on fire twice. I saw no one throw oil on the tatti. There was something else burning outside besides the tatti. I cannot say what it was as I was standing at a distance. Of those named above I did not see any one except Abdulrahman who was picketing, near the shops or any where near. When I saw the Kitson light 10 or 15 persons were there. When the light was set down there were not more than 20 in all present. Some were fanning the wounded. some were giving water and some were looking on. I saw no women there.

N. B. Evidence given in a straight forward manner without hesitation. The witness related facts in a manner as if the drama was repeating itself and he was describing it.

EXHIBIT No. 48.

Witness No. 28.

**Hasansaheb Kasimsaheb Mali.***Moslem, age about 12, In Rotiwala's Service, Dharwar.**Examined by Mr. Joshi :—*

I was struck by pellets one Friday about one month and a half ago. I point¹ out where I was struck. (One wound on the back near the right arm and seven others on the upper back part of the right arm below the shoulder all near one another). As I was purchasing meat in the Mutton Market whistles were blown and bells rung. I took the meat and came out. There was a crowd. The bell and whistle sounds came from the Katcheri. The crowd consisted of children calling out "Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai." I stood by the *Karanja* tree just outside the gate, looking towards the liquor shop from where the shouts were coming. There was a line of police standing by the liquor shop, who walked away towards the Thana. The police, who stood on the Thana side of the liquor shops about 8 or 10 in number, fired. No one tried to assault them nor did the police strike any one with sticks. No one told us to go away, otherwise we would be fired upon. If this had been told I would have gone away. I felt giddy and fell down on being struck. Afterwards I got up, and holding my wounded arm, ran in the direction of the latrines. As I got near the public well, I saw a Kitson light. Among the people who were with the light and many in number, was Abdulla Khalasi. Kitson light was coming from the Khilafat Maidan. The meeting had dispersed. Abdulla took me to Dr. Shirhatti. Abdulla was not seen by me anywhere near the scene of firing till he came with the light. Abdulla is in jail now. I had gone to the meeting prior to going for the meat. I had seen Abdulla, Sultan master, Darji, Abdulkhadar Attar. Soudagar Mahmmedsaheb, the book binder, was moving about at the meeting. All those I had seen are now in the jail.

23-8-1921.

EXHIBIT No. 49.

Witness No. 29.

Guracharya Balacharya Avdhani.

Brahmin, 33, Compounder. Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am compounder to Dr. Shirhatti. I was at the dispensary on the night of the 1st July to attend to the wounded. This work we did from 8-30 to 10-15 P. M. The doctor prepared a list of the people he had treated and ordered me to hand it over to the Sub-Inspector Dharwar, immediately after the work was over. I took the list and came up to the Brandy shop on the Market roads when a number of police from in front of the Thana challenged me and asked me not to proceed further. One police told me to come and another told me not to. I then informed them why I had come and asked them if they would allow me to see the Sub-Inspector or not. As I turned back, policeman No. 891 came to me and asked me to hand over the letter. I asked him to sign a slip to acknowledge the receipt. He took the letter and slip saying he would get it signed by the Police Sub-Inspector himself. After waiting for 15 minutes I called out to him and asked for the paper. I was ordered to come next morning. I went to the dispensary and informed the doctor. No acknowledgment has come from the police upto date. I attended the meeting that day. I was there from 6-30 to 7-45 P. M. I noticed during the whole of that time Anant S. Dabade, Kamlapur, Divakar, Kabbur, Mudvedkar, Soudagar book binder, Sultan master, Herlekar, Gopalrao Deshpande and Bhise at the meeting.

To Niyogi:—

The Sanitary Inspector came at about 9 P. M. to the dispensary. His name is Lingangouda. He was accompanied by Gilganchi. I

asked them about their being wounded. They said they were wounded when they had gone with a Kitson light to assist the wounded.

23-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 50.

Witness No. 30.



Govind Krishna Kolar.

Brahmin, 52, Municipal Secretary, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I know Herlekar. He is in jail at present. On the 1st of July he was the Chairman of the Managing committee of the Municipality. I remember seeing him in the municipal office between 5 and 6 P. M. on the 1st of July. He came to the office between 5 and 6. He came to sign the bills. There was a meeting of the Managing committee. I recollect seeing the President of the Municipality that evening. He is dead. I recollect seeing one Mr. Parekh a fuel contractor of the Municipality that evening. At the time Parekh came, both the President and the Chairman were present. Parekh had come for money on account of his bills. He asked the Chairman and the President for the money. They consulted me and gave him a reply. I told him he would be paid on Monday. Herlekar left the office first at 6-30 P. M. It was before 7 or about 7 President left at 7-30.

23—8—1921.

EXHIBIT No. 51.

Witness No. 31.



Moula Abdul khadar Halbavi.

Moslim, 19, bidi shopkeeper, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I own a *bidi* shop. My shop is next to the brandy shop on the market road. On the 1st of July my shop was closed as a *harta* was on. I had closed it voluntarily. Other shops were also closed. I returned to the shop, at 7-15 P. M. and sat on the plank in front without opening it. I did this to recover my dues from policemen whose pay day it was. My maternal uncle and myself were seated there. We sat till about 8 P. M. Pay was not disbursed that day. Just as I stood up to go, I received a pellet above the left knee. The pellet is not extracted. It could not be taken out. Some people were moving about the roads as wayfarers. I was standing facing the Kacheri holding on to a bamboo post. I had no warning that firing was going to take place.

23-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 52.

Witness No. 32.

Vaman Krishna Gokhale.

Brahman, Pensioner, Dharwar.

I am a retired postmaster. I know Mr. Vamanrao Jathar. I remember 1st of July 1921. I was in the Rajahansa building where Mr. Jathar lives that day from 6 P. M. I was all the while chatting with Mr. Wamanrao as he was ill and convalescent.

While I was there I remember to have seen Mr. Pitre and Mr. Joshi who came and went away to the meeting a little while after, I think, at about 8 or so. We heard a number of shots fired. We heard the noise from the liquor shop side. After the firing I think Mr. Pitre came there again. So also did Mr. Joshi in search of Mr. Pitre while he was not there. Subsequently he came again when Mr. Pitre was there. I left at 9 P. M.

Sd. **Vaman Krishna Gokhale.**

To Tyabji :—

My name is Vaman Krishna Gokhale. I have made the above statement. I am an old friend of Mr. Jathar. Mr. Jathar had been ill from 1st May. In July he was a little better. Dr. Krishnaji Laxman Lole (sub assistant surgeon) was treating him. He—Mr. Jathar—used to go out. I used to go to him almost daily to read to him the Gita. I read to him that evening also. What I have stated in the statement is true. Pitre and Joshi remained a short time and then went away.

23-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. TYABJI,**

EXHIBIT No. 53.

Witness No. 33.

— o o —

Shrinivasacharya Ramacharya Shurpali.

Brahman, chief clerk Dt. Supdt. Ry. M. S. M. Dharwar.

I know Mr. Guttal pleader. He was beaten while picketing on the 14th June. Since then he had been confined to his house and bed as well. His wrist and forearm have been severely hurt, so much so that he could not even move in bed without pain. Even at the date of his arrest his condition was still the same. He

was not moving about. On the 1st July I went to him in the evening and was with him chatting as he desired me to do so and as I had time it being an Ekadashi day. I was with him from 6 to 9 P. M. During the interval he never left me.

Sd. **Shrinivasacharya Ramacharya Shurpali.**

To Tyabji:—

I am Head clerk to the District Superintendent of M. S. M. R. Dharwar. The above statement is to my knowledge true. I remembered it was the Ekadashi and so referred to the calendar and found it corresponded to the 1st of July.

To Niyogi:—

On the 1st of July Guttal's condition was such that he could not leave the house. He was confined to bed on the day I went. I know he was being treated by *Vaidyās* but do not know their names.

23-8-21.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 54.

Witness No. 34.



Bhimappa Fakirappa Kittur.

Maratha, 25, Tea shopkeeper, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I have been hit by a gun shot. I was hit on the day the volunteers were sentenced. I was at the point S when hit. I was standing there. It was 8 or 8-30 p. m. I went to see the fire at about 6-30 p. m. I was going to the meeting when I saw a police constable standing in front of the liquor shop. As this was unusual

stood there. There were 100 or 150 people standing on the road side about 12 feet from the shop. They were shouting "Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai." The people were not grown up but children or young men of my age or less. They used to advise people not to go to drink especially on that day as the volunteers had been convicted. They also shouted. Whilst I was there, there was a policeman in the toddy shop. He was spitting at people and abusing them. There was a window through which he was spitting on the people who were there for picketing. He was also abusing people. Some people were shouting and some were saying "what have we to do with one who is drunk?" After some time stones came over the toddy shop from behind. People retired. Three or four stones fell in this manner. People did not retaliate. One stone fell on the roof of the house in front. Some two fell in the gutter, and others fell among the crowd. Five or six police constables had come armed and lined up in front of the liquor shop. None of the stones fell on the police constables. By this time it grew dark. After this I saw a blaze at the tatti. On the first occasion there was a flicker of a fire near the toddy shop, then a big blaze. I cannot say by what this was occasioned. By inference I say it may have been the burning of the tatti. People seeing the fire ran to put it out and they and the constables succeeded in this. By the flare I saw the line of constables as well as one or two policemen in plain dress on the verandah. From their head dress and their looks I could say they were policemen in plain dress. It was only after the flare that people tried to get to the liquor shop and not before that. After the fire I heard police whistles and bells. I had seen Damodar Herlekar before the flare. One stout pleader accompanied him. They asked people to get away. The pleader had an upturned moustache. At the time of the fire they were not present. After putting out the fire the police in front of the liquor shop blew their whistles. Then the police on the Thana side also began to blow whistles and ring bells. The people who had approached the liquor shop fell back. They never attempted to molest or go to the side of the shops but stopped shouting after the fire. When the whistling occurred I did not go away but went back a little and stood

there. About 20 or 25 constables with a fat man said to be the Sub-Inspector came from the side of the Kacheri. They were armed the constable who had been in the toddy shop managed to get into the liquor shop by the time this occurred. I saw him on the verandah of the liquor shop. He was sitting and some times falling over. He was carried by two or three constables by putting their arms under him to the Thana as he could not walk as he was drunk. From the liquor shop he was carried between the lines of police up to some distance. Further on there was the ordinary public. The fat Sub Inspector and his constables came after the constable had been carried away. Those who stood in front of the liquor shop were the constables that carried him. Those who formed the lines had been there from the beginning. At the beginning there were 5 or 6 constables in uniform and 5 or 6 in plain dress. The fat Sub Inspector and his constables came up to the end of the toddy shop and then went back and stood at the other end of the liquor shop in a line. I saw some facing towards me. It appeared to me that the fat man shot first with some thing short and not as long as a gun. Then the constables fired. I could see that flashes were on our side as well as towards the other side. I saw a man in *lunga* in front of me struck and fall down. He was 5 to 10 cubits from me. I also saw a boy who was moving about fall at point 18. I thought they fell on being pushed by the crowd whilst attempting to get away and not because they were shot. Whilst I was stretching out my neck and trying to look at them I was shot and fell unconscious. I regained my consciousness at the dispensary of Dr. Huilgol. During the whole time I was there no attempt to assault the police was made. No one ordered us to disperse before firing. Not even the fat Sub Inspector. If I had been warned I would have run away. Within two days after this my statement was recorded before the committee. I was hit inside the right thigh. The *tatti* is a screen that screens off a triangular piece of ground between the verandah and the gutter by the side of the road. The shop could have caught fire if the blaze had gone up higher.

To Tyabji:—

I did not hear the noise of any stones falling on the tiles of the

toddy shop. Some stones and dust were being thrown by children but that was of no significance. This was not done when the fat Sub Inspector came as the children had gone away by that time. Children were throwing from behind where I stood and so things sometimes fell on me too. They were throwing up dust and pebbles in the air whilst crying out "Gandhi-ki-jai," which fell on the tiles of buildings behind me. They were not aiming at any one.

To Settur :—

At the time of setting fire to the tattti there were only constables near it. Outsiders were not there.

To Niyogi :—

The constable in the shop was like a Maratha. I did not see any stone which came over the roof of the toddy shop strike any one. About 10 or 20 people stood near the shops whilst the rest were moving about, some coming and some going. I know Abdul Rahiman. He was the man inducing people not to go to drink. He was not near the tattti when it was set on fire. He was standing amongst the crowd. The crowd was not abusing the police. When the fat Sub Inspector came there no one addressed him directly. The man in a *lunga* was hit about the point E. the boy was hit at about 18. I was hit at a point a little beyond 8 on the Thana side.

23-8-1921.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

EXHIBIT No. 55.

Witness No. 35.

:o, _____

Ramchandra Gopal Sabnnis.

Brahmin. age 34, Pleader.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am practising as a pleader here since the last 8 or 9 years. I know one Rudraya Hiramath of this place.

(N. B.—Rudraya was examined before committing)
Magistrate Ex. 80.)

He is a trader and son in-law of Honnapurmath, pleader. Rudraya was my class-mate. On the 1st of July I had been to Hubli on private business. I returned by 27 Up, which reaches Dharwar at about 9 P. M. That day the train was very late at Hubli. I was over half an hour at the Station before the train started. I met Rudraya on the Hubli station platform and had a chat with him. Just before the train started, I saw him get into a third class compartment. I travelled second class.

23-8-21.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 56.

Witness No. 36.

—e—o—o—o—o—

Krishnaji Durgoji Joshi.

Maratha-Gondhli, age 10 or 11 beggar, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I received two shots on the left thigh. I point out the marks. I was struck at 7-45 or 8 P. M. I was near a tree on the road side at a point 19. I had been to the vegetable market to purchase but there were no vendors. Hearing the police whistle I went to point 19. The whistling was both from the side of the liquor shop and the police Thana. I had stood only two or three minutes before I was struck. I heard no warning before the fire. There were only 4 persons where I was. There was no crowd on the road to the Mutton Market. There was a large crowd in front of the police Thana. I could hear anything that was being said at the police Thana.

To Setlur :—

I fell down on the road. Some one took me to the dispensary where I became conscious. It was Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. The pellets were taken out by the doctor. I was treated for 3 or 6 days.

24-8-21.

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 57.

Witness No. 37.



Gaffar Madarkhan Pindari.

Moslem, 14 or 15, labourer Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

One Friday about a month and a half ago, at night I was struck by a pellet on the inner side of my right thigh, at the liquor shop, when I was struck in the passage from the Fish Market, which leads out into the road on the liquor shop side at point 18. There was no warning before the firing. I saw about 30 armed constables when I first went to see. No one was assaulting the police. I fell down unconscious, and woke up at Dr. Shirhatti's.

To Setlur :—

It took 19 days for me to get well.

24-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 58.

Witness No. 38.

Raghappa Fakirappa Yaligar.

Kshatriya, 19, Trader, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

About a month and a half ago I was wounded by a shot. I cannot recollect the day of the week. I was struck on the outside corner of my right eye as I was standing by the brandy shop at point 20 in the Market road. It was about 8. p.m. then. I had been to the Market. Hearing Police whistles and bells I went there. No warning was given before firing. There was no crowd where I was. I became unconscious and when I was roused I found myself in Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary.

24—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT 59.

Witness No. 39.

Budansha Pirsahab Nurti.

Moslem, 24, Tea vendor Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I was struck by a shot just below the nape of the neck. This was on the first July on a Friday. The shot came from behind from the side of the Kacheri. I was giving water to Lubba who was lying at point C when I was hit. No one asked us to go away

Lubba was struck at the first firing. At that time I was standing on one side. Shivalingappa shot him. He first shot all alone, and then the police fired. No one went to strike Shivalingappa before he fired. No one abused him. Lubba fell at the first firing. A young boy also fell shot about 10 or 20 feet towards the police Thana. He fell into the gutter. No warning was given nor people told to disperse.

To Tyabji:—

I was at the place at 6 or 6-30 p. m. The shops were closed on account of a hartal observed on account of the imprisonment of two volunteers. I too closed my stall and went to see what was being done in front of the liquor shop where Abdulrahaman and Aziz were persuading people not to drink. I stood aside and took no part in preventing the people. About 100 or 150 youths were standing by them. They were telling people not to drink. Whilst I was there four or six persons were told not to go to drink. One or two went home and then after taking my meals I returned at 7 or 7-30 p. m. At that time there were 200 youths. They were calling out Gandhi Maharaj-ki-jai, Shoukat Ali-ki-jai. When I came I found policemen lined up. There were 30 or 40. They stood before the liquor and toddy shops. There was no officer with them. At this time there were grown up spectators present. The youths stood on the road and the spectators stood at a distance. I went and stood at a Bhakara's shop (Mahomedans who cook and sell mutton etc. are called Bhakaras.) I saw the tatti in front of the liquor shop on fire. The police put the fire out. I don't know who set the tatti on fire. It was a slight fire. Shivalingappa came with 30 constables. These were fresh constables. Shivalingappa told people to go away as it was dark. Some were going away and some stood aside when Shivalingappa took the police back and made them line up at the cross roads. Without saying anything Shivalingappa fired first. I saw no one throw stones at the liquor shop or at the police. No one was saying anything like Mâro, Mâro (beat, beat) or Âga Lagão (set fire on.) As I was giving water when the committee people brought a Kitson

light. After the firing and people falling wounded no one remained in the road. I had taken water from the Bhakara's. His shop was open. As I stood by Lubba the light was placed there. Abdullasaheb, Mohdinsaheb, Sultan Master, Mahomedsaheb Soudagar, Mahomad Hussen Attar, Abdulkhadar Attar, Madarsaheb Katgar, were with the light. There were some brahmins whose names I don't know. As I am a stranger to this place I do not know some others who were also here. I know those whose names I have given as I live near them in the market.

To Setlur :—

As the light was placed on the ground the second firing took place and I went away to the doctor's.

24—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji

EXHIBIT No.60

Witness No. 40.

Shrinivas Narayanrao Athanikar.
Brahmin, 22, student, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a non-cooperationist. I am one of those who organised the boycott of schools and colleges here. We held meetings for the purpose. I know that some one belonging to the police department used to attend our meetings and take notes. I remember 1st of July 1921. I was in the college ground from 5-30 p. m. and went to the meeting in the Khilafat Maidan. I came by the market road to the meeting. I had a companion with me. His name is Yellapgouda Lingangouda Karigoudnavar. He is also a student aged about 23. He is a lingayat by caste. He is unwilling to give evidence as he is a lingayat and his brother is in the Revenue

department. He is also related to Chavangouda Sanitary Inspector, We were not more than 2 or 3 minutes at the meeting. We heard whistles from the side of the toddy shop. So we left the meeting and went there. We stood between Nos. 8 and 9. I could see the toddy shop door open. There was no light. I saw no light inside or outside the toddy shop. The door was whitewashed. So I could see it. I saw 4 or 5 policemen in uniform who were standing there and some times blowing their whistles. We wanted to see what would happen. I saw the tatti on the verandah of the liquor shop on fire two or three times I can't say whether the tatti itself was on fire. On the second occasion there was a big blaze which almost reached the roof. I saw two men near the tatti by the light of the blaze. One was facing me and the other's face was turned away from me. One wore a pair of trousers of mahomedan pattern & the other had dhotar on and a cap (adds-not a Gandhi cap). The man in trousers had his face turned away from me. The other I recognised as a policeman whom I had seen once or twice as the reporter. I have found out the name of the man since I was examined before by you. I give the name in writing. From behind the crowd dust and stones were thrown at the tatti. I saw the blaze between the tatti and the roof rising from behind, so I say the tatti was not burning. I could see the flame also from a whole in the tatti. The second blaze lasted some three minutes and went out just as it reached the roof. There was a third fire also but it reached half the hight behind the tattigrazing it. We then went away. I could not see that the crowd was doing anything that would lead to anything serious and because one or two elderly people asked us to go away. These were not policemen. I can't give the name of the elderly people as one of them is a Government officor. At that time it was dark. I only heard voices asking us to go away.

To Tyabji :—

Dabade and Mudvedkar Pleader were not at the liquor shop. I heard Dabade at the meeting asking us not to go towards the liquor shop. I also heard Bhise do the same.

To Settle:—

There were three or four Policemen in front of the liquor shop at the time of the fire loitering not lining up. The two men I have mentioned were standing almost touching the tatti on the roadside.

24—8—21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBITS No. 61.

Witness No. 41.

Abdulkhadir Imamsaheb Lungoti.

Meslem, 27, Volunteer of the Khilafat Committee, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

In July there was a case against me. I was a co-accused in the riot case. In June and July we used to do picketing work. There were six of us paid volunteers who did this work. We used to put on a green belt like the one I have on. It was only the Khilafat volunteers who had such a belt. There are drink shops in three localities. Two of us used to remain at each place. On the 1st of July I was on duty a mile away from the market liquor shop. One Mahomed hanif was my companion. Of the six two were sentenced on the 1st of July and sent to prison. Two are under going this trial. Of the two I was arrested and Mahomed hanif is not here. Since then the picketing in this town has ceased. I was 30 days in the lock up. Among those under trial are the Chairman, 2 Secretaries, the Clerk and four members of the Khilafat Managing Committee, I was prosecuted as I was doing picketing. The shop I picketed closed at 8 P. M. As I was returning I met Abdulla Tongawala near Bhusappa's chowki, who had been wounded. He gave me all the particulars.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 62.

Witness No. 42.



Syed Mohidin Syed Kadersaheb Bowdi.

*Moslem, 21 or 23, bill collector to the Agricultural Committee,
Dharwar.*

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

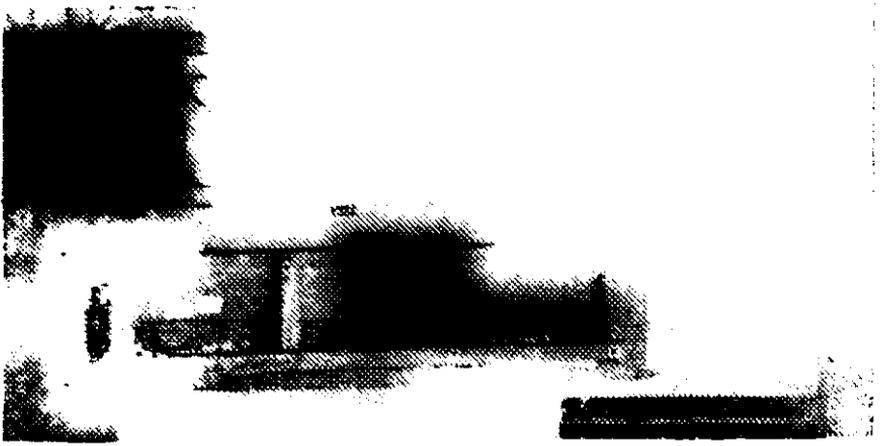
I know about trial and conviction of two Khilafat volunteers. I had gone to the Court to hear the sentence. It was on the 1st of July. The sentence was pronounced at 1 P. M. I accompanied the prisoners to the Jail. Hundred or two hundred persons accompanied them to the Jail. There were about 20 or 30 constables and one Inspector. Shivalingapa accompanied the party. Shivalingapa went away after going half the distance. There was no disturbance and no one struck any body. Shivalingapa left at the Educational Inspector's office. This crowd never came to the liquor shop. It gradually dwindled away as roads branched-out. I went away to my house. My other friends too went away similarly. I remained at home till 6 P. M. I went to the bazar and then to the market liquor shop. It was 6 or 6-15 P. m. I saw young lads shouting Mahatmaji ki jai etc. They followed such persons as came out drunk. I saw Abdulrahman there. He was beseeching people not to go to drink. Whilst I was there one Shahabuddin came to drink. The little children asked him not to go but he went along spitting at the young folk. The boys began shouting to him to come out. He threw two or three stones from inside. Two or three youngsters called him out and went towards him. He closed the door. This was in the toddy shop. The youngsters began to shout when some police in uniform and in plain dress threatened them. This attracted passers by to the spot. About 100, 150 or two hundred collected. There were four or six armed police guarding in front of the liquor shop. When



BIG TATTI.



THREE OTHER PIECES OF TATTI



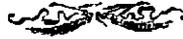
1007. Large
 1008. Tall
 1009. Place
 above found in the wall
 to the station.



(1)

EXHIBIT No. 63.

Witness No. 43.

**Bapulai Abdulrazak Pendari,***Muslim, 22 or 23, Tangawala.**Examined by Mr. Joshi :—*

I am a Tonga-driver. My Tonga shed is in front of the police Thana. On the 1st of July I went from my stables to the front of the toddy shop at 5 or 5-30 p. m. I saw two Khilafat volunteers with the Khilafat badge. They were persuading people not to go to drink. There were 10 or 20 youngsters who were shouting "Gandhi Maharajki jai" "Shoukat Alik jai". I saw constable Shahabuddin enter the shop at 6 p. m. though requested not to go. There was no quarrel between Shahabuddin and any of the people. People who were waiting for him called out to him to come out but he did not. I saw armed and unarmed constables, before the liquor shop and the toddy shop. The presence of so many armed constables was unusual. After Shahabuddin entered the shop the crowd increased. After the door was closed stones began to come from behind the toddy shop over its roof. People shouted "Gandhi Maharajki jai." Some little time after the tatti of the liquor shop thrice caught fire which was put out. Police in plain dress were near. I recognised two persons as setting fire to the tatti viz one a man with a black cap on who takes down reports at meetings and another Musalman. I then heard Police whistles and bells which caused the crowd increase considerably. After the tatti was beaten down I saw Shivalingappa coming with a posse of 25 or 30 constables. He came up to the corner of the toddy shop and then retired 15 or 20 feet and then suddenly fired. First Shivalingappa fired a pistol and then the police fired their guns which they continued to do for four or five minutes. I saw two persons hit and fall down. None told the people to disperse otherwise they would be fired upon. I stood

by the tree near the passage to the fish shop. Then five or six people came from the side of the Klulafat ground with a Kitson

When the light was being taken to the second wounded there was a fresh firing without any warning. I did not recognise the persons with the Kitson light.

To Tyabji :—

The tatti was set fire to from the front so I saw that the two men whom I mentioned doing this. The man with black cap threw oil from a bottle on the tatti and then set fire to it with a match. Kerosine oil was brought from the Tuana side.

24-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. TYABJI,**

EXHIBIT NO. 64.

Witness No. 44.

— o o —

Balkrishna Anant Joshi,

Brahmin, age 39, Pleader, Dharwar.

I am a pleader in Dharwar practising for the last 14 years. On the evening of the 1st July 1921 at about 6-30 p. m. I came from the Mitra Samaj side to go home and passed in front of the market liquor shop. When I reached the liquor shop, there was a collection of people about 30 in number including among them boys also. On enquiry I was told that a constable had got into a shop for drink and was making mischief and the people were waiting to see him come out of the shop. I proceeded home and after some time left the house and came to the place where the meeting in connection with the Tilak Swaraj Fund was going on. When I went there some people were collecting funds for the relief of the convicted volunteers. Among these were Messrs. Dabade and Bhise. I then saw the 2nd Sub-Inspector leaving the meeting place. A noise of

a crowd was coming from the side of the market liquor shop "Jai Jai" etc. I went within a few paces of the President's chair and handed over some money to one Abdul who was sitting there, to be sent on to the table of the President. This Abdul is some office bearer in the Khilafat Committee, I believe, a chairman. About this time Police whistles were heard. Near about Abdul were sitting Messrs. B. G. Kulkarni, Kabbur, Dr. Shirhatti, Divakar and others, Mr. Hanmantrao Desai and N. R. Deshpande pleaders came there and were talking to those people as to whether it would not be advisable for some of them to go to the crowd near the liquor shop and induce it to disperse; and some thought that they must go and do their duty and try their best and were ready to start; when I interposed and said that it would not be advisable to go in such dead dark to the crowd, since none of them had any such influence or personality as to make the crowd listen to their advice implicitly. When this discussion was going on Mr. Dabade was addressing the meeting. I advised that a chit should be sent to the Police enquiring if they would avail of what help they could give in inducing the crowd to disperse and that on receiving a reply in writing they may settle whether to go or not, looking to the attitude of the Police. By the time this talk was going on we heard shots. Mr. Kamapur was then addressing the meeting. Mr. Dabade was also there. At the sound of gun shots some confusion issued in the audience but order was soon restored and Mr. Kamapur went on. Several shots were heard thereafter and some people came running and crying "Doctor, Doctor". "People are fired upon and wounded; close the meeting; light; light;" and so on. The people in the meeting left the place in confusion and the meeting ended. The President of the meeting was Mr. V. B. Joshi. I saw the Kitson light in the meeting being removed to the market side. I also left the place intending to go home. When I came to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary I saw the Doctor opening the dispensary and several people had assembled outside and the wounded were coming in one after another. I also got into the dispensary to help the wounded. The compounder of Dr. Shirhatti, Dr. Kirlosker and Dr. Deshpande were sent for. Abdulsahab Khilasi, Chairman of the Khilafat Committee, was

also there when the dispensary was opened. I told him to arrange to get some lanterns with the help of which the different wounded persons may be examined by the Doctors. I saw him giving water also to some of the wounded. I saw Dabade also in the Dispensary and also Mudvedkar pleader for some time. Dr. Shirhatti and Dr. Dashpanda together treated certain wounded persons and I was taking notes as dictated by them. After about half an hour some people came saying that some wounded persons were lying near the liquor shop. That the road was blocked by the Police on both sides and no body was allowed to go to the wounded and give any help, and that some Doctor should come and see if he at least would be allowed to go to the wounded and give them help. It was settled that one Doctor should be spared and Dr. Kirloskar was asked to go. I was relieved by Mr. Balvantrao Jathar. Doctor Kirloskar, myself, one priest and a boy by name Mutalik Desai left the place. The priest had a pot of milk with him and Mutalik Desai had a lantern. The Doctor and myself carried the bandage and other necessary medical appliances. When we reached the place near the public latrines we found several people standing there. They were not allowed to go further by the Police. I cried out that we had come with a Doctor, to see the wounded. Then after a short pause we were told that Doctor alone may go. We replied that at least 3 persons with him were necessary. Then they permitted us to go. We went inside the Police cordon. One S. S. Desai had also joined us. When we went there we found a Kitson light on the road. One man was lying dead in front of the toddy shop. A boy was lying severely wounded but still alive. He was unconscious. When we went inside the Police cordon A. S. P. was standing there near the two bodies mentioned above and he said "This is non-violent non-co-operation in a taunting tone. I could not bear it and snubbed him by saying "Don't talk of these things. This is not the time for such talk. Let us first look to the wounded". At this he too appeared to have felt for what he did. He asked us if we could get a tonga and send for one; but tonga being not available an *yekka* was brought by some people but without the bullocks and dragged by themselves. In the mean

time a *damni* came and so the yekka was dispensed with. The Damni-stand is in front of the Police Thana. Dr. Kirloskar on examining the wounded boy advised that the boy must be removed at once to the Civil Hospital looking to his condition. The Dr. helped the wounded boy into the Damni and then the D. M. asked us if we could spare any one of us to accompany the boy in Damni to the Civil Hospital. We agreed to send Mutalik Desai boy who sat by the side of the wounded boy in Damni and took care of him. We returned and when we reached the people who were standing as described above, we were told that there was a third man struggling in the gutter and that we had not gone that side. Hearing this we again went there and told the D. M. that there was one more wounded person somewhere in the gutter. The D. M. enquired of a police constable if that was so and the constable took us and the D. M. to the gutter where an able bodied man was lying. The Doctor examined him with the light of a lantern and found him dead just then. The D. M. inquired of the constable if there were any more wounded and the constable saying no, we were all returning talking amongst ourselves when the D. M. warned us not to talk aloud else the Police on the other side may fire and asked us to follow him quietly. As we were wishing D. M. he said "Tell your people not to set fire to buildings". To this I said "We have come here to give such help to the wounded as we could and know nothing about setting fire or anything of the kind." Then we left the place and came to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary where Mr. Mudvedkar pleader was writing out something, I think, a list of the wounded persons. When we went to the wounded in front of the liquor and toddy shops it was about 10 p. m. We were there about half an hour. No stones were lying scattered on the road then. The road was in its usual condition. When the D. M. came to us at the liquor shop he inquired of the A. S. P. who we were and on his telling D. M. that one was a Doctor and others his assistants D. M. said "Dr. Shirhatti?" Whereupon Dr. Kirloskar said that he was Dr. Kirloskar and not Dr. Shirhatti. Then he inquired about the names of each of us. And S. S. Desai told his name as Desai. D. M. said "Hanmantrao Desai?" Mr. Desai said "I am S. S. Desai". Then

he took down the names of us all in jail. When we were then talking to D. M. one Godbole also came there and told him that Mr Mudvedkar was engaged with the wounded. Whereupon D. M. said Mr. Mudvedkar was not a doctor. Then he was told that Mr Mudvedkar was helping the doctor. To this D. M. said "Well let him help, let him help." I am not a non-co-operator.

24—8—1921.

Sd. B. A. Joshi.

To Tyabji :—

The above statement is made by me. I have signed it.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I was engaged by some of the pleaders who had been retained by the accused. On the 1st day of hearing I went to the jail, gate as the Court was to be held within jail precincts. There were many other pleaders who appeared in that case. When I went there the gates were closed. Police constables and jail peons were guarding the jail. After me some other pleaders also came. I was told by Mr Patwardhan that an arrangement had been come to between him and Mr, Lawrence, the Trying Magistrate, that Mr. Patwardhan should arrive half an hour before the Court time which was fixed at 2 P. M, and write a chit showing what pleaders had come and he would make arrangements to see that they were allowed in. Mr. Patwardhan wished to send a chit but the Police and the peons refused to take it saying that their order was to take nothing in. Some time afterwards Mr. Jog and other pleaders arrived. He attempted to send in his card with Mr. Patwardhan's name on the same card. This card was taken first to a Police Inspector who stood at a distance and then taken to the Magistrate. Mr. Karandikar too arrived by the time. Mr. Lawrence came out with some passes for the pleaders and some for the general public. There were only two passes for the pleaders and 30 for the public & these were handed to Mr. Patwardhan to arrange to whom they should be given. Mr. Lawrence's clerk was asked to take down the names of the

pleaders and take them to him. Mr. Karandikar of Satara came there and remonstrated with the Magistrate at being kept out in the sun; that the Court time was 2 o' clock and should be allowed to enter before that time. The Magistrate went away remarking this was all irrelevant. Whilst many stood by the gate a Motor car brought Messrs. Kemp, Hulkoti and Shivrao Arur, the permanent public prosecutor. They elbowed through the crowd and gate was opened and Mr. Kemp and the other two followed. Mr. Karandikar also attempted to follow saying he was a pleader. Kemp went on moving his hand saying "I don't know." Karandikar however went in and we tried to follow. The constables stopped us whilst Mr. Karandikar went to the Court. Mr. Jog who had a pass got inside the gate with two or three others who had not got any. They were turned out. Owing to this insult we came away. Not less than 15 minutes elapsed between Lawrence's going back and our going away. The Inspector of Police Hanmant Timmanna was witnessing what was passing between us and the constables. On the 30th of July myself and Mr. Nargundkar together examined the records of the bail matter in the riot case. We came across notes made by the Sessions Judge of arguments advanced on both sides and information given by the Crown. Mr. Nargundkar applied for a copy there and then. This application was refused on the 2nd of August. In this application the actual notes were fully set out from the original.

24-8-1921.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

(postponed).

Mr. Joshi says he has nothing to ask this witness as the point on which he wished to question him has been cleared up by Ex. 73.

25-8-21

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBITS No. 65-67.

Original issues of Karnatak Vritta giving the following extracts,

EXHIBIT No. 68.

Translation of the relevant extracts from the leader in the "Karnatak Vritta" dated 25th May 1920 entitled "Critics of the Karnatak Conference".

Extract 1.

While innumerable Non Brahmin delegates had come to the Conference, these (Some Non Brahmin individuals) came forward boldly with the object of calling in question the legality of the Conference. On the 10th of May, in this very town of Dharwar, the Karnatak Co-operative Conference was held under the presidentship of the Hon. Mr. Curtis and in the presence of Mr. Montford, Commissioner Southern Division, The present manifesto-gentlemen did not convene any meeting on that day, nor did they attempt to any other public action on that day nor on the 11th until the Co-operative Conference finished its proceedings. It was at midnight of the 11th at Hubli that this wonderful manifesto was published, and that too in English. Thus it is difficult to understand how these gentlemen can claim to represent the various castes which go by the name of the Non-Brahmins in the entire Karnatak.

Extract 2.

Our inference is this:—Mr. Nalvadi and other gentlemen of his ilk, being in complete sympathy with the objects of the Conference from the very beginning willingly became members of the Reception Committee; Later, one or two days before the Conference they must have changed their attitude at the instance of wire-pullers from behind; and to justify this inconsistency in their conduct they published in their manifesto the statements that the few Non-Brahmins who might attend the Conference were doing so to show that the proceedings and actions of the Conference were irregular. Our readers will be convinced that our inference alone and no other is legitimate one from the reasoning we have shown above.

Translation of the extract from the *Karnatak Vritta* dated 6th July 1920 from the leader entitled " Council Candidates ".

Extract 1.

It is a historical fact that even a philosopher like Lord Morley attempted to divide the moderate from others and rallied them to his side. It cannot therefore be unreasonable if one infers that the present differences between the Brahmins and the Non Brahmins owe their origin to the mischief of the Beauraucrats. We have already described the root-cause of the Non Brahmin Conference in our issue of the 25th May in its leader entitled " The Critics of the Karnatak Conference ". Independent evidence can also be had from the manifesto itself in support of this inference of ours.

Extract 2.

Though the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Sir Dinsha Wachha, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Hon. Mr. Shastri and other moderate leaders appear to have in a way forfeited the Nation's respect, Indians cannot forget their past services to their Country for all times to come. None of the moderates committed the sin of becoming fire-brands in the hands of the beauraucracy to set fire to the national aspirations as our leaders of the Non Brahmin Conference are now doing.

Translation of the extract in *Karnatak Vritta* dated 14th June 1921 from the leader entitled " For idiots distruction befalls in manifold ways."

Extract 1.

On account of the change in the personnel of the Police Superintendent here there are clear signs that the conduct of all the persons in the Police Department seems to have changed. Our conscience refuses to believe that the Police are interested in preserving pure justice. This we say from their conduct in inducing people to

drink more and more, from their open and secret assistance to liquor contractors and from the astonishing enthusiasm which the D. S. P. shows in the case against the Khilafat volunteers. From many actions of the Police, it appears that there is a sort of licence granted by D. S. P. to the drunkards among the Police Constables to drink to their heart's content and to create nuisance as they like. We cannot help thinking from these circumstances and the obstinate conduct of D. S. P. in the matter of passing of the *Tangas* that the principal motive underlying the whole affair is the anger due to the Tangavalas' abstaining from drink. Moreover we hear that D. S. P. plainly told the Tangavalas that there would be no delay in getting their passes if they again took to drink as before. In these days of lack of sense on the part of the beauraucrats we cannot disbelieve this alleged statements of D. S. P. We cannot but declare therefore that our D. S. P. has been doing a meritorious fact of forcing liquor down the throats of Tangavalas and enriching the coffers of the liquor contractors by taking the money out of the pockets of the Tangavalas.

EXHIBIT 69.

Witness No. 45.

Abdulrahman Madarsaheb Tongawala.

Moslem, 14, Tonga driver, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Kadapa :—

I was struck by a pellet on a Friday. This was about a month and a half ago. I had gone to the market and whilst returning home I came to a tamarind tree where I heard sounds of firing and immediately hit by a buck-shot on my left leg below the knee. I fell down unconscious. It was quite dark then. The tamarind tree was by the Jaknibhavi. I have a mark on the front showing where the shot struck and another mark at the back on the calf showing where it was cut out. I had met a boy at the tamarind tree. He

was wounded. Just as I talked to him I was struck. The people I saw were standing still. When I was going to the market in the twilight I heard cries of "jai, jai." That was being repeated when returned. I heard this by the latrines and at Jaknibhavi. When I began to talk to the boy this was being repeated.

25—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 70.

Witness No. 46.

Krishnarao Rangrao Perjabadi.

Brahmin, 27, Gold and Silver Merchant, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Kadapa :—

I went to Hubli on the 1st July by the 1-30 p. m. train, and left Hubli again for Dharwar by 7-30 p. m. train which arrives here at about 9 p. m. On the platform at Hubli at 7-30 p. m. I met Gururayacharya, Ramrao Sabnis pleader & Rudraya Hiremath. Rudraya is the son-in-law of Gadagaya Honnapurmamath. Rudraya travelled from Hubli to Dharwar by the same train. Also Mr. Sabnis. I joined Rudraya at the Dharwar station and walked together till the Taluka Kacheri where I heard of the shooting incident. It was about 9 p. m. then. I left Rudraya and hurried up to the police station. I and Rudraya had to walk from the station as no tonga was available. I could not go to the liquor shop as my servant told me this was prohibited. I was told this near Joshi's Wada. I then went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. The doctor was dressing the wounds of some persons.

25—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 71.

Witness No. 47.

**Yeshwant. Bhaskar. Jathar.***Brahmin, 39, Printer, Dharwar.**Examined by Mr. Kadapa :—*

I am a B. A., LL.B. I do Banking business also. My house is in the same lane as Mr. H. R. Desai's. I recollect the 1st of July last. I attended a public meeting that night at 7-30. One Mr. H. K. Gole accompanied me. Mr. Divakar was speaking about relief to the families of volunteers convicted that day. Mr. Vinayakrao Joshi was in the chair. I saw Mr. Dabade and Bhise collecting donation in their caps. I saw also Tirmal Joshi who was seated among the audience. I heard police whistles about the time a tall thin Moslem began to address after Divakar. I started to return home. When I reached the Vijaya office owned by A. B. Hoskeri, he was not there. After waiting a couple of minutes in the office I came out and met him and two or three others who came from the meeting. I went home and found my friend H. R. Desai, H. K. Gole and S. V. Desai uncle of H. R. Desai. It might have been about 9-30 then. Having heard of the firing and about wounded persons having been taken to Shirhatti's, I and H. R. Desai went to his dispensary. I lost sight of Desai there. I went in and saw Basappa Guttepanavar who had been wounded. There was blood on his forehead. He said he had been shot near the brandy shop. I went in the inner room where Shirhatti and Dr. Deshpande were treating the wounded. I took the forms from B. A. Joshi who wished to go out and began to fill them up till the end. L. T. Patil also called Chavangouda was one of the wounded. I asked him at what place he had been hit. He told me he was hit when he went with the Kitson light. A Municipal clerk Gilganchi was also wounded. He

too said he had been wounded when he went with the Kitson light. I returned home at 11 p.m. I saw Hanmantrao Desai there. Gole too was there. I know Gopalrao Deshpande. He often visits me. He was not there. He came just as we were conversing where he could be. He told us that he went from the Mitra Samaj by the liquor shop road to the place of meeting, that Mr. Yatgiri was with him, that from the meeting they went back to the toddy & liquor shop with Mr. Venkatrao Mudwedkar, that Venkatrao remained on the Jaknibhavi side, that he and Yatgiri reached the compound wall of the Police Thana, that something was brought by the police from the liquor and toddy shop to the Thana, that there was some movement among the Police in front of the shop, that the Police returned to the Thana; that Shivalingappa went again towards the liquor shop with the police leaving some constables in the Kacheri, that the firing began after this, and the police at the Kacheri also began to fire, that as the police in the Kacheri were firing in all directions he and Yatgiri who were in front of the gate slipped inside the gate on to the Verandah of the Kacheri and that when the affair was over he left with Yatgiri.

25-8-21.

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 72

Witness No. 48.

Sitaram Wamanrao Jathar,

Brahmin, 24, printer, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Kadapa :—

I am the son of Mr. Vamanrao Jathar who is the third accused in the riot case. He is the owner of the Raja Hansa press. A daily paper called "The Rajahansa" is printed in that press. It has also a weekly edition. I produce the four issues of Raja Hansa dated 10th May 1921, 2nd July 1921, 19th July 1921 and 3rd August

1921. (We stop the examination on this point as the papers are irrelevant, and not admissible). I am looking after the management after my father's arrest. I produce three letters addressed to the paper with the request that they should be printed. We acknowledged their receipt but we did not publish them as they were. We published their gist.

25—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 73.

Witness No. 49.



Ramchandra Shesho Nargundkar.

Brahmin, 40, Plealer, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a Law graduate of the Bombay University. I am a practising pleader. On the 1st of July 1921 I was in the Mitra Samaj in the evening. At about 7-30 p. m. myself, Mr. Gopalrao Deshpande and Mr. Venkatrao Mudvedkar pleader left the Samaj to attend the Lokmanya Swaraj meeting. He went up the crossing near market damni stand. We saw some crowd on the road opposite the liquor and toddy shop and so we went by that road. We halted opposite the toddy shop where the road branches off on the left side to join the main market road. I enquired of some bystanders what the matter was. One from the crowd told me that a constable had gone into the shop to drink and had shut the door and that he was throwing stones from inside and the people were crying for his coming out. We waited about five minutes more and went on our way to the public meeting. The crowd consisted more of passers by and was standing in group in different places. The number of the crowd all told may be about 200. I did not see any one from the crowd throwing stones or having any stick in his hand.

When we left that place it was almost dark. I did not see any light in the shops. Then we reached the place of meeting where I saw Moulvi an old mahomedan who was speaking standing near the President Mr. V. B. Joshi's chair. I was standing on the road of Burudgalli. I saw Messrs. Divakar, Kabbur, Dabade, Bhise & Dr. Shirhatti in the meeting. Mr. Sultan master also was seen there, I was there for about 10 minutes. During this period Mr. Madhavrao Kamlapur began to talk about Khalif Oomar after V. B. Joshi told the audience that he, *i. e.* Kamalapur would tell them something about Oomar Khalif. Messrs. Dabade and Bhise were going round the audience collecting subscriptions in their caps. A row towards the liquor shop came to our ears. Some in the meeting began to get up when the President and others told the audience that they need not get up and go. I saw a glare towards the liquor shop. It at once subsided. A few minutes after some persons came wheeling round the Chaturdâs garden corner towards the meeting place crying "The police are lighting fire and it is probable that they will involve us." The people in the meeting were getting up and they were being seated. About this time I heard police whistling towards the liquor shop. I left the meeting to go to my house. When I went near Narsinh temple I heard sound of firing. I then went home. On 30th June there was a discussion in the Pleaders' room regarding the Collector having said to Messrs. Kabbur and Divakar that he has thirsting for their blood. Next morning at about 10 a. m. Messrs. Hukerikar and Divakar came to me to collect some additional subscription which I had promised to Mr. Hukerikar for Tilak Swaraja fund. I asked Mr. Divakar about the discussion of Collector's talk discussed in the Bar room. I asked him whether we was going to print it in his paper. He said he was not going to do it and he does not care for such things. I was a pleader engaged by Messrs. Krishnarao Mudvedkar and six others to apply for bail to the District Judge I accordingly applied for the same. My application was argued along with the application of 14 accused of the first lot and Messrs. Deshpande and Desai. During the argument Mr. Jog and myself asked the D. J. to ask the police Officers to give the number of witnesses against each of the accused **The Dy. S. P. positively said after looking into a charge made by**

him and counting numbers that there were 19 witnesses against K. H. Mudvedkar. After Mr. Mudvedkar was discharged I submitted an application to the D. J. for copy of his notes (a certified copy of which I have given to Mr. B. A. Joshi.) In the application I have copied in detail the rough notes made by the D. J. in pencil at the time of the argument. The D. J.'s notes also contained the number given by the Dy. S. P. The D. J. sent me a note through the registrar expressing his desire to hear me in support of the argument on the 2nd instant at 2 p. m. I have got the note and I produce it. Ex. 74. I accordingly went to the D. J. in chamber. He told me the rough notes were for his guidance and he could not give me the copy prayed for. He also said that it could not be preserved. I again applied for preserving the same till I got a Rule from the High Court but I learnt afterwards that it had been destroyed. I was advised not to proceed. I also applied for a copy of my application to the D. J. which I have referred to above.

1—7—1921.

Sd. **R. S. Nargundkar,**

Pleader.

To Tyabji:—

The above statement made by me is correct.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I produce a certified copy of my application for preservation of the notes. Ex. 75. Also a certified copy of an application for preserving the notes till I obtained an order from the High Court. Ex. 76. In Ex. 75, No 1 in the 2nd lot refers to Mr. Krishnarao Mudvedkar. There were 4 applications for bail, the first was for 14 accused, the second was for Mr. Desai. The third for Mr. Deshpande and the fourth for seven of whom Mr. Krishnarao stood first. As I drafted the application I know which application refers to whom. The No. 19 against this No. 1 shows that there were 19 witnesses against him. This information was obtained by the Judge from Dy. S. P.

25—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 74.

District Court Dharwar

1-8-21.

My dear Mr. Nargundkar,

With regard to your application for a copy of the rough notes in the bail application proceedings, the Sessions Judge has expressed his desire to hear you in chamber at 2 p. m. tomorrow.

Yours truly,
Sd/ **B. V. Pctdar,**
Registrar.

To,

The Sessions Judge,
Dharwar.

IMPERATOR*Vs :***G. G. Guttal and others.**

I the pleader for the accused beg to apply as follows. I had put an application for a certified copy of the notes made by the court at the time of hearing the argument of pleaders of both the prosecution and the defence side at the trial of the bail application. The application was not granted after hearing me in support of the same. I still believe I can claim a certified copy of the same or at least I hope that my prayer for the preservation of the original will be upheld by the High Court for the ends of justice. I request therefore that the notes should not be destroyed till I get sufficient opportunity to get an order about the same from the High Court.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/ **R. S. Nargundkar***Pleader.*

2-8-21.

The notes have been already destroyed. The application is rejected.

3-8-21.

Sd/ E. H. Waterfield.

Sessions Judge.

“ True copy ”

Sd/ B. V. Potdar.

Registrar

EXHIBIT No. 76.

Criminal Case Nos :3/21 & 6/21.

In the Court of the Sessions Judge,

Dharwar.

IMPERATOR

Vs :

Accused Madhawa and 13 others.

I. In this matter I the pleader for the accused most respectfully beg to apply for a copy of the notes made by the Court, of the arguments addressed and statement of facts made by both sides at the hearing of the bail applications, in the above mentioned cases. The notes are kept along with the case papers of case No. 3/21, which I chanced to see just today with the case papers while going through the order passed on the bail applications (in case No. 3/21)

II. The notes are as under :—

1. Accused are all respectable.
 2. Not likely to abscond.
 3. Investigation not likely to be finished quickly.
 4. No grounds for belief in guilt.
-

42 Calcutta 25 36 Calcutta.
Case likely to come for hearing on 19th.

1-20	6-6	11-4
2-9	7-12	12-12
3-8	8-7	13-9
4-29	9-18	14-14
5-12	10-25	

Respectability and status should be taken into account. S. I. who ordered firing is anxious to justify conduct. No one arrested on the spot. Witness got up at late stage. All further names come out on Friday night; in any case there were witnesses to prove accused's guilt before his arrest; 2000 or 3000 people there. There might be fresh breach of peace. Early stage of case Arrests ordered by D. S. P.

Arrested under D. S. P's orders.	H. R. Desai has	Arrested a week later.
21 witnesses. Name given out 1st Night. Not arres- ted because Police wish to make.		
6 witnesses names come out on Saturday.	G. D. Deshpande. 1-19 2-5 3-24 4-21 5-23 6-18 7-12	

III. The certified copy of the notes is required by the accused as they intend to move the High Court. In Sessions cases usually it is the practice to preserve the presiding Judges' notes the copies of which are printed and supplied to the pleaders in the High Court. Any how under the special circumstances of this case and in the interest of justice I hope your Honour will be kind enough to furnish me with a copy of the notes to enable the accused to present

it along with their petition to the High Court. In case the Court rules that the copy prayed for cannot be supplied I beg that the notes may be carefully preserved.

DHARWAR

30-7-21

I beg to remain,

SIR.

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/ **R. S. Nargundkar,**

Pleader.

ORDER.

The notes referred to were made in pencil and not intended to be preserved. They are incomplete and would be unintelligible to any one who had not been present at the hearing of the application. They do not propose to record all the arguments, but are only brief memoranda of various points which I wished to refer to in disposing of the application. It is argued by the applicants' pleader that they were recorded under rule 49 on page 29 of the High Court Criminal Circulars, but that note refers only to trials. This was a miscellaneous application before the proceedings commenced before the Magistrate, and could not be part of a trial before this Court which cannot commence until the accused have been committed. It would not be fair to either side to allow use to be made of such rough and incomplete notes. Both applications are rejected.

August 2nd 1921.

Sd/ **E. H. Waterfield,**

Sessions Judge.

True Copy

B. V. Potdar,

Registrar.

EXHIBIT No. 77

Witness No. 50.

Raghavendra Rangrao Perjabadi,
Brahmin, 32, Agriculturist, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I remember the 1st of July last. On that day Khilafat volunteers were convicted. I was present at the court. Accused were taken away to the jail at about 2 p. m. I followed them to the jail. The people who had accompanied the accused did not go to the liquor shop. They dispersed. At 5 p. m. I was on the verandah of Chanvirappa. I saw Mr. Bommanji Parekh standing in front of Dr. Shirahatti's dispensary. One of the accused (accused No. 11) Mahomed Soudagar was on Dr. Shirahatti's verandah. There was an altercation between Bommanji and Mr. Soudagar over the conviction of the volunteers. Soudagar asked Bommanji 'Has the conviction of the volunteers pleased you all?.' This led to the altercation. After the altercation Bommanji went to the Municipal office. I went to the market then and from there to the meeting place. After half an hour the meeting began. I was there for half an hour. I then went towards the liquor shop. I stayed 15 minutes at the liquor shop. People in the front of the toddy shop said Policemen had gone in to drink and were throwing stones. After a little while I left the place and went and stood near the culvert opposite the toddy shop. Then I went and stood by point 3. I stood here for 5 or 10 minutes. Again I went to the front of the liquor shop. After I had stood about 15 minutes there I was told that the tatti had been set on fire and I was watching the *tamasha*. The Police were round about the tatti. I saw policemen in plain dress on the Verandah. There were only 3 or 4 persons on the Verandah. I noticed no outsiders there. I saw a slight fire first. The flame then increased. It was put by those round about. Then in two or three minutes there was flare. The Police began to blow whistles and ring bells. I then fled to the meeting and informed the people

there "the police were setting fire there. They may give trouble to the people. There is a mob of 200 or 300 people. They are ignorant. Get some leaders to ask them to go away." The leader said it was not desirable to go there as the police might involve them and did not move from there. Whilst I was at the meeting for half or three quarters of an hour I noticed Dabade (accused No. 1), Joshi (No. 2), Hoskori (No. 4), Kalkeri (No. 5), Kamlapur (No. 6), Divakar (No. 7), Kabbur (No. 8), Soudagar (No. 11), and Sultan (No. 13), Bhise (No. 24). When I went the second time I spoke to Divakar. Others were seated as before but did not note them especially. I returned to the police station by the market road. I went and stood under the Karanj tree opposite the Police Thana. A cycle orderly came there from the side of the District Judge's Court. He passed me and went on towards the liquor shop. Within a minute or two a police party came from the same direction. They may have been 15 or 20. They were armed. They entered the compound of the Thana. Before the arrival of these there were already other armed constables on the Verandah of the Police Thana. All the constables came out with the senior Sub-Inspector. Some were left on the Verandah. The verandah is 5 or 6 feet above the road. The Compound wall is about 4 feet above the road level. The Kacheri is on the higher part of the slope. They came out of the gate when the Sub-Inspector told them "Fire when told". Just then the crowd was completely quiet. They were watching what the Police were doing.

To Settur :—

There was no pelting with stones. The cries of "Jai" was not heard after the arrival of the Police party.

To Joshi :—

The constables and Sub-Inspector proceeded towards the liquor shop. Some of them brought back a man from the liquor shop side to the Thana. He was carried between two files of the police. I was not able to see the man carried, because he was being taken in the middle of two rows of armed police. But I am sure it was a man and nothing else. People round about were saying that that was

the man who was drunk in the toddy shop. Firing began after the man was brought. Till the actual firing we never believed that people would be shot. We thought it was a sham threat. Under this impression I continued there. There was no scuffle between the Police and the people nor was there any time for anything of this sort as the firing began immediately after the police conveying the man ascended the steps of the Chowki. The Police line extended from the end of the liquor shop to the whole of the open ground towards the Thana side. I saw two shots fired in the air. Among the constables that stood there four or five who were on our side were facing the Mutton market in front, the rest faced Jaknibhavi. After the first two shots all the constables fired. Some fifty shots were fired. This firing went on for a minute. Then those on the Thana Verandah began to fire towards the brandy shop. There was not a crowd there. Some groups of three or four were standing here and there. When the fire began at the Thana we felt the shots pass over our heads, so we sat down. There were four of us who did this. After 7 or 8 shots had been fired one of our companions got up to go away, he got a pellet in the forehead. His name is Basappa Guttappa. On being struck he sat down. I took shelter under a dumni. When all was quiet I fled from there by the main road and went to point 3 where the market road meets the road by the latrines. On the Verandah of the Thana there was a light.

To Tyabji:—

When I left the meeting on the first occasion there was twilight and so it must have been before 7. When I first went there was a crowd opposite the toddy shop. There were some more opposite the liquor shop. There were some spectators in the open ground beyond. I did not see any volunteer there as I was much behind the crowd. The crowd consisted mostly of youths who were shouting I did not notice their throwing dust or stones. Whilst I was there I did not notice the owner of the shop Mr. Karaka coming there. At the time guns were fired towards the Mutton Market the people in that direction were all quiet. Till the children were seen actually wounded no one conceived there would be a firing. This was because there was no reason for firing. Shivlingappa when he spoke to the

constables did not carry a gun. His right hand was in his trousers' pocket and with his left he was putting his belt right. There were about 20 persons about the point 13. Besides them there were one or two persons here and there at the time of the firing. No warning was given before firing nor people told to disperse.

25-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

 EXHIBIT No. 78.

Witness No. 51.

 Narayan Raghavendra Deshpande.
Brahmin, Pleader, Dharwar.

 Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a Watandar, and a Practising Pleader. On 1-7-21 evening at about 7 or 7-30 p. m. I was returning from Malgudd to the town passing by Line Bazar and *Myddar* lane (Burud galli). A meeting was going on, on the Khilafat open space. I stood on the road. Then Mr. Kamalapur was speaking. Mr. Vinayakrao was in the Chair. Near him on the chair was one Mahomedan. I then proceeded to the corner of the gutter *katta*. There Hanmantrao Desai met me. I then saw Mr. Balvantrao Betdur. Dr. Kirloskar was there. Mr. Hanmantrao said " Many people have collected near market liquor shop. Let us ask the people in the meeting to desperse the crowd." Mr. Desai and myself went to the meeting. Behind the President's chair there were Dr. Shirhatti, Messrs. Bandopant Joshi, Pleader, Hukkerikar, Divakar, Kabbur and others. On the other side of the meeting near the wire-fence one Mahomedan was keeping order in the meeting. In front of the President there were some Mahomedans. We asked Bandopant and others to go and disperse the crowd. We heard the Police whistles then. Mr. Hanmantrao and myself stood one or two minutes in the meet-

ing and then came out and proceeded homewards. Meanwhile gun shots were heard. By the time we reached Dr. Huilgol's dispensary some people came there crying "Doctor, Doctor. Two or three corpses of persons shot by the Police with guns." I then proceeded home.

Sd. N. R. Deshpande,

To Tyabji:—

The above statement made by me is quite correct.

Sd. A. S. T,

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

Desai is an accused in the riot case. By Bandopant Joshi I mean Ex. 64.

25-8-1921.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

EXHIBIT No. 79.

Witness No. 52.



Bhalchandra Ramchandra Patwardan.

Brahmin, age 29, Pleader, Dharwar.

I am an M. A., LL. B., of the Bombay University and a practising pleader for the last three years. I am an Honourary assistant to the Public prosecutor, Dharwar. I know about the conversation between Mr. Painter the Collector, of Dharwar, and Messrs. Kabbur, and Divakar of 'Karmvir.' On the 30th June I, along with some pleaders in the Bar room, was awaiting the arrival of Mr. Kabbur from the Collector's office where he had gone for

the interview as already intimated to them by the Collector's office at about 3 p. m. that day. We, in the Bar room, anxiously asked Mr. Kabbur about the interview. Mr. Kabbur stated that Mr. Painter first read out the warning which he was ordered to communicate to them by the Bombay Government and that after reading the warning Mr. Painter said to them that he was thirsting for their blood and nothing would please him better than seeing them at least one year in Jail, and that Mr. Painter further stated that he had sent some more articles of Karmaveer to Bombay Government which had escaped their notice and asked Bombay Government for sanction to prosecute them for those articles, and that he was awaiting the sanction and would prosecute them as soon as he would get their sanction. On July 1st, I and Mr. Narayanrao Gadag and Mr. Kelkar, both pleaders here, were reading in the Native General Library at about 6-30 p. m. that day. We heard some *gadabad* towards the liquor shop. Then we left the library and went to see Gopal Giri's theatre when we saw a batch of young boys running from market towards Haveripeth road. After seeing Gopal Giri's theatre we came out and saw a batch of boys returning from Haveripeth road towards the market. We enquired about the matter and learnt that the drinkers of the liquor shop were being molested. We wondered how these things were allowed under the very nose of the police in the police Thana just close to the liquor shop. I personally apprehended some dodge of the police and the danger to the public. So we wanted to see the leaders in the meeting and explain to them the situation near liquor shop so that they may take some preventive measures. I came to the meeting place near the Khilafat ground and saw Mr. Dabade auctioneering some ornaments collected for the Tilak Swaraj fund. But as there was a thick audience I could not approach the leaders and stood to hear the further proceedings of the meeting. Within five minutes the auction was closed and Mr. Divakar got up to speak about the volunteers who were convicted that noon and explained to the audience their duty towards the volunteers who had sacrificed themselves for the public good. He also asked the audience to be ready to sacrifice for the country's sake. I saw Mr. Vinayk Rao Joshi and one Mr. Moulvi taking

their seats on chairs. I saw also Mahmād Umar, second Sub Inspector, taking notes. I could see prominently near the two chairs Messrs. Kabbur, Kamalapur, Bhise, Hukeri master and saw some Khilafat workers a little behind them. When Divakar resumed his seat and Mr. Joshi the President asked the Moulvi to speak, I left the meeting place thinking that Mr. Moulvi's lecture would not be of much interest. Besides I wanted to go home earlier. I returned home at about 7-45 p. m. and from my house I could hear whistling and trimendous noise from the direction of the liquor shop. I apprehended again some mischief of police and just when I was taking my meal I heard the noise for the first firing and I looked to my wrist watch which showed the time as about 8-20 p. m. After finishing my meal I went towards Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary where I found a large number of persons (wounded) being treated there. Next morning, *i. e.*, on 2nd July I again went towards Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary where I found a large number of persons collected inquisitively to know something of the previous day's occurrence. There I saw Mr. Chavangouda the sanitary inspector and Mr. Gilganchi a municipal clerk who appeared to be wounded. I enquired of Chavangouda how he received the bullet, he replied that when they both had gone with the Kitson light towards the liquor shop to help the wounded they received the wounds and he further stated that the firing was quite unjustifiable.

Sd/ B. R. Patwardhan.

To Tyabji :—

The above statement made by me is quite correct.

25-8-1921.

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

B. R. Patwardhan (ex. 79) recalled.

Examined by Mr. Kowjalgi :—

I was present in the Magistrate's Court as a representative of the Associated Press. I was present when the Magistrate measured

the matting. I observed the matting. There were two holes about the size of my palm which appeared to me to have been caused by fire. I did not observe any black marks of firing on the edge of the 2 or 3 pieces of tatti in Court. I observed the stones lying in the Court. The stones appeared to be what are used for building and not like those found lying in the street. They were at least many of them rectangular pieces 6" x 6" and they appeared to be new and unused. One bagful of stones and a couple of bagfulls of pieces of tiles. I have seen the clock in the Sessions Court. It was when the Court drew attention to it. The clock showed 11-2 but the hour hand did not come up to the figure 11. The complainant was asked to explain this but he could not. Then the prosecuting counsel got up and said to the Court that the District Magistrate when he first visited the shop after the riot has noted down the time. The matter was dropped there. The glass and the dial are not smashed. The lower glass through which the pendal can be seen is smashed. Some portion is still in its place. I did not observe any starring of the glass.

29-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

 EXHIBIT No. 80.

Witness No. 53.

Tukema kom Imamsab Kakar,
Age 90 Line Bazar-Dharwar.

I was 25 years old in the Mutiny of 1857. All my children were dead. So I have fostered a son. A month and a half back, at night, gun shots were heard. My son did not turn up. Somebody said that my son was dead. Terrified I went to Jaknibhavi side. Went opposite to the *Gadangs*, where one big faced man was lying. At a distance by the side of the road, towards the fish

market under the tree, a boy was lying. Taking him to be my son. I began to bawl out; blood was flowing. He raised his hands. It was dark when I went. Lamp came from Dharmashala side. I saw it towards the Jaknibhavi side; saw the labba again. Again gun shots were fired. People standing there pushed me. Never minding death I persisted in staying there. Saw both the gadangs when the lamp came. Both the doors were shut. I saw no stones on the road. I went home and sat crying. In the mean time my son came. I recognised the dead boy, to be Musa's boy.

Thumb Mark of Tukkema kom Imamsab Kakar.

No warning was given before firing.

The above statement having been explained to the witness by me, she states the facts mentioned therein are true.

26-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 81.

Witness No. 54.

Makhtumbi kom Rajesab Sutar,

Age 80, lives in Line Bazar-Dharwar.

I learnt that my son was shot. I went towards Jaknibhavi. I could not see my son. Went crying and returned home crying. I again went. Some said he was lying in gutter. I saw him. Blood was flowing. He was dead. When I went first there was no lamp. When I went a second time, a lamp was there near a dead body. There were no stones lying on the road. I did not mark the doors

of the liquor shop. When I went a second time the police asked me not to go further. There were many police there. I pushed in crying.

Left hand thumb mark of Makhtumbi Rajesab Sutar

Verified before me.

26-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. TYABJI,**

EXHIBIT No. 82.

Witness No. 55.

Fakeer Mahamad Maktumsha Hulkop.

Age 22 Head master, D. C. E. School, Dharwar.

o o o

I know the events on 1-7-21. I closed the School on 1-7-21 at 5 p. m. and went to the market to fetch vegetables. But all shops were closed. On inquiry I was told that it was due to the grief on account of the convictions of the two Khilafat volunteers that day. It was about 6 p. m. when I went to the meeting in the Khilafat Maidan. About 800 to 1000 people were collected there. Mr. Vinayak-
 rao Joshi was the president of that meeting and Madhvarao Kamala-
 pur was lecturing. Mr. Dabade sold by auction certain articles and
 rings. Mr. Bhise was begging. I saw near about me Messrs. Kabbur
 Divakar, Shirhatti, Sultan Master, Abdul Khalasi, Abdul Khadar
 Attar, Mahamad Hushen Rotiwala. Then at about 7-30 p. m.
 Police whistles were blcwn from the side of the *Gadang*. The peo-
 ple in the meeting began to get up. Messrs. Joshi, Abdul Khalasi,
 Abdulkhadar, Bhise and others were telling people to sit down and
 not to go. On the side of the *Gadang* the Police whistles and sound
 of the gong became intense. So I left the Meeting and went as far
 as the small bridge near the market latrines. On going there I saw
 300 to 400 boys. Among those near the liquor shop there were

standing Police constables in plain dress. I proceeded to the liquor shop. There was a distance of about 6 to 7 feet between me and these police. There was a tatti to the Verandah of the liquor shop. There was a distance of about 4 feet between the tatti and these police in plain dress. Behind these Police there were standing armed police with guns in hand. The police in plain dress were setting fire to the tatti and they themselves were extinguishing it. Thus they did thrice. Malhari is one of those that set fire. I saw him. One more had a short trouser (Ijar). I do not know his name. But I know him by face. Some police were engaged in setting fire and some in creating disturbance. The Junior Sub-Inspector was seen when tatti was on fire. I did not see him afterwards. 5 or 6 minutes later Shivalingappa and armed Police came and fire opened immediately. People ran away. Afterwards a Kitson light was brought. After the Kitson light came, the fire having ceased I got some courage and came towards the light and stood in the open space below the *Karanjâ* tree. With the help of the light I saw two dead bodies opposite the liquor and toddy shop. Then there was firing again. I ran away. Before firing no warning was given. Had it been given I would have run away.

F. M. HULCOP.

Verified before us.

26-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 83.

Witness No. 56.



Balvant Dattatraya Godbole,
Brahmin, 25, Tailor, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I remember the 1st of July last. A meeting at which I was present was held that day. I was present from 6 to 7-45 p. m.

After the auction Divakar spoke. Narsapur alias Kulkarni, Bhise and others were collecting a fund for the volunteers. Dabade, Joshi, Kamalapur, Divakar, Kabbur were at the meeting. Of the Mahomedans I donot know them by names but by faces. I know that some of those moslims who have been arrested were present at the meeting. I remember Kabbur purchased a ring at the auction. Also one Tammanna Katarki purchased one. After the Police blew their whistles a man came to the meeting saying that great shouting was going on and many police had collected. I and a couple of friends went to the liquor shop by the market road. People were rushing there from all the roads-the market road and other roads. They were attracted by the Police whistles. There was no rioting going on but much shouting of Tilak and Gandhi-ki-jai. In a short time a party of unarmed police came there. Hearing some trouble I went and stood at the corner of the Police Thana. Sabinis Pleader, and a Mohomedan surnamed Mugad, Hukeri and others stood by me. I stood there a long while. The Police who had arrived first brought something from the liquor shop. I did not see what it was, as it was dark. Within a couple of minutes an armed party of constables arrived and soon after they arrived without giving any warning they began firing. The Police fired from a place between us and the liquor shop about thirty feet from the liquor shop. After this, firing also began from the verandah of the Police Chowki. Firing was also directed towards the road to Arur's house. The firing from the Chowki was directed towards us, towards the brandy shop and the liquor shop. No one attempted to assault the police before the firing. At the time we came from the meeting, I saw something burning by the tatti of the Verandah of the liquor shop. The tatti itself was burning. When the firing took place in our direction I found my friends gone. I too left the place and went towards Arur's house and went to Jaknibhavi by the Gouli galli. By the time I reached there, a Kitson light was brought. Just as it was put down, a fresh firing took place. Those that had come with the lamp fled. I stood under a Tamarind tree. The light was 50 feet from me when the fresh firing took place. I was about 30 feet from the liquor shop.

I first saw the light in the liquor shop road. By the time I came to the tamarind tree there was only the light; the men had fled. A Moslim woman came there crying and went towards the wounded people. The Police were then at the Thana. The woman was challenged by the Police. She did not mind them and sat near the wounded boy. After that some other women also came there, whenever a man attempted to go in that direction the Police used to stop them. I followed the women and went towards the liquor shop to see if any other wounded were lying there. I saw some earth, small stones 15 or 20 in number and a half burnt tatti on the Verandah. The doors and windows of the liquor shop were shut. The door was in good order. I did not see any damage to the door. Everything was all right. I did not notice the toddy shop. There was no smell of toddy or liquor there. Then there arrived two Sahibs walking with pistols in their hands accompanied by two or four constables. One of the Sahibs asked me in English all that had happened from the beginning. I said I had just then come to see and so did not know what had occurred previously. He said "Who then knows about it here?" No one replied. He then inquired who was the leader of the men who had assembled. I said there was no leader. A police constable then said Venkatrao Mudvedkar was the leader. I was asked if I knew Mudvedkar. I said I did. He inquired if he Mudvedkar was somewhere there. I said 'No.' He then asked "Where is he?" I said I did not know. He then asked if I could fetch him. I said I could. So I was asked to run and fetch him. I came to the meeting side to see if he was there. The meeting was over. It may have been about 9 p. m. when I met these Sahibs. I went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary to see if Venkatrao was there. On inquiry I learnt that he had gone to the Civil Hospital. I went there through the Fort as the market road had been closed by the Police who had already stopped me twice. At the Civil Hospital I was told he had gone to Dr. Shirhatti's. So I returned there and told him that Sahibs wanted him. He said he was busy tying bandage and so could not go there. I returned to the liquor shop and told the Sahib. At this time a cordon

of police was drawn across the road who stopped me but I told them that I was on the Sahib's errand. The Sahib heard my voice and asked who I was. I said 'Godbole.' Whereupon the Police were ordered to let me in I gave him the answer. Bandopant Joshi, a pleader, Dr. Kirloskar, and one volunteer were standing near the liquor shop when I gave the reply to the Sahib. At this time a Punchnama was being prepared, and there was a smell of liquor. At the meeting ornaments were auctioned by Dabado.

To Settur :—

In the Arur road there were about 40 people who stood near me at the first firing.

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 84.
Witness No. 54.

—
Jamal Wahabsahib Dharwadi,
Moslim, 12, Cooly, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I know the liquor shop by Jaknibhavi. I recollect the firing there. I was present there. It occurred at 8 p. m. I had gone to the place at 5 p. m. I went to a shop. It was closed. So I came and stood by the liquor shop where others were gathering, and shouting "Gandhi Maharajki jai, Hindu Muslamanki jai" after those who came out after drinking. We used to hunt and follow them upto the cattle market and then return. We were many boys. The grown ups stood there whilst we, children, that shouted and did this. No one beat those who came after drinking. Those who drack did not assault us but fled. This continued till about 7 p. m. A policeman came there. As he was outcasteman people called him

out but he closed the door. It grew dark. Policemen in and out of uniform and armed and unarmed stood there. Two Policemen in plain dress came and set fire to the tatti. It was set on fire twice and the third time there was a flash (blaze). The tatti was knocked down with a bamboo by a policeman. The people receded on the tatti being set on fire. Then Policemen came and said "move aside, move aside". We moved aside. Then came the dark Sub Inspector. The Sub-Inspector held a small arm in his hand which he had got hidden. He fired twice and thrice in the air. The people sad they were blank shots, and stood to see. When the policemen raised their guns I fled to the market. This Inspector never gave any warning. Previously, a Moslim Police officer had told us that it was getting dark and people should go home. "Do what you like in day time. It is night time; go home." From the market I went to a house in the line bazar and slept there. That honse is where punjas are set up during the Mohrum.

To Tyabji:—

This was not the first time I had gone to the liquor shop. I used to go daily. We used to follow those who drank in the same way. We did not throw dust and stones in the air. A Moslim volunteer was present but he stood far off. As the tatti was set on fire there was a blowing of police whistles and ringing of Police bells. On the whistles beeing heard people went away. Before 7 p. m. at the time when we were chasing those who came out after drinking there were no grown ups. All were younger than the volunteer. The spectators stood at a distrnce and were not pressing on the Police. The Police did not interfere with our chasing any one. They stood quiet.

(Note :—Evidence given in a straight forward and confident manner.)

EXHIBIT 85.

Witness No. 58.



Ulavappa Mallappa Sakrannavar.

Lingayat, 45, Trader, Dharwar.

I remember the 1st of July when firing took place. I know about the meeting. I was present there till about 8-30 p. m. There were present Abdulla Khalasi accused (No. 17) Abdul Khadar Attar (No. 18), Mahomed Hussein Rotiwala (No. 19), Mahomedsaheb Soudagar, (No. 11) Bhise (No. 24), Dabade (No. 1), Dr. Shirhatti and Sultan Master (No. 13). An elderly Brahmin was in the chair. On another chair was an elderly Moslim. Before the meeting was over I heard shots fired in the direction of the liquor shop. I donot know if any policeman came to take notes at the meeting. On hearing the whistles and bells people became disturbed. So the elders *i. e.* the chairman Dabade, and Abdullah, asked the people to sit still, & continued the meeting. Then the sounds of firing were heard and some lad came crying that he was hurt and wanted the doctor. Then Dr. Shirhatti rose and the meeting came to an end.

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 86

Witness No. 59.

Shamrao Govind Burli.

Brahmin, 34. Pleader Kundgol.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I recollect the 30th of June. On the 30th Mr. Krishnarao Mudvedkar and myself went to Yellapur in a Motor. On the 1st of July

we left Yellapur for Hallyal, by motor, and reached it at 7 p. m. We remained there till midnight. We reached Dharwar on the 2nd of July at 8 a. m.

To Settur :—

Mr. Mudvedkar had a Kirtan on the night of the 1st. The chief constable of Hallyal was present at the Kirtan.

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 87.

Witness No. 60.



Vasudev Narayan Asundi,
Brahmin, 40, Pleader, Dharwar.

On the 1st of July I started for Bombay by mail, which leaves this place at 12-30 noon. Before my departure between 11 & 11-30 I went to see Mr. Guttal pleader in his house for some professional business he had entrusted to me at Bombay. The manner in which I saw him in his house was- I saw him walking towards me with slow and measured steps with his hand tucked up. After conversing with him on the subject of our business I enquired when would he be able to come out. He answered that he would take at least 10 days. He also showed me the condition of his hand which he could not move. I am a graduate in Arts and Law, Bombay.

26—8—1921.

Sd. V. N. Asundi

Verified before me. The statement is written and signed by me.

26-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

To Mr. Joshi :—

I recollect the 30th of June. I saw Messrs. Kabbur & Divakar just coming out of the Collector's office. It was in the Collector's compound. As I knew the purpose for which they had gone I asked

them the result. They said a warning sent by the Government read out to them by the Collector Mr. Painter. Mr. Painter told them that the tone of their paper was very bad and this time the Government only gave a warning, but next time they would take severe steps. Mr. Painter ended by saying " I should like to see you in jail for 12 months." To which Kabbur replied " Your honour is very frank. " He said " Yes, I am always so. I am thirsting for your blood. Nothing would please me more than that. "

26-8-21.

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 88.

Witness No. 61.

Shambhuroo Ranganath Kirloskar.

Brahmin, 55, Forest contractor, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a pensioner, landholder and a contractor. I remember the 1st of July. I recollect the Svaraj fund meeting that day. I was in the Mitra Samaj near the Native General Library when we heard the noise of some commotion and blowing of whistles. These were from the liquor shop. I remember having seen Hanmantrao Desai and Gopalrao Deshpande there. Mr. Yatgiri pleader was also there. I had been in the Samaj for half an hour. I alone left and went by the market road to the meeting. A tall, stout, Moslem gentleman was addressing. I went and sat in the meeting. Mr. Dabde (No. 1), Joshi (No. 2), Hoskeri (No. 4), Kalkeri (No. 5), Kamalapur (No. 6), Divakar (No. 7), Kabbur (No. 8), Sultan master (No. 13), Soudagar the book binder (No. 11), Khalasi (No. 17), Mahmadhussen Rotivale (No. 19), Herlekar (No. 14), were at the meeting. Guttal was not there. Bhise (No. 24) and Shalambhat (No. 25) were there. There were Mahmdasheeb Kittur

and many other moslem acquaintances of mine. I remained at the meeting for about 25 minutes. I heard greater commotion and more whistling which made the meeting restless. Then we heard shots. The President, Kamalapur and others tried to keep the people sit. Kamalapur and Dabade addressed the meeting to keep the people there. Then a boy came calling out "I am wounded, I am wounded. Some people have been shot. Please go there and see." The meeting then broke up. The Kitson light was removed to the road. People were told to go to their homes.

To Niyogi :—

I left the club between 7-30 and 8 p. m.

To Setlur :—

As I was going towards the meeting I heard boys crying "Gandhi maharajki jai."

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 89.

Witness No. 62.

Ahmedsaheb Imamsaheb Bettigeri.

Moslim, 60, Weaver, Bettigeri.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I heard at Bettigeri of the firing at Dharwar which took place on a Friday. I know that Oosman Kasim Mulla is being prosecuted in the riot case. On that day Oosman was at Bettigeri whilst his younger brother Ahmedsaheb had come here in connection with a case against two volunteers and four others all of Bettigeri. I was at Bettigeri on that day. Both of us were at the mosque on that Friday. With us was also Madarsaheb, Hasimsaheb Katgar

(No. 27) at the mosque. Madarsaheb had come to Bettigeri to fetch his daughter. Next day on the 2nd the postman brought us the story of the shooting. As my son-in-law was an accused in the Bettigeri case and had not returned, I with the accused Oosman Mulla came to Dharwar. Oosman accompanied me as his brother Ahmed too had not returned. We reached Dharwar after lamp light on the 2nd. Bettigeri is 11 miles from here. There is no railway to it.

To Tyabji :—

I don't know why Oosman has been implicated in the riot case.

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 90.

Witness No. 63.



Bodharao Shrinivasrao Sawkar.

Brahmin, 30, Pleader, Dharwar.

I remember the first of July last. I was in the Samaj from about 6 to 8-10 p. m. Mr. Hanmantrao Desai came to the Samaj with a cycle at about 6-30 p. m. He then went to the library. He came back from the library at about 8 p. m. A short while after, Dr. Kirloskar, Messrs. Hanmantrao Desai, Jeevanrao Betgeri Sub-Judge, Sidenur pleader, N. K. Dixit pleader, and myself left the Samaj. Messrs. Betgeri, Sidenur and Dixit went to Malgudd side. We three, *i. e.*, Mr. Hanmantrao Desai, Dr. Kirloskar and myself went into the town by the market road that leads us straight into the town. Both Messrs. Kirloskar and Hanmantrao had cycles in their hands. My boy was leading us with a lantern. On our way we met Mr. Betdur pleader near the Nimb tree close to the vegetable market. We all proceeded as far as the Khilafat library. Messrs. Hanmantrao and Kirloskar stopped

there. And a meeting was going on on the Khilafat maidan then I then went home alone with my servant.

Sd. **B. S. Sawkar,**

Pleader.

Statement verified before us.

26—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

To Mr. Joshi :—

I am a B. A., LL. B. of the Bombay University. I was present in the Sessions Judge's Chamber when applications for bail by accused in the riot case were made. Both the D. S. P. and Dy. S. P. were in Court that day. The Dy. S. P. after looking into the chart which was with him stated that there were 19 witnesses against Krishnarao Mudvedkar. All of us took down notes of how many witnesses there were against each of the accused. The District Judge too made notes of his own. The D. S. P. assured the Court that it was after satisfying himself personally that he had proceeded against the accused persons. I have volunteered to give evidence in the Sessions Court similar to what I have given here.

To Niyogi :—

I saw Mr. Hanmantrao coming to the Samaj. The club is just close to the library. As I was passing the brandy shop I found the market road quite clear except for some passers by.

26—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 91.

Witness No. 64.

—————>◊<—————

Gurunath Ramchandra Sidenur.

Brahmin 40, pleader Dharwar.

—————

Examined by Joshi :—

I am a B. A., LL. B. I have been practising in Dharwar for 17 years. I saw Mr. Kabbur and Divakar in the Bar room on the 30th of June. Kabbur informed me that he had received a notice from the District Magistrate and that he was going to see him. He met me again a little after. I cannot say all he said, but I was impressed by his saying that the Collector said that he was thirsting for his blood and that he would not be satisfied till he saw him in jail at least for one year. I was in the Mitra Samaj on the 1st of July between 7 and 8 p. m. I saw Mr. Hanmantrao Desai coming to the club at 6-30 p. m. He was there for about 5 minutes after which he went to the Library. At about 8, I saw him return from the Library. He sat with us for about 10 minutes as we were discussing the news we had heard that a crowd had gathered near the liquor shop and a large body of police had arrived. We heard considerable blowing of whistle. Mr. Betgeri and N. K. Dixit pleader, Dr. Kirloskar and Mr. Sawkar pleader were there. I saw Yati-giri and Gopalrao Deshpande but I think they left a little earlier than ourselves. Mr. Betgeri and Dixit went with me to Malgud side and Hanmantrao, Kirloskar and Sawkar went to the town side.

To Niyogi:—

Mr. Hanmantrao's cycle was on the verandah of the Samaj from the time he came to the time he took it with him at the time of going.

23-8-1921

Sd. Abbas S. Tyabji,

EXHIBIT No. 92.

Witness No. 65.

**Shriniwas Krishna Sarpali.***Brahmin, 30, Teacher, Dharwar.**To Joshi :—*

I recollect the meeting of the 1st July. I know of the auction sale there. I bid for a ring. I was there from 6-30 to the end which was at 8-30 or 9-0 P. M. Mr. Vinayakrao Joshi presided. Dabade (No. 1), Hoskeri (No. 4), Kamalapur (No. 6), Divakar (No. 7), Kabbur (No. 8), Mudvedkar (No. 9) were present. There were many Moslems but I do not recollect their names. Herlekar was present. Did not see Guttal. Bhise was also there.

26—8—1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 93.

Witness No. 66.

Dattatraya Tippaji Deshpande*Brahmin, 36, Land-lord Dharwar.**Examined by Joshi :—*

I am a watandar Deshpande of Dharwar. I was present at the Tilak S. Fund meeting on the 1st of July. I was there from 6-30 to 8-30 p. m. I left as the meeting ended when the lamp was taken away. The lamp had to be taken to the shop, where firing had taken place as three persons were reported to be dead. There was an auction-sale of ornaments at the meeting. I purchased a ring. There were many of my acquaintances at that meeting. Dabade (No. 1) Hoskeri (No. 4) Kamalapur (No. 6) Divakar (No. 7) Kabbur (No. 8) Sowdagar (No. 11) Sultan master (No. 13) Darji (No. 16) Khalasi (No. 17) Attar (No. 18) Bhise (No. 24) Shalam-

bbat (No. 25) were all present from the beginning to the end. Mudvedkar, Herlekar, Desai and Deshpande were present at some part of the meeting. The following were not there. Jathar (No. 3) Maniyar (No. 10) Abdul Rahiman Rotiwala (No. 20) Guttal (No. 21) and Daroga (No. 28).

To Niyogi:—

The speakers that day were Hukkeri, Joshi, Dabade, Kamalapur, B. G. Kulkarni, Divakar, and a Moulvi. Dabade and Bhise collected funds. Dabade and Hukkeri carried on the auction.

26-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 94.

Witness No. 67.

Hanmant Balaji Laxmeshawar.

Brahmin, 30, Pleader, Dharwar.

Examined by Setlur:—

On the 1st of July I went to Mitra Samaj at 4-45 p. m. I saw Hanmantrao Desai there. He left the place at 5-30 saying he had to go to his Bungalow. Soon after I left and went to the market and then to the liquor-shop near the Police station. I saw about a crowd of 200. I then went to the bazar and then to the Hebli road liquor shop and see if a similar crowd had also gathered. It was 7-0 or 7-15 p. m. It was almost dark. I found the shop closed and no body there, not even the Khilafat volunteer.

26-8-21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 95.

Witness No, 68.

Hajratsab Husensab Shirur.*Mahomedan, 35, Trader, Shirur, T. Navalgund.*

I went to Aminbhavi market on a Friday 2 months ago (1st of July), where I met Imam Husain Maniyar.

To Tyabji:—

Shirur is 5 miles from Aminbhavi which is six miles from Dharwar. Imam Husein had taken his stall for trading at Aminbhavi. I had gone to make purchases for my trade. Imam sold niscellaneous articles such as fine needles, buttons etc. From Aminbhavi I returned to Shirur and Imam Husain went to Dharwar. We left Aminbhavi after 7 p. m. when lamps had been lighted.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

 EXHIBIT No. 96.

Witness No. 69.

Langesha Budhansha Attar.*Moslem, 22, Attar, Dharwar.*

I, Imam Hussain Maniyar and one other Imam Husain Pân-wála went to Aminbhavi market on a Friday 2 months ago (1st of July). We returned to Dharwar at about 10 p. m. There was a crowd before Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. We inquired and learnt that police fired and some persons were wounded and they were there to get their wounds dressed. We went home.

To Tyabji:—

I had taken Attar for sale to Aminbhavi. Imam Husain Maniyar had taken needles, buttons etc. We reached Aminbhavi at 11

or 12 Monday. We started on our way home at 7 or 8. We had met Hajrat Husain at Aminbhavi that day. He had not brought anything with him. He merely spoke to us. I knew him.

27--8--21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 97.

Witness No. 70.



Yallappa Benkappa Sambrani.
Shoe maker, 30, Dharwar.

To Mr. Joshi :—

I was a nominated member of the Dharwar Municipality. I resigned about 6 months ago. After I resigned I was sent for by the Collector. He asked me to publish in the papers, according to the typed draft he gave me, which I produce. Ex. No. 98. I did not agree with the draft and so I did not publish it.

27--8--21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 98.

Dharwar,

1921.

To,

The Editor of.

DEAR SIR,

There is a belief in some quarters that I have resigned my membership of the Dharwar Municipality, in pursuance of Non-Co-operation. This is entirely wrong. My resignation was due to the mismanagement prevailing in the Municipality where the demands of the poor rate payers and especially those of my own caste did not receive any attention. I entirely repudiate having embraced Non-Co-operation principles. I abhor that movement. Please publish this in your news paper. I will pay the charges of the publication.

YOURS TRULY,

EXHIBIT No. 99.

Witness No. 71

Shriniwas Raghavendra Deshpande.

Brahmin, 37, Land Lord and Merchant, Dharwar.

Examined by Mr. Joshi :—

I am a watandar Deshpande. I took part in the picketing at the Hebli liquor shop before the firing. I belong to the District Congress Committee. We joined at the time stone throwing by the liquor keeper and their servants began. They began this as the sales had gone down. Of the people accused in the riot case Joshi (No. 2) Shalambhat (No. 25) Guttal (No. 21) Divakar (No. 7) picketed with me Hebli road shop. Abdul Wajoodin was the Khilafat volunteer at that shop. I once had license for a revolver since 1915. The license has now been cancelled because I am a non-co-operator. I produce the order. Ex. 100. I remember the 1st of July last. I was at the meeting that day. I came there at about 6-45 p. m. I came by the side of the liquor shop. When I came to the point (20) I saw a crowd before the liquor shop so I went on and turned down the Jaknibhavi road and stood near the centre where the roads crossed. There were boys there who were shouting. Within 5 or 10 minutes I left for the meeting as I saw nothing serious. I remained at the meeting until the end when the firing was over. Mr. Joshi presided at the meeting. Of the accused who were present I saw Dabade was begining to end. Kamalapur, Divakar, Kabbur, Sultan Mohadin were also there. Hanmantrao Desai came at the end of the meeting. He came on a bike which he made over to me. He remained a short time and then went away. I heard the blowing of whistles and firing from the meeting. The meeting dispersed after the wounded arrived there.

To Tyabji :—

There were 25 or 30 childern when I went to the liquor shop. I did not see any volunteer at the liquor shop. I saw besides the

children 30 or 40 in number. The children and the other people did not form one crowd. They all stood here and there. The children were crying Gandhi Maharajki jai. The children only were doing this. The others were looking on. The number of children and people was larger that day. The children when raising the cry did not throw stones and earth.

27-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

 EXHIBIT No. 100

N. C. O.

No. 1/21 of 1921.

Memo.

Mr. Shrinivas Raghavendra Deshpande of Dharwar is informed that the District Magistrate is not willing to renew his arms license as he is believed to be a "non-co-operationist" i. e. hostile to the State.

2. General stamp for Rs. 10/- received with the renewal application is herewith returned.

29-1-21

R. S. Kittur,

For District Magistrate Dharwar

 EXHIBIT No. 101.

Witness No. 72.

Moulakhan Navajkhan Pathan.*Moslem, 32, Service Dharwar.*

I know the firing incident of the 1st July 21. I was at that time in the meeting which continued till about 8-30 p. m. After

the firing one boy came crying "doctor, doctor." And Shirhatti left the meeting to go to the dispensary. Then the meeting dispersed. In the meeting on the chair was Moulvi near the President. There were many Mahomedans. The present accused Abdulsab Khalasi, Mohdinsab Darji, Mohdinhussen Rotivala, Abdulkhadir Attar, Mahmadsab Soudagar, Budan Chapparband, Sultan master were in the meeting till the end. Maniyar Abdul Wajodin Daroga, Madar Katkar, Betgeri Mulla were not there. Abdulrahman volunteer, was not there. Madhwacharya, Trimalrao Joshi, Dabade, Bhise, Kabbur and Shalambhat were in the meeting. The above statement is true. I am in the service of B. A. Parekh.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT NO. 102.
Witness No. 73.

Ramchandra Shrinivas Hukerikar.

Brahmin, 32, Proprietor Karmaveer Press, Dharwar.

I am a Secretary of the Dharwar District Congress Committee. The movement of temperance was started in Dharwar about April last. In April the attitude of the Govt. officials towards the movement was one of indifference or some times even slightly sympathetic. But since the coming of the present D. S. P. although the Subordinate officials were the same as before the attitude of the police became positively hostile and even irritating. The attitude was changed not only towards the temperance workers but towards the tangawalas and others who sympathised with the movement as evidenced by the treatment of the former by the D. S. P. About the 1st or 2nd week of May prosecutions against the picketers were launched in Hubli, Dharwar, Gadag, Ranebennur and Betigeri and people were convicted. The Collector had been unsympathetic and hostile to this movement and to the Non-co-operation and Khilafat movements generally and the coming in of the present D. S. P. has added to the troubles of the Khilafat and Congress workers. The Collector's attitude towards the news-papers can well be seen by the

dialogue he had with Messrs. Divakar and Kabbur my co-workers to whom he said that he was thirsting for their blood, and that he would not be satisfied unless he saw them in jail for at least one year. This was on the 30th of June. The said Mr. Divakar and Kabbur narrated to me the whole dialogue immediately they came to our press. On the 1st of July 1921 I was present when decision was given in the matter of the 2 volunteers in the Mamlatdar Kacheri. There was a pretty large crowd present at the time. It was in no way disorderly. No doubt a stone was thrown at the D. S. P's motor by some irresponsible urchin. As the convicts were led to the jail I left the place and came to my Karmaveer Press. Within an hour or so thereafter Messrs. Kamalapur and one or two Mahomedan gentlemen came to me and asked me to accompany them to request the market people to close their shops. I went with them. We did our work. Many agreed. But some of the Lingayats said "Brahmins do not leave their practice nor their services and why do they ask us to close shops. We won't listen to them. Let Mugappa tell us." From the market the Javali peth and the Mangalwar Peth through the Desai Galli I went back to my press. About 6 p. m. I went to Doctor Shirhatti's dispensary. Then Mr. Dabade came and asked us to go to the meeting as Vinayakrao Joshi was there. I said as the meeting was announced for at 6-30 there was no point in going earlier. Dabade went away. And I gether with Mr. Shirhatti and Divakar and Kabbur went to the meeting at 6-30 p. m. {There were about 150 people there and audience was gradually increasing till in the thick of the meeting it came to about 2000. The plain together with the road were thickly crowded. The proceedings of the meeting began at about 6-45 p. m. Buddan Chapparband was there busy in bringing a chair, table etc. required for the meeting. Amongst the present from the initial stages were;- Dabade, T. K. Joshi, Kamalapur, Divakar, Kabbur, Mahomedsab Sowdagar, Sultansaheb, Shekh Mohadin Darji, Abdul Khalasi, Abdul Khadar Attar, (Fullwala), Bhise, Shalambhat, and Budan Chapparband. I am sure that these people were there from the beginning to the end. In the course of the meeting, of the accused I saw Venkutrao Mudvedkar, Herlekar, H. R. Desai, and

G. D. Deshpande, I will say when as I narrate. I don't know whether the remaining accused were or were not there. I proposed Vinayakrao Joshi to the chair. Dabade or Kamalapur seconded. V. B. Joshi opened the proceedings. B. G. Kulkarni then gave the accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the Dharwar District. Then I began to auction certain ornaments, received as contributions. I put in a copy of the notes of the bidding. I also put in a true copy of the judgment in criminal case No. 23 of 1921 (First class Magistrate Dharwar). I auctioned only one ornament. Then the work was taken up by Dabade who took it to the end. After this Divakar began addressing the meeting on the conviction of the volunteers and the relief duties we owed to their families. Divakar was followed by Kasim saheb Moulvi. It was at this time that Mahomed Umar 2nd S. I. left the meeting, as he received a note from some body. It was also at this time that the hubub from the liquor and toddy shop side increased and incessant whistling was heard. The said Mahomed Omar was in a conspicuous place near the kitson light and was busy taking notes from the very beginning. Attracted by the noise on the liquor shop side some of the audience began to get from their seats. We tried to engage them and asked them not to go. some people from the outer portion of the audience did go. But the centre was firm and not one of them left, The accused mentioned above as present were near me and in the centre of the meeting and they did not leave. After Khasimsaheb, Kamalapur spoke. The President then summed up. The meeting was practically over. But in order to keep the people in their places away from the liquor and toddy shops Kamalapur was asked to speak. He got up and began to give the history of Khalif Umar. Kamalapur had not finished in the meanwhile some wounded came crying loud for help. The meeting stopped. People began to go away. The Kitson light was lifted. When Khasimsaheb was speaking Mudvedkar pleader and Herlekar came to the meeting and asking us to go to the liquor shop they went away. Gopalrao Deshpande also came at about the same time. When he left I do not know. When Kamalapur was speaking about Khalif Umar H. R. Desai came to the place. He told us to attend to the crowd at the liquor shop.

When he left that also I did not mark. With G. D. Deshpande was Yatgiri Pleader. Just when the President was concluding the meeting B. A. Joshi Pleader had come and he was there. His advice was not to leave the place as the presence of the leaders he said would be a good excuse to the police to involve them into the trouble. On hearing him Messrs. Kabbur Dr. Shirhatti with Khasim-sahab and some others who were just leaving all returned back. Mudvedkar Pleader and H. R. Desai who had come later were only listened to and not attended. So when the meeting broke the people whom I mentioned as being present in the initial stage were there. The light was taken, it was dark. I gave instructions for the removal of the little furniture that we had and I began to move towards my house. Near Rajahansa Office opposite to the Khilafat Library I met Messrs Herlekar and Divakar. We all went into the Rajhansa Office. Herlekar and Divakar put off their clothes and I was asked to go to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary. It was settled they were to go to the shooting scene to help the wounded and I to Dr. Shirhatti to help him. People and wounded were flocking from the market side towards the town. I came to Dr. Shirhatti's; there were a number of people preventing even access. Bhise whom I had missed at the breaking of the meeting met me here. As there were many people to help at Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary we consulted each other and thought it advisable to catch hold of as many medical people as possible. We went to Dr. Deshpande. He was not at home, we left word there to send him to Dr. Shirhatti's. We went then to the Khaji's. His place was closed. Then we proceeded to Dr. Handur's house. We learnt that he had gone to Belgaum. We came from there to Dr. Huilgol. We were asked to wait at the gate to prevent the rush of idlers and mere lookers on. We waited there for half an hour and seeing everything was calmly going on came to the Vijaya Press. This was about 11. 0. p. m. We deliberated and settled to send telegrams to Messrs Deshpande and Kowjalgi. After this we went to our respective houses.

To Niyogi :—

The above statement is made by me. What I have stated there is correct.

To Joshi:—

I did picketing work for some time. Divakar, Guttal, Kabbur, Tirmalrao Joshi, Shalambhat, Dabade, whenever present in town, Khalasi, Darji, Sowdagar Foolwala (Attar) Sultan master did picketing work with me. The contractors did not like our movement. Sometimes their servants threw stones. In the initial stages *i. e.* March, April, picketing was done by children only. When we found they were roughly handled by the contractors myself and the free-going gentlemen together with Deshpande and Ankalgi went there. The first time I went to the market liquor shop the contractor told me not to go there. He said " I do not mind if students and young boys come here but if people like you come here I shall have to resort to bad methods. " He further threatened to engage hooligans against the picketers as in other places and added that he would not like to do so as we were friends.

He told me that the contractor of the Hebli shop was resorting to such methods and selling liquor throughout the night. He further suggested that the Congress people should send an order to the Govt. asking it to return the money received from the contractors. I told him that the Congress people would support such a petition by the contractors but he refused this suggestion. At the Hebli shop Hooligans were employed and 3 or 4 students were beaten whilst picketing. From amongst us Guttal was very severely beaten. One day mud was thrown at Mr. Dabade. Guttal was beaten about the 14th or 15th of June whilst picketing. After the beating Guttal lay in bed. He was not able to come out on the 1st of July. Guttal is a pleader and a writer in Rajahansa. A servant of the contractor of Shukrawar Peth had sold 3 bottles of liquor at the Motitalao. Abdul Karim caught him and informed me. So I and Divakar first went to Shivalingappa. He took no notice but told us to go to the Abkari Inspector. We then went there with all the evidence. He merely recorded the statement of the contractor's servant and of the purchaser. They admitted the facts still no action was taken. ▲ similar case was taken to the S. I. by Tirmalrao Joshi but with no result. I know that attempts were made by the contractor to

get false complaints lodged against the picketers. There are factions at present in the Municipality between the Lingayats and Non-Lingayats. The present complainant (meaning Mervanji Karaka) was a member of the Municipality. He belonged to the Lingayat party. I produce a certified copy of the list of purchasers at the auction. Ex. 103,

27—8—1921.

sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT NO. 103

List of Articles auctioned.

Articles	presented by	Auction price	Highest bidder
Ring	S. N. Kulkarni	Rs 35	N. K. Katarki
Ring	Deshpande of Navalgund	Rs 18	{ Dattopant Deshpande
Ring	Dr. Shirhatti	Rs 16	{ Krishtagowda Nargundkar
Ring	T. R. Deshpande	Rs 17	Narsinhacharya Shurpali
Ring	Kabbur pleader	Rs 15	Kabbur pleader
Udadâr		Rs 8	Hukerikar Master

sd. V. B. J.

*President,**True copy.***R. S. Hukerikar***Secretary D. C. C. Dharwar.*

EXHIBIT NO. 103A.

CRIMINAL CASE NO. 23 OF 1921.

(PICKETERS' CASE)

In the Court of the 1st Class Magistrate,
Dharwar Taluka.



IMPERATOR.

Versus.

1. Mahabubsha Wallad Shikandarsha.
2. Kamal Wallad Mahammad.

OFFENCE:—ROBBERY (*Section 392 I. P. C.*)**JUDGMENT.**

—

This is a petty case of robbery, but it has assumed prominence and become very sensational by the fact that two members and so called volunteers of the Khilafat Committee at Dharwar, which is professedly law-abiding and non-violent, are charged by the Police with having used violence and broken the law. Six pleaders put in their appearance for the accused and almost throughout the trial a crowd of over 500 people, apparently sympathisers of the accused, gathered round the Court to watch the proceedings. On some of the days of hearing, the District Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Police were also present.

2. The facts of the case are these:— A Khilafat Committee has been started at Dharwar about 5 months ago of which the objects are firstly to preach to the people and by peaceful means to dissuade them from drinking liquors, and secondly to settle disputes among the members of that Committee by arbitration. This Committee is apparently a branch of the Khilafat Committee at Bombay which, as is well known has made common cause with the famous Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation party. The Dharwar Khi-

finding is that the accused () amount by force from the complainant.

6. On behalf of the prosecution, 7 witnesses have been examined. The complainant Madar he deposes to the facts mentioned in paras 2 and 3 above so far as they relate to him and his companion up to the point of his having identified the witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya on the road just after the complaint was lodged. There are some discrepancies, if they be called discrepancies in his deposition, but they can be explained away. One is his omission to state in his examination-in-chief Mr. Ankaligi's first conversation with him as soon as he and his companion were brought before Mr. Ankaligi's house and his identification of the witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya on the road after he lodged the complaint. Both these facts he mentions in his cross examination. On the latter point i. e., identification he was not examined by the prosecution, while the first point was apparently not referred to by him through oversight. After all he is a sweeper and much cannot be expected of him. The robbery committed on him by the accused and Ankaligi's refusal to interfere when he reported to him must have been prominent in his mind; and he has therefore restricted his description of the scene of offence in his examination in-chief to these facts only. The same explanation applies also to his omission to state in his complaint (Ex. 2) before the Sub Inspector at the outset the place where he was actually robbed, although at the end of the complaint he mentions the place, presumably in answer to the Police Sub Inspector's question. Another apparent discrepancy is that in the complaint (Ex. 2) there is not a word said about the persons who were present at the time of the robbery, though in his cross examination he states that at the time of the complaint he mentioned one Hussein and described the witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya whose names he did not know. It will be seen however that the complainant has given a subsequent statement to the Police S. I. a couple of hours after the complaint and in that statement these three persons are mentioned. Probably he must have mixed up in his mind the facts given out by him in his subsequent statement with those given in the complaint or it may be, if he

really did refer to the persons present at the time of the complaint that the Sub-Inspector might not have thought it worth while to record this portion of the statement as Hussein referred to by the complaint was only a boy and the complainant did not know the names of the other to Mallappa and Hanmya. A third discrepancy occurs to me for it will be seen that in the complaint (Ex. 2) the names of the accused have been mentioned, but it seems to me that he did not know their names at the time of filing the complaint though he has not been specifically questioned on this point; nor has this discrepancy been referred to by the defence pleader. But then it was easy to get the names of the accused at the time of filing the complaint for the accused to the knowledge of the complainant were volunteers stationed near the Hebli road Toddy shop and there is evidence to show that there was a crowd collected near the station at the time of the complaint. The names of the accused could therefore be easily ascertained. And the complainant has given a frank and true statement is apparent from the fact that he has not concealed any thing which might be useful to the defence in arguing their case. For example, the complainant admits that he had given up drinking on account of the Khilafat movement and for fear of being outcasted. He also admits frankly that if the volunteers had not used force and if they had requested him to pay the fine he would have paid it. P. W. No. 2 Madar Rajesab.—This is the complainant's companion bhangi. From his own statement it is evident that he has turned hostile to the prosecution. He admits that he and the complainant went to the Hebli road toddy shop at 2 p. m. on the date of offence, drank a bottle of toddy each and that the complainant paid for him also as he had no money. He adds that he does not know what happened after they emerged out of the shop as he was completely drunk and unconscious. I need not comment on his evidence as every statement made by him to show that he became completely drunk after drinking that one bottle of toddy bears on it the impress of falsehood (Vide the last portion of his deposition Ex. 3). Even the Defence witnesses assert that this witness was with the complainant near Ankaligi's house and did not appear to be drunk and that he even offered his silver rings. P. W.

witnesses of the offence. They state that the accused took money by force from the complainant's pocket without heeding the protests of the complainant and his companion Bhangi and entered Ankalg house with the money; that they then left the place but the complainant overtook and went ahead of them saying loudly that he was robbed and was going to file a complaint; that about half an hour later they saw the complainant again near the Dattatraya temple coming back with the Sub-Inspector, that the Sub-Inspector then came and asked them whether they had seen the complainant robbed; that on their admitting that they had seen, the Sub-Inspector directed them to go to the Police Station with a constable that accordingly they went to the Police Station, that an hour later the Sub-Inspector came back with the accused; that they then identified the accused and that the Sub-Inspector then noted down their names and asked them to go away. Considering their statements they have given quite consistent evidence. There are several arguments put forward by the defence pleader to show that these are false witnesses. The most important of them is that their assertion that they had come to Dharwar with mangoes from their village that morning and had paid Municipal tax at the octroi Naka and obtained a receipt therefor is not borne out by the Naka receipt book (Ex. 19). It will be seen that in this very receipt book (Ex. 19) there are instances of single receipt in one man's name given for several persons for mangoes on the date of offence. It is possible therefore that the payment made by these witnesses is covered by one of the receipts bearing some other's name and that that receipt was given to Mallappa as he says that he paid for both for himself and Hanmya and got a receipt; or it may be that the octroi clerk who is a very low paid servant viz., Rs. 12 a month-it may be noted here that the clerk who passed the receipts that morning has not been examined-gave a false receipt to Mallappa. I am also impressed by the argument of the Prosecutor that if these were trumped up witnesses it would have been very easy to make them say that they escaped the octroi Karkun and did not pay any cash for the mangoes that day, for the question on this point could have

been anticipated by the Prosecution as the list of the Defence witnesses which was produced on the 2nd June mentioned the Hubli road Octroi Karkun to come with the receipts passed at the Naka on the 20th May *i. e.*, the date of offence and these witnesses were examined on this point by the defence on the 13th June. The 2nd argument against these witnesses is that they could not have been loitering about the Dattatraya temple until the complaint was filed and the complainant returned with the Sub-Inspector, particularly as Hanmya has stated that they did not tarry long near Ankaligi's house as they had to go to the market and then to their village that day. According to these witnesses the complainant met them again about half an hour after the robbery. It would not have been more than that, because even the Defence witness No. 5 Herlekar states that he heard within 15 minutes after the robbery that the complaint had been filed by the Bhangis. Now, men in general do so many idle things, which they cannot account for, that it does not seem to me in the least strange that in this particular case these men who occasionally visit the town should have been loitering about the temple about half an hour. Moreover their village was only within 7 miles of Dharwar; they had not many things to buy in the market, only betel leaves and salt; and there were still more than three hours before them before sun set. A third argument levelled against these witnesses is that there was no need for them to go to the market if they only wanted salt and betel leaves as they could have had these things at the Bazar where they sold mangoes, and further that if they did go to the market they would have taken a shorter route by the Desai Galli or the galli next to it instead of going by the Taluka Kacheri road. Witness Hanmya who was examined on the first part of this argument has given a satisfactory explanation why they went to the market. He answers that there being more shops in the market things can be got cheaper there. On the second part of the argument Mallappa and the Sub Inspector (P. W. No. 7) are of opinion that the distance to the market by whichever of these routes you go is almost the same. I have seen these routes personally and it seems to me that there is no appreciable difference

in point of distance between these different routes. I also observed that the Taluka Katcheri road by which these witnesses went according to the description of the road given by them is much wider and more clean than the other two gullies which are stinking of the gutter and look like private lanes with no shops but only houses on their sides. There is one more point to be cleared; and that is both these witnesses say that they did not see Ankaligi's speaking to the complainant. There are two occasions according to the complainant in which Ankaligi showed himself. The first is as soon as the Bhangis came there and the second after the robbery. These witnesses evidently arrived there after Ankaligi's first conversation with the complainant, for the complainant states that Ankaligi did not see the accused robbing him of the money, and these witnesses according to their statements arrived when the complainant was being robbed. They must also have left the place before Ankaligi came to the gallery a second time. The second interview of Mr. Ankalgis was only for a minute or two for he only said then "Go back to your practice here." Mallappa has made the position clear by explaining that he and his companion Hanmya left the place first and then the Bhangis came, overtook them and actually went ahead of them. P. W. No. 4 Imam, the toddy seller at the Hebli road toddy shop. He supports the prosecution case only on the points that the complainant and the companion bhangis came to his shop and drank a seer of toddy each and that after they had left the shop and gone about 60 or 80 yards they were met by the accused who took them with them. The only inconsistency, between his deposition and complainant's is that according to him the accused did not threaten the bhangis while according to the complainant they were threatened by the accused to go with them. Threat however is more of a moral fear or pressure put on some body and naturally Imam being 60 or 80 yards distant could not have made this out. But Imam says that the accused actually touched the bhangis on the back and pushed them, and this is an indication of threat. P. W. No. 6 is the Sub Inspector. I must congratulate him on the immediate investigation made by him in this case but for which it is doubtful whether he could get at the eye witnesses Mallappa and

Hanmya. He has been severely cross examined just as the other witnesses particularly Mallappa and Hanmya have been, but he also has not been shaken. Objection has been taken by the Defence that in the charge sheet the Sub Inspector has mentioned only the names of witnesses Hanmya and Mallappa without writing down their father's names, but the Sub Inspector has given a plausible explanation that he has done so as a precautionary measure lest if their identity is known they should be tampered with. P W. No. 7 Mahalingaya is the Panch at the time the accuseds' persons were searched and Rs. 0-9-3 and a stick attached from them. I do not attach any importance to the finding of these coins with the accused. It is probable that the accused paid the money robbed from the complainant to Mr. Ankaligi because the accused's going to Ankaligi's house immediately after the robbery indicates that they went there to pay the money to him.

7. Further corroboration to the Prosecution case is afforded by the District Superintendent of Police who was examined for the defence (D. W. No. 11)-Ex. No. 33. In answer to the question how he first came to know of this complainant he says "I met the the complainant and his friends on my way to the City Police Station whither I was called. They related to me that they were forcibly taken by two volunteers to Mr. Ankaligi's house where one was deprived of money forcibly and the other told me that through fear he was going to give up his rings which Mr. Ankaligi did not accept." This was on the date of offence soon after the complaint was filed.

8. I must now make a few remarks on the allegation made by the defence that this is a case got up by the Police Sub Inspector in conjunction with the toddy contractor, Khansaheb Manikji, the former to secure the favour of his Departmental Superiors and the latter out of revenge for the heavy loss caused to him by this Khilafat movement. The Defence has not produced the slightest evidence on this allegation. The Sub Inspector, the District Superintendent of Police, and witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya have been put several questions in this connection by the Defence pleader but nothing material has been elicited from any of them. The circumstances of this case clearly give a lie to this allegation. The complainant

of 20 days at Ramdurg returns to Dharwar at about 12 o'clock on the date of offence accompanied by his companion bhangis on a marriage party. The complainant and his companion while still on their way home go and visit the toddy shop at Hebli road. They do not meet even a policeman on the way to the toddy shop. The hostile witness P. W. No. 2 himself deposes to this fact. On their return from the shop they are taken to Ankaligi's house where the complainant is robbed of his money. Immediately the bhangis go to the Police station and the complainant bhangis lodge a complaint with the Sub Inspector. The Defence Witness No. 5 (Ex. 25) says that within 15 minutes after the bhangis left Ankaligi's house he learnt at Ankaligi's house that the bhangis had filed the complaint. Immediately afterwards investigation is held by the Sub Inspector and the accused are arrested. Where is the opportunity for the Police or the toddy contractor to cook up this case! The complainant is not shown to bear any grudge against the accused or for the matter of that against the Khilafat Committee. And if he did pay the fine willingly and no force was used on him why would he go and file a complaint! And why should he complain against the accused only instead of against Mr. Ankaligi who according to the Defence is the man who received the fine! Mr. Gadagkar who I should say has argued the case for the Defence in the best manner possible has attempted an answer. He suggests that owing to the humiliation suffered by the complainant in that he had paid a fine, the complainant must have been in a desperate fit and gone and lodged a complaint. I regret I am unable to follow his explanation. It is against the general human conduct to do so. Again if the Police Sub Inspector had taken undue interest in putting down this temperance movement, how is it for the last five months or more, *i. e.*, since the inception of this movement not a single charge sheet had been sent against the Khilafat workers. If he was so minded he had certainly opportunities to do so, for his first information report register (Ex. 15) shows that there were at least two reports made to him of non-cognizable complaints against the Khilafat men. If the Sub Inspector was bent on mischief he would have given them the colouring of cognizable offences, arrested the persons concerned and hauled them up

before a Magistrate. The Defence has also made a point of the presence of the District Superintendent of Police in Court on some of the days in the course of the trial. The suggestion is that his presence was apt to influence the witnesses on behalf of the prosecution. I cannot believe that the D. S. P. had the slightest idea to influence any witnesses; but if his presence had the effect of influencing any witness, I daresay that the preponderance of influence exercised on any such witness was on the side of the defence, seeing that 6 pleaders for the Defence confronted the witnesses and 500 or more sympathisers of the defence were occupying every inch of space in close proximity to the witness box and the bar. I advisedly say *Sympathisers* because most of them were Mohamedans, and all Mohammedans are members of the Khilafat Committee; some had even put on their volunteer badges and pattas; and of the Hindus who were present several exhibited Gandhi Caps. Objection has also been taken to the Prosecutor not examining the match witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya on the same day. Whatever the Prosecutor's intention might have been the fact remains that when pressed by the Defence, the Prosecutor agreed to examine Hanmya on the same day as Mallappa, but the Court with the consent of both the parties adjourned the case without Hanmya being examined on the same day. I must however point out that the defence also did not prove themselves above suspicion in this respect. Three most important of the alleged eye witnesses D. W. Nos. 2, 5 and 6 who were examined before the others were examined on three different days.

9. Let me now turn to the Defence side. Both the accused in their oral statement before the Court has stated that 13 annas were given direct in the hands of Mr. Ankaligi by the complainant and not through them, thus contradicting their own written statements, of which probably they were not aware of the contents. Mr. Gadagkar argues that this oral statement taken in Vernacular is ambiguous and may be taken to tally with their written statements. I personally do not think it is ambiguous.

10. The Defence cited 30 witnesses, of whom they examined only 11. Defence witnesses Nos. 1 & 4 are Chairman and Karkun

respectively of the Khilafat Committee. They have no personal knowledge of the material facts of the case. They are intended to prove that 13 annas were credited by Mr Ankaligi to the Khilafat Fund on the date of offence, but this point is not disputed by the Prosecution. It should be noted however that this amount was credited after Mr Ankaligi came to know of the complaint.

The alleged eye witnesses of the drama that was played in front of Mr. Ankaligi's house are :—

Defence witness	No. 2	Mr. Ankaligi.
Do	„ „ 5	„ Herlekar.
Do	„ „ 6	Dr. Kirloskar.
Do	„ „ 7	Shamrao Deshpande.
Do	„ „ 9	Babaji Nagappa.

of these the first three are men of position in the town, but they are also men dabbling in politics. Mr. Ankaligi is a pleader who has suspended practice since the day on which Mr. Gandhi arrived in Dharwar last October. He is also a member of the District Congress Committee and one of the arbitrators selected by the Khilafat Committee to decide cases of Khilafat members who do not desire to step into the ordinary Courts of law. Both Mr. Herlekar and Dr. Kirloskar admit that they attend political and Khilafat meetings. Mr. Herlekar appeared with a Gandhi cap on when he gave his evidence. It is therefore patent that however responsible these witnesses may be they are interested in the Khilafat cause and that their evidence in this case is on that account not beyond suspicion.

Shamrao and Babaji are not persons of importance. Shamrao is a school boy and neighbour of Mr. Ankaligi. Babaji is a tailor involved in debts and partner in trade of Mr. Ankaligi. There are not only inconsistencies in the depositions of these alleged eye witnesses but statements which cannot be easily explained. To show the inconsistencies I select a few cuttings from their depositions.

Mr. Ankaligi :—“ I asked them (Bhangis) how much they would pay. They said that they would pay one rupee each. I asked them to pay that amount and promised to write to the Punchas that no more fine should be collected from them. As they had no money then they paid me only 13 annas. They said they would pay the remaining amount later. (Cross-examination). Accused No. 2 Kamal came upstairs first to inform me (that they had brought the bhangis). There were about 40 or 50 persons collected on the road then. I saw Shamarao Deshpande and Babaji among them.”

Mr. Herlekar :—The accused who brought them (Bhangis) then came up and told Ankaligi that the Bhangis had drunk liquor. (Cross Examination). Ankaligi said that one rupee should be given by each bhangi as that was the amount which they recover from every body as fine to which the complainant said that if any body came to his house he would give.”

Dr. Kirloskar :—“ The Bhangis kept the amount on the katta and one of the volunteers took the amount to Mr. Ankaligi. After seeing this I went inside. (Cross examination) I did not see who took the amount as in the meanwhile I had gone inside. I did not see the volunteers taking it. I saw only one volunteer with badge viz., accused No. 2. I cannot say whether there were any others. All included viz., boys, bhangis &c. there were about 15 persons.”

Shamarao :—“ I was all along standing on the threshold of the front door of Ankaligi's house. (Cross Examination). One of the accused said from the road loudly to Ankaligi that they had brought persons who had drunk. Mr. Ankaligi then came to the gallery from inside. Ankaligi did not name any amount as fine. He asked them to pay whatever they were willing to pay. The bhangis did not say that they would pay anything more than 13 annas. Accused No. 2 took the amount then upstairs. Before that no body had gone up to Mr. Ankaligi. There were 10 or 20 persons in all on the road.”

Babaji :—“ I was inside Ankaligi's house, downstairs. Accused No. 2 shouted for Mr. Ankaligi from the road. Mr. Ankaligi then

came from the gallery. (Cross Examination) I was in the *Padasa* all the time. The Deshpande boy was on the Katta. Until the money was paid both the accused were on the road near the Bhangis. Both the accused had their badges on." These are the most important of the discrepancies in their evidence. It will be seen that Dr. Kirloskar has contradicted himself, while several of Ankaligi's statements cannot be reconciled with those of the other witnesses. Ankaligi says that he saw Babaji and Shamrao on the road. But these witnesses deny that they were ever on the road; they were in his ground floor and Ankaligi could not see them. Ankaligi says that there were 40 or 50 persons on the road. Others state there were only about 15. Ankaligi says that the Bhangis offer one rupee each, But Shamrao deposes that the Bhangis never offered more than 13 annas. Also according to Ankaligi one of the accused came upstairs to inform him that the Bhangis had been brought; but Shamrao and Babaji contradict this fact. They assert that the accused shouted for Ankaligi from the road as soon as they came.

I mention below statements which are questionable:—

Ankaligi admits that he did not give any receipt to the Bhangis for the 13 annas received from them. This is an unusual thing for a man who claims to be a Banker. Ankaligi deposes that he promised to write to the Puchas of the Bhangis not to receive more fine from them; but he does not know, who the Puchas are, nor has he ascertained from the Bhangis the names of their Puchas. Ankaligi goes to the Police Station as soon as he hears of the complaint, tells the Sub Inspector who was recording the complaint that he has something to say in connection with the complaint. The Sub Inspector replies that he has already arrested accused and done the needful. Ankaligi then quietly goes away and does not take any further steps in the matter. This is Ankaligi's version of his meeting with the Sub Inspector. As a matter of fact the accused could not have been arrested if as Ankaligi says the complaint was still being recorded and he went there immediately after he heard of the complaint. Vide also in this connection the deposition of Mr. Herlekar

who accompanied Mr. Ankaligi to the station. The Sub Inspector in his deposition has stated that Ankaligi came to him, that he questioned Ankaligi about the offence and that Ankaligi declined to make any statement. To me the Sub Inspector's version looks more reasonable than Ankaligi's, for there is no reason why the Sub Inspector should not listen to a person who has something to say about an offence which is still under investigation.

11. In these circumstances I am not inclined to believe the alleged eye witnesses of the defence. There is no direct evidence; but in face of the circumstances of this case and certain admissions made by Mr. Ankaligi I cannot resist the conclusion that if Mr. Ankaligi has not abetted this robbery he has at least connived at it and knowingly received the proceeds of the robbery however good his intentions might have been.

12. Defence witnesses Nos. 3 & 8 are intended to prove that the Prosecution witnesses Mallappa and Hanmya did not pass by the Hubli road Naka on the date of offence from the circumstance that no receipt has been passed in their names on that date as alleged by Mallappa and Hanmya. But this point has already been commented upon while dealing with the prosecution evidence and there is nothing more to be said on that point. Defence witness No. 13-Subhan a galli Punch of the bhangis alleges that on the night of the offence the complainant and his companion bhangi came to him to obtain permission for a marriage and that on that occasion the complainant admitted before him that he had willingly paid the fine to Mr. Ankaligi. The complainant in his deposition admits this meeting and explains that he only told his galli Punchas then that money had been taken from him as fine for drinking and that he never said anything more. Defence witness No. 19's statement looks to me absurd while the complainant's explanation quite reasonable. The complainant could not have said to the Punch that he had willingly paid the fine when he had already filed a complaint that very day about the force used on him. Nor was it any use to the complainant to make a complaint about the force used, to the galli

themselves. The deposition of the Khilafat Committee is not likely to sympathise with him. The deposition of defence witness No. 10 makes it clear however that the complaint does not come within the jurisdiction of the Khilafat Committee or of Defence witness No. 10 as general Pancha. His deposition read with the depositions of defence witnesses Nos. 1 and 4 Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Khilafat Committee and with those of defence witnesses Nos. 11 and 12 discloses how irregularly the business of the Khilafat Committee is being carried on. There are no prescribed rules; no objection has been taken to the collection of fines by persons who are not members of the Khilafat Committee; fines can be collected without a receipt being passed by them; no limit has been imposed for the amount of fine to be collected; the accounts are not being checked properly; and a whole community residing in a galli is supposed to come within the jurisdiction of the Khilafat Committee if only few of them *viz.*, the Panchas of that community make an application to that effect without ascertaining whether the consent of all the members of that community residing in that galli has been obtained or not. In this state of affairs it can only be imagined what temptations lie in the way of unscrupulous persons. The last witness is the D. S. P. His deposition is of no importance whatever to the defence.

13. For all the reasons given above I disbelieve the Defence theory and hold that the Prosecution has made out its case. I convict both the accused of the offence of robbery under Section 392 I. P. C.

The amount involved in this case is no doubt trivial. There does not also appear any intention on the part of the accused to appropriate the money for themselves. They must have been led by mistaken zeal in the cause of the Khilafat Committee to commit this robbery. But a somewhat deterrent sentence is still necessary in this case as it is a matter of common knowledge that since the inception of this Khilafat movement in Dharwar, under the guise of non-violence much violence has been used in the streets of Dhar-

war, the liberty of individual has been violated and persons who had been drunk have been made to sit on donkeys and paraded in the streets and disgraced. It is also a matter of common knowledge that through fear of consequences or difficulty of securing evidence complaints have not been launched. Taking all these circumstances into consideration I sentence each of the accused to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 6 months.

The money and stick before the Court should be returned to the accused from whom they were attached (Section 517, Criminal Pro. Code.)

1—7—1921.

Sd. **S. T. Fernandez,**

Magistrate 1st Class Dharwar Taluka.

“ TRUE COPY. ”

Certified that the above is the true copy of the judgment in the Criminal Case No. 23 of 1921.

27—8—21.

R. S. Hukerikar,

EXHIBIT No. 104.

Witness No. 74.

Satyavrit Venkatesh Karandikar.

Brahmin, 25, Law student, (2nd LL. B.) Dharwar.

On Sunday the 3rd of July in the morning at about 8 o'clock I left my house in company with Mr. V. K. Deshpande a teacher in the High School to see the procession of the dead bodies. Mr. Deshpande and myself went to Mr. L. G. Sabnis' house. As there was no certainty as to when the procession was to take place,

Deshpande returned home ... Sabnis and myself went to the police station. Just in the ... of the station we met Mr. Chavangouda. I asked him why he ... here; he told me that the messenger of Yama had sent for him. I asked him what he was going to state. He told me he did not know anything as he was not there in the affray. He learnt that there was fire, so he came to extinguish it and was shot just near the police station. He said if he made any statement against the police he was sure to be arrested, so he would somehow escape by stating vague things. The foregoing being read over to me, I say, have made this statement and it is true.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBITS Nos. 105, 106, 107.

Witnesses Nos. 75, 76, 77.

1 Mahabubsab Maktumsab Dasankop.

Mahomedan, 30, Trader, Dharwar,

2 Mahmadvous Khwajihusen Gutti.

Mahomedan, 50, Trader, Dharwar,

3 Mahmadsab Nasirahmad Pindari.

Mahomedan, 60, Tongawala, Dharwar,

We know the firing incident of the 1st July 1921. We were at that time in the meeting which continued till about 8-30 P. M. After the firing one boy came crying "Doctor, Doctor." And Shirhatti left to go to the dispensary. Then the meeting dispersed. In the meeting on the chair was Moulvi near the President. There were many mahomedans. The present accused Abdulsab Khalasi, Mohdinsab Darji, Mohdinhusen Rotivale, Abdulkhadir Attar, Mahmadsab Soudagar, Budan Chapparband, Sultan Master were

in the meeting till the end. Maniar Abdul Wajoddin Daroga, Madar Katkar, Betgeri Mulla were not there. Abdulrahiman, volunteer, was not there. Madhwacharya, Tirmalrao Joshi, Bhise and Kabbur and Shalambhat were in the meeting.

To Tyabji :—

What is written above is all true.

27—8—1921

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji,**

EXHIBIT No. 108

Witness No. 78.

Ramchandra Gundo Betgeri.

Brahmin, 40. Pleader, Dharwar.

I am a B. A. LL. B. practising for the last 12 years. I know the 1st of July 1921. That day I was in the Native General Library in the Compound of the Mitra Samaj at about 6 P. M. I was there from that time upto about 8 P. M. During this time Mr. *Hanmantrao Desai* was with me all the while. He came there a little while after I went there. He told me he came from his garden which is in Narayanpur near Rodda's Bungalow. He came to the Library from the Mitra Samaj. We left the library at the same time. He went to the Mitra Samaj to get his bike and I left the library from the other side joining the main road. I did not wait for Hanmantrao Desai but I went straight home.

Sd. **R. G. Betgeri,**

Pleader.

Present Tyabji and Niyogi.

Verified before us.

27-8-21.

Sd. **A. S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 109.

Witness No. 79

Hanmant Bhimrao Kalghatgi.

Brahmin, 49, Money lender, Dharwar,

I Hanmant Bhimrao Kalghatgi state as follows :—

I know the first of July 1921. It was on that day that the picketing volunteers were convicted by the Mamlatdar of Dharwar. I was present in the meeting held that day on the Khilafat Maidan. The meeting commenced at about 6-30 p. m. The first part of the meeting commenced (after Mr. V. B. Joshi was proposed to the chair by Mr. Hukerikar and seconded either by Mr. Dabade or Mr. Kamalapur, I cannot say for certain which) with the account by Mr. B. G. Kulkarni of collections made in connection with the Tilak Swaraj fund. Then commenced the second part of the meeting. It was with regard to the relief to the families of the two picketing volunteers convicted that day. Mr. Divakar spoke on this. Mr. Divakar was supported by a mahomedan gentleman whom I do not know. After this Mr. Dabade began auctioning some gold and silver things. Collections were made by Messrs Dabade and Bhise. I remember to have seen a mahomedan Sub-Inspector taking note of what was going on in the meeting. He left the meeting shortly after the whistles and bells were heard. I heard reports as of guns on the side of the liquor shop; shortly after, I heard them for the second time and they were many. Now there was a slight disturbance in the meeting, viz., people's attention being drawn to where the reports of guns came. Mr. V. B. Joshi the President called the audience to order. At this time I heard some body calling out "doctor, doctor;" the meeting dispersed at about 8. p. m. and I went home. I saw a mahomedan gentleman sitting in the chair by the side of the President Mr. V. B. Joshi. I

saw also the following persons:—now accused in the Dharwar shooting Case:

throughout the meeting.	}	1. Mr. Dabade.	4. Mr. M. S. Kamalapur.
		2. „ Divakar.	5. „ T. K. Joshi.
		3. „ Kabbur.	6. „ Bhise.
through part of the meeting.	}	Mr. Mudvedkar Pleader	
		„ Damodharpant Herlekar.	

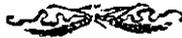
The foregoing statement is true. I am not acquainted with the Moslems.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 110.

Witness No. 80.



Alikhan Husenkan Pathan.

Moslem, 25, Agriculturist Aminbhavi.

Examined by Mr. Joshi:—

I heard about the firing one Friday 2 months ago. Market is held at our place on Fridays. Many persons bring their wares for sale. 2 or 3 Maniyars bring their stalls. Imam Husen Maniyar, a woman who also trades as Maniyar and a third person whosen ame I don't know held shops. They were in my village till about 8 or 8-30 and then left. People have to come in carts to Dharwar from my village.

To Niyogi:—

Market is held only on Fridays. I had gone to Imam Husen Maniyar's shop to purchase a frying pan.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 111.

Witness No. 81.

**Dadabeg Fathesaheb Kazi.***Moslem, 30, Shop-keeper Aminbhavi.**Examined by Joshi*

Our market is held on Friday. I learnt of the firing on a Saturday as having taken place the previous day. On that Friday Imam Husen Maniyar who is one of the accused in the riot case had come with his ware. He remained in the village till 8 or 8-30. I know he had come because he came to my shop that day.

27-8-21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 112.

Witness No. 82.

**Dattatraya Keshava Sontakke.***Brahmin, 28, Medical Practitioner, Hubli**Examined by Mr. Joshi :—*

I am M. B. B. S. I came to Dharwar on the 2nd of July. I learnt that there had been firing here. So I came to see if my assistance was required. On the 2nd I saw Mr. Guttal in the afternoon. His left wrist was swollen and painful. It was kept in sling. I gave him medical advice as well as a medicine for internal treatment. His general condition was not good.

To Niyogi:—

He was not confined to bed. He could move about with his hand in the sling.

To Tyabji :—

He was not capable of going out for a walk as a man in ordinary health could. I knew what the injury was due to. The injury had affected his general health to some extent. As a medical man I would not have allowed him to do half a mile walk in the condition he was. He would not have stood any jostling by a crowd.

27—8—21.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 113.

Witness No. 83.

— o o —

Dattatraya Narayan Chandawarkar.

Saraswat, 35, Pleader, Dharwar.

I am a practising pleader at Dharwar these 11 years. I am a B. A. LL. B. I know Mr. Nanawati, a clerk (Ex. 22 C, M.) of the toddy contractor Khansaheb Manakji. I remember the 1st of July 1921. I had gone that day to Kambarganavi, with Dr. Shirur to see Sanjivrao Arur. I went by the mail. It was late by about an hour and a half and the mails crossed at Dharwar. On the platform of Dharwar I met Mr. Kurli and Nanawati. Both these were going to Kambarganvi. We sat in different compartments. Only myself and Dr. Sirur sat in one. When we got down at Kambarganvi Messrs. Kurli and Nanawati also got down. Mr. Nanawati went to the shop at Kambarganvi which he said he had come to inspect. We returned (myself, Dr. Sirur Messrs. Kurli and Nanawati) with Mr. Sanjivrao Arur by the evening train called the Goa train. The train was that day late by about half an hour. During all the time we were on the platform we had chat with Mr. Nanawati about the picketing case, the result of which was unknown to us by the time we went. The train arrived at Dharwar about half an hour late. Myself Dr. Sirur, Messrs. Kurli and

Sanjivrao travelled in one compartment, Mr. Nanawati travelled in another compartment. I came home about 7-45 P. M. as I had to walk all the way after the train left for Hubli as there were no tongas available as I was told there was a Hartal. My above statement being read over to me I say it is correct. Nanawati has been examined in the Sessions in the riot case. It would take about 20 minutes from station to my house and about half an hour to the liquor-shop. Not a single tonga was available at the station that day. I did not see Mr. Nanawati walking home. I did not leave the station at once on the train stopping at Dharwar but continued talking to a friend for 15 minutes. I cannot say whether Mr. Nanawati left by carriage or not within those 15 minutes. I asked for a carriage immediately after we got down, and the reply was that there was none.

To Tyabji:—

The scheduled time for arrival was 6.30 but I do not recollect seeing Nanawati at the Dharwar Station.

27-8-1921.

Sd/ Abbas S. Tyabji,

EXHIBIT No. 114.

Witness No, 84.

Vishwanath Narayan Joshi.

Brahmin, 43, pleader Dharwar.

The witness makes the following statement:—

District Congress committee of Dharwar appointed a committee on the 2nd of July to inquire into the firing. On that Committee were myself, Mr. Dixit, Mr. Kargudri and Divakar. Mr. Kabbur was our secretary. This committee was appointed between 4 and 5 p. m. I believe Moulvi Kasimsaheb was also a member. On the

2nd we examined 4 witnesses including Mr. Mudvedkar (Venkatrao). On the 3rd we examined 25 witnesses. On the 2nd and 3rd my committee made attempts to get to the scene of offence to inspect it but we found it blocked. At about 5 p. m. on Saturday I learnt that the Government was going to have the shops photographed. A man was asked to take snap shots at the same time. I don't know if they have been developed so far. On the 4th I was able to inspect the buildings for the first time. I found no marks made by stone throwing on any of the walls.

To Tyabji :—

I would distinguish marks occasioned by stone throwing from such marks having embedded there in chunam crust formed by the whitewashing of the walls. I found none such. I did not find any marks occasioned by stones on the outer pillars of the liquor shop. I noticed that the first pillar from the toddy shop was brand new but it was a square one. When I saw the transverse joint resting on this pillar the joint was intact which would not have been the case if the pillar by which I mean wooden post had been forcibly pulled out. The wooden plug fastening the joint is missing, and therefore if the post had been drawn out the joint would have been affected. The hole of the plug is coloured showing in my opinion that the plug has been missing since a long time. I examined the end wall of the liquor shop towards the police station and I could see no signs of its having been touched by fire or by a blaze. There were pieces of coir string hanging down by the roof at the place where the tattti used to be. The square pillar by which I mean post has now been removed and replaced by a round one. I cannot tell why this has been done. On the 4th I saw that the tiles on the toddy shop were in the same condition as now there being pieces of red tiles lying about. The tiles of the liquor shop have been repaired since. On Monday they were not in repairs. I saw some stones on the roof and some broken tiles also. I also saw about two rows of tiles displaced and turned over at the edge of the roof between the 2nd and the 4th pillar on the Thana a side. These looked as if they had been turned over by monkeys or by men with sticks.

I saw stones near such tiles but the tiles were not broken. In places I saw stones below the upturned tiles. I saw that the place where Ghous was said to have been lying was clotted with blood but no where else. From the 3rd July I began to examine people (who) had been wounded. I examined most of such before the end of the first week. In my inquiry I found one man who had been wounded at point 21. His name was Husainsaheb wd. Kasimsaheb Mommi-gatti. This man is not to be found. He has disappeared. I saw the wound on his body. The man had two wounds which he said he received whilst running away. His case has been marked 7 of Ex. 24. I file the statement that he made to me Ex. 115. There is no evidence in the case to show that there was any crowd in Arur's road to justify firing there. I made inquiries from all the medical practitioners to ascertain whether they treated a single case of hurt by stone and failed to find a single one. I examined Mr. Narayan Gurnath Kargudri on the 10th. He is dead now. (statement filed Ex. 116). It was signed by him before me. I also examined Buddansaheb Chandoolal Chapparband on the 9th of July. He is now one of the accused and so not available. The statement was taken down by me word for word and is signed by him. Ex. 117. I think Buddansaheb was arrested about the 17th July. I did not question Chapparband on points which were not relevant at the time as he had not been arrested then.

To Tyahji:—

It is not true that we pressed any witness to say anything of which he had no knowledge.

To Niyogi.—

I took about five of the wounded to the spot where they received this injury. One witness Mammigatti took me to the spot where he was shot and showed it to me. During my inquiry I came across a policeman, who has not given evidence nor appeared anywhere on record of the Committing Magistrate, the tail of whose coat was riddled by shots. His name is Murtuza. Another person who appears no where is Hassansab Malingsab Hanchinal who was wounded by a shot on the hand. He was in the Civil hospital

either as a compounder or a dresser. A Police constable Krishna Vishwanath Deviprasad Agnihotri was also found to be wounded. He has not been examined in the riot case and he is also unwilling to be examined here. One Hanmant Rajaram shopkeeper of Malapur was treated at the civil hospital for a gunshot wound in the right ankle. One Ghous naik Dadi a night watchman who was treated by Dr. Shirhatti was examined by the committee. Case No. 10 of Ex. 24. He declines to come here and give evidence. He was examined on 3rd July. He signed his statement before me. One Myakhan a peon of the District Traffic Superintendent of the S. M. Ry. was also examined on the 3rd of July. He was also wounded. He says his master does not allow him to give evidence. His statement is filed Ex. 118. I put in a certified copy of the certificate of the injuries noted at the Civil Hospital occasioned to the police Ex. 119. I have personally taken some measurements and they have been noted in purple on the map. Ex 3.

27-8-1921.

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji,**

 EXHIBIT No. 115

Husensab Kasimsab Mommigatti.
Moslem, 24 Yakka driver, Dharwar.


I was hit by gunshot and got a wound on the backside of right thigh on Friday at about 8 o'clock. I returned from station after waiting for 7 P. M. train. Then I started for market to purchase fodder and went by Arur's road. My house is near Mr. Herlekar's. I came as far as Mr. Pande master's when I heard the sound of shots. Being afraid I immediately tried to go back when I was hit by gun shot. I did not hear the cries of people or sound of stone throwing. The Police did not give any warning. There were not many people on my side of the road. But when firing began people from the Gadang side began to run to our side. The Police fired from behind them. The men who ran to my side may number about 20. No sooner I was hit blood began to

not know anything more.

Sd. Husensab Kasimsab

EXHIBIT No. 116.

Narayan Gurunath Kargudri Pleader.

Brahmin, Dharwar.

(This is a true and correct statement taken before the Investigation Committee.)

I am a practising pleader for the last 28 years. I was a Government pleader and public prosecutor from 1910-15. I am President of the Dharwar Municipality. On 1-7-1921 a Mohamedan peon of Miss. Newland had called on me at 6-15 P. M. requesting me to go Saidapur for local inspection in a nuisance matter. I went to Saidapur at 6-30 P. M. and I inspected the site for about 15 minutes and asked the peon to appeal to the Municipality and I returned to the Municipality driving by the main market road where almost all the shops were closed and it was all calm on the road. I saw 10-20 persons in the compound of the Police Thana and I saw about 25-30 persons on the maidan in its front. I also saw some persons before the liquor shop. It was quiet there. I did not notice any row there. The business of the meeting on the maidan before Rajahansa was going on. There too there was no disturbance. It was 7 P. M. when I reached Municipality. Messrs. Herlekar Chairman Managing Committee, Benni Chief Officer, Chavangowda the Sanitary Inspector, Kolhar the Secretary, Parekh the wood contractor were present in the Municipality. Mr. Herlekar complained to me that he had been waiting there for about an hour for quorum to convoke the Managing Committee's meeting. He remained there for about 5 minutes. I looked to the *tapal* &c. for 15 or 20 minutes and signed the bills and I went home at Malmaddi via. Karmakatta. It was about 7-30 P. M. when I reached home. I heard of the deaths and the firing the next morning. On the occasion of the

July while I was leaving the Municipal Office the Chief Officer and Mr. Chavangowda were in the office.

10-7-1921.

Sd. N. G. Kargudri,
Before me sd. V. N. Joshi.

EXHIBIT No. 117.

Budansab Chandulal Chapparband.

Moslem, Merchant, Dharwar

On 8th July at about 11 a. m. I was in my shop at Line Bazar, when Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa came in Bôgâr Tavanappa's tonga and asked me to come to the Maruti's temple in the afternoon. I asked him the time. He said that I should follow immediately. I went there after half an hour. The Sub-Inspector and the D. S. P. were talking in the office. The D. S. P. came out at 1-30 p. m. The D. S. P. went in a motor. Then S. I. came to the temple. In the mean while Mr. Chanveerappa Anad came to Shivalingappa's house. After a while Chanveerappa came out and saying "well well" went away. After some time I was called to his house. Then he asked me to say what I had seen. I said that I knew nothing as I was in my shop then. "Many say that you were there. If you do not know tell me you will be sent to jail" he said. I said that I was ready to suffer anything that the Government does. "Witnesses say that you were there and you deny it. Take care that a warrant will be issued to you." I said that I will be ready to say as you will instruct me then. "Tell me what you have seen. You tell a lie being instructed by the Brahmins." "No sir, I tell the truth. The Brahmins do not feed me." He said "Then say that you have seen the stone throwing and that there was a row, If you say so I will put you among the witnesses or otherwise I will send you to jail." "Sir, I am a poor man really. I do not know anything. I was in my shop then. If you want me to say as

you have told I will say so' waiting for a few minutes. I asked me to go away and added that he would issue a warrant and send me to jail. I returned home and was sitting in Babu Pedhvala's shop when I saw you (Mr. V. N. Joshi,) coming in the town and gave you the above information.

Sd. Budansab

(Deposition taken by Mr. V. N. Joshi.)

EXHIBIT No. 118.

—e—o—o—o—e—

Miyakhan Vallad Khajekha Karimdarkha.

Moslem, 50, Servant D. T. M. Office, Dharwar.

I got this wound on Friday 1st July. The wound is at the back of the left eye. There was no shot inside. When I was returning home from my office after going to the station. I stood for a minute near the tamarind tree opposite Jaknibhavi because there were a few corpses lying near the Gadang. No sooner I stood there all at once I was hit by a shot. There was no row then. As soon as I was hit I ran home. I did not hear any words of warning of firing. The shot came all at once. I went home and slept. Saturday morning I went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary.

(Left hand thumb mark of Miyakhan Vallad Khajekhan.)

3-7-1921

EXHIBIT No. 119.

—————>o<—————

**Certified copies of Medical Certificates of
Committing Magistrate's
file—Kanarese
Omitted.**

—————

EXHIBITS No. 120,

—————>o<—————

**English translation of above.
Vide Appendix C.**

—————

EXHIBIT No. 121.

Witness No. 85.

IN CAMERA.

Before Tyabji and Niyogi.

Venkatesh Dinkar Tiwari.

*Kanoj Brahman, 48, employee in the Southern
Mahratta Ry. Dharwar.*

—————

Note—Does not object to its being printed

—————

to Tyabji :—

I recollect the 1st of July last. At about ten I and my brother Sitaram had gone out in search of our younger brother who had not returned home. In doing so we passed the liquor shop in the market. We were detained by the police and asked to sign the panchanama. My brother, myself and a third person who was brought after the panchnamas had been written served as panchas. The first pancha-

panchama was regarding the dead body that was lying there
is that panchanama. There were present my brother and myself
who signed. Afterwards the third came and his signature was taken.
Next panchanama was about the liquor shop. It was written by a
constable according to Shivalingappa's dictation. On this being read
out I challenged. It was before Ex. 99 B was written that I chal-
lenged the description that was being given of the state of things.
Before its being written down that I challenged its correctness; there-
upon my name was left out of the panchanama, and the signatures
of my brother and another were taken. When they said the toddy
and liquor shops were burnt, that the tatti was burnt, I said this
was not true as I saw nothing burnt. Some pieces of rags were
lying in the gutter; they were burnt and not the tatti. They said
that heaps of stones which had been thrown were lying on the road
I said that the stones in the road were what we found there every
day. They said the door was broken and thrown. As a matter of
fact the doors of both the shops were there. They said a post had
been removed, as a matter of fact none had been removed. There
was a hole in the tatti but it had not been occasioned by being
burnt. I did not see a single stone lying on the verandh and the
liquor shop. It was not true that the tatti had been reduced to pieces
by burning. In front of the Police Kacheri too there were only such
stones as ordinarily lie there. The sign-board was broken. No door
had been removed from its hinges. The clock was at that time going
Nothing had been broken. Not even the glass. The cash was
in the till and not lying scattered about. The amount was Rs. 10-2-9
It looked as if some row had occurred in the shop but there were
no signs of looting. There was no dhotar which had been burnt but
a white rag about a cubit long was found by a boy from the gutter,
which was a bit burnt. No damage had been done to the tiles. At
the time discussion was going on as to what should be written in
the panchanama, the Collector, D. S. P. and A. S. P. were present.
When they found me objecting they told the constable to omit my
name from the panchanama. My brother and another signed it. A
panchanama of the injury to Shivallingappa was also made (Ex. 99 D)
At the time Ex. 99 D. was being prepared it was said that blood was

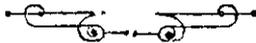
flowing from the wound over the left eye-brow and had caused stains on the dress. I saw no blood flowing and did not see any stains on the dress. There was no swelling at all. It appeared that he had applied some oil on the side of the eye. I was not asked to sign this. After all the panchanamas had been recorded, I took away my brother. My brother objected at the time of making his signature. The Sub Inspector frowned at him and so he got frightened and signed. I am in Audit Office and get Rs. 80. I am on leave preliminary to retirement.

28—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

 EXHIBIT NO. 122.

Witness No. 86.

**Jamal Allisab Haveripeth.***Moslem, 24, Clerk to Shivarao Arur Govt. Pleader, Dharwar.*

On the 1st July 1921 the volunteers were convicted. People had gone to send them to Jail. They returned from the jail at about 3 or 3-15 p. m. They asked me to apply for copies of judgment for the purpose of appealing. I requested Mr. Kabbur Pleader to apply for copies. I had gone to see the dead persons who had been fired upon that day. Out of them was Labba. He was not of this place. I learnt that he came from Alnawar. Malik a boy was a servant in the Railway Printing Press. The 3rd man was a carpenter. He did carpentry work. I do not know where he worked. Before I went to see the dead persons I was in the meeting commenced on the Khilafat ground. At that meeting there were Moulvi Sahab Abamadkhan, Dadamiya, Gafarsab, Karimsab, Mahomedsab Sowdagar, Abdulsahab Khalasi, Abdulkhadar Attar, Mohadinsaheb Darji, Sultan Master, Mahomed Hussen Rotiwala, Abdul Rasuf Bad, Alli-

and 3 or 4 persons from Bettigeri and Pathans from H...
 any other Mahomedans. Many Hindu leaders were present.
 That day the speakers were Messrs. Divakar, Moulvisahed, Kama-
 pur Dabade, Vinayakrao Joshi, B. G. Kulkarni, Secretary of the
 Committee. Messrs. Kabbur, Mudvedkar, B. A. Joshi
 Dr. Shirhatti and Bhise were present. Mr. Kristrao Mu-
 vedkar was not present. Mr. Herlekar was present. Tirmalrao
 Joshi, Shalambhat, and Mudvedkar Venkatrao were also present.
 The meeting continued till wounded came there. At first a boy
 who was wounded in the hand came crying "Doctor, Doctor."
 Then Yemnappa Battiwala came and said "What are you doing
 here, people have died. Take the light at once and attend to them."
 Some took the light and the meeting dispersed. In the mean time
 a few Mahomedan wounded persons were brought. I took them all
 to Dr. Shirhatti's Dispensary. After that I went to see the dead
 persons. At that time there were no people there. There I saw
 the dead persons and returned. I stayed at the dispensary till all
 the wounded persons were dressed and then left the place. Messrs.
 Divakar, Kabbur, Mudvedkar, Tirmalrao Joshi, Herlekar, Shalam-
 bhat, Sultan Master, Abdul Khalasi, and Abdulkhadar Attar, Moha-
 ansab Darji, Mohamad Hussen Rotiwala, and Mohamhdsab Sowda-
 kar, Guttal Vakil, Dabade, Bhise, now accused were doing picketing
 work. The Collector, the Police and the liquor contractors were
 angry at them. In Dharwar picketing began about the month of
 April. This was taken up at first by the town people. Then it
 was taken up by the Khilafat Committee till the end of April. Police
 did not interfere. After the present D. S. P. came the attitude of
 the police changed and picketing cases commenced. The contrac-
 tors and their servants became violent and began to throw stones
 and beat the picketers and abused them. Thereafter the leaders of
 the Congress and Khilafat Committees *i. e.* the present accused
 persons and other leaders began to take part. The contractors be-
 gan to suffer great loss. They have therefore begun to hate these
 people. Out of the present prosecuting witnesses examined before
 the Committing Magistrate Rajak a witness is in the black list of

the police and he has been convicted twice. He has been bound over for 3 months. He has been fined 75 rupees. Lal Ahamad another witness before the same Court, has also been convicted twice. He is in the black list, of the police.

28—8—21.

Sd. **Jamalsab Allisab Haveripeth.**
(*in Kanarese.*)

To Tyabji:—

What is stated above is true. I have signed this statement. I have no objection to its being published.

28-8-21.

Sd. **Abbas S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 123

Witness No. 87.

Imamsab Fakroodin Gai Kasai.

Moslem, 55, Butcher Bettigeri.

To Tyabji:—

Madar Katgar had come to Bettigeri to call his daughter who is married to my son. He came on a Thursday. He remained till Sunday when he returned to Dharwar. I heard about the firing that Sunday.

28-8-1921.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 124

Witness No. 88.

Sheik Ajmodin Sheik Kadir Saheb.

Moslem, 25, Trader Dharwar.

To Tyabji:—

I and Ahamad Mulla were at Dharwar on the day of firing. On Saturday Usman Mulla came from Bettigeri at 5-30 p. m. He was

arrested in the market on Sunday after the burial of the persons killed. He used to do picketing work

28-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji.

EXHIBIT No. 125.

Witness No. 89.

Dadasaheb Mulla Mulla

Musalman, 30, Mullagiri & tailor, Bettigeri.

To Tyabji:—

I recollect Friday 1st of July. On Sunday I got information from the people of Dharwar about the shooting of the previous evening on their coming to Bettigeri. I, Usman Saheb, and Madar left Bettigeri after midday and walked to Dharwar to see how it was with my brother and others who had come to Dharwar. Ahamad Saheb was at Dharwar. Usman Saheb had accompanied me from Bettigeri.

28-8-21.

Sd. A. S. Tyabji

EXHIBIT No. 126.

Witness No. 90.

Khajamiya Mahomed Saheb Thergavi.

Moslem, 40, Teacher, Bettigeri.

To Tyabji:—

I heard at Bettigeri that there was a firing at Dharwar. I came here from Bettigeri on Saturday to see Ahamad Saheb with Usan

and others. On Friday I saw Madar Katagar at the mosque at Bettigeri. I don't know when he returned.

28—8—1921.

Sd. **A. S. Tyabji.**

EXHIBIT No. 127.

Witness No. 91.

Madarsab Abdul Saheb Attar.

Moslem, 25, Attar, Uppin Bettigeri.

To Tyabji :

On hearing of the firing at Dharwar on Saturday I with Usman Saheb Mulla who is a prisoner, Dade Saheb Mulla and Ahamadsab Thergavi left Bettigeri at about 2 or 2-30 p. m. and came to Dharwar to see if Ahamad Saheb Mulla was wounded. Usman Saheb is a Mulla at Bettigeri where he lives.

28-8-21.

Sd. **A. S. T.**

EXHIBIT No. 128.

Witness No. 92.

Ahamad Saheb DadaSaheb Mulla.

Moslem, 35, Mullagiri, Bettigeri.

To Tyabji :—

I am brother of Usman Saheb Mulla. On the 1st of July I was at Dharwar at my sister's. My brother was at Bettigeri. I came here on Friday as the judgment in the case of two volunteers was to be pronounced. I had left my brother at Bettigeri. On Saturday

after noon he came here to search for me after hearing about the firing. One Ahamad Sahab Thergavi and Dade Sahab Mulla and Madar Attar all came from Bettigeri and met me at my sister's.

28-8-21

Sd. A. S. T.

 EXHIBIT No. 129.

 Witness No. 93.

Raghavendra Narsinba Huddar.
Brahmin, 47, Writer Dharwar.

To Mr. Joshi :—

I do the work of a copyist. I copied from the original five panchnamas. Exs 130 131 132 133 134 These are correct copies.

28-8-21.

Sd. A. S. T.

 EXHIBIT No. 134 A. Exh. 99 A,

 Read and recorded,
 30-7-21. Sd-J. T. L.
 Addl. Dt. Magistrate.

Memo

Yadasta made by Punchas:---

1. Sitaram Dinanath Tivari Dharwar.
2. Venktesh Dinanath Tivari.
3. Annaji Venktesh Kulkarni Lokur.

This day we were called by Sarkar. One corpse was found on the road of the liquor shop and it was of a boy. He is alive and is lying unconscious on account of buck shots. His name cannot be known nor be traced. Another corpse is lying on the road four

paces from that of the boy. He is dead. His name is not known. One that is alive may be of 20 years and the other that is dead may be about 30. He is dead by buck shot. Names of both cannot be traced. They were sent to Civil Hospital.

1-7-21

Annaji Venkaji Kulkarni (Lokur)

Sb. S. D. Tiwari,*Sd.* Venkatesh Tivari.

EXHIBIT NO 134 A.

Exh. 99 B.

Read and recorded,

30-7-21. *Sd.* J. T. L.*Addl.* D. M.

We have seen and state as follow —

1. Annaji Venkaji Kulkarni,
2. Sitaram Dinanath Tivari.

We were called by the Police and we saw one male corpse lying in a gutter opposite to the liquor shop. Age of the dead is about 30 years. His mother informs his son's name as Gavasu. He is shot dead by buck shots. He was sent to Civil Hospital for examination.

1-7-21

Sd.

EXHIBIT NO. 134 A.

Exh. 99 C.

Read and recorded.

30-7-21 *Sd.* J. T. L.*Addl.* D. M.**Memo:—**

We the Punchas state as follows:—

1. Annaji Venkaji Kulkarni (Lokur).
2. Sitaram Dinanath Tivari.

We were called by the Police. We saw liquor and toddy shops that had been burnt, stones that were thrown doors that were bro-

thrown away and a post that was removed and thrown away. The tatti has been set fire to and burnt. On the Katta inside the shop there are many big stones and one pillar that had been pulled out is lying on the road. Many big stones are also lying and heaps of large stones are lying. Stones and tiles are lying about the road. Many small and large stones are lying. The tattis have been much damaged by being burnt by fire. The scene of the scuffle is near about right and left where the dead bodies are lying and on the road in front of the Kacheri (Police Thana); there are also stones here. The door, and the board of the liquor shop are lying broken and inside the clock is broken and monies lie scattered about Money is about Rs. 10-2-9. There is also a jacket, (waist coat) with a watch in its pocket and the two boards of the liquor shops are lying broken with their ruins shattered and a piece is dangling. The door is lying broken. It appears as if the shop has been looted and the Dhoti with which the shop was set on fire and the burnt tatti are lying about and the tiles above are shattered to pieces. all articles described are attached and taken possession of by the Sirkar. The tatti in front of the toddy shop is lying broken. No body belonging to toddy and liquor shops is here They have run away. Thus ends Punchnama dated 1-7-21.

1-7-21

Sd.

EXHIBIT NO. 135.

Witness No. 94.

Krishnarao Bhimrao Ankaligi

Brahmin, 38, Shroff and Insurance Agent.

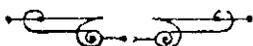
To Mr. Joshi :—

I was a witness in the Volunteer case. So also Herlekar, Sultan Master and Abdul Khalasi. Kabbur and Venkatrao Mudvedkar were the pleaders. Darji was also a witness in that case. These people were also doing the work of picketing.

28-8-1921.

Sd. A. S. T.

EXHIBIT No. 136



(Translation of Pertinent extract of issue of Rajhansa dated 10-5-21)

Answers to questions by the Collector.

Day before yesterday, on the 8th instant in the evening Mr. Painter, the Collector had come at the instance of the Contractor of the liquor shop in the market. The Police told all the people standing there to go back. Then the volunteer answered point blank that he had performed his duty especially when officers like the Collector were present. The following is the dialogue that ensued between the Collector and volunteer Abdul Rahiman :—

MR. PAINTER :—Who are you ?

VOLUNTEER :—I am a Khilafat volunteer.

Q :—What is this crescent badge ?

A :—This our symbol of Islam.

Q :—What is written in that ?

A :—Our scriptural verses are written in it.

Q :—Read it and tell me ?

A :—“ Alla Ho Akbar, La Illahillillah, Mahomed Rasu-
lullah.”

Q :—What is your monthly pay ?

A :—Rs. 12.

Q :—How many volunteers are you in all ?

A :—20 or 25 persons.

Q :—Why are you standing here ?

A :—To note down the names of those that drink liquor.

Q :—How will you act if a stranger comes to drink ?

A :—I will follow him to his lane and inform all the people in his lane about him.

ken and thrown away and a post that was removed and thrown away. The tattti has been set fire to and burnt. On the Katta inside the shop there are many big stones and one pillar that had been pulled out is lying on the road. Many big stones are also lying and heaps of large stones are lying. Stones and tiles are lying about the road. Many small and large stones are lying. The tatttis have been much damaged by being burnt by fire. The scene of the scuffle is near about right and left where the dead bodies are lying and on the road in front of the Kacheri (Police Thana); there are also stones here. The door, and the board of the liquor shop are lying broken and inside the clock is broken and monies lie scattered about Money is about Rs. 10-2-9. There is also a jacket, (waist coat) with a watch in its pocket and the two boards of the liquor shops are lying broken with their ruins shattered and a piece is dangling The door is lying broken. It appears as if the shop has been looted and the Dhoti with which the shop was set on fire and the burnt tattti are lying about and the tiles above are shattered to pieces. all articles described are attached and taken possession of by the Sirkar. The tattti in front of the toddy shop is lying broken. No body belonging to toddy and liquor shops is here. They have run away. Thus ends Punchnama dated 1-7-21.

1-7-21

Sd.

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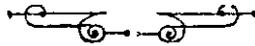
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28-8-1921.

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A :—“ Alla Ho Akbar, La Illahillillah, Mahomed Rasu-
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Q :—What is your monthly pay ?

A :—Rs. 12.

Q :—How many volunteers are you in all ?

A :—20 or 25 persons.

Q :—Why are you standing here ?

A :—To note down the names of those that drink liquor.

Q :—How will you act if a stranger comes to drink ?

A :—I will follow him to his lane and inform all the people in his lane about him,

The Collector then went to the liquor shop in his motor and returned in his motor bringing a little liquor in an empty bottle to trick the volunteer and approached him.

Q:—I am taking the bottle filled with liquor. What will you do ?

A:—The bottle with you is empty. It does not contain liquor.

On this the Collector held the liquor bottle to the nose of the volunteer.

A:—No doubt this bottle is empty. But it is a liquor bottle. Then the Collector asked the contractor to bring liquor in his bottle and the contractor in accordance with the word whispered in his ear by the Collector went away and brought the bottle filled half with water and liquor.

Q:—What does this contain ?

A:—It is liquor; but what degree I can't say. It smells liquor.

Q:—I will take this filled with liquor, what will do to me? And I will make my Muslim Pattawala drink it. What will you do ?

A:—I will note down his name and report it to the Khilafat Committee for fining him.

Q:—I have made up mind to see that my Pattawala drink it. What will you do ?

A:—I am also determined to report his name to the Khilafat Committee and see that he is fined.

Collector to Pattawala :—Drink it, don't fear. What can this man do? Drink, drink, drink.

Pattawala to Collector :—I will not drink. At this the Collector lost his spirits and grew pale.

Collector to Volunteer :—I will see that my Pattawala drinks it in my bungalow. Saying so he left the place in his motor.

EXHIBIT No. 137.

Pertinent extracts from Judgment

IN CRIMINAL CASE NO. 35 OF 1916.

In the Court of the 1st Class Magistrate,

Dharwar.

IMPERATOR,

Vs.

1. Irappa Rudrappa Malladi of Tadkod.
2. Irayya Rudrayya Pujari of Tadkod.
3. Hanmant Maharudrappa Agsar of Timmapur.

Complainant in the cross examination says that he did tell before the Patil that he suspected any persons or that he told the names of accused persons; but the statement of the complainant before the Patil (Ex. No. 6) mentions the names of the three accused persons now before the Court; This is not a small discrepancy. This paper also does not bear the signature of the Patil which is peculiar.

× × × ×

From the facts it appears that the complainant arranges to barn some thing of this offence and of the offenders only after he lodged his complaint before the Police Patil on Sunday and not till that time.

× × × ×

Police Patil admits that he did not arrange to draw a Panchnama about the scene of offence nor did he arrange to have the houses of the suspected persons on Sunday. He adds all this was done after the arrival of the Jamadar* (Ex. No. 12) in the village on Monday.

× × × ×

These deposits were discovered on Monday after the arrival of the Jamadar and not till then. From the positions of the deposits one would naturally infer that there was well arranged plan to bring these accused persons into trouble.

× × × ×

The discovery of the so called stolen potatoes in the places above mentioned is for the reasons above given attended with high suspicion.

× × × ×

Thus both the parties produce before the Court most unreliable evidence; prosecution does not appear to bring before the Court the real facts of the case. There is no doubt that mischief was caused to the crops of the complainant who is a rayat of the Desai of those parts; it appears that these accused or some of them might have been suspected in this nefarious affair consequently after lying out a well planned scheme, complainant has been made to file this complaint after an inexplicable delay. Whatever it is true that the prosecution which is led by the nose by some wire-puller has completely failed in its cause; the evidence it gave is not at all free from grave suspicion. I have therefore no alternative but to acquit all the accused and to order the discharge-section 258 C. P. C.

Sd:—R. N. KINI,
Magte. F. C. Dharwar Taluka

EXHIBIT No. 138.

Pertinent extracts from Judgment

IN SESSIONS CASE NO 20 OF 1919

IMPERATOR *Vs.*

1 Chinnappa Karbasappa Lakamanhalli & 5 others.

I agree with the assessors in holding that the evidence led to prove the conspiracy is not only insufficient for that purpose but as palpably false and fabricated.

* Note:—"Jamadar" referred to above is Shivalingappa.

In this part of the world where wealthy persons are concerned tutored and fabricated evidence is the rule rather than the exception.

× × × ×

The outline of the history of the case is sufficient to throw great suspicion upon the prosecution evidence, If the evidence itself is examined by any impartial person it will be found absolutely worthless and an insult to the intelligence of the Court.

× × × ×

I have no doubt that the whole story is false

The witnesses are mostly rascals and their evidence appears to have been invented by some very stupid person who keeps in the back ground. The defence contend that this stupid person is Shivalingappa Jamadar.

× × × ×

I agree with the assessors in regarding the prosecution evidence as false from beginning to end.

9th June 1919.

E. CLEMENTS,
Sessions Judge.

EXHIBIT No. 139.

Omitted.

EXHIBIT No. 140.

Pertinent extracts from Judgment of

SESSIONS CASE NO. 1 OF 1915.

IMPERATOR Vs.

Govind bin Hanmappa.

Upto that time obviously no further arrangements had been made but after that either by the Head Constable or by the Jamadar, or probably by both the case was manufactured.

× × × ×

I think it is quite clear that the prosecution evidence has been manufactured while the fact that none of it was forthcoming till the arrival of the F. C. Head constable (Ex. 21.) indicates fairly clearly that he is primarily responsible for this.

I think moreover that the investigation of this case has been highly unsatisfactory and reflects discredit on all the Police Officers concerned.

× × × ×

I have however already given my reasons for believing that it was this Jamadar who got up the evidence for the prosecution.

29th January 1915.

Sd. **E. H. LEGGATT,**
Sessions Judge.

(Note:--"Jamadar" referred to above is Shivalingappa.)

EXHIBITS 141, 142, 143, 144,

Omitted.

EXHIBITS 147, 148, 149, 150.

Omitted.

EXHIBIT 151.

Printed as a Separate book.



APPENDIX A.

EXHIBIT 20 A.

Dr. R. H. Shirhatti's Cases.

No.	Name.	Case made on.	Remarks.
1	Husen Imam Nalband Rasulpur	1-7-21	One gun shot wound on the outer part of the left leg.
2	Husen Mohodin Golandaj Haveripeth	1-7-21	One gun shot wound on the lower portion of the back side of left forearm (not extracted)
3	Abdul Wajudin Daroga	1-7-21	One buck shot on the outer-angle of the upper lip. One canine, one bicuspid, one incisor teeth half broken.
4	Shiddappa Virupaxappa Gilganchi, Mun. Clerk	1-7-21	One gun shot wound at the lower part of the front left arm.
5	Vishwanath Devaprasad Agnihotri, Police Constable, Saidapur	1-7-21	Two gun shot wounds on the leg below the left knee and one in left popliteal region.
6	Moula Abdul Halbhavi, Farmer-merchant, Mankilla	1-7-21	One gun shot wound little above the left knee.
7	Husen Kasim Mommigatti, Yekka driver, Line-bazar.	1-7-21	One gun shot wound at the back of the right thigh, one on the left side of the back.
8	Budan Peersaheb Narti, Tea seller, Market	1-7-21	One gun shot wound on the lower back of the lower part of the neck. (not extracted)
9	Abdul Rahman Abdul Hakim Line-bazar	1-7-21	2 shot wounds on the left thigh One on the right thigh, (Latter could not be extracted)
10	Gous Maktumsab Naikwadi, Akhangalli	1-7-21	Buck shot wound in front of the right arm. Shot wound right thigh and also on the left thigh.
11	Kallya Gurushiddappa Gourimani, Pendargalli	1-7-21	One buck shot wound on outer and lower part of the right leg.

No.	Name.	Case made on.	Remarks.
12	Hasansab Khasimsab Mali, Rasulpur	1-7-21	7 Buck shot wounds on the right arm, one superficial over the right scapular region
13	Jatingsab Rajesab Kalal, Line bazar	1-7-21	One shot wound just behind the right ear. One shot removed.
14	Shiddappa Basappa Kurbar, Potnis galli	1-7-21	Two shot wounds just below the scapular region.
15	Krishnaji Durgaji	1-7-21	One shot wound in the upper portion of the left thigh. One abrasion to left index finger and one abrasion over the left thumb.
16	L. T. Patil, Sanitary Inspector Municipality	1-7-21	One shot wound at the back of the right shoulder.
17	Raghappa Fakirappa Yeligar, Ghali galli	1-7-21	One shot wound just on the outer anthers of the right eye.
18	Devendra Baswantapa Salunke Barber, Gavali galli	1-7-21	One gun shot wound on the outer side of the splenic region.
19	Bhimapa Mahadevapa Chitragar Carpenter Mudi Maruti	1-7-21	One gun shot wound over the right side above the neck.
20	Gaffar Madarsaheb Pendar, Pendar galli age 14	1-7-21	Two gun shot wounds in the inner side of the thigh.
21	Rastumkha Maktumkha Jalijamadar	1-7-21	Gun shot wound
22	Veerbhadrha Channappa Marihal, Malapur	2-7-21	Gun shot wound near the chest
23	Mahadevapa Yellapa Kambar, Malapur	2-7-21	Gun shot wound.
24	Adamsab Mahamadsab Soudagar, Line bazar.. ..	2-7-21	
25	Basapa Adivepa Guttepanavar	2-7-21	Gun shot wound on the forehead.
26	Bhima Fakirapa Kittur	2-7-21	Dressed on 1st at Dr. Huilgol's

No.	Name.	Case made on.	Remarks.
27	Abdul Rahman Madarsab Tongawala. Age 14 .. attended Dr. Huilgol's ..	2-7-21 1-7-21	One gun shot wound on the upper portion of the left leg front part
28	Rama Fandurangrao Belgaumkar attended Dr. Huilgol's ..	2-7-21 1-7-21	Gun shot wound near the popliteal region, left thigh.
29	Miyakhan wd. Khajakhan ...	2-7-21	Gun shot wound on the left temple.
30	Nalisab Inamsab Kaladgi Madarmaddi	2-7-21	One gun shot wound near the nape of the neck.
31	Basalingappa Karaweerappa Koturawar, Madarmaddi.	3-7-21	One gun shot wound on the inner side of the right calf. One wound below the left knee joint. One gun shot wound on the left side of leg, one on the right foot.

Dr. K. G. Huilgol's Cases.

252	Annappa Dixit	1-7-21	3 wounds on the scalp and a wound on arm.
253	Basappa C/o Pattanshetti Haveripeth	1-7-21	(1) arm. (2, 3) near the elbow. (4) fore arm. (5) on infundibulum of the ear back side.
254	Bhima Fakirapa Kitnur age 21	1-7-21	On the thigh.
255	Abdul Rahiman P'endari age 14	1-7-21	Wound near knee joint.
256	Yellappa Doddamani ..	1-7-21	Wound on cheek.
257	Shivalingaya Limbandevar. math	1-7-21	Wound metacarpal bone left-hand.
258	Belgaumkar Writergalli ..	1-7-21	Popliteal space.
259	Shivanappa	2-7-21	Wound thigh right side.
260	Shankar Narayan Udpi age 17	2-7-21	Puncture on the eyebrow.
261	S. Faragshaha alli	2-7-21	Near the ankle joint.

APPENDIX. B.

EXHIBIT No. 24.

I. **Malik**:—Aged about 17.

Discription of the gun-shot wounds on the body of the deceased Malik:—

- (1) One gun-shot wound to the outer and lower part on the left side of the abdomen $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the umbilicus. Size of the wound $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ inch, penetrating the abdomen.
- (2) Second wound $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to the outer side of the first. Size $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$ inch. In the abdomen. The edges of the wound are everted.
- (3) Third wound two inches above the 2nd wound. Size $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inch.
- (4) Fourth wound:—Two inches below the 2nd wound. Size $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inches. Situated in the left Inguinal region.
- (5) Fifth wound:—Situated $\frac{1}{2}$ inch above the anterior superior spine left Illium. Size $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- (6) Sixth wound:—Situated one inch on the outer and lower part of the crest of the left Illium. Four shots in all. Two joined together, and one quarter inch below it; and another $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to the outer side of the above.
- (7) Seventh wound:—Situated two inches below the Anterior superior spine of the left Illium. They are five in number. Size $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inch. Two of them are joined together. One is situated a quarter inch near the above mentioned joined wounds. Two

more are situated to the lower part of the above mentioned joined wounds. These are separated by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch from each other.

- (8) Eighth wound:—Situated at the level of the upper end of the natal fissure, on the left side. $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inch. edges inverted.

Two shots were removed by making an incision from the left gluteal region.

People present at the time of the removal of the shots:—

- (1) Ahmad Saheb Soudagar, Hubli Volunteer.
- (2) Shankaraya Hiremath.
- (3) Daval Saheb Rotiwale.

II. Post Mortem held on the body of one:—

Abdul Labbe:—Aged about 35.

One gun-shot wound one inch above the right ear in the Temporal Region.

III. P. M. held on the body of one:—

Gousu Rajesab:—Aged about 30.

- (1) Two gun-shot wounds at a distance of 3 inches below the left elbow joint. An incision has been made.
- (2) Two gun-shot wounds one above the other 3 inches to the left side of the middle line. These wounds are penetrating the abdomen.
- (3) One gun-shot wound, 2 inches above the crest of the left Ilium.

- (4) One wound just below the splenic region entering the abdomen.
- (5) An incision five inches long has been made in the outer and upper part of the thigh.
- (6) Two wounds one on either side of the pubes.
All the wounds are charred.

Sd. V. R. Huilgol.

R. H. Shirhatti.

G. N. Deshpande.

APPENDIX C.

EXHIBIT No. 120.

Table of Cases in Dharwar Civil Hospital of Policemen injured in Dharwar Riot.

No.	Date of admission.	Time.	Name.	Description of injuries and Prescriptions.
3	2-7-21	1 A. M.	Shivalingappa S. I.	A small contused wound on the outer end of the left eyebrow with clotted blood over it. Clean and dress.
		2 A. M.	...	2nd Ct. dressing and foment.
4	..	1 A. M.	Ramchandra Vithoba P. C. No. 138	Complains of pain on the right side of chest but no injury detected Apply Tr. Iodine and foment,
5	..	..	Fakira Basappa 550	A superficial abrasion on the upper part of the left anterior superior spine Apply Tr. Iodine and foment,
6	..	..	Dhondi Rama 96	Complains of pain on left side of neck but no mark of injury. Apply Tr. Iodine and foment.
7	..	..	Bhikurao Dadu 1	A linear oblique abrasion. 1 inch long on the back of neck Apply Tr. Iodine and foment.
8	..	..	Noanu Shesha 291	Swelling of the size of a betelnut situated just above the left frontal eminence. Apply Tr Iodine and foment.
9	..	..	Tukaram Raoji 330	Complains of pain on the outer surface of right elbow but no signs of injury. Apply Tr. Iodine and foment the part.

10		..	Bhikaji Naba	..	..	141	A round swelling of the size of a small betel nut situated close to and left side of the occipital protuberance Apply Tr. Iodine and foment.
11	..	..	Rama Jiva	..	..	185	Complains of pain on right side of chest but no injury detected Apply Tr. Iodine and foment.
2	..	2-30 P. M.	Vishwanath Devi Prasad	..	..	359	Gun shot wound. Came to Hospital on foot for treatment for the following injuries. Says that he got the injuries, while he was in the mob. He was treated by Dr. Shirhatti on 1-7-21 I. A punctured wound with a diameter of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch situated posterior aspect of left knee. II. Two punctured each with a diameter of $\frac{1}{4}$ " situated on upper third of left leg at its anterior aspect touched with iodine and dressed. 3-7-21 There was slight discharge cleaned and Boric fomentation. 5-7-21 Wound clean Ct. 7-7-21 Wound was clean but not able to attend to his duties due to pain at the time of walking. Discharged to attend as an outdoor 7-7-21. <i>Sd/ A. W. Nayampalli.</i> <i>Sd/ D. R. Joshi.</i> <i>for Civil Surgeon Dharwar.</i>
16	8-7-21	..	..	..	..	..	Boric Compress. 9 Ct. Pulv-jalap-Co. 3 D. Indoor 2-7-21 out door 8-7-21. from 11 to 18 continued. Completely anew.

No	Date of admission.	Time.	Name.	Description of injuries and Prescriptions.
1	1-7-21	9 P. M.	Babu Dhondi ,, ,, 24	<p>Brought to Hospital in a motor by police, as he was unconscious. Inhalation of Ammonia and mist. stimulent. Became conscious after half an hour and then he complained of pain on the right side of chest due to the injury caused by stones by a mob. There is slight swelling but no injury can be detected. Complains of difficulty of breath.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sd/ A. W. Nayampalli.</i></p> <p>Iodine paint to chest and fomentation.</p>
	3-7-21	...	,, ,, ...	<p>Patient feels better but no motion. Ct. mist alba. Dt. St. discharged cured. 4-7-21.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sd/ D. R. Joshi.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>for Civil Surgeon Dharwar.</i></p> <p>Certificate sent to Dy. Supdt. of police Dharwar. 20-7-21.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sd/ A. W. N.</i></p>
12	2-7-21	8-30 A. M	Israil ,, ,, ,, 37	<p>A contused superficial wound $\frac{3}{4}$" into $\frac{1}{4}$" situated on left cheek bone Iodine paint. 3rd Ct.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sd/ A. W. N.</i></p>

APPENDIX D.

The accused persons in the Dharwar.
in the Dharwar "Rioting Case" Sessions Case No. 31 of 1921.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Religion.	Period of sentence.	Remarks.
1	Anant Shrinivas Dabade	56	Sarafi.	Brahmin.	2 Years.	Congress propagandist.
2	Trimal Krishna Joshi	50	Landlord.	"	1 Year	Ficket.
3	Waman Dinkar Jathar	59	Proprietor of a Press.	"	1 "	Proprietor Rajahansa Press.
4	Annachar Balachar Hoskeri	49	Editor.	"	1 "	Editor Vijaya.
5	Madhwachar Krishnachar Kalkeri	58	News paper vendor.	"	1 "	
6	Madhva Srinivas Kamalapur	25	Landlord.	"	1 "	N. C. O. Student and Congress propagandist.
7	Ranganath Ramchandra Divakar	27	Professor.	"	Acquitted	M. A. LL. B. Editor Karmavir.
8	Madhva Bhimarao Kabbur	29	Pleader.	"	3 Years.	M. A. LL. B. Printer and publisher Karmavir,
9	Venkatrao Rajerao Mudvedkar	37	"	"	3 "	
10	Imam Hussen Maniar	26	Trader.	Muslim.	1 year	Khilaphat Worker.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Religion.	Period of sentence.	Remarks.
26	Abdul Khadar Langoti	...	...	Muslim.	..	Discharged by the C. M. Khilaphat Volunteer.
27	Madarsab Katgar	50	Butcher.	...	Acquitted	
28	Abdul Vaziuddin Daroga	18	..	..	2 Years.	Khilaphat Volunteer.
29	Budan Chandulal Chaparband	32	Trader.	..	2 Years.	Khilaphat Worker.

SUMMARY OF THE STATEMENTS

OF THE ACCUSED IN

Sessions Case No. 31 of 1921.

[DHARWAR RIOT CASE.]



Mr. Dabde's Statement.

I have refrained from taking any part in the proceedings both in this court and in the committing Magistrate's court because they are based upon tainted investigation made by and under the influence of the very police and magistracy who are guilty of deliberate murder and who to save themselves have concocted evidence and because all my efforts for getting impartial investigation and the removal from the district of the aforesaid officers have failed. I am, therefore, convinced that in this case I can expect no justice whatever. Collector Painter ever since he came to this district has shown his determination to crush the Non-cooperation, Khilafat and Temperance movements at all costs. The day previous to the firing he said to accused Divakar and Kabbur "I am thirsting for your blood. I will not be satisfied until I see you in jail for at least one year." He was seeking an opportunity to terrorize the public into withdrawing from the said movements by bringing them into trouble somehow or other and in the Police Superintendent Marston he found a willing and ready co-operator and in Shivalingapa a fitting instrument to carry out his schemes. They thought that the conviction of the Khilafat volunteers would afford an excellent opportunity for realizing their purpose and accordingly made arrangements for that end. The shooting on the 1st July was planned and prearranged by the

officials. All the managing committee members of the Khilafat are arrested. The Khilafat Committee had in all six volunteers, two of them are convicted in the picketing case, three are arrested in this case and one has left Dharwar and thus the Khilafat work is brought to a standstill. They encouraged the people to collect until the suitable moment arrived and took no steps to disperse the crowd that had assembled there on account of the fun which some boys poked at the drunkards and at the sight of the armed police stationed in front of the liquor shop. When it grew dark some police constables made a show of thrice setting fire to the Tatti which was apart from but near the shop and each time of immediately extinguishing it. The police were not moved at this as it was part of their plan. Shivalingapa did not stir out until the news was taken to him that the moment for his coming out to the scene of offence had arrived. The officials have conducted the investigation in this case and have made certain arrests not with the view of arriving at the truth but to collect false evidence for the following purposes :—

(a) To crush the prominent N. C. O. and Khilafat workers.

(b) To screen themselves from the charge of murder by implicating respectable persons who would otherwise be important witnesses against them.

(c) As a consideration to the enemies of the accused to induce them to give false evidence. As the principal offenders themselves are highly placed officials they could by abusing their influence get any kind of false evidence. Moreover the hatred between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins especially the Lingayats and the Municipal factions have given the officials an easy field to work out their designs to make the witnesses stick to their false evidence till the end of the case. Hulkoti the anti-Brahmin and anti-Nationalist leader as also the head

of one of the Municipal factions was appointed a special prosecutor for the case though there were already a barrister and the public prosecutor to conduct the case.

K. H. Mudvedker, Editor of a nationalist paper and prominent non-cooperator propagandist was also arrested along with us as a rioter ; but on the date and at the time of the alleged offence he was at Haliyal 21 miles away where he performed a political *keertan* of which evidence was subsequently found out in the Government records itself. Even against such a gentleman the officials had procured 19 false witnesses. However as this alibi reached their ears they had to back out from the case against him ; but the wonder is that these very 19 false witnesses are among the witnesses now being examined against the other accused. Out of the prosecution witnesses (1) Rudrayya Advayya Hiremath and (2) Sangappa Maharudrappa are found to be not in Dharwar at all at the time and on the date of the offence. R. G. Subnis, pleader, Dharwar and others had deposed to that effect to the Congress Commission. The Congress Commission of inquiry was examining witnesses and recording evidence in Dharwar before and during the trial of this case and concluded the inquiry on August 30. A sub-inspector of police was taking notes of the evidence before the said Commission throughout and reporting the same to the authorities every day. It cannot lie in the mouth of the prosecution that they are not aware of what evidence there is to prove the innocence of the accused. If the prosecution were not interested in securing convictions only they would not have pushed this trial without taking any note of that evidence. The prosecution witnesses Chavan-gouda, Sanitary Inspector and Gilganchi, Municipal clerk both Lingayats have immediately after they were wounded and before the present arrests and prosecution were ever thought of admitted to several gentlemen that they were wounded in the third firing when they had gone with the kitson light. But

now they have changed their story so that they may be in a position to depose to facts before and at the time of the first and second firing. The following are some of the gentlemen to whom they have made the above admission : Dr. Shirhatti, L. M., & S., Dr. Huilgol, M. B. B., S., B. R. Patwardhan, M. A., LL. B., pleader and Assistant Public Prosecutor, Dharwar, Guracharya Compounder to Dr. Shirhatti, Mr. Y. B. Jathar, B. A., LL. B., Dharwar and several persons who were wounded at the third firing.

A FALSE CASE.

The two Government communiques dated the 2nd and 8th July 1921, which are apparently based upon information supplied by the local officials themselves prove that the present prosecution case is false.

It is to be specially noted that out of the 29 persons arrested only two were wounded by the firing, a fact which cannot be accounted for unless the police were firing upon the persons other than the rioters. The wounded are the best persons to testify to the incident of the day. But out of the 41 wounded persons only four or five have been examined one of whom is a police constable and three are Lingayats including the Sanitary Inspector and the Municipal Clerk above referred to, while 18 wounded persons are examined before the Congress Commission whose version is quite contrary to the one before this court.

There was a continual discussion between the court and the first accused the court refusing to note down certain statements which the accused insisted upon making. This went on for some time the court sometimes noting down and sometimes not the statement made by the accused. The accused in the end refused to proceed with his statements after he had nearly come to the end when the statement was retranslated from the Judge's notes. The accused objected to many

passages in it and he wanted to put in some more statements. The Judge refused. The accused said the statement had better be destroyed. The court then adjourned for lunch.

Tirumal Joshi's Statement.

After the lunch recess the second accused Tirumal Joshi said his statement was the same as that of the first accused and further that he had been picketing since a long time. Shivalingappa had threatened him after the arrival of District Police Superintendent Mr. Marston to prosecute him if he did not give up picketing. He was attending the Court of the Magistrate every day during the trial of the volunteers and taking notes of evidence and helping them as much as possible. The Police Superintendent Mr. Marston had noted his name down after asking Shivalingappa as to who he was. On first July there was a meeting about Tilak Swarajya Fund and he went to the meeting at 6-30 p. m. from the Congress Committee's office. He did not go towards the market or the liquor shop on that day. He was at the meeting till 8-30 p. m. He went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary with the people who came wounded from the place where the firing had taken place. Many witnesses had testified to those facts before the Congress Committee and he gave five names to the Court to support him.

The judge said if accused wished it he could call these witnesses himself. Accused said he was not going to call them but wanted the names to go down into the records. Shivalingappa called him to his house at 6 p. m. on second July and asked him to give evidence in this case against Mudvedkar, Diwarkar, Kabbur and Herlekar. Accused however, refused to give false evidence and Shivalingappa said he would see to it. On the third July a policeman came to his house saying that Shiv-

Shivalingappa wanted him at his office and he went there. Mr. Marston was standing in the verandah. He asked the accused who he was and he told him his name. Mr. Marston asked whether he was Rao Bahadur Joshi and accused said 'No.' Shivalingappa then took him to the Hanuman temple in the compound of the office and asked him to escape from the trouble by giving evidence or he would send him to jail. Accused, however, refused to give false evidence, and Shivalingappa said he would send him to jail by telling Mr. Marston. He then took a police party to the town with the Assistant Superintendent of Police and arrested the accused along with others.

Mr. Jathar's Statement.

Vamanrao Jathar, aged sixty, the third accused then made his statement. He said in May last he had a severe attack of influenza which confined him to bed till about the middle of June when he became convalescent. He was very weak for a long time on account of the illness. On July first he had a slight attack of fever in the afternoon. Mr. Diwakar came to him at about 3 p. m. and was there for an hour or so. Mr. Gokhale retired postmaster came to him at about 6 p. m. and was with him till about nine o'clock in the night. Mr. Kabbur also came to him at about six and went to the meeting at about 6-30 p.m. Before he went there Mahomed Umar the then second sub-inspector of Dharwar had also come to his house and was sitting in the verandah talking to Kabbur till they went to the meeting together. The accused then sat in his room with Gokhale. About 7-15 Pitre and D. D. Joshi pleaders came to him and after talking to him for a short while went towards the market. Half-an-hour after he heard the sound of firing and a few minutes later Joshi came to him and asked

him if Pitre had come there. As he had not come there, accused was going to send his servant to search for him. When Pitre came in, Joshi also came there and both went home together. He was absolutely innocent of the charge laid against him. He happened to be a Brahmin and journalist and the Police and Lingayats are deadly against the policy of his paper. On the night of the firing a policeman came to his house from Shivalingappa and asked the accused not to write anything in his paper "Rajahansa" about the firing until he had seen him. Accused replied he did not want to see anybody on the matter and the next day he published such information as he had and he put in the copy of "Rajahansa" for the day in support of his statement. That very evening he was arrested. He wanted to defend himself but by the actions of the authorities he was rendered helpless. He had engaged Mr. Karandiker of Satara, but he was engaged at Nasik and was therefore unable to come. He had asked for the postponement of the case but his application was rejected by the Court.

The accused Mr. Jathar then named four witnesses including Mr. Sabnis, pleader, who was a witness for the prosecution.

Mr. Hoskeri's Statement.

Annachary Hoskeri, Editor of the "Vijay" then made his statement. He said he accepted the general statement of the first accused. Mr. Painter, Collector had decided to put a stop to Khilafat and N. C. O. He was engaged in repressing all these movements and so the accused, as Editor of a nationalist paper, was suffering. He had never spoken at any meeting, neither had he picketed. Except writing in his journal he did not take any active part in public activities. The Collector had stopped giving advertisements in his paper

and the "Rajahansa" and he thought that the Collector was angry with him, and from what had happened since he was convinced that it was on account of his articles in his paper. Mr. Painter was standing in the Police Station while the accused was arrested. Jathar, Divakar and Kabbur came behind him. From this he thought that the charge against him was under sections 104. His left leg is powerless through rheumatism, Mr. Smith took him to the Police Station in his motor and on the way he was told that he was charged with rioting and he was much surprised. The accused would have defended themselves, but by arresting and harassing them the Collector had tarnished and brought into disrepute British Justice and good administration and it was unworthy of his position. The police were the criminals and they themselves investigated the offence. They had brought this case forward to hide Shivalingappa's crimes. This is the justice of the wolf to the lamb. He had only brought witnesses who would bear false witness against them, and those who would tell the truth were kept back. Accused had not taken part in the crimes, and proceedings had been brought to ruin them. There were four objects which authorities wanted to gain one was to serve themselves and earn *kudos*; secondly, to put a stop to agitation; thirdly, to get the Lingayats with them and divide them from the Brahmins and fourthly, to teach people to give false evidence and thus demoralise them. Therefore the evidence brought forward was one sided. The Judge said here it must be one sided and he wanted more facts and not opinions. Continuing, the accused said he was ready to give evidence if an independent commission were appointed to investigate into the case, as in the Matiari Case. Out of the 40 men, who were wounded by the police firing, only twenty had been examined and only four had been called in as witnesses. They gave up the others because they would expose the case.

On the day of rioting at 6 p. m. second Sub-Inspector came to the accused's press with two persons from Belgaum and they all went to the meeting. The Sub-Inspector's statement had been taken by the police on the night of the riot but his name was not in the charge sheet during the first four or five days, when arrests were going on in the town. The second Sub-Inspector was transferred from the city and later on he was sent to Hubli. He was at the meeting for more than an hour, and all the accused while well known to him, the former could not give their names. Umar the Sub-Inspector, left while Divakar was speaking and they heard the alarm bell and whistle, while Kamalapur was speaking there was firing. After four or five minutes men and boys came there, shouting for a doctor. The meeting had dispersed. While he neared the Rajahansa Press the wounded people came one after the other. He went afterwards to the dispensary and helped the wounded as much as possible. Dabade and Kamalapur and others were doing the same.

On July 3rd, while he was sleeping in his press Shivalingappa awoke him and told him he was arrested. He was told that Kamalapur had been arrested and Shivalingappa went into the town with Mr. Smith to arrest others. Shivalingappa used to stand near the door of the Court where the Magistrate was taking evidence in order to manufacture evidence. His friends and pleaders had told him this was so and this had been brought to the notice of the Magistrate from the charge sheet. It was evident that persons called as witnesses were under the obligation of Shivalingappa. He had created witnesses to hide his own crimes. Accused said he was innocent, and violence was not the creed of the Congress.

If he had been on the spot, Shivalingappa who had about a hundred armed and unarmed constables, ought to have arrested him at once. Moreover, accused was a lame man

and it was impossible for him to escape. If he had been there in a crowd of three or four thousand he could not have escaped being shot. He was a journalist and for two days he made enquiries and he then learnt that unarmed men, and particularly boys, had been shot. Several people had stated before the Congress Commission that the deponent was at the meeting and the Court might summon them if it wished.

Madhvacharya's Evidence.

Madhvacharya Krishnacharya aged 58 then gave his statement. He said he subscribed to the different newspapers and he also sold them. Many Lingayats had beaten him for this. Many of those persons were witnesses against him. Many times Durgmurgi Shivalingappa had warned him not to shout about the allegations in the papers against the police or he would come into trouble. With a view to prosecute editors and sellers of newspapers and members of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee accused had been prosecuted. He had learnt that the officials and the Police were conspiring together. Two days before firing Shivlingappa had asked him whether the accused Desai and Deshpande were in the town. There was a saheb present when he was asked this. They then began to whisper something.

Accused gave copies of the "Rajahansa" and the "Young India" to Umar Sub-Inspector as usual on the first July. He sold his newspaper and went to the "Rajahansa" office to give an account of the papers sold. Thence he went to the "Vijaya" office for a similar purpose and to the meeting where he was sitting until the lamps were lit. As it was dark and he could not see he went home with one Shripadbhat. On the way he met some friends of his whom he knew. All four of them

went as far as the accused's house and then the others went away. On the next morning when he had been to buy newspapers he came to know of the previous night firing. He had prosecuted Lingangowda Patil and therefore he had got his cartmen to give evidence against him.

Some time ago there was an article that Rudragowda Artal had apologised to the Brahmins and he had cried the news aloud and this very Hulkoti, Special Prosecutor had got his clerk to beat him.

The Judge asked how this was relevant. The accused said the Lingayats had got up the case against him and continuing said the accused several witnesses had given evidence before Congress Commission that he was at the meeting and he wanted these to be called as Court witnesses and not his own.

Madhvarao Kamlapur's Statement.

Madhvarao S. Kamalapur aged 25, a non co-operating student doing propaganda work then made his statement. He in addition to the general statement said he was in the Arts College and he left the College in obedience to Non-co-operation Resolution of the Congress and the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. He was a thorough non-violent non-co-operator in all his words and deeds. Since the commencement of the temperance movement from April last he used to deliver lectures against drink near the market liquor shop and other places. It was a fact the police were sympathetic to them at that time. Picketing was going on smoothly. Large numbers had given up drinking. Since the arrival of Mr. Painter and Mr. Marston in the district peace had disappeared and the liquor contractors became intoxicated with power and authorities went mad and the police left their duties and did what they liked.

Pickets were abused and sprinkled with toddy and insulted. And it was clear that the contractor got up police evidence and brought a case against pickets. Squibs were thrown when and where he was lecturing. Nanavaty got his servants to throw toddy on the accused and Dabade. One man came there and said he had been deprived of Rs. 50 by the pickets and on the next day when the man was ostracized by his castefellows he came to the Khilafat Committee and told them that he had told a falsehood at the instance of the police. The accused then said Shanmukhapa had come to Ron to create false evidence against him and prosecution Judge asked how this was relevant and Kamlapur said it showed how plot had developed. A few days before first of July his father sent him a voice to return to Dharwar as he was going to be arrested by the Collector. After he had returned from Ron Mr. Painter had told his father that he should withdraw his son from the agitation otherwise he would be prosecuted. On the day in question Umar was sitting next to him at the meeting and while Divaker was speaking Umar left as he got a chit from a constable. Kamlapur seconded the proposal to elect Mr. V. B. Joshi as Chairman. After Kamlapur two men had addressed the meeting and it was about 7-30 when he heard the whistle from the direction of the market. A short time after about 8 or 8-15 p. m. he heard firing. He had addressed the meeting for 30 minutes. They were then talking between themselves as to the reason of the firing. In the mean time wounded people came to the meeting out for doctor. The meeting then dispersed. He and Dr. Shirhatti went to the latter's dispensary and they remained there till midnight tending the wounded. On July 3 at about 4 p. m. he was in the Congress Committee office and knew that Shivlingappa and Mr. Smith came there with police party. Shivlingappa called out that the accused was arrested and should come down. Kamalapur came down

and was sent to the police station where there were Messrs. Painter, Marston, Holman, the D. I. G. and Kallolgi. Kabbur, Divakar and others were also brought there under arrest. Many people were standing on the road to see the people brought in. Seeing them Mr. Painter asked Shivalingappa why had the people come to see the drama without paying for it and he said to the crowd to disperse or they would be shot.

On July first he had not gone towards the market shop. He was perfectly innocent and the charges were false. Convinced that he would not get justice both in the lower and this Court, he had taken no part in the proceedings. He then gave the general grounds for this step and cited the names of the witnesses who had deposed to his presence at the meeting. The Court said it could not call those witnesses. Kamlapur said the Judge had said that he was anxious to do justice and if that was so he should call those witnesses. The Judge however refused to do so.

Divakar's Statement.

Ranganath Ramchandra Divakar aged 26 teacher and journalist then stated he was a M. A., LL. B., of the Bombay University, but had not taken his degree of law. He was Professor of English in the Rajaram College and the K. E. Society College at Dharwar. At present he was a teacher in the National School and Printer and Publisher of the "Karmavir" a nationalist weekly of Dharwar. His paper advocated non-violent non-co-operation. He was perfectly innocent of the contemptible offences with which he stood charged by prosecution. Being a non-violent non-co-operator neither in deed nor words had he ever advocated violence. The offences with which he was charged were generally committed by hooligans and in the ordinary times he would never have been charged, but the whole

set of officials had conspired to gether to put down the movements and repression was the one weapon which was handy to them. He then gave a general survey of the movement of picketing. The officials had been annoyed with picketing which began in April, as he himself was picketing and the pickets were beaten abused and insulted and pleader Guttal was attacked dastardly by the contractors. The pickets silently suffered these indignities in the presence of the police. Mr. Painter was a hearty hater of this movement and his conversation with a volunteer had already appeared in the papers. The accused then gave an account of his interview with Mr. Painter the day before the rioting when Mr. Painter had told them to come to his office and after warning them he had communicated to them from Government their disapproval for certain anti-drink articles in their papers and said he was thirsting for their blood.

Touching the riot the accused said even according to prosecution the shooting was not justified and rioting was an occasion when it gave an opportunity to the officials to shoot innocent people who were taking part in the movement. He accused Shivalingappa of being the chief tool of the executive in the shooting. Throughout he had a conclusive proof, if necessary, to show that he had never been to the liquor shop. On the 1st July, he had been to Jathar, the accused, at three o'clock and was there for more than an hour. From 5 to 8-30 he was at the meeting. He was convinced that his suffering was necessary for the cause he had at heart. While his conviction would be unjust his acquittal would be still more unjust since his fellow brothers were in prison.

Kabbur's Statement.

Mr. Madhav Bhimrao Kabbur, pleader and journalist, the eighth accused then made his statement. He said his statement in the lower Court was wrong. It was then re-translated for the benefit of the assessors. Continuing, he said he was arrested by the District

Magistrate of Dharwar, Mr. Painter who was thirsting for the blood of the political workers. The Collector and District Magistrate of Dharwar Mr. Painter, and other officers were merely going through a form of justice to get him convicted, knowing full well that their power would help them to get the accused convicted. Before the day of the alleged offence, he was summoned by Mr. Painter together with Mr. Divakar. He was then publishing "Karmavir" and Mr. Divakar was printer. Mr. Painter communicated to them a warning from the Bombay Government in which it was alleged that two articles against drink were inflammatory. After this business was finished Mr. Painter volunteered some information. He told them that he was thirsting for their blood, and that he would be glad to see them somehow sentenced to at least one year. The accused thanked him and Mr. Painter said he was always a frank man. This showed the anxiety of Mr. Painter towards his paper and further the Editors of four nationalist papers namely, "Rajahansa," "Karmavir," "Vijaya" and "Karnataka Vritta" had been arrested as offenders, the last of whom was since let off.

HOW HE WAS ARRESTED.

On this day of riot a policeman came to him and said he was wanted by Mr. Painter and therefore he had said it was Mr. Painter who had arrested him. He told the sepoy he would follow him and Mr. Painter was waiting for him at the Police Station and Mr. Smith met him on the way and showed him a warrant of arrest under sections 109, 436 and 395. Those were the original offences with which he was charged. Mr. Divakar, Mr. Dabade and others were arrested on similar warrants. At the Police Station he met Mr. Painter and he said "Kabbur, I had sent for you and I have a great deal to say to you." Mr. Painter told him he was arrested. Mr. Kallolgi held his Court in this Police Station and signed the warrants and the Judge asked why he thought like that. Mr. Kabbur said he thought them all as conspirators and they had no business to be there. Continuing, he said picketing was going on smoothly until Mr. Painter settled to have a jolly time of

it. Mr. Painter was determined to haul up all the volunteers, and he began the campaign in Hubli. He was determined to break down the non-co-operation, Khilafat and anti-drink campaigns by prosecuting the workers. He opened his campaign in Hubli by arresting the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee.

The Judge refused to take these allegations and Mr. Kabbur said he was being tried and these should be taken down. His allegations were that Mr. Painter was at the bottom of the whole thing and that he was the author of the movement. The Judge refused to take the statement as he thought it was not relevant and said it had nothing to do with the case.

WARNING FROM THE POLICE.

The accused said he was not going to put in evidence here but in a Court which was sitting to judge Mr. Painter. He also received a warning in the Dharwar Khilafat Volunteer Case, when the names of all the pleaders, who had defended and appeared in the Court, were taken down by Mr. Marston, and he was given an oral warning from the police and the District Magistrate. That the Collector was working against the political workers, was evident from the seven warrants he had issued without names. He had not taken part in the case because from the very beginning his attitude had been very cynical as the offenders themselves had been made Judges in the case.

" OFFICIALS WERE THE REAL CRIMINALS."

The Judge asked whether he himself was a murderer and Mr. Kabbur said " no " and that he did not accuse him. Continuing, said the accused, in spite of their repeated applications to the Governor, the officials had not been transferred as they were the real criminals and though De-Silva was the ostensible investigating officer, Shivlingappa was the *de facto* investigating officer and therefore he had disdained to take any part in the proceedings.

The officers had taken advantage of the factious feelings between the Lingayats and the Brahmins to concoct evidence against

the accused. The majority of witnesses against them were either Policemen or Lingayats. He had no personal grudge against the witnesses, who had deposed against him, and neither had they any against him personally. He said this deliberately. When he was Editor of "Rajahansa" he had written articles against the non-Brahmin movement. In the election campaign, before the non-Brahmin Conference he had written against Messrs. Hulkoti and Kambli, the so-called leaders, and perhaps that might be the reason why Lingayats had deposed against him. This was a political reason and not personal. The greater reason for their deposing against him was the power of Mr. Painter, Mr. Marston and Shivlingappa. On the day of the offence, they both alleged he was never, near the scene of offence. He had been to the Mamlatdar's Court to hear the judgment in the Volunteer Case in which he was a witness. He returned at about 3-30, to the Sub-Judge's Court. At about 5-30 he was in the Court discussing certain matters with the Clerk of the Court in connection with a case. He was there until 6 P. M. and then he set out for home. On his way he sat in the "Rajahansa" office. Mr. Jathar was ill and the accused was sitting by his side. Umar the second Sub-Inspector, came to the office and sat with them for about 30 minutes, talking on general topics and he said he was waiting for the people to assemble at about 7 P. M. He went to this meeting with Umar. Umar was at the meeting till about 7-45 P. M. and he was standing by the accused, taking down notes. The accused was present at the meeting throughout.

He then gave a long list of the names of the people who were present at the meeting, whom the Court could call if it wished to do the accused justice. The Judge recorded only the names of the accused Khalasi, Phulwalla, Hukkeriker, Dabade, Sultan Master, Kamalapur, Divakar, Soudagar and the rest called as other gentlemen. Umar took notes of everything that happened at the meeting and he was sure of this because he was looking at his notes and he did not look up. When Divakar was about to finish his speech. Umar left,

TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED.

The Judge said the case had nothing to do with the guilt of the officers. Mr. Kabbur said he had been misled about this by that old woman in the Legislative Council, namely, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Continuing, he said the prosecutors had been very unfair to the defence by every means in their power. He had purposely disdained to take any part in the case, wherein prosecutors had turned out persecutors. A number of worthy gentlemen had deposed before the Congress Commission that he was at the meeting at this alleged time of offence.

He said he went to the Civil Hospital from Huilgol's Dispensary with Mr. Mudvedkar. On the way they met Herlekar and others, who told them that the Sanitary Inspector and his clerk were shot at when they went to attend the wounded on the scene of firing. They asked the accused to go and help a man who was lying there dangerously wounded. Mudvedkar called out to Shivilingappa and asked him whether he could approach. At first he was allowed to go but then he was told he would be shot at if he did so, and he was also told to come the next morning.

Then the deponent, Mudvedkar, Herlekar and three others went to the Civil Hospital where they met the Senior Assistant Surgeon and his Assistant. The accused told them why they were there and asked them to go to the city. They said they had received instructions that afternoon to be ready at the hospital, and that they could not leave the precincts. The accused asked them to go as others were not allowed to do so. They refused however and they also told him that the Civil Surgeon was too ill to go there. Dressing material was refused to them. A few policemen were then brought there and Mudvedkar told him that he had been inside the ward and that the policeman was feigning illness and that the Doctor could see through them. The accused and his companions went to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary and thence to another dispensary and did what he could.

The lists of the wounded were sent to Shivilinga. The accused was appointed Secretary to the Congress Investigation Committee

and looked over the lists carefully. They showed some 37 men were treated and the wounded were mostly boys. Some were wounded on the forehead, for instant, Basapa, a witness in the case, some on the mouth and some on the arms. Almost all the wounds were above the waist and he came to the conclusion that the firing was wanton.

Venkatrao Mudwedkar's Statement.

Mr. Venkatrao Mudvedkar, pleader, then made his statement. He said he was a practising pleader for the last fourteen years. The three fundamentals of a fair trial were impartial investigations, impartial and independent Judge and impartial and independent evidence. All these three were wanting and they had a prejudicial Judge and partial investigators.

PASSAGE AT ARMS.

The Judge said they were all arguments and not facts. The accused said the Court had to record every word of, what the accused said in his own words and not what the Judge liked. If the Judge refused to do so he would say that it was not his own statement. He then read out from the Criminal Procedure Code and quoting section 364, said the statement must be taken down as the accused made it and not as the Judge wished. Every shade of the meaning must go into the record to meet the ends of Justice.

The Judge asked Mr. Kemp what he had to say and Mr. Kemp said the Judge should only take down as much as was relevant to the case and reject all political speeches which were not pertinent to the trial. He thought the pleaders had a duty to the Court and they should not put in anything that was insulting to the Court. Mr. Mudvedkar said there was nothing in the law to prevent an accused from putting in a written statement, the Court must take down every word of the statement and was bound to do so.

The Judge said if there was anything insulting to the Judge, the accused would have to bear the consequences. Mr. Mudvedkar said he was prepared to bear the full consequences of his statement.

The Judge asked Mr. Kemp whether there was anything in the law to expunge the accused's remarks. In the meantime he asked Mr. Mudvedkar whether he would withdraw the words that the Judge was prejudicial. Mr. Mudvedkar declined.

The Judge asked whether he knew the consequences of this and the accused assented.

The Judge said he would deal with the matter after the trial was over and he asked Mr. Kemp whether he had found anything to do away with such statements. Mr. Kemp said the Judge could expunge the remarks from the statements, if he thought necessary. Mr. Mudvedkar said he would put in a clear copy of statement after typing it. In the meantime he put in copies of photograph of the stones and other exhibits and said these were put in order that if Government should appoint a Commission according to their wishes there might be this evidence to go upon.

QUESTION OF CONTEMPT OF COURT.

The Court asked Mr. Kemp whether he had found anything to deal with the accused for contempt of Court. Mr. Kemp said the Judge could either deal with him or send the accused to a Magistrate. The Judge could deal with him in five minutes otherwise that might be a recurring matter, however they could think over the matter during the recess.

The Judge asked Mudvedkar to read the statement and the accused said that a cowardly attempt was made by Mr. Painter to explain away his words to Mr. Kabbur and Mr. Divakar about thirsting for their blood. The Government's hands were tainted with the blood of the men innocently killed, and in order to influence the Lingayats a junior pleader Hulkoti was appointed Public Prosecutor, although there were senior and experienced men available. Shanmukappa and Chanbasappa were also appointed to help the prosecution in order to draw in as many Lingayats as possible. In the Lower Court the Magistrate had threatened the witnesses, and in this Court important evidence had been kept out, and prosecution was allowed to do as it liked with consent of the Judge

and therefore he had the evidence. All this was done with no confidence in the Judge. Mr. Mudvedkar read part of the statement the evidence of Mr. L. G. Sabnis, Pleader, before the Congress Enquiry Committee, the witness who was only tendered for cross-examination by prosecution.

The Judge said that was irrelevant but the accused persisted it was part of his statement and so relevant.

The Judge dissented when the accused was going to quote legal authority in support, but the Court asked him to go on reading the statement. The accused then read out Mr. Sabnis' statement and also the general statement made by Mr. Dabade which has already appeared. He then gave an account of his doing on July 1st. He said he was at the Sub-Judge's Court till about 6 p. m. he was playing at cards at the Club. He then went to the meeting and thence to the shop where he found Mr. Herlekar begging of the people to disperse and the accused joined him and his friends in their endeavour. Continuing the accused said he heard that some persons were wounded and when they were going that way, they were told that all persons going towards the wounded would be fired at by the Police. He stopped at the corner fearing that he would be shot at and shouted out for Shivalinga by his name, who enquired who was shouting for him. When the name was given Shivalinga said he had no objection to his going to the scene but after a few steps had been taken, Shivalinga asked him to stop otherwise he would be fired at. Mr. Mudvedkar asked whether he would be given a minute and Shivalinga said could not be given it; and if he wanted to see him. Mr. Mudvedkar should see him the next morning. The accused then went towards the Civil Hospital with his friends and the Assistant Surgeon told him that they had been asked that afternoon not to leave the Hospital. In the meantime a car drove up containing some wounded sepoys and he went into one of the wards and then the Doctor said, as the man had never seen firing, he was suffering from shock. The accused went to another ward and there found the constable feigning. The Doctor proved this by thrusting his fingers at the wounded man's eye

and he shut them. The Doctor then winked at the accused and asked a compounder to give the man some ammonia and the man sneezed confirming that he was feigning. Concluding, said Mr. Mudvedkar the authorities had power enough to hang them, but it was also in the power of the accused to get themselves hanged and show to the authorities they were capable of self-sacrifice. He prayed God that the movement might prosper by their sacrifices.

Mohiuddin sahib's Statement.

Gulamhusen Mohiuddin Saheb said in his statement he was innocent and was a member of the Khilafat Committee and he used to Picket near the liquor shops. The contractor was threatening him that he would be sent to jail. Shivlinga asked him once or twice whether he was a member of the Khilafat Committee and when the accused said "yes," Shivlinga said the Khilafat volunteers were being prosecuted and he would get them sentenced to six months' hard labour. He had also promised to deal with the Khilafat Committee members. On July 1st he went to his shop and met on the way Maktumhusen's cart and they reached Aminbhavi at 11 p. m. and opened a shop there and he sold his goods till 7 or 7-30 p. m. and returned to Dharwar. There was a crowd near Shirhatti's Dispensary and he came to know that the Police had fired on the people, etc. He went home and slept there.

Mahomed sahib's Statement.

Mahomed Sahib Soudgar in his statement said he was innocent and was a member of the Khilafat Committee and also Under Secretary. They were trying to put a stop to drinking.

The Judge asked what the Khilafat had to do with liquor. The accused said it was a religious matter and they were therefore stopping that vice. Continuing, he said through their activities the trade had almost stopped and contractors had tried to bribe them

but they refused. Contractors then tried through the Police to cancel the licenses of *Tonga wallas* and got two volunteers sentenced. They are confirmed in there conviction that Government wanted to stop their activities as all the Khilafat workers had been now put on there trial. If Government wished that the British Raj should last long it was essential that Justice should be given to the accused.

He then read out the general statement. He said the men who had butchered Indians in the Punjab were now asking them to forget and forgive. A similar thing had been done at Dharwar. The jail here was converted into a training school for witnesses by Shivalingappa and Shanmukhappa. He had been to the meeting on July 1st. Lingayats were there at the meeting. He did not know how far these people, to satisfy their hate against the Brahmins, would help Government by cutting the throats of their own contrymen. After giving an account of the meeting, he said he had never gone towards the shop and was at the meeting throughout and he gave a list of witnesses whom the Court could call if it wished.

Usmansaheb's Statement.

Accused Usmansaheb was then called upon to make his statement. He said he was the President of the Khilafat Committee Betigeri. Some three months ago Shivalingappa had sent one Moulasab and another to him to Betigeri with a message that the D. S. P. Marston wanted a she-buffalo for himself. They had come to Betigeri on Friday. He told the men that he had given a she-buffalo to a former D. S. P. and that for a long time he had not received the money for the same and that if money were give to him beforehand he would give the animal to him. The men went back to Dharwar to bring the money. Shivlinga then sent another constable with a letter to the effect that the she-buffalo should be sold in the name of the deponent's brother at Dharwar and that the money would be paid to him. This happened on Saturday and he purchased an animal for Rs. 90 and sent it to Dharwar the next day.

When the buffalo was taken to him Shivlinga told his brother to wait for a couple of days for the payment. Accused came to Dharwar a week later, as it was Ramjan and the accused with Shivlinga Sub-Inspector Mahomed Usman and one or two others went to the bungalow of the D. S. P. Marston. Umar told Marston that the accused wanted money for the buffalo and Shivlinga then told Marston that accused was the President of the Khilafat Committee at Betigeri and he it was who was responsible for the stoppage of liquor sales of the shop in that place. Marston asked the accused whether that was a fact and accused said "yes." Marston said the Congress and Khilafat workers were causing much loss to government. Accused then said that it was not a bad thing that liquor sales had gone down and that the poor people would bless them for that. Marston said what an insolent man the accused was and asked him whether he was a "padri". Accused said he was a "padri" by caste. Thereupon Marston said Painter had brought him to Dharwar to suppress the Congress and Khilafat activities, that he would do so in two months and that the accused should beware! Accused asked Marston why then the former authorities had given him 40 acres of land for his services. Marston told them to make away the buffalo and the animal was given to Shivlinga's house. Accused then asked Shivlinga to supply him with a couple of men to help him to take the animal and its calf to Betigeri and Shivlinga promised to do so the next day. The same day he again went to Shivlinga to send the animal to Betigeri the very day. Shivlinga asked him to come to Manikji Karaka's bungalow at 6 p. m. that day, where several other people would come and then take back the animal. When he went to Karaka's house he found there the Deputy Superintendent De Silva, Shivlinga, Dubois the Abkari Inspector, Karaka, Guffarsab, Dilawarsab and many other people who were witnesses in the present case. Shivalinga, Karaka and others told him that they would pay something to the Khilafat Committee if the accused would take away the volunteers from the shop. De Silva said Guffarsab was accused's father-in-law and asked how could accused make him suffer a loss. Accused said it was all a matter of religion and relationship did not matter in such a case. He also told him

that Gufarsab had landed property and other things and that he could live on those. Thereupon Shivlinga told De Silva that the accused had the support of the head-quarters' Sub-Inspector Sumant. Shivalinga also threatened him. On the day of firing he was at Betgeri and he said his prayers at the mosque there until 2 p. m. He named the persons who had seen him there that afternoon. After that he and some others decided a case from Saundatti and then went home. In the evening he went to the market at Betgeri to purchase oil for use in the mosque and the shop-keeper asked him to pay the outstandings. He then went to another shop and after conversing with his friends he returned to the mosque. After offering prayers he thence went home, supped and returned to the mosque where he and several persons were sitting together till 8 p. m. when he went to bed. At 9 a. m. the next day he came to know there was firing at Dharwar. He had taken no part in the proceeding, in either courts and he was absolutely innocent. The charge brought against him was false and he thanked Marston and Shivlinga for the trouble they had taken in the matter to bring him into trouble.

S. M. Munshi's Statement.

Accused Sultan Mohidin, Munshi of the Khilafat Committee, then made his statement. He had taken no part in his defence in either courts, he said and he was absolutely innocent. His reasons for their bringing this prosecution against him were the same as contained in Mr. Dabade's statement and he added that he was a pensioner. His pension was a small one and he had to do other work for his living. He tried hard to get a job in the Executive Engineer's office, Dharwar and in the Municipal schools, but without success. He worked in the census office in april last and the Dharwar Khilafat committee then offered him the post of Munshi and accused accepted. Before accepting it he had convinced himself that he would not have to do anything illegal or against his religion. The committee entrusted him with the duties of allotting work to Khilafat volunteers and arranging for different meetings. During

his time the volunteers were only entreating the people to desist from drink and were not doing so by force. He had not heard any complaints and as pleaders and educated people were helping the picketing movement the volunteers did nothing illegal and 85 to 90 per cent of people kept away from the liquor shops. They received invitations from the panchas of other lanes to picket near the shops there. People of other castes also gave up drinking and thus the sales of liquor went down by more than half. Liquor contractors then began accusing falsely the volunteers and began to send out of their shops illegally liquor and toddy. Liquor shops were kept open till eleven in the night and liquor was sold any time in the night after closing doors. Although the accused caught many such offenders Dubois the Abkari inspector let them off and on the other hand offered the accused bribes on behalf of the liquor contractors. The Town Police drank liquor freely and began to assault people as they liked. Constable Shabuddin had when drunk assaulted a boy with his belt and when the accused had handed the man to Shivlingappa that man held a sort of panchnama and did nothing further. Special police were appointed to force into the shops people who had gone away from the shops at the request of volunteers. He then made enquiries whether the terms of the license were altered but found that it was not so. On June 14 when he had been to supervise picketing he saw Manikji Karaka and Nanavaty get their servants to assault pleader Mr. Guttal. Two or three days later Nanavaty came to his house at night with other Moslems and offered him Rs. 500 for the Khilafat committee if he would get Mr. Guttal to stop picketing. Accused told they were Moslems and they would not behave like that in religious matters. Accused was a witness in the volunteer case and he was told by Shivlingappa a few days previously that he would get the volunteers sentenced to six months imprisonment and he also warned him to beware. Shivlingappa was also bragging about the town that if the agitators caused any trouble on the day of conviction he had received instructions from Mr. Marston how to deal with them. On July 1st he went to the Magistrate's court about 2 p. m. and as previously told by Shivalingappa the volunteers

were sentenced to six months' hard labour. Accused was stunned at this permission of justice and he wondered whether there was any object in establishing these two separate departments. Accused asked Abdulla volunteer to come a bit early in the evening as there was a meeting and there might be a disturbance near the liquor shop as there was no one to keep order there. Second Sub-Inspector Umar came to the meeting and sat near the accused Kamlapur when accused gave him a chair. Accused then gave an account of the meeting and said Abdulla came while Kamlapur was speaking and asked the accused what he should do as there was whistling from the police. After a time small wounded boys came there saying that the Police had fired on them and the meeting then dispersed. Dr. Shirhatti and others went to the dispensary. Some people then took away the lamp accompanied by Chavangowda Patil and Gilganchi who said they would bring the wounded people there. In the meanwhile there was more firing. While he was locking up the office Abdulla came there saying that he had been shot and Chavangavda and Gilganchi also went by the road shouting that the Police were firing indiscriminately at all persons going to the assistance of the wounded. Abdulla volunteer was taken to the dispensary by the accused and another. After attending the wounded till 10-30 p. m. accused went home. From the beginning till the end he was at the meeting and Mudvedkar and Deshpande were standing near him for sometime. The persons who were present at the meeting might give evidence that he was present at the meeting and many people might have said so before the Congress Committee but he did not wish to cite a single witness here in the court.

On the third he went to the market and there met Shivlinga who told him to go to the Police station as Painter wanted him there. He found a policeman following him. Painter was on the verandah and Mr. Kallolgi, Deputy Collector was inside. Kallolgi called him inside and said that nine Brahmins had been arrested by Mr. Painter and that he should get the Moslems to bear false witnesses against these persons and if he could do so no Moslem would be arrested. He refused and Kallolgi said it would be difficult then for him to live in Dharwar. Accused said he did not mind even if

he was sent out of India. Mr. Kallolgi then nodded his head and Mr. Painter told Shivlingappa that he could now arrest as many Moslems as he liked. That shook his faith in the investigations. Meanwhile three Moslems were brought under arrest and he would not say more as other accused would tell that. As Mr. Painter wanted Mr. Kallolgi he then nodded his head and he was arrested subsequently.

Damodar Herlekar's Statement.

He said he was perfectly innocent of the charges levelled against him and he was at a loss to know what mentality the prosecution possessed to bring such false charges against him. Most of the authorities were concerned in this case and they wanted to put down the national movements. Of the accused six were editors of papers, eight members of the Khilafat Managing Committee, three volunteers who picketed the liquor shops, five propagandists and the rest members of the District Congress Committee. As far as he knew no force or violence was used by the volunteers and the work was so well done that the sales of liquor fell down and the contractors applied to Government for refund of the part of their payment. Instead of helping them the officials did other things which roused the feelings of the people. They helped the contractor in getting up false complaints against the workers in movement and securing false evidence. In the Volunteer Case he was not believed because he had given his evidence wearing a Gandhi Cap. His hopes in British Justice were shattered on the day the volunteers were sentenced and he had come to believe that to defend himself before a British court was a sin and the charges brought against them showed that the authorities were the enemies of national workers.

When Mr. Guttal, pleader, saw the Superintendent Marston the latter told him that he knew the Brahmins were at the bottom of the anti-Drink Campaign and that in a short time he would see them all in the jail. Shivlinga had shown his eagerness to repeat the Malegaon incidents by saying in Dr. Shirhatti's Dispensary that

he would earn much money by producing false evidence. In the case the witnesses for prosecution would show that ninety per cent of them were the underlings of Shivlingappa and they were either afraid of being prosecuted or hated all the accused. The only independent witness for prosecution was Mr. L. G. Subnis who had been tendered for cross-examination only. Shivlingappa had created false evidence to save himself from the gallows. Both Gilganchi and Lingangowda were servants of the Municipality and accused was a prominent member of the same and had sanctioned the latter's dismissal for negligence of his duty which had caused the Municipality a loss of Rs. 800. The majority in the Municipality had sanctioned his dismissal while the Lingayat minority had voted against the proposal. On the day in question he had been to the meeting and had taken part in pacifying the crowd and for this he had been arrested by the police. He had been to the hospital in the night and when he asked the doctors to help the wounded in the town they said they had been instructed that afternoon to remain in the hospital and not to go out. He never remembered seeing any of the witnesses on the day in question near him although he knew most of them personally. He was innocent but he had not cared to defend himself as all his faith in British Justice was shattered. He had nothing but pity for his non-Brahmin friends for having allied themselves with the authorities and thus perjured themselves. As for himself he was perfectly innocent but preferred the life of a convict to that of living in a society consisting of such perjured people.

Shaik Mohidin Darji's Statement.

He said he was a member of the Dharwar Khilafat Committee and he was innocent. His statement was the same as that of Munshi Sultan saheb. Twice or thrice Shivlingappa and Karaka had called them and offered two thousand rupees and he had refused. He was then told that he could neither get money nor anything but would be sent to jail. Allah had told them that liquor drinking was sinful. He had never drunk liquor and since the beginning of

Islam they were prohibited drink. Panchas of every lane in Dharwar informed the Khilafat Committee and the drunkards were taken to task. He had told Dubois, Shivlingappa and Karaka that he could not take money to shield the murderer who had killed three persons and wounded 45 persons. Messrs. Painter and Marston had allowed false evidence to be created and in spite of the accuseds' repeated requests no independent commission had been appointed by the Governor. He was willing to defend himself before such an independent Commission. On the day in question he was present at a meeting of the *Jamat* to support the tongawallas up till 6-30 p. m. and after that he attended the meeting. He went near Abdulla Khalashi and sat there. When Kamlapur was speaking there was firing and meeting dispersed and the accused went to Shirhatti's dispensary to attend the wounded.

Chavangowda told him that the police had fired on him when he had gone with a kitson lamp to help the wounded. Accused was present at the dispensary till 11 p. m. Witnesses were deposing that all the accused were standing near the police and shouting about Malegaon and throwing stones and the wonder of it was that none of the accused was wounded by a single pellet. Were all the accused flying in the heavens that they should not be wounded? On July 4th he was taken to the police station and Shivlinga told Mr. Painter that accused was the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee and Mr. Painter told the Magistrate Kallolgi to arrest the accused. Thousands of people had seen the accused at the meeting and he was not at the place of rioting as the witnesses said. He was perfectly innocent.

Abdulla Khalasi's Statement.

Abdulla Khalasi aged 38 stated he was innocent and was Chairman of the Khilafat Committee and all the accused were connected with it in some way or the other. For the last three or four months the Committee had done its best to put down drinking and therefore the contractors began to hate them but ninety per cent of the Mahomedans gave up drink and thereby they benefitted much and their

children got clothes and proper food. Gafarsab was a liquor contractor and therefore he was boycotted by the Committee and he was refused permission to the mosque. He was, however, told by the police that he had every right to go to the public mosque and Shivlinga accompanied him with 20 or 25 police to the mosque but when the *Jamat* told him to go out Gaffarsab went away. Gaffarsab was asked to bear false witness against some of the volunteers but Gaffarsab came to the accused and confessed everything. Gaffarsab was then taken back into the community and Mr. Marston had often told the committee that he would punish them for their activities. Police purposely collected the crowd before the shop and committed their monstrous act of shooting innocent people in the dark. Karaka and Shivlinga had often tried to bribe them but they were unsuccessful. With a view to suppressing the movement to hide their crimes and to jail innocent people the present case had been brought forward. They also intended to put into jail all the Brahmin leaders in Dharwar. That was why the case had been brought forward against them. Hulkoti was specially appointed to prosecute to draw in the Lingayat witnesses. Krishnarao Mudwedker in spite of his being at Halyal was charged with being present at the place of rioting and nineteen witnesses had deposed to that effect in spite of that perjury nothing was done to those witnesses. Only two or three persons who were hit had been brought in as witnesses although as many as 45 had been wounded but the evidence of others had been taken down by the Congress Committee. He was at the meeting where he saw second Sub-Inspector Umar sitting opposite to him. They were collecting funds for the two volunteers who had been sent to prison. While Kamlapur was speaking there was firing and the meeting, dispersed. Accused went to Shirhatti's dispensary and stayed there till about 11 p. m. Many people had deposed to his presence at the meeting before the Congress Committee and he had never gone to the liquor shop that day. All the evidence brought against him was false as people concerned in this affair had been investigating in the matter.

Therefore he had no hopes of justice and he had not defended himself. Before this he had not known the benefits of non-co-

operation and Swaraj but now he had by this case known what was good in Swaraj and what was bad in foreign rule; and he was convinced that non-co-operation was the only remedy to get to their goal. He thanked all people who had perjured against him.

Abdul Kadar's Statement.

Abdul Kadar said he was innocent and was on the Khilafat Committee. He then gave an account of its activities and the reason for which it was hated by the police and the contractors. He had been to the resident Magistrates Court on July 1st. He went to the meeting that day and he gave an account of it and also the firing. He helped to bind the wounded at the dispensary till about 11 P. M. Many persons had deposed to put down the activities of the Khilafat Committee and witnesses against them were either gamblers or convicts or were actuated by caste hatred.

Mahomed Hussein Rotiwalla's Statement.

Mahomed Hussein Rotiwalla said he was perfectly innocent and was connected with the Khilafat Committee. Bomanjee Sorabji and Shivlinga had threatened him because he was picketing. Shivlinga had also warned him in the name of Mr. Marston. Accused was present at the meeting. He then gave an account of the meeting and said he was at the dispensary till 10 P. M. and people had given evidence to that effect before the Congress Committee. He was perfectly innocent.

Abdulrahiman's Statement.

Abdulrahiman Abdulsalam a volunteer said he was perfectly innocent and he agreed with the general statement of Dabde. Since he began picketing the sale of liquor had gone down and therefore he was hated by the contractor and officials. One day Mr. Painter came there and asked him what he was doing and accused told him that he was picketing and informing the *jamat* of the drinkers' names. Mr. Painter asked his chaprasi to drink but he refused and

Mr. Painter said he would make him drink at his bungalow and he would give his name to the *jamat*. Accused said he had enquiries in his own way and he did not care who Mr. Painter was and he did not also rely on his work. When Mr. Painter was there Karaka had told him false things against these volunteers. Since then stones and toddy were thrown at the volunteers. People were made drunk free of charge by contractors and police began to loiter there and threaten the volunteers. In spite of this all the volunteers went on with their work. Dubois, Bomanji, Karaka and others were there when toddy was thrown on them. Toddy was taken to the houses of the customers and Dubois did nothing to stop this. Dubois offered him Rs. 200 at his house as a bribe and accused refused it and was grieved at the evil intentions of the hired officers' feeling that it was due to foreign rule. Shivlinga had also offered him bribes on July 1st. He went to the shop and he was there threatened by Shivlinga and told that he would repent his doings and told the police that they should kick persons who stopped men from drinking and that they should finish with the pickets that very day. The constables came there and drank at the shop. They sat behind the shop and threw stones and the constables Shahabuddin and Abdul threw pieces of broken pots through the windows. The constables were too much drunk that one of them fell senseless. Two or three uniformed men were standing near the shop and as it grew dark more stones came from behind the shops. Fakira constable asked to stop(?) servant, to bring a lamp and Annapa set fire to *tatti* twice or thrice and put it out. Umar Sub-Inspector was told all this by accused before he went to the station. There were alarms then and Herlekar told the people that the police were hatching an infernal plot and the people should disperse. Many people dispersed and Shivlinga came there drunk and with armed men and Annapa had fallen senseless as he was dead drunk. Shivlinga said "let us finish with the volunteers for once." There were no stones thrown and nothing done and without giving notice he fired his pistol and thus gave the signal for firing. Gous fell dead when ten more persons fired at him at Shivlinga's command to shoot him down. Accused then fell down

wounded and lost his sense. Neither Karaka nor Nanavatty were there. There were no lights absolutely and it was impossible to recognise any persons. Shivalinga had shot down innocent persons and he had been charged because he wanted to give evidence but he had refused and the next day he was arrested.

Mr. Guttal's Statement.

He said he was innocent and was involved in this case by the Parsi liquor contractors and the district authorities because he used to take part in the anti-drink movement. He used to attend the liquor shops every day in the evening and used to preach about anti-drink and also non-violent non-co-operation to the volunteers. The picketing movement had become successful and by the end of May the sales of liquor had almost come to a standstill. Therefore the liquor contractors used to throw stones and mud at the pickets. Still the pickets never swerved from their duty. Therefore, the contractors took the officials into their confidence who supported false cases against the volunteers. He defended the case against volunteers along with other pleaders. He had occasion to see Marston in connection with the case against the volunteers. He found in his office Karaka and Prof. Moulvi holding some confidential talk with Marston. The accused asked the D. S. P. to put the case under section 384 and instruct Shivlinga accordingly. To his utter surprise the D. S. P. said "Go to Gandhi. I know you all and shall see that all those who are concerned in this anti-drink, Khilafat and Congress movements are prosecuted and sent to jail." The accused then went home and the case was heard by Magistrate Fernandes, although such cases were generally heard by the Bench Magistrates. During the hearing the Magistrate showed clear bias against the accused and the D. S. P. showed a great liking for the case by sitting in the court during the trial. One day Messrs. Desai and Deshpande were present in the court and the D. S. P. with the help of the prosecuting Sub-Inspector took down the names of all who were working for the accused. Desai who was cited for the prosecution as a witness was not called at his

own request. The defence tried their best to convince the magistrate that the case was a false one, but it was of no use and while matters stood thus Manekji Karaka and his servant Nanavaty got the deponent severely beaten on June 14 near the Hebli liquor shop. His left hand-bone was fractured and his right shoulder was severely injured. He was first removed to Dr. Shirhatti's dispensary, thence to Mr. Kabbur's house where he had to remain for a fortnight as he was too ill. These news were published both in the "Vijaya" and the "Bombay Chronicle." He was advised to proceed against Karaka and his servants. After a few days he heard that Manekji was trying to bring about a compromise by paying a sum to the Khilafat Committee. As he was bed-ridden he did not think it seriously. On the 29th June, he was removed to his own house and on the same day a representative of the "Rajahansa" showed him a letter which Manekji had written to the Editor that it was false that he was present when Mr. Guttal was beaten. He told the representative of the "Rajahansa" that it was false and that he was going to lodge a complaint against Karaka. A note was written by the Editor of "Rajahansa" in his paper accordingly in which it was stated that the true state of things would come out in the court. This note appeared twelve hours before the alleged riot took place. It showed two things—that accused was bed-ridden at the time of the alleged offence and that the prosecution had involved him in order to avoid the prosecution which he was going to launch.

The accused then gave an account of what happened on July 1. At 6-30 p. m. one Mr. Shurpali came to see him at his house and was there till 9 p. m. talking to him. The accused named also other persons who had seen him that night. The next day Dr. Sontakke examined him and said it would take several days more to have his wounds healed. All those persons had testified to that effect before the Congress Enquiry Committee. The case would show that the liquor contractors had purposely involved him by the number of witnesses who were servants of the contractors. One man could only identify him with difficulty and the other could not

do so at all. Nanawaty would have been prosecuted by him if accused had not been ill. The others were police constables. That was the way of evidence given by the witnesses against the various accused. As he was a practising pleader he could see that all that could afford a good defence for him that the evidence was false and that he could prove it successfully both by documentary and oral evidence. He had taken no part in the defence because the investigations were made by officials who were themselves criminals and he was therefore convinced that he would get no justice in the case.

Since he had come to this district Painter had done his best to put down all national movements and the advent of Marston had helped him a great deal in this. Painter was watching for an opportunity and the shooting on the first July must have been planned and executed by the officials. All the members of the Khilafat Committee, Editors, pleaders and the prominent picketing volunteers who would otherwise have given evidence against the officials had been arrested.

Firing.

The drama was played by Shivlinga on the 1st July. Of the 29 men arrested only two had been wounded a fact which could not be accounted for unless the Police were firing on people other than rioters. The wounded were the best persons to testify to the incidents of the day, but only a few had been brought forward of whom two were policemen and two Lingayats. Another important thing was that while there were so many policemen on the scene of the firing not a single person was arrested that night. The objects of the prosecution were three. The first was to crush the N. C. O. movement and other national movements, the second was to screen the officials from the acts of murder they had committed and the third was that certain persons had been committed to trial so that the enemies of the accused might give false evidence. As the principal offenders were highly placed officials, they had been able to create any sort of evidence they fixed. Moreover, the factions between the Lingayats and the Brahmins in the Municipality had given them a good handle. Though there was a barister, and a

public prosecutor with his three assistants, Hulkoti was selected to make the witness stick to their evidence. Almost all the witnesses in the case were either Lingayats or *badmashes*, friends of Shivlinga. Almost all of them were convicts. Nanavaty, Rudraya and others were not in Dharwar on the day of the rioting and evidence had been given to that effect by Mr. R. G. Sabnis. Witnesses had been got up by means of threats and accused were not allowed to have pleaders by refusing their entrance to the jail while the prosecution pleaders were allowed inside even without any passes. The prosecution knew what evidence there was to prove the innocence of the accused, because of Police Sub-Inspector had taken down all the evidence given before the Congress Enquiry Committee. The fact that Mr. L. G. Sabnis was not allowed to give his evidence and that Sub-Inspector Umar's name was not in the charge sheet did not show the anxiety of Government to do justice to the accused. The two Government communiques based on information supplied by the officials themselves proved that the case was false. On the 4th July Umar came to him, while he was lying on his bed and removed him to the police station and thence to the Jail. At the police station there was Painter, Marston, Smith, Benni, the chief officer of the Municipality and Lingangowda. On the 5th July he was examined by the Civil Surgeon who told him that as the blow was very severe the fracture was not only compound but that the bone had been crushed that it would have a permanent mark on his arm and also that it would take a long time to heal the wound. The Civil Surgeon would not give him a certificate unless the Sessions Judge called upon him to do so and the judge had refused to ask him for it. He did not understand under what law this decision had been arrived at by the judge. He had again asked the Civil Surgeon to give him a certificate with a view to prosecuting Manikji; but he was given a vague reply to the effect that it was not possible under the rules.

In conclusion he sincerely hoped that all the accused would be convicted, as the sentencing of innocent men alone would give a fresh impetus to the national cause. He was sure that all the 27 accused would come out of the jail as ardent patriots, ready to sacr-

ifice their lives for the country. He, therefore, thought that all the officials concerned in the case and their allies the Lingayats had helped to create patriots in the country. May God bless them and give them long life and prosperity" concluded the accused Mr. Guttal.

Mr. Desai's Statement.

Mr. Hanmantrao Desai, a landlord and pleader, said he was perfectly innocent and not guilty of the offences with which he was charged. On 1st July he was at home till about 3 p. m. and then went to the Mitra Samaj on his cycle. He remained there till about 5-30 p. m. and went to his bungalow, whence he returned after an hour to the Mitra Samaj. At the Mitra Samaj, there were Messrs. Kulkarni, Deshpande, Sidenur, Mudwedker, Dixit, Yatgiri, Sawkar, all pleaders stayed there for some time and then walked across to the library where he met Mr. J. H. Betigeri, the Subordinate Judge. He was in the library till 8 p. m. the closing time, and he was seen there by several persons whom he named. From the library he came back to the Mitra Samaj and he met Mr. Betigeri there again, along with others. At about 8-10 p. m. he started for his home with some others—Dr. Kirloskar and Sawkar and they met several persons on the way whom the accused named. He then went home.

Continuing said the accused he was not a non-co-operator, neither had he interested himself in the movement of picketing near the liquor shops. He was the owner of three villages and his income from them was Rs. 7,000 per year. For 13 years he was a member of the Municipality and there was a bitter party feeling in the Municipality for some time. There have been two parties—one led by Hulkoti, for the Lingayats and the other belonging to the Brahmins. Messrs. Deshpande, Herlekar and he were the active members and party feeling against Brahmins had been very bitter since last year. Herlekar had made a very severe report based on the audit report of the Local Fund Examiner against Benni the Chief Officer, Lingangowda Patil the Sanitary Inspector and a

co-opted Lingayat member, Mugappa. It was recommended that Benni should revert to his original post and that the services of the Sanitary Inspector should be dispensed with. The report was approved of by the majority on the Managing Committee, the Lingayat Minority writing a minute of dissent. The report was adopted and the remarks of the minority were expunged in the general meeting. The party spirit in the Municipality had been noted by successive collectors and the anti-Brahmin spirit had also extended outside the Municipality. That was why the non-Brahmins were so many among the witnesses. The Police authorities had suspected him of tampering with witnesses in the volunteers' case, and that was an additional cause why he had been charged with in this case. He had no connection with the volunteer case at all, and although he had been asked to give evidence he had not done so at his own special request to the defence in that case. He intended making his defence in this case, but his pleader Mr. Kargudri died suddenly a few days before and he was refused a postponement to enable him to get legal help. The refusal of his application by the Sessions Judge had made him utterly helpless in the matter. Placed as he was, he prayed the court would call some of the witnesses stated by him and examine them. If that was done his innocence would be completely proved. He once again declared before God that he was perfectly innocent, and the offences with which he was charged were such that he could never even dream of committing them. He felt confident that he would get justice in the court.

Daroga's Statement.

Abdulla Wajudin Daroga, aged 18, Khilafat Volunteer said he was innocent. On the day of the riot he had been to the jail and there saw Yusuf and another constable throwing stones at the jail. Sultan Master dispersed the crowd by asking them to go home quietly. He then went to the liquor shop to picket and there were policemen standing there. The

people were shouting "Gandhi Maharaja ki jai", etc. He saw the Police constables—Annappa and another set fire to the tatti and put it out. Shivalingappa fired his revolver first and that was a signal for Police firing. There was no necessity for firing and if his evidence were believed it would be proved that Shivalinga had murdered three men for nothing. A buck shot had hit him on the mouth and the bullet was there still; he had lost four teeth there by. He had been asked to give false evidence by Shivalinga but he had refused and he was arrested. The two men who had deposed before the Congress Committee, that he was picketing before the Hubli shop had since been arrested and charged before the Magistrate.

Budan's Statement.

Budan Chandulal said, he was innocent. He had gone to see the trial of the volunteers on July 1. At 2 p. m. the sentence was pronounced and accused returned home. At about 5-30 p. m. he was setting in his shop and went to the meeting later and as there were very few persons he went to the Khilafat library, where many persons were reading. He then went to the meeting and brought a chair for Second Sub-Inspector Umar. He then gave an account of the meeting and said after the wounded people had come from the direction of the liquor shop, the meeting dispersed. After the people had dispersed he remained on the spot to look after the furniture which with the assistance of several persons he took back to the Khilafat Library. When he was there Abdulla Daroga came there crying and told him that he had gone to the liquor shop to see the fun there, that he had been fired at and that the bullets had struck him. People collected there to have a look at the wounds and in a short time Gilganchi and Patil returned to the place after having been fired at by

the Police. They complained they had been fired at although they had gone to look after the wounded. He went to Dr. Shirnatti's dispensary and from there to his house at about 10-30 p. m. Shivalinga came in a motor to his shop one day from the direction of Trilochan's shop. It was about 11-30 a. m. He asked accused to go to the Police station and there sit in the temple. The accused did so and Shivlinga did not turn up till 1 p. m. when Shivlinga and Chanvirappa a Lingayat came there. They entered the formers's house. What the accused was stating was all true. After a short time Chanvirappa left the house and Janisab came to Shivalinga's house and he called the accused inside. He went inside and Janisab was sitting outside and Lalsab was standing out together with Daramiya. Shivalinga asked him to give false evidence accusing Rotiwala, Mahomedsab Soudagar and one or two others. Accused was frightened and he stared at Shivlinga. Shivlinga asked him to say that Abdul Rahman was pouring oil and setting fire to the shop and that two others (Brahmins) were inciting the people to do so. Accused refused to give false evidence, and said he would only tell the truth. Shivlinga asked what he was going to state and accused said that some of the accused were with him at the meeting and the others he had not seen. How could he tell a falsehood he asked. Shivlinga then threatened to send him to jail unless he told the Court what he wanted. Shivlinga said he would get two or three persons to give false evidence against the accused and put him into the jail. Shivalinga then asked him to get out and the three persons standing out asked him to do what Shivlinga had told him to do; they said they themselves had agreed to do what was required. Accused refused and went home. On the 13th Annappa, Shabudin and Fakirappa came to his shop and told him that Shivlinga wanted him at the Police Station. Accused refused to go and said that it was

Bhise's Statement.

Narsing Narayan Bhise said in the course of his statement:—

He was a Maratha by caste and he had worked as a clerk in this Court and several others for the last five or seven years. When he was in service seeing the mean doings of the pleaders and the clerks he got disgusted and he resigned his post. As he could not bear to see the high-handed actions of the officers, pleaders and others he resigned his post and began to take part in the movement for the improvement of his country. He was telling the people not to bear false witness, not to do bad things, not to enter Government service, etc,

Judge : Is that not Non-Cooperation ?

Accused: It might be. But I did not call it so before. Seeing the sufferings of his country and the doings of the bureaucracy and pleaders resigned his post to serve the country. He was disgusted with their doings altogether. He then joined the Vidyaprasarak Mandali of Marathas with a view to doing some work for his people. But as he could not agree with the Committee there he had to give it up. The members of that body were officials, some were municipal members, some were pleaders and all hated the Brahmins absolutely. He wanted to attend the All-India Maratha Educational Conference at Dhar as a delegate from Dharwar, but some of the witnesses in the case, Suryavanshi, pleader, Gopalrao, gymnastic teacher in the Training College, and others managed to stop that. He was asked to give his vote to the non-Brahmin candidate Mr. Krishnaji's brother. But accused refused, as non-Brahmins were not doing their work properly. They threatened him to cut off his hands and feet and throw him in a tank. He refused to give his vote to such useless persons. As they agreed to do good to the people, he subsequently gave them his vote. Keshav threatened him because he had spoken against the non-Brahmin Conference as it was not really for their good, but was held on account of their hatred of Brahmins. On the same day Hulkoti and Patil, pleaders, Shankrapa's brother, Ramchandra

rakirapa, Court clerk, and others warned him that he would not escape out of this. He toured the whole district to secure votes for Congressmen in the Council and at that time Hulkoti and Kambli were standing as non-Brahmin candidates. They had to look to the good of the country and not to non-Brahmins as such. Hulkoti and others got the accused and another beaten on account of their enmity. Rudraya a witness in the case, and another man tried to assault him once and Basapa, brother of witness Shankrapa, beat him. Pandurang Jamadar and Gopalrao had threatened to jail him. Accused was lecturing on temperance and helping picketing for some time. The Parsi contractors threw a squib at him while he was lecturing and they also got him assaulted by their servants. Many pickets and Guttal, pleader, were assaulted on the same day. He learnt at Alnavar and Uppin Betigeri that Fernandez, the Mamlatdar of Dharwar, was telling people that they should bring some false charges against the pickets so that he could convict them. The accused then gave an account of his doings on July 1. All the witnesses were false—they were either servants of the liquor contractors or contractors themselves, or persons boycotted for drinking liquor or Lingayats and Marathas who hated them; the rest were policemen. He had heard that Keshav and Basapa, municipal members, were going to Shivlinga's office and conspiring whom and how to bring their enemies into trouble.

Shivlinga wanted him. He went to the Police *chowki* and sat on the *Katta* there till sunset. Smith and Shivlinga went inside the house and after a time the former left telling the latter that he could do as he liked. Shivlinga called a head constable and asked him to take the accused to the lock-up. About 10-30 p. m. Shivlinga came there and told the Naik to take the accused to the temple in the compound. Accused was taken inside and there were Shivlinga and Karaka and two Lingayats. Shivlinga had a revolver in his hand and accused was frightened. He knew the two. Lingayat, Shetti was sitting in the chair. Shivlinga again asked him

to bear false witness, otherwise he would be put into the jail. Shetti and Karaka then took him aside and advised him to give evidence as the Sub-Inspector wished, or he would be sent to jail. Accused refused and Karaka and Shetti gave him two or three blows on the stomach and told him to go. They then arrested him and the next day he was handcuffed at about 10-30 a. m. and taken to the temple. None of the accused except the volunteers had been hit by bullets. How was it, the accused asked, that the others had not been hit? The authorities should also look into this circumstance the wounded persons had been let off and those who were not at the place of rioting had been arrested. Three men had been killed and 80 to 50 persons had been wounded and the Sub-Inspector and the authorities had prosecuted the accused to conceal their own crimes. He himself was innocent.



DOOR OF TODDY SHOP.

Photographed on 2-7-21.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN GERMANY

by

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LONDON : GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

RUSKIN HOUSE

40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1

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FOREWORD.

THIS little study does not claim to do more than throw some light on a few of the main tendencies in Social Reconstruction in Germany. It is not in any way critical or comparative. The literary material available is very limited; with the result that the following chapters are in parts, at any rate, rather sketchy.

In spite of these limitations, I feel strongly that information of this kind should be placed before the public of this country, in order that they may know a little more of what is really going on in Germany.

At any moment the pressure of events may produce catastrophies in Germany which will nullify the orderly, yet often very fundamental, reforms described in this study. But if a wise Statesmanship is able to safeguard the stability of a democratic government, it would seem highly probable that these beginnings will play an important part in the upbuilding of the new Germany.

MEYRICK BOOTH.

Letchworth, May, 1919

Social Reconstruction in Germany.

I.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WAR.

THE war, as would naturally be expected, greatly accelerated the already prevailing tendency towards collectivism in Germany. The social experiments of the years 1914-18 are certain to have a most important influence on the future structure of German society; more especially as it has quite recently been stated officially (by the Secretary of State, A Müller, in January, 1919) that many of the most comprehensive steps taken in the direction of collectivist organisation have proved so useful that their abandonment is not contemplated.

The federal character of Germany made it perhaps only natural that the authorities should leave it to the separate localities to work out their own methods of dealing with the social difficulties arising from the war. *The principle throughout, was to call forth local effort by means of a policy of decentralisation.* This applies to the whole sphere of relief work and social organisation for "welfare" purposes. The various cities and districts elaborated quite different methods for dealing, for example, with unemployment, housing, credit and the provision of coal and clothing. One of the results of the war in Germany, therefore was to open up an immense field for social experiment. Never before have so many different plans of social organisation been tested in practice.

In the early stages of the war, unemployment was extensive (especially, of course, in the export industries and in the cotton trade); and a number of valuable experiments were made in methods of dealing with it. Many of these are described in a little book by P. Hirsch, a socialist writer. [*Kommunale Kriegsfürsorge:—Soz. Dem. Gemeinde-Politik; Heft 17. 1915.*]

It was agreed in Cassel that no overtime should be worked, so as to absorb more labour; and in Berlin-Schöneberg and Nuremberg the hours were shortened with the same object. In many places agreements were made between the municipality

and the private employers, whereby the latter agreed to take on extra hands; and in some cases money was lent by the town to employers to promote building, etc. There was often a very close co-operation between municipalities and the various local bodies, such as trades unions, churches, chambers of commerce, building societies, credit banks, etc. In this way the importance of the municipality as a focus of social effort and organisation received a very powerful impetus. Strasburg, Weissenfels, Mainz, Görlitz and Nuremberg are mentioned in this connection, amongst others. Building work was provided in Brunswick, Cassel, Düsseldorf, Essen and Frankfurt. In Nuremberg large sewing-shops (for Red Cross work) were started by the town authorities.

The wages and grants given were often graded according to the number of children in the employee's family (a principle which became increasingly significant as the war continued; and one fraught with deep consequences).

The local insurance institutions (often associated with particular cities, provinces or districts—such as Brunswick or Thuringia) came in to help the municipalities with loans and credits for the purposes of social relief or welfare organisation. A series of cities started credit banks to help people in temporary difficulties owing to war conditions. These banks were supported in many cases by the city authorities, as well as by the ordinary banks and by private capitalists. In Saxony, for example, a large and intricate organisation of this sort was established.

Another activity of the municipalities was the guaranteeing of house accommodation to those adversely affected by the war; and the prevention of profiteering by house owners.

Much more might be said upon the topic of municipal and other local social work during the war. But the main trend is already perhaps fairly clear. As Hirsch writes in the work above mentioned: "There can be no question about the victory of the socialist idea, or with regard to the amazing success of socialistic municipal policy." He lays weight, too, on the great object lesson in *solidarity* afforded by the organised feeding of the people through the local authorities. (It is quite likely that the gradual development of socialism of this sort during the war played a part in preparing the path of the revolution, accustoming the mind of the people to the idea of a new order and helping to eliminate class distinctions.)

In the light of the foregoing, we see that there arose in Germany during the war a vast social welfare organisation, centralised quite loosely, but really rooted in the separate localities and moulded according to their specific needs. This organisation was the creation of voluntary activity, and was of a thoroughly elastic character. It was closely connected with the local councils, and with such bodies as trades-unions, women's guilds, co-operative societies, people's building-societies, chambers of commerce, local insurance companies, people's banks and credit institutions; and was assisted by expert advice from universities, technical schools, doctors, architects, and so on. Even before the war, as is well-known, Germany had made long strides in the direction of the collectivist type of social life; and the real significance of these developments is that they constitute another, and most decisive stage, in the same movement. Under the pressure of war conditions, the German people, of their own initiative, and through local bodies, evolved a complex and vigorous organism for maintaining the social and economic life of the community. Even in 1915 and 1916, economists and sociologists of mark—such as Jaffé, of Munich, and Plenge, of Münster—emphasised the fact that the country would emerge from the war, as, in the main, a socialist community. Great stress has been laid by most commentators on the efficiency and popularity of the new developments in the direction of local socialism; and on the fact that a machinery has been brought into being which in the future cannot be dispensed with.

The present very difficult conditions in Central Europe make it all the more probable that the social welfare organisation will be retained, and even further developed. It is true that its success, of which so much has been said in Germany, is not momentarily apparent; but there seems every reason to suppose that when the country pulls itself together the system built up in the last few years will be found to have become an established part of the social life of the nation. It has already become so thoroughly familiar to the people that they would hardly consider a return to the older more competitive conditions. And, further, it is warmly supported especially by those sections of the nation—the Socialists and advanced Radicals—who are now in control.

* * * *

As an example of efficient social organisation we may take

the case of Remscheid—a Westphalian iron town of about 80,000 inhabitants. Here every family was guaranteed full maintenance and rent ; while at the same time, of course, all who could work had to do so. The idea was to keep each family up to the social level to which they had been accustomed. No poor relief was given. The municipality made itself responsible for all soldier's dependents (with the exception of a few special cases who, for various reasons, came under private protection). Medical treatment, dental care, and milk, when necessary, was ensured for every inhabitant of Remscheid ; and an arrangement was made for sending sick and weakly children to health resorts. In the case of the families of deceased soldiers, the town made up any difference between what the family earned and what they had received while the father was serving with the forces (this was planned as a permanent scheme—but I do not know whether it still holds good). If the man was disabled the town undertook the entire care of the family. At the head of the Remscheid welfare organisation was a central office and committee, working through fifty-five local centres, each with a woman head and two to seven women assistants. The branch centres reviewed all the circumstances in their area, and reported to the head office, which took the needful decisions. In Remscheid, as in many other towns, some of the assistance was given in coupons exchangeable for food or clothing only, and replacing cash.

II.

EDUCATION.

THE most interesting educational movement which took place in Germany during the war was the widespread demand for the *Einheitsschule* (United School)—a demand supported by such leading lights in the scholastic world as Rein, Natorp and Kerschensteiner, as well as by the vast majority of teachers. According to this plan all children, entirely irrespective of social class, are to pass through the same school, from the age of six to about 14 or 15. In this early stage of education a sorting-out will take place; and those alone who are fitted to do so by ability and character will go on to higher schools. It is hoped to ensure that practically all really able girls and boys will thus obtain a higher education, while at the same time there will be a check upon the entrance of unsuitable, but financially fortunate youngsters into the higher schools.

The cry for the *Einheitsschule* was, however, only part of a much wider movement centring about the motto *Aufstieg der Begabten* (Ascent of the Able) for which Bethmann Hollweg was responsible, in a speech delivered in September, 1916. A very influential committee was formed to weigh the problems: How can children of ability be distinguished? and: How can they best be helped forward with their education so as to be certain of attaining the social position corresponding to their natural qualities? An immense amount of literature came out dealing with these points. The phrase *Aufstieg der Begabten* was the keynote of the most important educational reforms attempted during the war. It was not, however, highly favoured by the socialists, who perceived the danger that, in spite of an outwardly democratic character, this kind of educational movement might in practice drain the best brains out of the working-class and put them at the service of the upper-classes. What their attitude will now be, when they have themselves a large control of the machinery of government, is a matter of great interest. One would imagine that their hostility will be modified, as the old socialistic opposition to the governing elements tends to disappear.

It might be thought that the "United School" would tend too much in the direction of a cast-iron uniformity in the treatment of children of various types. In the opinion of its advocates, however, it would have the opposite effect. It is claimed that when all the children are together it will be far easier to study them comparatively and to separate those who need special conditions. Much loss of time and money will moreover be avoided. The formation of small classes will be facilitated; and there will be special classes for backward and also for markedly able children (as there have been at Mannheim for some years). The cleverer boys and girls will receive preparation for the higher schools while still at the "United School." The sifting-out process will be a difficult and responsible task; and it has been proposed to rely upon the teachers' judgment more than upon examinations.

The economic difficulties in the way of this scheme—involving, as it does, nothing less than the right of every boy or girl, even of the poorest parents, to an education suited to his or her ability—are of course enormous. The exact manner in which the "United School" system would be worked out is still a matter of discussion; but it has been widely suggested, with reference to the economic problem, that free places should be created at the higher schools; and that, where needful, grants should be made to the parents to do away with the suffering resulting from the withdrawal of the child from wage-earning work.

Some practical beginnings in the above direction were made during the war. In Strasburg (Alsace) the *Bürger-schulen*—equivalent to the municipal secondary schools here—were closed to all children, save those who had previously satisfied the teachers in the elementary schools of their ability to profit fully by a secondary education. Where necessary free tuition, and help for the parents were provided. Soon after the new system commenced, the percentage of working-class children in the *Bürgerschulen* rose from about five to about 20. In Prussia, too, a regulation was introduced in 1917 to ensure that the conditions of entrance into the higher schools should be so modified that it would be possible for children of the poorer classes to be passed on.

Many suggestions were put forward, too, with the object

of making the rigid examination system in connection with the civil service and the law much more elastic, in order that boys of real ability who have not been able to secure the educational advantages necessary for taking these examinations shall nevertheless not be debarred from giving their services to the state in these professions.

All through the German educational literature published in the years 1914-18, there runs the refrain "Training for the Service of the Community." As in other departments of life, so in education, the crisis through which the nation was passing imperatively drew attention to the significance of social solidarity. One of the most striking results of this awakening in the educational sphere was the starting of several large institutions—practically universities—for training well-educated girls in "Community Service." The special aim of these is to raise such subjects as child-welfare work, housing reform, poor relief and factory welfare work to an academic level—to study them with the same care given to engineering or medicine. There is no competition with the ordinary universities, which are open to women who wish to go in for the regular academic studies. The idea is to deepen and systematise the education of those "womanly" girls, who would like to take up a line of work more in accordance with the natural instincts of their sex. It is felt that here a great need exists. Moreover, the war opened up an immense field of social service for persons trained in this way. A supply of competent helpers is one of the needs of the huge social organisation indicated in the foregoing chapter—an organisation which may very probably become permanent.

One of these institutions was opened in Hamburg in 1917; and placed under the control of Gertrud Bäumer (a well-known woman's welfare worker, associated with Naumann's paper *Die Hilfe*) and Marie Baum. It has a two years' course in *Wohlfahrtspflege* (welfare work in general) followed by a "social-pedagogical" course of 18 months, or two years, in certain special branches of this kind of work—such as the care of children, the management of unemployment bureaux, and the supervision of housing conditions. The courses are connected closely with actual social work in Hamburg, and with other educational bodies in the same city.

Another similar training course was started during the war at Mannheim. Here we have a year of general social work, followed by 18 months specialisation. The year can, if desired, be taken alone. The girls entering must be over 18 and have completed a higher school education. The aim of the Mannheim course is described as preparation for "Community Service." The fees are £10 per annum, the students living independently.

At Cologne, the Technical College for Communal Organisation has developed a special Women's Technical College. This has for its purpose the training of educated girls for places as organisers and supervisors in all sorts of social and municipal work; and in general the education of women in matters social and political. The courses may be attended by outsiders wishing to acquire knowledge of this kind. At the end of two years a diploma examination is held.

Several other institutions on these lines were established while the war was in progress—in Berlin,* Dresden and elsewhere. In addition to these a large number of small private training colleges for girls, with similar aims, are now in existence.

A very useful sidelight on the ideals underlying educational work of the above type is provided in a little book by Gertrud Bäumer (referred to above in connection with the Hamburg College and now one of the pioneer women members of the Assembly) called *Weit hinter den Schützengraben* (1915) ("Far behind the Trenches").

The problems of the future will demand all the resources of the nation; and it is therefore essential, she argues, that women should be co-workers with men. They must share freely in the government and administration of the country. It is peculiarly needful that in this great task women should make a specific contribution of their own. They must not imitate men. They must not let themselves be submerged in the mechanism of a civilisation unsuited to their gifts. It will be the duty of German women to bring a humanising influence into political and economic life. The personal element in civilisation should be more fostered; and perhaps

* At Berlin-Schöneberg there is a first year course in social welfare-work, followed by a second year of special study in such branches as poor relief organisation, social investigation, the management of unemployment offices, children's welfare work, factory organisation, etc. There is, if desired, a third year course of practical training.

the special function of the modern woman will be to fuse the systematic and the personal, thus harmonising and deepening the life of the nation.

The same ideal of women's work, it may be noted in passing, is put forward by Prof. W. Stern, a leader of the *Frauendienstpflicht* movement (Compulsory National Service for Women),* who gives as the motto of this movement: "The incorporation of the personal sense of love and duty in the impersonal tasks of the community."

Gertrud Bäumer, like most German social reformers, lays great weight on the maintenance of the family, and on the importance of a normal (that is a moderately high) birth-rate. She believes it will be needful for Germany, after the war, to maintain a vigorous and growing population; not mainly from a military standpoint, but chiefly for social and economic reasons. Some space is devoted, at the beginning of her book, to protesting warmly against the idea that women should be called upon to produce children for political purposes, that they should be purveyors of "cannon-fodder": she insists that motherhood is to be valued and encouraged not for such reasons, but because it is the expression of a deep human need and a great factor in the development of woman's life.

* * * *

During the war there was, as would be expected, no lack of militarist tendencies in education; although no actual alterations in the way of militarising the schools seem to have been carried through. It was one of the main objects of the ultra-nationalist party in the educational world to establish a German *Gymnasium*: a type of school in which the curriculum should be based essentially upon German traditions, in place of classics, and in which the whole outlook should be strongly national. Had the revolution not taken place, this aim would very likely have been attained.

On the other hand, there was a strong anti-militarist

* The idea of a year's National Service for women (falling probably between the ages 18-21) was much discussed during the war. It was extensively proposed to make this a part of the regular system of German life. The service would consist of municipal and social work of various kinds (e.g. helping in communal kitchens or crèches); or, according to another tendency within the movement, of a year's training in domestic and hygienic subjects. The Socialists, however, were more in favour of a continuation of school education in place of a special year of this kind.

effort on the part of the more enlightened educators; and many books and articles were published in which the dangers of militarism and nationalism in education were made clear. Dr. Piloty wrote, for example, in the review *Nord und Süd*, in September 1914, that "while education must begin with the life of our own people, it must never leave out of sight the peaceful co-operation of the nations of the world." "In the twentieth century we shall see," he says, "the attempt of the German people to build up a new political society. Education is developing in the direction of 'education for the state'; throughout the whole people we must more than ever think of the community first. Every boy should understand how he is related to the other classes in the nation; what they do for him and what he can do for them. But beyond this, every individual should learn to understand the relation of his nation to other nations and the inter-dependence of modern states. The crude notion that nations exist in order to enter into conflict with each other, must gradually vanish from the world of politics, and must be replaced by the knowledge that that nation is the most powerful which has the most and best to give to the others, and that the *Kultur* of a people is mainly distinguished through those universal values and goods, spiritual and material, which the rest of the world seeks and finds within its frontiers." Real education will, therefore, be an education not only for the State but for the whole of humanity.

Throughout the war much work in the educational world was accomplished by Professor F. W. Foerster of Munich (now a leader in Bavarian politics) who unceasingly strove to counteract the militarist element in the schools and universities, and to proclaim the immense importance of keeping alive, even in the midst of the conflict, the spirit of international unity. His influence with the academic youth of Germany, in particular, is extensive; and he has played an important part in encouraging the growth of a new and genuine progressive movement in German education. His contribution has not been so much in connection with any specific type of reconstruction, as in the direction of an immediate religious and moral stimulus.

A most interesting development of quite modern tendencies in German education is the movement in favour of *Volkshochschulen* (People's Colleges), institutions closely resembling the well-known Danish High Schools for the people. It is proposed to start a number of very simple colleges (two or three are already in existence) preferably in beautiful scenery and remote from towns, where those unable to afford university training, and especially young hand-workers, will be able to retire for a short period (possibly four or six months) of purely educational work. Under these circumstances, residing in a community in association with cultured men and women and away from the influences of industrialism, it is believed that a much greater educational result can be obtained than is possible through the medium of any mere continuation classes or short congresses. The object is not economic. Weight is to be laid upon such subjects as history, literature, social reform, ethics, philosophy and religion (in the widest sense of the term). Under the limitations inevitable in such short courses it would hardly be practicable to impart any very extensive knowledge, in the academic sense; and promoters of the movement disavow this aim, expressing the opinion that their most useful task will be the drawing out of personality and the opening up of new outlooks. Their purposes are moral and spiritual rather than utilitarian or intellectual. Especially important is the arousing of a new vision. It is not in the least desired that those taking these courses should thereby better themselves socially; since it is one of the specific aims of the movement to train a nucleus of workers who will return to their own class endowed with fresh capacity and insight with which to assist their comrades to solve their own problems. As one of the organisers of the movement, Eduard Weitsch (writing in the monthly *Die Tat*, July 1918), says: It is desired that workers should acquire; "a deeper perception of their own daily work," that they should; "do what is usual in an unusual spirit." The aim, says Weitsch, is to build up "islands in the midst of the great sea of popular thoughtlessness"; to create "leavening personalities." It is of importance to emphasise that the movement expressly repudiates any "tendency" in a social or economic sense. They are not endeavouring to instil special teaching of any kind, or to forward any class interests. The supporters of the movement are mainly idealists associated with educational and academic work; and strong social reformers. The review *Die*

Tat has for years strongly backed up this work ; and has played a considerable part in making it popular in Germany.

In September 1918, a strong committee was founded to proceed with the establishment of more of these institutions. It contains the names of some influential people in the educational world ; e.g. Prof. P. Natorp, Dr. Stein, and Dr. Buchenau.

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Another striking manifestation of the new spirit in Germany is seen in the widespread formation of Guilds and Leagues for People's Education and of Guilds of Artists and *Kulturarbeiter* (cultural workers). These are inspired by a very strong democratic feeling. There has just been formed, for example, in Karlsruhe, a *Kunst und Kulturrat für Baden* (Baden Council of Artists and Cultural Workers) under the leadership of Dr. Richard Benz [supported by Hans Thoma (the artist), Ernst Kriek, Dr. L. Ziegler, and many other well-known men] the aims of which are as follows : Accepting the basis of the People's Commonwealth, the promoters express the conviction that all efforts to build up the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation must be based upon the creation of higher conditions of work and life for those sections of the people who, under the old state of things, were shut out from participation in the higher life of the nation. The council will endeavour to fill this improved material framework with moral and spiritual values. Its aim is the building up of a unified culture for the whole people. The mental heritage of the nation and of humanity must be made available for all, without question of rank or wealth. Amongst others, the council puts forward the following proposals : All state and municipal institutions of an educational description should be free and open to all classes ; this includes concerts, theatres, galleries, &c. There must be People's Theatres, open free of charge, where the best that is known in the drama will be at the disposal of all ; and where young artists and musicians can come into contact with the public—these buildings will be churches of dramatic and musical art, rather than theatres in the present-day sense. The establishment of free public training colleges for art, music, and literature. One of the outstanding recommendations of the council is that artists and scientists, who it is assumed cannot do their best work under the pressure of

competition, should be supported by the community and thus obtain leisure for their highest achievement. The work produced would be the property of the commonwealth, who would retain all copyrights, &c., in return for the public support accorded to the artists. In this way alone it is suggested will it be possible to attain a democratic development of art and science. The council intends to begin by re-modelling the existing conditions in Baden in accordance with the above ideals, thus gradually preparing the way for reforms which cannot be suddenly initiated. Careful consideration is now being given to the first practical steps. A very large number of teachers, artists, professors, writers, &c., in Baden are working for the council.

The foregoing will no doubt seem very Utopian, especially in view of the difficult conditions prevailing in Germany ; and it may be long before such plans can be actualised. But it is important that work of this sort should be known ; as it throws a very clear light on the enthusiasm and thoroughness with which no inconsiderable number of German intellectuals are taking up the ideal of a German democratic commonwealth.

In Hamburg, too, leaders of the scientific and artistic life of the city have formed a " Guild of Mental Workers " and have set forth a program of drastic reforms. In the forefront stands " a reconstruction of economic forces promoting the unfoldment of all creative forces and rendering possible for all citizens a richer individual life, accompanied by an increased sense of responsibility." They also advocate the socialisation of industry ; and the provision of equal educational opportunities for all, including the establishment of People's Colleges. Other points are the reform of the press (moral, economic and technical) ; the humanisation of the penal system ; the promotion of public health ; the purification of sex morality ; and the separation of Church and State. The concluding points are the establishment of a German republic based upon " the historically developed Peoples Guilds " ; and the building-up of a League of all the civilised nations.

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Reviewing some of the available literature dealing with educational problems which has been published in Germany

during the last three or four years, one is struck chiefly by the following tendencies (all of which date from before the Revolution).

A most keen and widespread realisation of the absolutely central importance of education for the entire future of the people. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a development of German education is envisaged which shall carry with it an elevation of the whole mass of the nation to *a new mental and economic level*. In a cultural, if not always in a political sense, the prevailing note is thoroughly democratic. The idea of a small class enjoying advantages denied to the broad mass of the people is quite alien to the modern German outlook. The nation is permeated deeply by the conception of a general diffusion of all the goods of civilisation—material and mental—throughout the entire community.* While Anglo-Saxon democracy is more political in type and is directed especially towards the acquisition of freedom for the individual; German democracy is more concerned with the raising of all to co-operation in a single progressive task—in which education plays a first part.

In close connection with this characteristic follows a second; namely, that modern German educational work is not to be understood apart from the evolving social organism of which it is a vital portion. For many years German life has been taking on more and more the form of the co-operative commonwealth. Under the shadow of the empire this process was steadily going on. The people were ripening for the task of building up a social life of a new kind. It is in the light of this fundamental fact that the educational reform work must be considered. The whole educational system pivots about the idea of social solidarity. The main educational goal is the training of each individual to co-operate with his fellow-citizens within the framework of an organic social structure.

*Prof. Troeltsch, the Heidelberg theologian, looks upon the spreading of high-class art and literature amongst the mass of the people as one of the most important manifestations of the life of present-day Germany. An army of publishers and associations pour out an unceasing stream of cheap editions of world classics and of reproductions of famous works of art. He especially mentions the work of the *Kunstwart* and the *Dürerbund*.

III.

THE FAMILY.

IN all the German social reform literature the family occupies a very prominent place. For many years the birth-rate question has greatly agitated the public; and the sociological and reform periodicals have printed innumerable articles dealing with it in every aspect. Many books were brought out during the war on the same topic. The points of view from which the problem is approached are of course various. There is the political-military, or "cannon-fodder" view, which has undoubtedly been very influential in certain quarters; the social-economic view, which emphasises the importance of population from the standpoint of social progress; the ethical view, which rejects the restriction of population on moral grounds; and the religious view—especially strong in the Roman Catholic districts. The great majority of German writers on social subjects are strongly in favour of a "normal" birth-rate; to them the growth of the people is almost a religion. Apart altogether from political or military considerations they hold that a steady growth of population is a condition of life and vigour, entirely repudiating the views of Malthusian economists. For example, Nordheim in his book *Deutschland am Scheideweg* laying down the lines of what he calls a specific German social policy, places the main weight on the building up of the life of the people, both in quantity and in quality. In the first place, he represents, must stand, not the strengthening of industry, but the development of the mass of the people. The real wealth of the nation is in its citizens: where there are strong and educated workers wealth will tend to grow.

With respect to the wages question, the principle of equal pay for equal work has dropped out of sight. It has been replaced by the socialistic conception that each should receive according to his need, and give after his ability; the corollary of which is that wages must be adjusted so that the married man with a family gets a larger income than a single man or woman. In pursuance of this line of thought many plans have been worked out; and a number of significant practical beginnings made in a policy of encouraging larger families.

Amongst the economists who have taken up the problem,

one of the most influential and typical is Heinz Potthoff of Düsseldorf; who has for many years written extensively on social reforms. He takes the view that the guaranteeing of an income graded according to the size of the family is the next stage in the progress of social reform in Germany. It is in fact only an extension of the principal of the insurance scheme. It is by no means necessary that the actual *wage* as paid by the employer should be so graded; the same result would be attained if the state or the local authorities worked out a scheme for the insurance of parenthood, so that the wage of the worker would be automatically supplemented. It is a question of taking another step in the process of guaranteeing the welfare of the individual through national co-operation—a process which has already gone so far in Germany.

A detailed scheme of *Elternschaftsversicherung* (parenthood insurance) has been drawn up by Grotjahn. He suggests the formation of a national central fund, made up of contributions put together after the fashion of the health insurance scheme. This fund would then be available for the improvement of the positions of all workers with large families. It would be in no sense "relief"; but would be a recognised right.

Dr. Jahn (Munich) has proposed a plan for "Child Insurance" whereby the State guarantees 10s. per month to the parents, for each child for two years. The money would be paid in the form of coupons, exchangeable only for food, washing, linen, and so forth; and the whole scheme would be managed through the post office. He estimates the cost of this arrangement—which is only a beginning—at about £16,000,000.

Many writers suggest that the problem can best be tackled by means of a bold solution of the housing difficulty. For example, the state might build extensively and give preference to large families in letting the houses*; or the municipalities might raise special funds for erecting houses suitable for families, and make sure that these were placed at the disposal of those needing them.

During the last two or three years these discussions have advanced beyond the theoretical stage. Several valuable practical experiments have been made.

For example, on the Bavarian State Railways a plan has been

*It is now (Mar. 1919) reported from Frankfort that the People's Building Society is letting (to families) three-roomed flats for the same rent as two-roomed, as a concession.

worked out (and is probably now in operation) for creating a pool into which contributions proceed from the employees and the state, and out of which flow educational grants for the third subsequent children of all the 50,000 men concerned, to the amount of £5 10s. per annum per child. The sum is certainly small; but the principle involved is important. Again hundreds of thousands of bank, railway and shipping employees, have now become accustomed to receiving wages graded in proportion to the size of the family. This arrangement was rendered almost necessary by the cost of food and clothing, during the latter part of the war; and was, of course, facilitated by the fact of state control in the case of the employments in question. Under the conditions of competitive industry it would seem doubtful whether such a plan could be carried out. The present developments in Germany, which are almost certain to lead to a greatly increased state control of industry, make it likely that these beginnings, especially as they are now firmly established in the case of large masses of workers, will be continued; and that in the future we shall see a great extension of the "family wage system."

Many German writers—for example, H. Vornbroek, a prominent Rhineland practical reformer—point out that the real gist of the whole of this tendency lies in the abandonment of the old idea of the worker or citizen as individual; and the ever-increasing realisation of the *family* as the real social unit. The whole problem is that of taking another step in the socialisation of economic life. The discussion of this process, in its more general aspect, is continued in Chap. V.

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A word should be added with reference to some important movements concerned with the population question; if only because these show the great interest which the matter aroused during the war. Quite early in the war a very influential committee was formed in Berlin to study how best to work for "the conservation and increment of the vitality of the nation." A conference was called in Berlin in 1915; when a large number of the best-known doctors, economists and sociologists in Germany spoke on the birth-rate and allied questions. The provision of small holdings for soldiers was taken up very warmly; and the housing problem received much attention. Steps were taken to make detailed surveys of these matters and to prepare practical reports.

Another body called the *Gesellschaft für Bevölkerungspolitik* (The Society for "Population-politics") was started in Berlin, also in 1915; under the presidency of Professor J. Wolf, of Breslau, the famous economist. Its objects were stated to be: (1) To promote the growth and vitality of the German race. (2) To assist in every way the education and feeding of large families. (3) To encourage the domestic training of women. (4) To work for better housing conditions and for the opening up of land for small cultivators. (5) To combat all diseases diminishing fertility and all attempts to employ women upon unsuitable work. (6) To protect the motherhood and young life of the nation.

In South Germany, a further body was organised by Pastor D. Weber, called "The Committee for the Encouragement of Population"; the aims of which were to approach the whole matter more from the religious standpoint; and to counteract any dangerous tendencies associated with a materialistic view of the population problem. A Congress was held at Darmstadt, in November, 1916, under the presidency of von Gruber. The following points were especially emphasised: (1) Christian marriage must be strictly maintained; and early marriage should be encouraged. (2) Houses and small holdings specially suitable for family life must be arranged for. (3) It should be necessary that people about to marry should produce medical certificates. There should also be a compulsory notification of sexual diseases. (4) Temperance is to be promoted. (5) Importance should be attached to the domestic education of women.

IV.

GUILD SOCIALISM.

DURING the last year or two, especially, one of the most striking tendencies in German social reform circles has been the development of various types of Guild Socialism. The foregoing chapters have chiefly emphasised the up-growth of local socialism. This has been most prominent throughout the war ; and will, so far as can be judged, play a very important part in the future. It is, however, not necessarily incompatible with guild organisation ; and many suggestions have been made for combining the indigenous organisations of a collectivist type with national guild organisations. While the local socialism is, as we have seen, largely an accomplished fact, the guild schemes are ideals not yet extensively realised, except in so far as the elaborate systems of cartels and unions in Germany constitute a very good foundation for their realisation.

One of the most influential personalities in Germany, Walther Rathenau, a multi-millionaire, a social reformer, a writer on philosophy and mysticism, and a government adviser on financial and economic questions, came forward in 1917 and 1918 with plans of reconstruction based upon a sort of guild system. How far his ideas are likely to commend themselves to the present rulers of the country it is not easy to judge. But he has undoubtedly great weight in commercial circles. With respect to small businesses, such as shops, hotels, and productive concerns of local scope, Rathenau favours an extension of the local socialism developed during the war, to a point such that all this department of life should come under the control of the local authorities, while at the same time as much free play as possible should be left to the managers. But in respect of big industries his plan is to develop the already very extensive syndicate system until all the large productive concerns are amalgamated into groups—one group for the iron industry, another for wholesale chemicals, another for the cotton trade, and so on. Membership of one of these groups would be obligatory ; and all non-paying concerns would be closed down or bought up. The state would then delegate to these groups or federations (working along with the unions of workers) extensive powers as regards fixing prices and the whole regulation of

their business ; while the federations in their turn would pay a share of their profits direct to the state after allowing a fixed but strictly moderate percentage to the existing shareholders. The immense state fund thus built up will be used to relieve taxes, to raise wages, to finance social reforms and to lower retail prices. The whole is described as a system of federated self-governing units. Rathenau calculates that many hundreds of millions of pounds a year could be saved by the State if some such plan were adopted, eliminating, as it would, so much futile competition and cutting down so much unnecessary expenditure of energy in countless directions. His motto is that industry must be the servant of the state. It is a false policy to foster trades merely because they give employment. The question must be asked : What is the trade doing for the people as a whole ? If it is producing unnecessary articles it need not continue. The aim is to economise energy, devoting it to those branches of production which will raise the life of the mass of the people. The interest of the consumer must precede that of the producer. To bring about this change of economic outlook a wide measure of socialisation is indispensable. At the same time the initiative of the private business man should be retained as far as possible. But this initiative must be guided into the service of the community. Rathenau's Guild Socialism is an attempt to solve this difficult problem.

Wilhelm Vershofen, a business man of prominence in the South of Germany, and one of the leading members of the Democratic Party, is another advocate of a type of Guild Socialism. His position is more "actual" than that of Rathenau, as it has been worked out since the revolution (it is stated in *Die Tat* for Feb. 1919). He thinks the state as a central power, whether democratic or otherwise, cannot organise industry.

The members elected to parliament are often not in the least chosen from this standpoint. Business must be organised by experts. The democratic state does not at present possess any organ for dealing with the infinitely complex questions of modern industry. But the great highly developed syndicates can be made use of in this direction. Just as Germany is geographically built up of federated provinces, so industrially it should be built up of federated industries with wide powers of autonomy. These federations should be democratically governed, internally as well as externally. Workers and employers will all vote together in the parliament of their industry,

which will work in co-operation with the central government.

Vershofen also explains that he favours the inclusion of the whole educational system of the country in the guild scheme, so that it will constitute an autonomous body, federated to the others (a suggestion which is also widely advocated by many educators of an advanced type in Germany). This body would include all receiving education, from the beginning of the school life to the end of academic training. The whole is to be governed on a democratic system; the voters consisting of all teachers, professors, and other educational officials; all parents having children at school; and all children and students over fourteen years of age. Each school or college would be a little constituency returning members to a great central parliament of education working in co-operation with the national government; while in its internal affairs it would be autonomous, subject to certain demands required by the central parliament.

The German Guild Socialists derive a great deal of their theory from Karl Planck, the Wurtemberg philosopher, who was a pioneer in this line of thought. One of the most active followers of Planck is Eugen Diederichs of Jena, editor of *Die Tat*.

In a recent issue of this periodical (Feb. 1919), Diederichs sets forth his views on the guild problem. He explains that the true function of democracy, as he understands it, is not to level down policy to the point of view of the crude mass, but to establish a system bringing to the front all the best intelligence of the people. The leaders thus selected should really lead and not be merely the tools of the crowd. Their relationship to the nation must be, however, organic and vital, not arbitrary. The leaders must grow out of the people; although they must not be weakly dependent upon them. "The people's state must stand upon a broad democratic basis; but must have at its summit a self-responsible aristocracy of leaders. Socialism and individualism must live side by side." "The democratic idea demands an organic structure of the state; it demands extensive autonomy—to be secured through political units on an occupational basis"—each occupation must have its own guild and councils; and Germany must be constructed in a system of federated parishes, districts and provinces. One of the main aims must be to make a path for personality and

ability to work its way forward wherever it comes to light. He considers the guild system far preferable from this point of view to parliamentary government.

So far as can be judged from the limited literature available the Guild Socialist type of thought in Germany is not widely spread amongst the people; and its influence is perhaps unlikely to be really extensive in the future. It emanates less from the people than from a small body of business men and intellectuals, rallying around writers like Rathenau, Diederichs and Ernst Krieck. As a tendency it is interesting; but it would be a mistake to overestimate its weight. There is, however, a possibility that the worker's councils scattered up and down the country may develop some system analogous to Guild Socialism, working in co-operation with unions of intellectual workers (such as are already in existence in many places). (See also Appendix).

V.

SOCIAL IDEALS.

THE Austrian foreign minister, Otto Bauer, urging the amalgamation of Austria with Germany, made a great point of the fact that the former country, as a would-be socialist state, would find its purposes aided by union with a country in which the preliminary conditions for the building-up of the socialist commonwealth were so perfectly fulfilled as they were in Germany. In his interesting book "Three Years of World Revolution" (1917) the German socialist, Paul Lensch, expressed a similar opinion with regard to the overwhelming drift of German institutions in the direction of socialism, a drift which carries with it even those classes who are theoretically opposed to social democracy. The mistake is frequently made in England of measuring the growth of socialism in Germany by the membership of the Social Democratic party. But in reality this growth has far exceeded even the rapid increase of the political wing. The Germans are not a political people; and perhaps the most significant development of socialism is seen, not in the field of politics at all, but in the realms of industry and municipal organisation. Here, millions of persons who do not profess any sympathy with socialism as a theory have for years, and especially during the war, been working out a vast social machinery, covering large sections of industry and a great area of the social life of the nation, the effect of which in practice is to create a working basis for the development of a collectivist community.

The development of the great cartels, the growth of municipal socialism and of the co-operative movement (which controls extensive productive enterprises of all sorts); the widespread organisation of credit banks; the extensive social activities of the state and state-aided insurance concerns; and the immense diffusion of working-class capital (measured in 1914 by sums not far short of £1000,000,000)—all these are factors in the gradual evolution of a very complex and closely interconnected economic system, of a type entirely different from any which could be produced in an individualistic community. The remarkable way in which the various parts of this machine depend upon each other is in itself a negation of the whole idea of private

competition. The social tendencies of the Germany of to-day are dealt with in "Central Europe" by Fr. Naumann (one of the leaders of the Democrats, and for years a prominent figure in German political and social life). It is here made clear that a wide gulf separates the economic and social life of Central Europe from that of the western countries. In Germany, the whole tendency (says Naumann) has been to carry out "an insertion of the individual ego into the joint ego." A hundred and fifty years of discipline and education have produced a people who willingly subordinate the individual to the community, convinced that this is the path of progress for all. Naumann points out, for example, that agriculture in Germany is managed largely on co-operative lines through unions, joint banks, joint transport services, &c.; with the result that the whole nation has benefited—although individual farmers may often have to limit their freedom and curtail their profits. He deals with the complexity of German industry: "By means of employers' federations, payment cartels, zone compacts and piece agreements, a complicated machinery of spheres of business and subordinations has come into being, in which the outsider can hardly find his way, but which has been created step by step as needed; and by means of which the private employer of the old style has quite gently slipped over into the disciplined industrial community—" This merging of the individual in the life of the whole is repugnant to the westerner. It marks a different construction of life. The German ideal "is and will be the organism, and not free-will; reason and not the blind struggle for existence."

These tendencies, strong before the war, are now much stronger: "We shall keep in mind the economic experiences of the war." The Germans, says Naumann, have glided into socialism during the war; and will not return even to the modified individualism of pre-war days. The war has given, he explains, a final peculiar stamp to the German organisation: "This is an occurrence of the first importance in international economics."

Lensch, too, writes: "In fact some form of state socialism will be the economic constitution of the future—especially in the German Empire. With every new month of war this conviction has become more deeply implanted in all ranks and classes of the nation."

It should be clearly pointed out that these developments in

German life are by no means merely political or economic in their origin. They are closely associated with the nature of German thought, and the history of philosophy in Germany. The war has brought to a sharp crisis a movement of long growth, deeply founded in the entire mentality of the race. Very interesting in this connection are the views of Troeltsch, the Heidelberg theologian. He picks out as especially significant the German view of freedom, which is based upon the acceptance of a general evolutionary movement, cultural in character, through participation in which the individual achieves his own personality. Freedom is not a natural right or a political principle, thus regarded. It is an aim; and one demanding the co-operation of all for its fulfilment. As applied directly to social questions, the German view of freedom does not work in the first place towards those institutions which give a maximum of immediate freedom to the separate individual; its influence is rather in the direction of building up a social system ensuring (even at the price of a very considerable surrender of personal liberty) the general economic and cultural elevation of the community; and especially of those classes who, in a purely competitive society, would speedily be driven to the wall. This view thus calls upon each to give up something of his liberty for the advancement of the whole. Freedom is here envisaged not so much as an absence of external restraints, but rather as an opening out of all possible channels of spiritual, intellectual and physical development. And this is a goal which, at any rate as seen through German eyes, calls for organisation on the lines of the socialist commonwealth. While the Englishman thinks, in the first place, of the development of the individual as an isolated personality; the German is more concerned with the elevation of the whole level of life of the community. To him the individual is primarily a branch of the communal tree. It is in this sense that so many German writers have declared that the keynote of modern Germany is the word "solidarity."

Appendix.

It is too early, as yet, to say definitely what the events of the last few weeks may bring forth. While the movement towards the left has become very strong, and the danger of a great Bolshevik upheaval seems much greater than it did a short while ago, it is still probable that future developments in Germany will follow lines in accordance with the social traditions and distinctive mentality of the people—even Communism would in Germany take on a form entirely different from that of Russian Communism.

Some most important information with regard to German social conditions is contained in two recent White Papers (Army Command Paper 52 and 52 Continuation—March and April 1919). These can be obtained for 1s. from the Stationery Office, Imperial Buildings, Kingsway; and should certainly be read by all. They both consist of very lucid and detailed reports by British officers sent on special missions of investigation to Germany, with a view to getting first-hand information on the food problem, the economic position, and so forth. The general impression conveyed is that the food situation is very serious; that the establishment of stable conditions of government depends upon an immediate supply of food and raw materials; and that the Bolshevik danger is by no means imaginary.

A few quotations will be useful. Capts. E. B. Trafford and E. Christie-Miller report of Hanover (in February): "We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that—1. The situation is at present quiet in Hanover. 2. The food shortage in Hanover is very serious indeed. 3. Serious internal disorders are certain to break out if food (especially fats) is not soon forthcoming. 4. That there is a great shortage of engines and rolling-stock, particular the former." Of Berlin, Capts. W. S. Roddie, C. W. Bell, and E. W. D. Tennant reported (in February) a most serious condition of things with respect to the general health of the people, physical and mental; there was a universal opinion expressed in all quarters, that: "Through lack of nourishment, the man is no longer mentally normal. Until he recovers, he is a danger, which may develop into a terrible disease. Feed him and you will cure him." They point out that: "In all classes and among all parties—except that of the Spartacists, who approve it—there is a very real terror of Bolshevism. Everywhere there is a firm conviction that, unless the country is fed, Bolshevism will break out shortly and spread, not only in Germany, but in

France, England and other countries, with terrible rapidity." Capt. C. W. Bell visited Cassel in the middle of February, and writes: "All that I have seen and heard during my fortnight in Berlin and Cassel goes to convince me that the country is helpless and that its condition may become desperate at any moment. Hunger is at the bottom of a good deal of the unrest."

In the April report we read: "The most impressive fact in Berlin at present is the way in which everyone is reckoning with the probability or inevitability of Bolshevism. . . . The masses of the people are undoubtedly close to the conviction: *We* have nothing to fear from Bolshevism; matters cannot be any worse for us than they now are. . . . The increasing radicalisation of the masses during the past two months is undoubted. They are conscious that the ultimate power rests with them. They are hungry, discontented, ready for anything." In the same report it is stated: "The labour situation is desperate. The number of unemployed in Berlin is between 220,000 and 270,000 On the other hand, many factories are retaining full staffs although they have not employment for them. Industry is on the verge of collapse. Capital reserves are being rapidly absorbed by the payment of the greatly increased wages for which the output offers a diminished return." (In the report previously referred to by Capts. Roddie, Bell and Tennant, it was stated that there were then (February) in Berlin about 200,000 unemployed, and that they were increasing at the rate of about 5,000 per day; while a total of about 1,000,000 unemployed was soon expected for Germany as a whole.)

A statement of exceptional interest is found on p. 4: "Many educated men told me that, once Bolshevism was a certainty, they were prepared to accept the inevitable and put themselves at its service, in the last desperate hope of so averting some of the extreme consequences which the régime has produced in Russia . . . the situation would offer at least a *possibility* that Germany might revive her industry under the new political system on the basis of an agreement with Russia as to raw materials, etc. A few men on the technical and business staffs of large works, and some followers of the Extremists, argued thus: It was the refusal of the educated classes to work with the Bolsheviks, combined with the extreme ignorance of the Russian workmen, which was responsible for the rapid ruin of Russian industry under the Soviet system." The writer then explains that in the event of a co-operation of this sort between the experts and intellectuals, and the Bolsheviks, it is thought that, if the rest of Europe also turned Bolshevik (as would be probable if the Extremists triumphed in Central Europe), Germany would find herself in, relatively, the best position. In other words,

the Germans, with their gift of organisation, might succeed where others—and especially the unbusinesslike Russians—would fail.

It would thus appear that should the Bolshevist movement become predominant, it is still quite probable that a fairly stable form of society would result, and one retaining some of the characteristics of the German tradition. But it is more likely still, perhaps, that Bolshevism will make a deep impression upon German life without attaining the complete mastery; and that an organisation of social life and industry will take place in which the Councils will play a large part, but in co-operation with other bodies. Writing from Berlin to the *Daily News* (April 26), Mr. George Young attaches great weight to the work of the Councils: "So far the Councils are no political system, but only a surge of spontaneous self-government. If they can be co-ordinated and concentrated on the reconstruction of Germany it may prove the salvation not only of Germany, but of Europe."

There is recent evidence that the Soviet movement is taking on a moderate form in Germany. At the Second Soviet Congress in Berlin in April, it was reported (*Times*, April 24), that a marked note of conciliation was sounded, but little sympathy with Spartacism being shown. Kautsky (Left Minority) summed up the position in the words of *The Times*, as follows: "Kautsky adhered to the standpoint that the driving force must come from the might of the working classes; and could not be found in a Bourgeois-Socialist combination like the present government. But the working-classes must include not only wage-earners, whose chief thought was for shorter hours and higher wages, but also consumers, technical specialists, business directors, and intellectual workers. Socialisation must come slowly; to plunge into reckless abolition of capital and capital values, would be madness." Other speakers took a similar line. The general feeling was that, while there must be Socialisation, there must be no risky experiments.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford also reports (May 5 in *Daily Herald*) suggested developments of the Soviet System in the direction of Guild Socialism, from the Centre Party. It is proposed that a Soviet Congress should sit side by side with an ordinarily elected Parliament.

SOCIALISATION.

About the end of March the Report of the Government Commission on Socialisation was issued—largely the work of Hilferding, editor of *Freiheit*. It recommends against the direct state ownership of industry, and in favour of governmentally controlled but internally self-governing syndicates (somewhat in the sense of the proposals of Vershofen, see page 26). This is a long step in the direction of a German type of Guild Socialism.

The recommendations with respect to the Coal Industry are of peculiar interest to the British public at the present time. All the mines (with all the bye-product concerns) are to be grouped into one large syndicate, which is to purchase the whole of the property concerned, paying with "obligations" not money (these obligations represent a debt on the part of the community, as represented by the syndicate, to the former owners of the mines). The syndicate is to be controlled by 100 representatives: 25 from the managers, 25 from the workmen, 25 from the consumers, and 25 from the state. These will elect a directorate of 5. There is to be a widespread scheme of profit-sharing, and of worker's control within the mines.

The government has not yet put the plan into practice; but has gone some distance in this direction by taking over control of the coal industry, fixing prices, and giving representation to workers and consumers on the managerial committee.

EDUCATION.

(SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE CHAPTER ON EDUCATION: p. 11).

The government has decided to carry through the *Einheits-schule* scheme; but I have no details as to exact method. It is clear, however, that a sweeping democratisation of education is contemplated.

While this work was in the press, some fresh information came to hand with regard to the People's College Movement. It has spread rapidly in Württemberg and Thüringia. In the country round about Stuttgart, a number of *half-day* Winter-Colleges have been started during the last two years. These are for young agricultural workers and others in the country

who have a good deal of free time in the winter. They are concerned entirely with cultural work; and take up such subjects as poetry and the drama, philosophy, history and religious problems. In the case of these Württemberg Colleges the religious influence is especially strong; as some Protestant pastors are keenly interested in the movement (which is, however, in no sense sectarian or propagandist). A residential College on these lines was started at Liebenzell (20 miles west of Stuttgart) last winter. Evening classes, too, have been set going in various small towns and villages. The movement is also energetic in Thuringia; and it is hoped to establish shortly a residential College in some part of the province.

RECONSTRUCTION & SOCIAL SERVICE

Being the Report of a
Conference called by
the National Council
of Social Service



Published for
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE
8a, New Cavendish Street, London, W.1
by
P. S. KING & SON, Ltd.,
Orchard House, Westminster, S.W.

1920.

PRINTED AT
THE HOLYWELL PRESS
OXFORD

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Soldiers' & Sailors' Families Association (County Branch) Miss B. Cartwright (Hon. Sec. ;
Division).
Miss T. Wake (Hon. Sec. ;
County).

NORTHAMPTON.

Charity Organization Society J. H. C. Crockett, Esq.
Miss Snowdon (Sec.).
Juvenile Organizations Committee A. Cochran, Esq. (Hon. Sec.).
W. Yorke Groves, Esq.

NORWICH.

Citizens' League of Social Service Miss A. Fricker (Org. Sec.).
Miss Mottram.
Dr. Margaret Boileau.

NOTTINGHAM.

Charity Organization Society Rev. Canon Field, D.D.
Miss M. Dutton (Sec.).

OLDBURY.

Juvenile Organizations Committee S. E. W. Kilvert, Esq.
Mrs. Kilvert.
*Miss P. Nightingale.

OLDHAM.

Council of Social Welfare - Miss J. Rye (Sec.).

OXFORD.

Juvenile Organizations Council Rev. G. H. Hodge.
J. Harris, Esq.
War Pensions Committee - Mrs. Pritchard.
Miss Locock.
Charity Organization Society Miss Locock (Hon. Sec.).
Edmund H. New, Esq.

Health and Housing Association	Mrs. Wells. Mrs. Pritchard.
Education Committee -	Miss Nancy Ward-Pearson, A.R.S.I. Miss Dorothy Halford.
Voluntary Agent for the Care of the Mentally Deficient	Mrs. Collier. Mrs. Vernon.
Physical Training College -	P. S. Forder, Esq.

ADDINGTON.

Borough Council - - -	Councillor Miss G. Kemp- Welch. R. S. O. Dudfield, Esq., O.B.E., M.B. (Medical Officer of Health).
Charity Organization Society	Mrs. Merston. Miss Hodge.
Women's Local Government Association (Paddington Branch)	Mrs. R. M. Greenwood. Miss Emily Carter (Hon. Sec.). Miss F. L. Fuller.

LYMOUTH.

Civic Guild of Help - -	J. J. Judge, Esq.
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'OOLE.

Guild of Help - - -	Miss M. Crockat (Hon. Sec.).
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'OPLAR.

Women's Presbyterian Settle- ment - - - -	Mrs. D. C. Lusk.
Charity Organization Society (Poplar Committee)	Miss W. H. Miller (Sec.). Miss B. M. Cory.
St. Mildred's House - -	Miss K. Wintour.
The Royal College of St. Katharine - - -	Miss Herbert.

'ORTSMOUTH.

Welfare Association for the Young	Rev. S. G. Hooper, M.A.
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RADCLIFFE (LANCS).

Urban District Council - -	George Scarr, Esq., M.D., J.P. (Chairman).
Charity Organization Society (Radcliffe and Whitefield Committee)	Rev. A. Prince, M.A. W. A. Plant, Esq.

READING.

Borough Council - -	Councillor L. E. Quelch, J.P. Councillor Miss E. M. Sutton.
Council of Social Welfare -	A. F. Clark, Esq. Miss M. Maplesden (Sec.). S. R. Whitley, Esq. R. Pearson, Esq. Rev. W. Rawlinson. R. J. Darralle, Esq. D. Donkin, Esq.

RICHMOND (SURREY).

Borough Council - - -	His Worship the Mayor, Coun- cillor Dr. Hunt, J.P. Councillor J. Morrison.
Central Aid Society - -	Miss S. E. Burke.

ROCHDALE.

Juvenile Organizations Com- mittee - - - -	J. E. Holden, Esq. (Sec.).
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RUGBY.

War Pensions Committee -	Miss Abbott (Hon. Sec.).
Welfare League - - -	Miss Townsend (Hon. Sec.).

ST. MARYLEBONE.

Committee of Social Service -	Mrs. Crawford.
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ST. PANCRAS.

Borough Council - - -	Alderman H. J. Brown, J.P. Councillor Miss B. Kent.
Council of Social Service -	C. H. Denyer, Esq., (Chairman). Mrs. Denyer.
Charity Organization Society (North St Pancras Com- mittee)	Miss E. Thomson. Miss Davidson. *Miss Stewart.
(South St. Pancras Com- mittee)	Miss I. N. Hill.

SALE & ASHTON-ON-MERSEY.

- Civic Guild of Help - W. Farrow, Esq.
L. Steaines, Esq.

SALFORD. (*See also under 'Manchester'*).

- Education Committee- - Councillor S. Delves, J.P.
R. Lundy, Esq.
Civic League of Help - - Dr. Somers.
Miss Fitzpatrick (Sec.).

SCARBOROUGH.

- Council of Social Welfare - A. M. Daniel, Esq. (Chairman).
Miss Farrell (Sec.).

SHEFFIELD.

- City Guild of Help - - H. Michael Elliott, Esq.
A. Harvey, Esq., M.A., (Sec.).
*Mrs. Alan Turner.
*Mrs. Winskill.
*Miss F. L. Tozer.
Cavendish Association - - D. C. Leng, Esq. (Hon. Sec.).
E. W. Pye Smith, Esq.
Voluntary Association of the
Mentally Defective - H. Michael Elliott, Esq.

SHOREDITCH.

- Borough Council - - - Alderman W. H. Girling
(Mayor).
Alderman G. J. Varnals.
*Alderman J. C. Adams.
Charity Organization Society Miss Vaughan (Hon. Sec.).
Miss Noel-Hill (Sec.).

SOMERSET.

- Soldiers' & Sailors' Families
Association (Somerset E.
and Bath Division) Miss Rodman.

SOUTHAMPTON.

- Charity Organization Society Miss F. Armstrong (Sec.).

SOUTHEND.

- Civic Guild of Help - - Miss A. Delf (Sec.).
Mrs. Hodgson.

SOUTH SHIELDS.

- War Pensions Committee - C. Assford, Esq. (Sec.).

SOUTHWARK.

- Women's University Settle-
ment Miss M. McN. Sharpley (War-
den).

STEPNEY.

Borough Council	- -	His Worship the Mayor, C. R. Attlee, Esq., J.P.
Juvenile Organizations Committee		Miss M. Jeffrey.
Charity Organization Society (Stepney and Mile End Committee)		Lady Jones. Miss Foreman. *Miss M. E. Carey (Sec.). *J. Tennant, Esq.
St. George's in the East	-	Rev. J. C. Pringle.

STOKE NEWINGTON.

Borough Council	- -	Councillor Miss C. M. Eve.
Council of Social Service	-	(See under ' Hackney ').

STOURBRIDGE.

Board of Guardians	- -	W. Whitworth, Esq. G. F. James, Esq., J.P.
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SUSSEX (EAST).

War Pensions Committee	-	Major Holland.
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SWANSEA.

Borough Council	- - -	Councillor D. Grey.
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TAUNTON.

Worker's Educational Union Education Committee and Juvenile Organisation Council	- - -	Mrs. Loveday (President). A. P. Guest, Esq. Miss K. M. Hodgkiss.
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TIPTON.

Urban District Council	-	Councillor T. E. Salter (Chairman, Education Committee). Mrs. Salter.
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TORQUAY.

Charity Organization Society		Mrs. Lewis (Sec.). Miss Stark.
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TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

Charity Organization Society		W. H. Leach, Esq.
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WAKEFIELD.

City Council	- - -	A. C. Allibone, Esq. (Town Clerk).
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WALSALL.

Civic Guild of Help - - His Worship the Mayor, Councillor S. M. Slater, J.P. (Chairman).
Miss Elliott (Sec.).

WALTHAMSTOW.

Charity Organization Society Mrs. Kingsley.
Miss Saunders (Sec.).

WANDSWORTH.

Council of Social Service (West Wandsworth) Dr. Henry Jackson, M.B.
C. W. Burnes, Esq., F.C.I.S., F.F.I.

Charity Organization Society (Balham, Streatham and Tooting Committee) Miss J. Kennedy.

WARRINGTON.

Borough Council - - - Alderman J. Evans.
Councillor G. Dale.
Citizens' Guild of Help and Council of Social Service Rev. I. Lister, M.B.E.
Miss E. Ashworth (Sec.).

WARWICKSHIRE.

County Council - - - Major F. Glover.
J. Murray Molesworth, Esq., J.P.
War Pensions Committee - H. Carr Smith, Esq., J.P.
Mrs. A. M. West.
Soldiers' & Sailors' Families Association (County Branch) Mrs. Dykes.

WATFORD.

War Pensions Committee - S. A. Stanbury, Esq.

WEST HAM.

Board of Guardians - - Mrs. Elizabeth Lawson.
J. J. Harding, Esq.
Charity Organization Society (South West Ham Committee) Miss Phillips.
Miss Moore-Smith (Sec.).
St. Helen's House Settlement Miss Eyre.
Miss Brigg.
County Borough - - His Worship the Mayor, Alderman W. Devenay.

WESTMINSTER (CITY OF).

Council of Social Service - T. W. Hunter, Esq.
Miss L. Long (Sec.).

WHITECHAPEL.

Charity Organization Society M. G. Woods, Esq.
(Whitechapel Committee) Miss Willis.
*Miss Cross.
*Miss Irving.

WILLESDEN.

War Pensions Committee - Mrs. John Andrews.
Miss F. A. Mitchel.

WILTSHIRE.

War Pensions Committee - T. Rule, Esq.
Miss Wilson.
Soldiers' & Sailors' Families The Lady Methuen (President).
Association (County Branch) Miss Macdonald.

WIMBLEDON.

Guild of Social Welfare - T. E. Jackson, Esq., D.S.Sc.

WOKING.

Charity Organization Society Miss E. Strode (Sec.).
Miss E. Lowther Kemp.
*Mrs. Howlett.

WOOD GREEN.

Education Committee - - - Rev. W. Winston Haynes.
Juvenile Organizations Com- Miss E. Lowther Kemp.
mittee

WORCESTERSHIRE.

County Council - - - J. W. Willis Bund, Esq., C.B.E.
H. E. Dixey, Esq., M.D.

WORCESTER.

Charity Organization Society Miss Cooke.
Miss Barnitt.

WREXHAM.

Civic Guild of Help - - Charles Dodd, Esq., J.P., F.G.S.
J. Jones (Hon. Sec.).

YORK.

Northern Educational Settle- C. E. Elcock, Esq.
ments Association

YORKSHIRE.

Ladies' Council of Education Miss E. O. Lambourn (Sec.).

Reconstruction and Social Service.

THE Conference opened with an informal meeting in Balliol College Hall, on Tuesday evening, April 6th, when the Master of Balliol and Mrs. A. L. Smith welcomed delegates to Oxford. The Master said that Oxford had long been a centre of interest in social problems, and more so than ever during the last few years. Though forty years of experience in teaching had almost bereft him of the power to rejoice about anything in teaching, it was a great pleasure to him to see the interest those who had come from the war were taking in social subjects—history, economics, and so on. There was great promise in these men who had come back from the war.

In the introductions with which he had been honoured during the last hour he had met many for the first time who had previously been known by name. What had impressed him was the multiplicity and variety of the branches of the one great subject of social service. Undoubtedly there was a great stirring of the waters concerning social problems. There had never been in this country a lack of good-will in these matters. What had been lacking, perhaps, was the necessary amount of clear, bold, original thinking. The two need not be considered as separate functions: there was a distinct need for each, and those before him were conspicuous and shining examples of a happy combination of the two, as was his friend, Professor Adams.

Professor W. G. S. ADAMS, Chairman of the National Council, said that he hoped that there would be a lot of individual thinking during the Conference. A good sermon did not always give one so furiously to think as a bad one,

and the good of the Conference would, he hoped, be independent of the goodness or badness of the papers, or even of the discussion. The National Council had been born of experience—it had been no one man's work, but had arisen to meet the needs of the time. What the Council wanted to do was to take a whole view of these problems. Their expression must be thoroughly representative and democratic, for they would never be heard unless the voice came right from the ground. It was the tendency to think much nowadays of the function of the State, and those who had grown up in it marvelled at the revolution which had come concerning the conception of that function. Yet the good done by the State must depend upon the voluntary spirit behind it. This spirit, the missionary spirit, must never be diluted. The local and central authorities were well suited for carrying out certain functions, but it was the voluntary spirit which must move them, and, so far from being the less necessary in these days, that spirit was more essential than ever. It rested with themselves to give the social service movement the support it must have, and he appealed, therefore, to the missionary spirit—the spirit of courage and faith which would dare to take risks.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7th. Morning Meeting.

(Held in the Sheldonian Theatre.)

Subject: **Public Assistance: The Policy underlying Administration.**

Chairman :—RONALD NORMAN, ESQ., L.C.C.

THE CHAIRMAN, introducing the speakers, said: I do not propose to risk a precise definition of 'Public Assistance,' the morning's subject for discussion. Yet it would perhaps be useful to the Conference to bear in mind that there is a difference between services rendered to the individual who is able to help himself—services such as educa-

tion—which might be termed communal, and those rendered to the individual who is unable to help himself. The whole population, indeed, might be divided into these two classes—those who support the State and those who are supported by the State; as these two vary in proportion, so the welfare of the State will vary accordingly. When you consider the principles underlying administration of Public Assistance, you will agree, I think, that the aim should be always to render the family and the individual self-supporting at the earliest possible moment. This cannot be done by refusing or giving inadequate assistance. The doctor does not restore his patients to health by refusing to accept cases, but by giving his services adequately, sympathetically, wisely, and also, sometimes, by telling the patient that there is nothing wrong with him, and by some art best known to himself convincing him.

In calling upon the Mayor of Leicester, Mr. Norman referred to the fact that Alderman Chaplin had been a part-time worker at 6, and a full-time worker at 8.

Alderman J. CHAPLIN, J.P. (Mayor of Leicester), then submitted the following paper:—

Public Assistance: the Policy underlying Administration.

BY ALDERMAN J. CHAPLIN, MAYOR OF LEICESTER.
*(General Secretary, Leicester and Leicestershire
 Amalgamated Hosiery Union.)*

ONCE again changes in Poor Law and other forms of public assistance are 'in the air.' What a variety of Committees have reported during these last 20 to 30 years on various aspects of public assistance, but to little purpose so far as effecting sweeping changes are concerned. Even the recommendations of the ponderous Commission appointed in 1905 by Mr. Akers Douglas, which issued a veritable library of reports in 1909, have been inoperative, and this not altogether because the war intervened.

That so few effective changes have been introduced is due, in my opinion, to the magnitude, perplexity and extra-

ordinary difficulty of all matters appertaining to the question of relief, assistance, or any other name you may care to call it by.

But, while the statutory changes have been few, the administrative changes have been numerous, and at the same time most benevolent.

I have never participated directly in the official relief of the poor, but I have been for many years near enough to those who have, to have seen the remarkable improvements effected by the Poor Law authorities, to know that an actual transformation has been effected.

The recipient may officially, in official books and returns, be called a pauper. He or she is certainly not treated as one nowadays, by either officers or elected authorities.

But, can the country do better for our dependent classes? Can the administration be improved? Can the cost of administration be made more economical?

We certainly ought constantly to endeavour to improve the administration; the cost, in my opinion, is secondary, although, of course, I do not suggest anything approaching carelessness or extravagance.

As I have already said, the administration has been, and it is being steadily and continuously improved. But this improvement depends upon the officers and personnel of individual Boards of Guardians. Has the time arrived for fundamental changes? If so, do the recommendations of the Local Government (Reconstruction) Committee indicate a safe line along which these changes might be attempted.

Judging by the criticism they have provoked they certainly cannot be said to find general favour. But at best the recommendations referred to are only concerned with changes of machinery. Even if they should become operative there would be the still more important factor, 'The Policy Underlying Administration.' Summed up briefly, this policy should be to administer public assistance in all its branches, *viz.*, the Able Bodied, Institutional and Home Assistance, &c., so that each beneficiary receives the maximum possible benefit of the assistance given; that due

economy be exercised both in administration and assistance; and above all that the administration be so conducted that it shall not lend itself to an increase of dependency, but, on the other hand, shall be such as to generate a spirit of independence and self-reliance in the hearts and minds of those who are of an age and a physique which should enable them to be self-supporting.

I desire again to emphasize what I have previously said regarding my position to Poor Law work. I am an outsider, but I am not altogether an outsider so far as public assistance, official or of other kinds, is concerned. I have participated for many years in branches of public work in which direct public assistance has been given, and my observations of the effect of that assistance, on certain of those whom the authorities sought to benefit, has been far from what one could have desired. It seemed to kill effort, to stultify activity; the people concerned seemed to lose the desire to exert themselves, even so far as medically advised in their own interest, and in order to promote the recovery of the health they had lost.

I can review one scene to-day. A municipal hospital for persons suffering from an affliction, which, with proper care and under proper surroundings, could be cured. The medical staff advised that certain of the patients should perform a little simple gardening. Mind you, they were in the hospital for weeks and had nothing whatever to do. They refused to do the work. I was astounded. At the time I spoke my mind to the patients very freely, but to no effect. They refused to attempt the simple tasks, and persisted in their refusal so strongly that the effort to induce them to do so was given up.

Why am I a Trades' Unionist and a member of an established Friendly Society? Because I desire so to protect my work and my health, that as far as possible I shall be self-supporting while at work, and that the rainy days of life may be, to some extent, provided for.

It is the same reason that prompts the vast majority of the members of both organisations to join them. It is an

exhibition of that British independence, about which we have as a nation boasted so much.

This spirit must be maintained and not chilled by the Poor Law, and all well wishers of the work people of our country should be very wide awake to see that whatever changes are introduced in the realm of public assistance, there be always at work an active, live spirit opposed to creating dependency; throughout the whole machinery an earnest endeavour to lead those who may, for a time, fall by the wayside and be compelled to lean upon the Public Assistance Authority, back into the strengthening, energising fields of independence and freedom.

For our workers' sake 'Public Assistance' must not be too easily obtained. And in saying this I am enunciating what all that is good in the Labour movement feels and says. The Labour Movement wants English workers to be men, citizens of a high order, and would shudder at the idea of those workers becoming dependants and paupers.

HAVING said this much, may I go on to say that side by side with what I have said regarding public assistance being administered so as to make men and not dependants, there must go, to complete the policy, thoroughness and adequacy, along with the most delicate personal attention to each recipient. Men are not made by deterrents. Pauperism and dependency are not checked by harshness and repellent methods, though I am not decrying *them* altogether. With a certain type of applicant I suppose the wit of the most experienced officer and guardian is taxed almost beyond bearing. But I am thinking of the average applicants—the widow with a young family, the prematurely aged and infirm, those whom illness has compelled to fall out of the ranks of the army of steady, continuous workers.

To think of deterrents and too rigorous investigation in these types of cases is abhorrent. They should all be dealt with kindly and gently during the period of their enforced dependency, but at the same time, by intelligent, informed and sympathetic visitors, they should all be supervised

with the definite purpose of their period of dependency not being unduly and unnecessarily protracted.

Dependency should be reserved for the children, the aged and the infirm. If these were always treated as I have suggested they have a right to be treated, much avoidable suffering would be avoided and their characters would be improved and strengthened. I may be permitted to enquire: Has the old Poor Law done its work in the spirit I have outlined? If not the whole of its work, has it attended to the needs of the classes I have enumerated in the manner I have indicated they should be treated? If not, why not?

I know some Boards of Guardians have done their work as I have described and with the result I have claimed. Why have not *all* Boards of Guardians attempted the same policy and level of administration?

That they have not goes without saying. Does this failure account for the unpopularity of the Poor Law in the mind of the general public? There would be many, many answers to this query. Personally, having given a lot of thought to all matters concerning the welfare of our people, I am inclined to think that the old Poor Law is unpopular mainly because it is a Poor Law, a relief agency.

I have been mixed up with large and small relief schemes, and when brighter times came and our relief work was over I am sure that our work, gratuitous, hard, and very heavy and trying, had not in any way added to our popularity; I do not know which of the parties loved us less, those to whom we had given or those to whom we had *not* given.

Is this the cause of the unpopularity of the Poor Law? Those who get are disappointed, those who are refused or 'offered the House' are desperate—a combination of hostility against the Poor Law Guardians results.

Then there are the classes who never would apply for Poor Law assistance. Representatives of this class are very hard hit. Through unforeseen circumstances they have become poor. They are wanting the barest necessities of life. Their young children ask for what, almost since birth, they

have looked upon as an hourly gift from mamma. They now ask in vain. Father and mother are frantic. To suggest Poor Law is to insult vilely. How the Institution is loathed. Is this loathing provoked by unpleasant experience of the Poor Law? Oh, no. My own opinion is that to some extent the unpopularity of the Poor Law is due to the harsh deterrence imposed by some authorities; the unkind, unsympathetic attitude of others towards their applicants; the repugnance with which the good, clean, wholesome housewife in difficulty, would associate at Poor Law offices with women of another type; and other minor causes.

But, fundamentally, the Poor Law is unpopular because it is the Poor Law, unpopular as any temporary relief agency and for the same reasons.

One grade desire to live for ever on it, and they hate the Institution because their desires are not allowed fully to fructify. All the other grades hate it because it is a relief agency. These latter people hate the idea of relief, would die rather than apply for it. They must live their own lives in their own way, and would resent having to live 'on conditions.' How repugnant the thought of relief is to them can never be gauged. True they hate the Poor Law, but for no other reason than that it is the Poor Law. They know nothing whatever of its operations. If in the place of our Poor Law any other system was substituted, I am confident that the hatred of that substitute would be just as whole-hearted.

I have so far dealt with two points which I consider indispensable to a satisfactory scheme of public assistance. I presume to mention a third. I say presume because I may be a bit old-fashioned in some of my ideas, and many of you being different—you would say progressive—will perhaps severely criticise me for advancing my third point.

My third point in a sound, satisfactory policy underlying the administration of public assistance, is, 'that the family should, wherever possible, be the unit.' I protest against the division of the family for purely theoretical reasons, and I protest still more strongly against the reluctant mother

being pressed—it would soon be compelled—to submit to a division of her family. Certain theorists, generally childless, would treat families as though they were a set of skittle-pins. The mother the centre-pin, the remaining eight pins being the children, parental claims, and the children's affectionate leanings receiving no more consideration, than the pins in the public-house alley.

How fiercely I protest against childless people dictating the policy to be pursued by Public Assistance Authorities in the matter of the family! Theory and arithmetic here are too cold. Humanity, parenthood, childhood must vanquish theory and have free play. What if the results are not quite so mechanically satisfactory (I think they would be), the gain to the family, by retaining their unity, would outweigh all the so-called advantages which could be claimed by their division.

If it is good that the family should remain intact during prosperity and health, it is equally good that, when penury and sickness displace the happier conditions, the family should continue united. So often it is the pains and trials of life that strengthen the ties that bind families together, and give a nobler and loftier conception of family relationship. Having suffered together, they emerge from the dark days purified, with their affections strengthened and ennobled. Family affection is then seen at its truest and highest. The theorist must be ruled out of this realm.

My fourth point, like the last one, may seem of minor importance, but to me it is one that plays a very important part in the Poor Law as in every other sphere of social activity.

I would suggest that in a sound policy of Poor Law administration too much consideration cannot be given to the character, calibre, type and tone of all the officers. It has always seemed to me that when people have been chargeable to Poor Law relief for a time they are of either better or worse character when they relinquish it.

The ordinary man in the street would ridicule the possibility of anyone being improved in character by having for

a time been under the care of the Poor Law Guardians. But, as a rule, he knows nothing about Poor Law administration, he merely agrees with the crowd—so symptomatic of the times in which we live—and like a parrot imitates those who know just as much (or as little) as himself.

To be under the care of any authority must leave its effect upon normal people. Men and women perforce feel the influence—what of the children, so plastic and so impressionable?

The importance of the tone and type given to our institutions by our doctors, nurses, attendants, and all other officials, cannot be over-estimated. In his or her first visit to a shrinking widow, the relieving officer can crush, suppress and depress, or cheer, hearten and inspire. He or she may shed an influence that will be actively operating in generations unborn. The same is true of hospitals, work-houses, and all other Poor Law institutions, particularly those set apart for the care and education of the children.

Please do not think for one moment that I cast the slightest reflection on the present officers of the Poor Law. What I know of them is all to their credit, and don't think that I wish to see good, solid officials replaced by effeminate, superficial, semi-educated prigs. I mean good-type men and women, happy, cheerful men and women (and I would pay them, house them, condition them and pension them so that they could be happy and cheerful), kindly disposed and well-intentioned to all the people committed to their care, and invested with sufficient character to deal with those recalcitrants from whom the gentler qualities evoke no response.

To summarise my points as to the policy which I would suggest should underlie the administration of public assistance, I submit:—

- (1) That the policy of the administration of public assistance be to ensure that the beneficiary should obtain the maximum possible benefit from all assistance given, that due economy be practised, that above all *the policy seek to promote the*

independence and self-reliance of all those (who are of an age and physique for this to be possible) who in any way come under the Public Assistance care.

- (2) That thoroughness in investigation, adequacy in relief, and full personal attention be given to every family in any way in receipt of public assistance.
- (3) That the family be the unit in all branches of public assistance.
- (4) That *all* officers be men and women of such a type as to influence for good all persons committed to their care.

I do not claim that the policy I have here adumbrated would, if adopted, effect any great revolution in the world of public assistance. I have merely, in homely phraseology, committed to paper a few thoughts which really reflect the experiences I have gained in a life, 40 years of which has been spent in attempting to improve the condition of the working people.

I do not claim either, that if the policy I have respectfully outlined were operative, public assistance would at once become popular. I think my experience has taught me something of human expectations, of human nature.

I have refrained from mentioning in any detail the Report of the Reconstruction Committee. This has been deliberate on my part. The Committee suggests various changes; there can be no certainty that changes and improvements are synonymous terms. Frankly, the recommendations of a Committee on Poor Law Reform composed of persons ignorant of practical Poor Law work leaves me quite cold. Besides, the criticism of the Poor Law Committee of the County Councils' Association and the Law Committee of the Municipal Corporations' Association would make me hesitate before accepting the proposals of theorists.

I must say that I should strongly contest the work of the War Pensions' Committees being handed over to the Public Assistance Authority. To call the allowances made to our pensioners, to widows, orphans, wives and depen-

dants public assistance is a travesty. They *were* heroes. Shall we allow them to become paupers?

I view all the suggested changes of machinery with complacency. The changes of names do not affect me in the least. In a short time all names and machinery would become normal. The novelty would quickly disappear. What will not disappear are the ever-recurring factors commonly known as 'human nature.'

Besides sickness, poverty, and all the other ills of life, 'human nature' will ever protrude itself. To relieve poverty, to attend to sickness is easy, but what of the problem of 'human nature.' To counteract its vagaries has been the prime problem of Poor Law administrators. Little success has attended the efforts made. The suggested new Public Assistance Authority cannot hope for much more success.

I do not claim that anything I have advanced would have any better results. There is nothing new in my points. While I have been reading my paper I have imagined I have heard experienced relief workers ejaculating 'platitude,' 'common-place.' I agree. Can anything new be said on such an old subject, discussed, discussed, and discussed almost regularly for over three hundred years?

I only claim them to be an honest, simple, sincere contribution to a gravely important subject, and leave my paper in your hands for what I hope will be the freest, frankest possible discussion.

Alderman H. G. WILLINK (Berkshire County Council) then submitted the following paper:—

Poor Law, and the Reconstruction Committee's Proposals for Reform.

By Alderman H. G. WILLINK (*Berkshire County Council*).

HISTORY is said to repeat itself—and although the saying is not to be taken literally, there is something in it. Perhaps, indeed, the subject of this paper supplies an instance.

It is impossible not to be struck by the parallelism between certain features of the country's situation now confronting us and those which confronted our statesmen in the first quarter of the 19th century. In both cases we see the waging and successful termination of a tremendous war, with dislocation of industries, a swollen national debt, and large rises in the cost of living: in both cases a growing tendency to increase the volume of public assistance, and a growing willingness to accept the same; in both cases, it is probably safe to say, an impending period of industrial development, with prizes open to those capable of intelligent effort, exceeding anything clearly visible at the time. A century ago the age of steam was at hand, with all its unforeseen results: what may we not expect from science now?

With certain differences, there are also further similarities in the particular sphere with which this paper has to deal. The unrest, distress, and demoralisation of that earlier time led to repeated inquiries and attempts in social matters, particularly in relation to the relief of the poor,—culminating in the Sturges Bourne Report of 1817, and the great Poor Law Commission Inquiry of 1832, and Report of 1834, followed by the drastic readjustment of the whole system of Poor Law Relief in the Act of that year. In our turn, although the symptoms are not exactly the same, there is in too many cases an alarming deterioration in the quality as well as in the quantity of service rendered, in return for increased pay and shorter hours, which essentially resembles corresponding phenomena towards the crisis before 1834; and the vicious circle of rising wages and rising cost of living, our peculiar difficulty, seems almost unbreakable. Rates, too, are approaching the worst 1832 records: and everyone knows what taxes are. We, too, have had many Inquiries and Reports and Measures, culminating (in the Poor Law field) in our great Poor Law Commission Inquiry of 1905-1909, and to-day in the proposals of the Local Government Reconstruction Committee, which we are told have been more or less adopted by Government.

It is these proposals, particularly in their bearing on the

policy underlying administration, which I would ask you to consider to-day ; but, before doing so, it is not immaterial to recall what were the policy, system, and principles adopted by our grandfathers in their parallel emergency ; what was the immediate outcome ; and what have been the later developments.

The main policy of the Poor Law Act of 1834 was to raise the condition of the poor by the encouragement of independence. The systematic application of it was entrusted to local bodies called Guardians of the Poor, elected *ad hoc* by the ratepayers, on a sliding scale of vote value, and leavened by *ex officio* magistrate members : the whole supervised and to some extent controlled by a central Government Department who were expected to keep touch with the whole machine and take wide views. The fundamental principle accepted was that, with certain not inconsiderable exceptions ' The situation of the Pauper ought not, on the whole, to be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the lowest class of independent labourer.'

Step by step, as the Act came into operation, its administration was followed by a rapid diminution in the number of persons in receipt of relief, a revival of efficient industry, and a decline of expenditure upon relief. The progress of decay in the national character was arrested ; and, whatever other forces may have been at work, however much the era of industrial prosperity owed to iron, steel, and coal, it owed no less to the restored energy of the men who used them.

Later developments, especially of recent years, have generally been in the direction of relaxation. The main objective, the establishment of the fundamental principle, having been secured and the position consolidated, the way was open to gradual modifications in the light of experience, and the care of children, the treatment of sick persons, and the general management of Poor Law Institutions as a whole have properly and undoubtedly been improved. But the last quarter century has seen other considerable changes. The Local Government Act of 1894 abolished *ex officio* guardians,

and lowered the franchise, equalising at the same time the vote value. Medical relief has ceased to disqualify for the Parliamentary vote. The Old Age Pension Movement, in spite of considerable reasoned opposition, has won its battle, though it appears not to have yet gathered all the fruits of victory. And other instances might be quoted of benefits provided more or less directly, or subsidised, out of rates or taxes, for persons unable to provide such benefits for themselves. In the main, these changes have been accompanied or followed by enormously increased expenditure without reduction of the number of persons receiving benefits at the public expense.

It is enough to say that the total public expenditure in England and Wales (other than out of Loans) upon all forms of assistance of this sort, including education, amounted in 1918 to more than £103,000,000, as against less than £21,000,000 in 1891—the part spent on ‘Poor Relief’ being 15½ millions in 1918, as against about 8½ millions in 1891 (*see Appendix A. Return to an Order of the House of Commons, 29th July, 1919.*) Taken in conjunction with the large sums coming from charities, endowed and unendowed (not to mention the mass of unpaid social work), the aggregate is such as would have been thought incredible 30 or 40 years ago.

Of course, it is not suggested that all of this increase in outlay has been unjustifiable. But in view of such figures, at such a time as the present, with this habit of large expenditure warping us all, with so many *good* objects for expenditure, and with the constantly increasing cost of production in face of world competition for markets, it cannot be denied that every one with any influence or authority is more than ever before bound (*a*) to examine closely any proposals for new departures which may directly or indirectly involve additional expense. and (*b*) to do or approve nothing which may tend to weaken that stimulus towards independence and efficiency which lies at the root of national prosperity.

What effect, then, are the proposals of the Reconstruction Committee likely to have in the first respects? First let us see

what authority they have behind them, and what is the spirit in which they are framed.

With some important alterations, they may fairly be said to follow the lines of the famous 'Minority Report,' whose spirit is evident throughout. A few words, therefore, are necessary about the origin of that Report.

The Poor Law Commission of 1905 sat for just over three years, during which time they held 209 meetings, examined 452 witnesses orally, and took evidence from about 900 others. They also made wide enquiries, through their own members and special investigators, in every parish throughout Great Britain, and in other places; besides collecting masses of information from official sources. In the end, they broke into two bodies, each presenting a Report, both such Reports, however, declaring against retention of the existing system of Guardians, or of existing areas and nomenclature.¹

The radical difference lay in the recommendations made by the two bodies, respectively, as to the system to be set up in substitution. The 'Majority' (14 in number) insisted that only one single authority in each area should be responsible for the maintenance of persons who shall have lost their economic independence. The 'Minority' (4 in number) on the other hand, distinguishing between non-ablebodied and ablebodied necessitous persons, advised that the powers and duties of Guardians in respect of the non-ablebodied should be distributed among existing Committees of County, or

¹ I do not propose to argue the case for the Guardians, though I have been a Guardian, in town and country, for over twenty-five years, and chairman of a Board for half the time. They have done excellent work, and some, if not all, of the defects in their constitution and administration would seem to be remediable. But they can speak for themselves, and have often and ably done so. Neither am I blind to their faults; even the precious element of direct *ad hoc* election has its disadvantages. After all, however, the question is whether the system by which it is now proposed to replace them is likely to do better than they have done: not merely whether the County Councils can or cannot undertake their duties, but whether County Council machinery will under that system do the work more efficiently than Guardians and than any other possible substitute for Guardians. If Guardians are to be abolished there are more alternatives than one. Whatever the decision, the really important thing is less what machinery is set up than what spirit is to inspire it.

County Borough, Councils: while the able-bodied should be dealt with by a separate non-elective authority, a Ministry of Labour, comprising several different Divisions (but not utilising any local authority assistance), and organised with a special eye to prevention, as well as to alleviation, of distress: these recommendations as a whole aiming avowedly at what became popularly known as 'the Break-up of the Poor Law,' and being dead against so-called 'deterrence,'—or the operation of 'mitigated necessity' as this, the negative side of the 1834 principles, is better described, though the positive element is more vital, *viz.*, the encouragement of independence by giving the independent man no reason to feel that his condition is worse than those whom he supports.

This 'break-up' scheme of the Minority was fully brought to the notice of the Majority, who agreed in condemning it entirely. 'It seems clear (they say) to us that the idea upon which it is founded is faulty and unworkable.' (A fuller extract from their remarks will be found in Appendix B.)

The Reconstruction Committee, whose proposals we may now consider, were appointed in July, 1918, and their Report is dated 19th December, 1919. Of the 15 members one only (Sir James Curtis) can be said to be a representative of Poor Law Guardians: and he, by a separate memorandum, disclaims responsibility for the decision to recommend the abolition of Boards of Guardians and the transfer of their functions to other authorities—a decision which, he observes, was irrevocably taken before he was added to the Committee. Of the remainder, three (Lord George Hamilton, Sir Samuel Provis, and Mrs. Sidney Webb) had been members of the Poor Law Commission of 1905. The Committee took no fresh evidence; and (with the exception of one member, Sir George Fordham, who was unable to attend the later meetings, and retired) they all signed the Report; four members, however, appending separate memoranda embodying reservations of more or less substance.

It is unnecessary to recite in detail the Committee's recommendations: a very brief summary will be enough. As

already remarked, they are framed apparently in the anti-Poor Law spirit of the Minority Report, although Dr. Addison, in his prefatory note, states that they 'represent a reasoned attempt to secure reforms in harmony with those indicated by the Royal Commission which reported in 1909, without reviving the controversies which then centred round the Majority and Minority Reports of that body.' In other words, the latter having swallowed the former, hopes that no notice will be taken.

An initial step, indeed, towards the supersession of the 1834 régime has already been made, with the excellent object of consolidating and improving Public Health administration. We can all agree in hoping that great results will follow. Time will show. Under the Poor Law, medical relief and ordinary relief were embarrassingly entangled, and disentanglement will be difficult. Milk, for instance. It is not a simple matter: but Public Health work does want co-ordination. It is strange, all the same, that a movement to 'break up' the treatment of Public *Social* Health should coincide with an attempt to concentrate the treatment of Public *Physical* Health.

Dealing with county areas (with which alone this paper is concerned) the Committee's proposals are, first, to abolish Guardians and Unions, and merge all their functions in County Councils: and, next, to distribute them among County Council Committees (existing or to be appointed), thus:— (1) cases of sickness, infirmity, maternity, infancy, and institutional old age, to be, together with their appropriate institutions, under the Public Health Committee; (2) School children, together with schools for normally healthy children, to be under the Education Committee; (3) Mental defectives, in a wide sense, together with their appropriate institutions, to be under the Asylums and Mental Deficiency Committees; (4) Unemployed ablebodied, to be under a Committee specially appointed, and charged with powers relating to prevention of unemployment, training, migration, &c.; and, lastly (5) the following duties in respect of assistance for persons too

poor to provide for themselves, to be under another special 'Home Assistance' Committee, *viz.* (a) inquiry into circumstances of applicants, (b) supervision of recipients, (c) administration of assistance in the home, (d) care of orphans or neglected children, (e) allocation for institutional treatment, (f) recovery of recoverable expenses, and (g) registration of families any member of which may be in receipt of assistance, with particulars of such assistance. This Committee would act through local or 'District' Committees, appointed by the Council, and would discharge such functions as might be delegated to them by the two last-mentioned Committees. These District Committees would comprise resident County and District Councillors, and other persons of 'experience in the work to be done.'²

And there are a number of other more or less important recommendations, which are generally acceptable, but are not essentially concerned with actual public relief, or 'assistance,' and need not now be mentioned.

The justification for these 'break up' proposals is based partly upon the admitted complications³ of existing authorities, and partly upon the alleged failure and unpopularity of the Poor Law. And the contention is (1) that unification, efficiency and economy can be secured by the scheme as just outlined, the County Council becoming one supreme, responsible, elected body, raising its unified rate, and exercising its

² Attention has been drawn elsewhere to the somewhat invidious comparisons which may be made, at any rate in rural areas, between the proposed new District Committees, not resting upon a direct election basis, and the present locally elected District Councils, who will presumably continue to exist, sitting as it were alongside the new bodies and deprived by these of the Poor Law functions which used to be discharged by themselves as Guardians in virtue of their election as District Councillors.

³ Complication with at least one such authority is due to the artificial distinction which was drawn between Old Age Pensions and Outdoor Relief, which led to the creation of separate Old Age Pension Committees. That there is no essential difference is now expressly admitted in the Report (§ 26) where the eventual merging of the administration of the two forms of allowance (and even War Pensions too) is contemplated: and indeed it is already legal to supplement Old Age Pensions by Outdoor Relief.

functions in the sphere of Public Assistance through various Committees, just as it does in the spheres of education, highways, small holdings, &c. ; and (2) that by change of name, change of machinery, and change of spirit, all sense of failure and unpopularity will vanish, and Public Assistance will be welcomed where Poor Law Relief is now shunned.

The scheme is by no means without its attractions, and it is ably presented in the Report. There is much to be said, in these days of an overworked Parliament, for any method by which Local Bodies may be advanced in dignity and power, attracting the best men, and becoming fit subjects for further delegated powers. And it seems obvious that in such a process the aim should be rather consolidation of authorities than multiplication. It is to be remembered, too, that in 1834 there were no such things as County Councils, through whom the administration of the new Poor Law might be effected ; nor had the crowd of overlapping authorities come into existence. Also we must not forget that the Majority Report itself recommends the creation of a Committee of the County Council to take over all the functions of Boards of Guardians. But their Committee was to be a single Committee, with a large admixture of outside members, and was to be independent of the County Council, on the lines of a Standing Joint Committee, organising and controlling all forms of Public Assistance.

Simplification, or unification, in fact must be real and on a sound basis : and where the proposals appear to fail in this respect is that they regard ' similarity of need ' as the basis on which organisation of assistance should be constructed. This, however, would, it is submitted, only substitute a new and more objectionable form of overlapping, for it is easy to imagine a family composed of members exemplifying a number of different needs, who would therefore come severally under a number of different Committees, with no other connecting link than the County Council, and the Home Assistance Committee.

It is true that paragraph 13 lays stress upon this very

point, recommending that that Committee should have regard to what would be best for a family as a whole, and should have duties of general supervision: and so far as this is possible the 'break up' process will no doubt be modified. At present, however, Guardians are already able, and are expected, to deal effectively with a family as a whole, through such agencies as may be suitable, retaining the responsibility themselves: whereas what consistent or unified management can a County Council, or even a Home Assistance Committee, exert when acting through several distinct channels? A single autocratic body can fix the responsibility where it pleases: the lower down, and the nearer to the living human 'case,' the better.

These considerations suggest another objection. Overlapping of some sort, whether between various authorities or between various committees, seems scarcely avoidable; and we must be content with that form of it which least interferes with good work. The Home Assistance Committee is evidently intended to be the keystone of the arch for this purpose. But what about the likelihood of frittering away personal responsibility along successive stages of administrative units? At present, Guardians are responsible for their acts. They cannot shift blame on to anyone else. And they work under the eyes of the constituencies. Local 'District Committees,' appointed by County Council Committees (themselves including co-opted members) would, on the contrary, have above them these Committees, probably with sub-Committees for various special purposes intervening; and higher up still, for financial purposes, the County Finance Committee; and finally, the County Council. If these higher bodies, or any one of them, exercise any real control, where is the responsibility, and what chance will there be of prompt, intelligent and appropriate action in individual cases, or of steady adherence to well-thought-out principles? The detail work on a large scale will clog the wheels, and see-saw deliberation take the pith out of policy. If, on the other hand, the authority is left with the District Committees as being in

touch with the case, what becomes of the theoretical unity of County Council control?

It will be said, of course, that this is hypercritical, and that similar difficulties arise in all sorts of authorities and undertakings. Even granting that there is truth in this (though which of us concerned in (say) Education has not groaned under the delays and semi-responsibilities inseparable from the long chain of links?) still in Poor Law,—I beg pardon, I mean Public Assistance,—administration is of most vital importance. Indeed it has even been said that more harm can be done by bad Poor Law than good can be done by good Education. The attitude of a people in the matter of expectation or non-expectation of unearned Public Assistance is one which affects the whole outlook on life, and the whole character of a nation all day and every day, from the cradle to the grave.

Again, it may be argued that under competent officers, working upon sound and uniform principles, the machine will be more efficient than anything we have now. Assuming the principles to be reasonable and intelligible, this is not impossible; though it would be at the risk of dehumanisation. The late Mr. T. Mackay, than whom there was no better authority upon Poor Law administration, used to say that in this matter, as in not a few others, you may hope for good results, eventually, either from an absolutely free system of trial and error, or from a rigid official system; but that, in fact, on the one hand Guardians were not free enough from Local Government Board control, nor dependent enough for their expenditure upon their own electors' pockets, to learn by bitter experience, and that on the other hand, real thoroughgoing official administration, certainly unpopular and probably expensive, would never be tolerated in this country; so that our actual system would always be full of faults.

It may have been considerations such as these which led the Minority of the 1905 Commission to recommend not the creation of a Committee like the now proposed Home Assistance Committee, but the entrustment of somewhat similar

functions, as well as those relating to unemployment, which is dealt with to-day in Sir C. Jackson's paper, to certain Government Departments.

Lastly, as to expense. Changes of system seem nowadays always to lead to increased expense; and grounds of hope that the proposed transformation may be an exception are not obvious. The chain of control will mean many meetings, with notices, and minutes, and journeys and correspondence. The Reconstruction Committee, however, are confident that the unification upon which they reckon will ensure economies in accounts and in management. This is far from certain. In particular it may well be doubted whether the desired 'classification by Institutions' will have that effect: for the mixed workhouse with all its faults (really attributable, where they exist, to bad management) does at any rate not entail the sorting out and moving about of different kinds of cases to different places all over a county; and does secure that inmates can be visited easily and cheaply by those of their friends and relatives who still take an interest in them.

But, on the whole, it is certain that if Public Assistance really becomes 'popular,' and easy to obtain, it will grow in volume; and none the less so when the amount of it is rendered less conspicuous by being distributed through a number of different committees. After all, do we really wish the distribution of public money to be 'popular'?

A word must be added about the view taken by County Councils themselves, so far as it can be estimated. The C.C. Association's Poor Law Committee, in the preparation of a Report on this subject, sought the views of Councils themselves. The results were as follows:—Out of 59 Councils who were asked for their opinion, 19 made no reply at all, 8 expressed no definite opinion, 10 objected to the proposals altogether, 9 only were prepared to accept them (and, of these, 2 wished for variations or conditions) and the remaining 13, while either preferring the existing system, or not accepting all the proposals, were willing, *if* Boards of Guardians are abolished, to undertake *some* of the duties proposed

to be transferred. Of these 13, only 1 would undertake the 'Home Assistance' work (the most important item); and the two most generally acceptable subjects were (i) the care of mentally defectives and lunatics, and (ii) the education and maintenance of children of school age; both being already to a considerable extent in Council hands. This reception of an inquiry which, under the terms of reference, may fairly be called a blinkered inquiry,—being made *on the assumption* that Parliament may eventually decide upon the abolition of Boards of Guardians,—certainly does not indicate any enthusiastic readiness on the part of County Councils to approve the proposals.

The fact is that most Councils feel that they already have quite as much to do as they can manage; and it is probable that that feeling, even more than reasoned objections, weighs with many persons. Enlargement of the number of members will not remove their reluctance. Even as it is, sometimes a horrible doubt crosses one's mind whether every Councillor, or even every Alderman, has really mastered the contents of reports by Committees to which he does not belong. We need not pursue the subject. But it is sometimes said: 'You ought to regard yourselves as little Parliaments. Look at the House of Commons. It has over 600 members: and it gets through its work (much bigger work) all right.' By all means look at the House of Commons. But the analogy of Parliament will not help us much. Parliament is a deliberative and legislative body. Public Assistance, at any rate, whatever may be said of other Council work, is essentially administrative. Let us hope the House of Commons will never be asked to administer its own Poor Laws: the making of them, or the unmaking, is quite difficult enough.

Then there is the obvious recourse to co-optation of outside members on to Committees. This is a most valuable power, and not to be undervalued. But there are limits to its utility. The Council has *pro tanto* less voice in shaping the earlier stages of any scheme; and does not get the advantage of the guidance of the Co-opted Committee-men when the reports

are presented. Still, it is well established that we cannot afford to do without a certain degree of co-optation, undemocratic though it may be. At least it is to be hoped we shall not try.

In conclusion, I may be asked 'what do you yourself recommend? You seem to disagree with the Majority, the Minority, the Unionists and the Reconstruction Committee. And you do not seem quite satisfied with Boards of Guardians!'

Well, I am of opinion that, in the main, the policy of 'breaking up the Poor Law' cannot tend to economy of expenditure, to greater efficiency of administration, or to the general good.

I am not ashamed to say that I think the men of 1834 were right in the main and that no system of Public Assistance will be satisfactory which does not (*a*) secure the truest possible unity of administration, (*b*) maintain responsibility of administration, (*c*) promote uniformity of policy, and, above all, (*d*) encourage independence by adhering to the principle that the position of recipients of public assistance for want of means, should not by such assistance be made or appear to be more desirable than that of the poorest of those who contribute thereunto,—with such exceptions in favour of children, war pensioners, the sick and afflicted, &c., as may from time to time be found advisable in the general interest.

It remains only to add that this paper, with some small differences, was written for the Annual Meeting of the County Councils' Association on March 24th, last. It concluded with the following motion:

'That this Association, while not disposed to assert the inability of County Councils to discharge certain of the duties proposed by the Reconstruction Committee's Report to be transferred to them, is of opinion that, in the main, the policy of "breaking up Poor Law" cannot tend to economy of expenditure, to greater efficiency of administration, or to the general good.'

The enunciation of general Poor Law principles, in the paper, was received more warmly than might have been expected. The discussion, however, eventually resulted in the adoption of the following amendment, moved by the Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse, supported by Sir Arthur Chapman:—

‘That this Association recognises that the present Poor Law system requires to be extensively reformed and co-ordinated with other Local and Imperial administration, but does not consider it advisable to add to the further burdens of County Councils the detailed administration of such matters as Home Assistance and Unemployment. And that the administration of Home Assistance would be better carried out by the Borough, Urban, and Rural District Councils, who should, however, be required to submit a report of their proceedings in respect of this administration to the County Councils.’

As to this amendment it may be said that although so far as it opposed the Reconstruction Committee’s scheme (especially in the important particular of Home Assistance) it was not inconsistent with the original motion, yet it was open to the objection that constructive proposals, submitted without notice, deserve and require more thorough examination than they can receive upon such an occasion, even by so experienced a body as the County Councils’ Association.

Meanwhile it is something to have obtained from such a body some measure of condemnation of the Reconstruction Scheme which the Government are considering,—before it is too late.

APPENDIX ‘A.’ (See page 6.)

*Return to an Order of the House of Commons,
dated 29th July, 1919.*

Return, showing for the years ended 31st March, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1918 respectively, the total Public Expenditure in England and Wales under certain Acts of Parliament:—

Public Expenditure under the following Acts.	Public Expenditure (other than out of Loans) during the Year ended 31st March.			
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1918 or Latest Available Year).
ENGLAND AND WALES.	£	£	£	£
National Insurance (Health) Acts ...	—	—	—	5,529,500
National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts	—	—	—	872,144
War Pensions Acts and the Ministry of Pensions Act	—	—	—	20,965,161
Old Age Pensions Acts	—	—	6,299,931	12,140,503
Education Acts	7,580,246	17,107,209	29,546,800	33,280,633
Acts relating to Reformatory and Industrial Schools	376,270	424,139	205,088	246,632
Inebriates Acts	44	4,235	21,909	31,254
Public Health Acts	3,710,000	7,360,000	10,150,000	12,080,000
Housing of the Working Classes Acts	170,000	220,000	260,000	280,000
Acts relating to the Relief of the Poor Unemployed Workmen Act ...	8,190,000	11,440,000	14,710,000	15,760,000
Lunacy Acts	—	—	150,000	20,000
Mental Deficiency Act	470,000	870,000	1,210,000	1,270,000
Public Libraries Act	200,000	420,000	600,000	600,000
Total	20,696,560	37,845,583	63,147,728	103,142,827

NOTE.—Of course this Return is not up to date. Beside items which have not yet matured, *e.g.* assistance towards Houses for the Working Classes, and in the matter of Small Holdings, it could not contain any reference to the £10,000,000 extra for Old Age Pensions, voted just before Christmas. Further, it takes no account apparently of the Unemployment allowances (still being paid), but perhaps they had hardly begun in 1918. The Bread Subsidy, costing some fifty millions, is a different kind of thing, yet it is practically *ejusdem generis*.

APPENDIX ' B. '

Criticism of the Minority Scheme by the Majority.

' There was a scheme brought to our notice known as the " Breaking-up of the Poor Law." Its ideas appear to be the foundation of the alternative proposals recommended by certain of our colleagues who dissent from our report. Under this scheme the whole existing machinery of Poor Law would

disappear with the abolition of the Guardians, and the work previously performed by them would be broken up into sections and transferred to existing Committees of County and County Borough Councils.

‘ Though we have had the scheme fully before us, we do not propose to criticise it in detail. It seems clear to us that the idea upon which it is founded is faulty and unworkable. The question at issue is whether the work of maintaining those members of the community who have lost their economic independence can be safely entrusted to authorities whose primary duty is something quite distinct—such as that of education or sanitation—or whether it is essential that there should be an authority devoting itself entirely to the work.

‘ We consider that the many and subtle problems associated with Public Assistance, especially when it is a family rather than an individual that requires rehabilitation, cannot be solved by the simple process of sending off each unit to a separate authority for maintenance and treatment. What is needed is a disinterested authority, practised in looking at all sides of a question, and able to call in skilled assistance. The specialist is too apt to see only what interests him in the first instance, and to disregard wider views.

‘ Moreover, the existing educational and sanitary authorities ought not, in our judgment, to be converted into agencies for the distribution of relief; and the less their functions are associated with the idea of relief the better will they perform the public work for which they were specially called into existence. To thrust upon these authorities, while their work is still incomplete, the far more difficult and delicate duties of dealing with families which have already broken down, would be to court failure in both directions—that of prevention and that of cure.

‘ There are further difficulties which would inevitably arise from this multiplication of agencies authorised to grant public relief. Whilst a combination of incompatible duties is imposed upon the education and health committees by the scheme, its operation in another direction is to dislocate and separate work which cannot be effectively discharged unless

it is combined and under the control of one authority or committee. The functions of granting relief, and of the recovery of the cost either from the recipients or those legally liable for them, should be in the hands of one body, and not divided between two or more organisations with separate staffs and methods of investigation. Such a separation must result in a multiplication of inquiries and visitations, causing annoyance and waste of time and money. The same criticism applies to domiciliary and institutional relief. Being the two recognised methods of Public Assistance, they should be utilised together as one system under one supervision. Their disconnection, by being placed under two tribunals, must lead to administrative inefficiency and confusion. Whilst a multiplication of authorities and organisations for the discharge of local duties is to be deprecated as tending to delay and friction, care must be taken not to run to the other extreme by the abolition of organisations specially qualified for a certain class of work, and the transfer of such work to existing bodies who are not specially qualified for its discharge.'

In the absence of Sir Cyril Jackson, K.C.B., the following paper was submitted by the Rev. J. C. PRINGLE, who had been associated with Sir Cyril Jackson as an investigator for the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws :

Public Assistance, with Special Reference to Unemployment.

By SIR CYRIL JACKSON, K.B.E.

THERE is no doubt that it is the ever-present dread of unemployment which is responsible for much of the dissatisfaction with the present organisation of economic society. The cry of 'wage slavery' and the effort to find some security of tenure instead of the uncertainty of the weekly wage system has led to the demands for nationalisation and the abolition of the capitalist. It is the feeling that the wage earner is absolutely dependant on the employer (or the foreman) for his livelihood, and that he may be discharged and fall into unemployment and distress (from no

fault of his own, but because of some market fluctuation in trade) which gives force and intensity to the cry of the 'Right to work.' There is at present no appeal against such discharge.

The terror of unemployment is responsible for much Trade Union opposition to better methods, such as that quoted on February 27th by Mr. Spencer before the Dockers' Enquiry Court. It appeared that the Glasgow Dockers refused to work a grain-weighing machine which did the whole of the weighing and carrying by electric power. The men were offered 30/- a day as against 22/-, but the machine would do the work of three hand labourers, and the men refused to work at it and it was left unused. Yet this is the moment when we need greatly increased production and improved methods of distribution. The high prices can only be reduced by the use of every labour-saving and every new invention which can add to the wealth of the world, so wasted by actual destruction and by the absence of useful productivity during the war. If everything was nationalised to-morrow this would be just as necessary. What the docker sees, however, is the displacement of two men out of three, and he probably argues that the employer is going to pocket the difference between the 66/- paid to the three men and the 30/- paid to the one. He does not know the capital cost of the machine or the daily cost of the electric power, and cannot be expected to set off the labour expended on these against the labour of the hand weighers, and there is, in fact, no evidence offered him on this point. It is impossible to tell whether the employer is going to add to his profits unduly or whether the consumer is going to get the benefit, *i.e.* whether and by how much the docker's loaf is going to be cheapened.

There has, of course, been a vast nationalisation of industry during the war. The existence of national arsenals, dockyards and factories, and of nationally controlled railways, has lent force to the demand for permanent nationalisation of mines, but they have emphatically *not* helped us to solve the question of unemployment. Woolwich has dismissed its thousands, as after previous wars, and the attempt to retain

men for civilian work has proved impracticable. Government management has not up to now done anything to solve the problem. The Post Office is not beloved by the employees, and the scandal of the blind alley employment of the telegraph boys was only removed after some years of persistent exposure and attack from outside. Similarly, the large docks which are under the control of public boards, and are not run for the profit of the employers, are still the seat of much casual labour and consequently of unemployment. Yet for the well-being of the community the problem must be studied and solutions attempted. Personally I am not anxious to see this country follow the Russian example, at any rate until the experiment has shown more successful results than we have seen at present. Can we make any suggestions of a less drastic nature?

The nation must no longer tolerate the old chronic unemployed class. Employment must be steadied if humanly possible, and unemployment prevented or reduced to a minimum.

It may be well briefly to recall the attempts which have been made to grapple with the question of unemployment. The Appendix to the Report of the Poor Law Commission, on Unemployment (Vol. XIX) was the result of enquiries made in 1907. The investigators had to make a rather hurried enquiry when reliable data was exceedingly difficult to collect. A great mass of evidence was, however, brought together, but it was not well digested. There had been unemployed difficulties in 1885 and 1886, culminating, in February, 1886, in the Trafalgar Square Riot and the collection of a Mansion House Fund of £78,000. The Fund was doled out in a most demoralising way, and was an admitted failure, and the President of the Local Government Board issued an important circular to Local Authorities urging them to afford relief by undertaking new public work, &c. Employment improved, however, until there was a recurrence of difficulty in 1893, when unemployment in the ranks of the casual labour at the docks in London and Liverpool led to Parliamentary enquiry, and relief by way of employment. After the Boer War there

was depression in 1903 and 1904. In the former year a Mansion House Committee came together, and relief works were started at Osea Island and Hadleigh. In 1904 the London Unemployed Fund was inaugurated after a meeting under Mr. Walter Long; and the Central (Unemployed) Body and the Distress Committees were set up in 1905-6 under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. These Committees organised relief works and established a central Labour Exchange in 1906. In the large towns in the provinces Distress Committees were established who carried out relief works with much the same result as in London.

Investigators found that the existence of a large fringe of casually employed labour was not only the *result*, but one of *causes* of periods of depression. It was used to *rush* work through (a) in what are called good years, when trade is improving under the influence of increased public confidence, and (b) at certain seasons of the year to meet special demands (*e.g.* of fashion or, in some trades, because the weather makes work easier or more necessary at one time than another). *Other causes* suggested were shifting of trades or displacement due to alteration of methods, the introduction of new machinery, &c. (*e.g.* when cement and steel construction replaced brick and wood, or machine-made boots replaced the hand-made). Wasteful business methods were also mentioned. The deterioration of character of the lowest class of labour through casual work or through want of any training was commented on. The competition of cheap labour of women or children or aliens, the decay of apprenticeship and the want of training and education were dwelt on, and a separate report on Boy Labour was made in 1909.

The Inspectors' evidence as to the failure of relief works was very strong. They were found to check the reorganisation of industry, to perpetuate casual labour, and to retain surplus labour instead of allowing its dispersal. The Municipal Relief Works encouraged by the Chamberlain Circular (1886) and the Unemployed Workmen Act (1905) were condemned. They did not tide over the period of distress men unemployed through no fault of their own: they merely gave

further casual work to the lowest class of labour and under conditions which did not raise them. They were wasteful and conducted at the expense of the thrifty and industrious workmen. They were sham, not real work. Cases were quoted when good, regular workmen had actually been displaced to make way for the unemployed class.

The investigators urged the Government and Municipalities to set an example of careful organisation and regularisation, always considering labour and making their own employees their care. Strong evidence was adduced as to the demoralising methods of the War Office in giving contracts with utter disregard to regularity of employment. Various Government Committees followed as a result of the Commission's Report, e.g. on Post Office Telegraph Boys in 1911, on Van Boys in 1912, and on the Distribution of Public Work in 1913. The last-named was sitting when war broke out in 1914.

Since the Report of the Poor Law Commission was published, the Government has taken over the Labour Exchanges, beginning to operate them in 1910, after legislation passed in 1909. The Insured Trades Acts were passed in 1911 and 1910, and this session sees a Bill to extend insurance to *all* weekly wage earners except those in agriculture and domestic service.

At the beginning of the war it looked as if the lessons of the past had been entirely forgotten. The Government, in a panic, asked Local Authorities to prepare schemes for relief works, issued an appeal for funds over the signature of the Prince of Wales, and set up a new system of relief committees everywhere, clashing with all the old relief authorities, as well as with the many societies dealing with soldiers and their relatives. All the mistakes of Mansion House Funds, of **uneconomic** relief works under Distress Committees, and of **sentimental** dole-giving were apparently to recur on a vastly increased scale. Fortunately there was so little unemployment that the **most** devoted squanderers of funds were unable to find enough recipients, and the Prince of Wales' Fund is still largely unspent!

The writer of this paper was Chairman of an Intelligence Committee for London set up by the President of the Local Government Board on August 10th, 1914, which reported weekly to a Cabinet Committee. Reports were obtained from employers,¹ Trade Unions, Distress Committees, C.O.S. Committees, Poor Law Authorities, Clergy, School Feeding Committees, Labour Exchanges, Rent Collectors, and any other sources which from time to time became available. The Committee first reported for the week ending August 15th, and a considerable dislocation in industry was apparent; but even by that date it was reported that while in the first week of the war, clerks, porters and warehousemen, and dockers in the riverside boroughs had been seriously affected, 'in the city to some extent, and more markedly in the docks there has been a considerable recovery.' Financiers recovered from their first panic, whilst the stoppage of continental and coastwise traffic, which had closed most of the smaller wharves in the first week, was so far counterbalanced in the second by the fitting and loading of troop-ships, the advent of captured merchantmen, and resumption of much continental trade, that the number of men employed by the Port of London Authority was *larger* on August 15th, 1914, than on August 15th, 1913. In the third week the number employed in docks and wharves together was 17,400, against 19,000 in 1913.

There was, however, considerable dislocation generally. Many small firms closed and large firms went on short time. The firms mainly concerned were in the sugar-using trades and luxury trades such as fancy goods, pianos, &c., and women were most affected. Railways, of course, remained busy, and the printing and clothing trades recovered very quickly. What distress there was, seemed to be among the families of reservists, who had been called up, but did not, for the first week or two, receive the allowances due to them. By September 5th the theatres were complaining of slackness,

¹ The employers' returns became so complete and valuable that they were taken over by the Board of Trade and under the official name of Z8 are still issued by the Labour Ministry and have been utilised for many purposes in connection with transference of labour and for the regulation of enlistment and demobilization.

for the nation was very serious, though the cheap jewellery trade was soon reviving, a brisk demand for signet rings in East London being reported.

During September and October, 1914, the relief committees were at work and the grants made to them were being regulated by careful comparison of the percentages of unemployment in each Borough, full use being made of the Intelligence Committee's weekly reports.¹ By December 5th the London Committee reported that pauperism was declining and was lower than in 1912, and that the number of necessitous children fed (they had numbered 75,000 in August) had declined to 55,000 and was going down by 1,000 a week, instead of increasing as usual in the winter. Work at the docks, at engineering, shipbuilding and metal was better than at the same date in 1913. Woodwork and furnishing were recovering. The register of the Central (Unemployed) Body was lower than in 1913.

Looking at individual trades it is extraordinary how general was the rapid recovery throughout the country. The following table shows the percentage of the unemployment in individual trades at the dates shown:—

TRADE.	July, 1914.	Aug., 1914.	Nov. 1914.
Iron and Steel	5·5	7·6	1·9
Engineering	3·4	7·1	1·8
Shipbuilding	6·6	6·3	2·6
Miscellaneous Metal	1·4	9·0	1·5
Textiles—Cotton	3·9	17·7	6·3
,, Woollen	4·3	7·2	5·1
,, Other	1·9	6·1	6·5
Coal Mining	0·5	1·3	1·6
Printing and Paper	2·5	7·4	4·7
Furnishing and Woodworking	2·3	9·8	4·5
Clothing	1·7	5·3	1·3
Building	3·2	7·4	1·8
Leather	5·2	6·2	2·1
Glass	0·6	1·1	2·6
Pottery	0·7	2·7	1·4
Tobacco	4·5	14·0	6·5

¹ For the provinces Mr. Rowntree worked out some similar statistics.

The Report of the London Intelligence Committee dated December 12th, 1914, begins :—

' The general impression is that there is a great deal of employment and very little distress. London has always some distress, and it would almost seem as if there was now less than usual. . . . It may be said without exaggeration that there is now very little unemployment in London.'

By July, 1915, the percentage of unemployment was lower in every single trade than in July, 1914.

The returns of Trade Unions paying unemployed benefit now available confirm the reports of the Intelligence Committee. The percentage of unemployment for the whole country was in 1914 2·8 in July, 7·1 in August, 2·5 in December. In 1915 it descended steadily from 1·9 to 0·6, in 1916 from 0·6 to 0·3 : it was not until 1917 that the cotton depression raised the figure to 1·3 in September.² In 1918 the figure rose from 1·0 in January to 1·2 in March, and fell to 0·5 in August.

So entirely were predictions of distress falsified that the most pessimistic had to admit that the war was abolishing unemployment, and confined themselves to gloomy forebodings as to what would happen at the outbreak of peace. *These fears have also proved unfounded.* The Labour Ministry may certainly take credit for the arrangements made with the War Office to deal with the demobilisation and absorption into industry of our army of several millions.

The war ended as suddenly as it began, and the immediate stoppage of munition-making and of army supplies generally seemed likely to make a huge dislocation. It is really remarkable, therefore, how the huge numbers demobilised were re-absorbed in industry, if we consider the financial situation, the fact that practically all the industry of the country had been diverted to war work, and that readjustment of plant and machinery, and the recovery of old markets and trade channels were bound to be difficult. The Government dealt

² In 1917, the cotton figure was 0·8 in January, 2·1 in June, 18·2 in September, and 14·4 in December.

with the transition period by the Out-of-Work Donation, which was apparently very little abused.

The demobilisation figure in the week ending February 6th, 1919, was 249,423 out of a total to that date of 1,282,937. The numbers demobilised weekly never again reached so high a figure, but by May 1st, 1919, the total demobilised was 2,687,873, and of these 1,921,870 men and 4,009 women were reported to have been re-absorbed in industry, and only 402,151 men and 1,400 women were drawing unemployment benefit. By January 21st, 1920, out of a total demobilised of 4,027,510, the number re-absorbed was reported to be 3,426,863, and only 380,293 were drawing donation. On January 30th, 1920, there were still 377,116 ex-service *men and women* claiming donation. In the *Labour Gazette* of February, 1920 (page 62) the number of ex-service *men* claiming donation on January 30th, 1920, is stated to be 106,041 in insured industries, and 266,132 in uninsured industries, and it is pointed out that the total figure, 372,173 is 9·2 per cent. of the total number of men discharged or demobilised since the armistice. That is given as 4,059,635.

Possibly this percentage is too high, and some enquiry is needed into the individual cases to find out the reason of their continued unemployment, whether ill health, want of training, or failure to fit the labour demand. The moulders' dispute has thrown a number of men in the engineering trades out of work, and although the moulders were to resume work on January 26th, the effect on the rest of the engineering trade could not be felt at once. The end of January is, too, always a time of slackness.

The out of work donation ceased altogether after November 11th, 1919, for other than ex-service men. The highest number reached was on May 2nd, 1919, when there were nearly 1,100,000 men, women and juveniles receiving donation. On July 4th, 1919, the figure was 579,025, and on November 21st, 491,546. In the following week, when only ex-service men were left, it was 358,823. The women's figure was 495,299 on March 7th (out of a total of 948,620),

but on July 4th it was 102,847, and on November 21st only 31,984. Juveniles in the same period came down from 59,393 on March 7th to 10,287 on November 21st.

There is no doubt that with the help of the out-of-work donation the country has come through the past year without any special distress from unemployment, and in spite of the fact that the donation is now confined to ex-service men there is much less evidence of distress than usual, even with existing high prices. To quote one other set of figures which bear upon the question, the return of children fed in the London schools as 'necessitous,' or as needing meals for which they can pay, is remarkably low. Thus:—

CLASSIFICATION.	No. of Children receiving School Meals.		
	Week ending Jan. 30th, 1914	Week ending Jan. 30th, 1919.	Week ending Jan. 30th, 1920.
Necessitous ...	40,308	9,598	11,489
Non-necessitous ...	2,945	10,087	11,391
Total ...	43,253	19,685	22,880

Though the number of 'necessitous' children was about 1,800 higher than last year, it was about 29,000 less than before the war.

It has seemed worth while to go rather fully into the war and post-war figures of unemployment because the actual dislocation of industry has been quite unprecedented in amount, and because unemployment has been dealt with on an unexampled scale by public assistance. Has the war taught us how to deal with the problem of unemployment in ordinary times, or must we say that the circumstances were so abnormal that nothing can be learnt from them? At any rate, it has tested all the machinery of Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, and, it is to be hoped, has got us away from the old relief works and distress committees and relief funds.

There ought to be no further talk of relief works. They upset the regularity of Government and Municipal employment, they prevent the fluidity of labour, and they keep together in a locality a special class of low-grade labour. The navy work, which is all that can be offered, cannot of course be useful for the skilled and better class men who may happen to be out of work. It is too hard for the low-grade weakling to do properly, and to give it to them merely interferes with the regular navvies' gangs which follow the contractor.

The policies lodged for unemployment donation throw some light on the proportion of skilled to unskilled men involved. On March 7th, 1919, there were from the building trades 33,560 skilled men and 24,805 labourers lodging policies: of these, 58,365 men, 9,877 were skilled painters and 160,148 skilled men from the engineering and iron foundry trades and 58,906 labourers. The corresponding figures on January 3rd, 1920, were from the building trades 10,777 skilled (including 6,756 painters) and 8,731 labourers (1,613 painters) and 55,258 skilled engineers and 14,813 labourers. It is fair to assume that practically none of the skilled would have gone to relief works.

What must be attempted is a general steadying of industry. The cotton operatives attempt this by refusing overtime so as to prevent excessive production alternating with short time and unemployment. Some trades are treated as complementary, e.g. brick makers in summer are often employed at gas works in winter. Large businesses and combines, too, may steady employment by the dovetailing of one market with another.

But, perhaps most important of all, since greater regularity of custom calls for greater regularity of supply, **the larger the number of steady consumers the less depression in business.** (The sales of co-operators did not fall in 1886.) Improvement in the wages and spending power of **the masses** should tend to increase their consumption, and **also to steady demand**, while at the same time improving their productive efficiency. It is really a *casual fringe* that

suffers. It is the *industrial weakling* that becomes unemployed in bad times. To abolish the fringe, to strengthen the weakling and to steady employment must be the aim of Social Reformers. For a small number in any trade who may be unemployed insurance can be provided by the trade.

In 1910 the writer of this paper knew a good deal more about the subject of unemployment than he does now, and he published a little book called 'Unemployment and the Trade Unions.' It was condemned because in a chapter devoted to the better education of the workman the suggestion was made that the most difficult transition period between boyhood and manhood from 18--20 could be bridged over by a period of compulsory service, which would not only give discipline and hard physical training, but might be used for a period of serious education which would develop intelligence, initiative and character, and at the same time give technical instruction in the use of machinery or teach commercial and trade knowledge. Productivity depends not on mere numbers working, or on the number of hours worked, but on the *quality* of the workers. The education proposals were summed up as follows :—

'A better education would greatly increase the value of the workman, and to achieve this object three lines of advance could be followed. The compulsory full time school age should be raised to 15, part time continuation classes, whether technical for the skilled trades or general for the larger number of workers, should be established from 15—18, and from 18—20 young men should be given a term of military training combined with further general or technical education.'

The general thesis of the work was that *the co-operation of the Trade Unions was essential for dealing with unemployment, and that it was desirable that all wage earners should be enrolled in Trade Unions.*

'The decasualisation of labour by engagement only through some definite and central organisation; the lessening of excessive fluctuation in the demand for

labour by the extended use of short time ; the mitigation of the distress due to unemployment by the provision of out-of-work insurance pay ; the better education of the boys who are entering trades ; the reduction of boys employed in blind alley occupations, all require the assistance of the Trade Union organisation and the support of Trade Union opinion.'

Since 1910 much has been done. (1) The Labour Exchanges started that year have gradually been brought into closer touch with Trade Unions. In skilled trades the best exchange is the Union. Overtime is being lessened, and there is a hope that the trades will do more to arrange short time in depression rather than allow discharges. Out-of-work insurance was established through Unions paying unemployed benefit in a number of trades scheduled under the Act of 1911. A new schedule of further trades was added under the Act of 1916, and in the present session the Government has introduced a Bill for the extension of insurance to all industries except agriculture and domestic service.

(2) The Education Act of 1918 provides for compulsory part-time instruction in continuation schools to 18, and has given Local Authorities the option of raising the full-time school age to 15. The competition of juveniles will in time be lessened, but that of women has become more keen, as they have entered industry in great numbers during the war. Under the Trade Board Act 1909 a beginning was made to standardise wages and to ensure a minimum, and women are now joining Trade Unions in great numbers.

(3) The war has given a great impetus to Trade Unions. The increase in their membership by December, 1918, over December, 1914, was 1,670,000 males (45 per cent.) and 750,000 females (160 per cent.). The increase was greatest in the Unions of Agricultural Labourers, Builders' Labourers, and General Labourers, *viz.* 466,000 (or 56 per cent.). The Agricultural Labourers rose from 56,000 to 129,000 and the General Labourers from 732,000 to 1,102,000.

(4) The question immediately before the country is a further extension of compulsory insurance. At present there are about 1,423,000 persons in *Trade Unions paying unemployment benefit* in the trades covered by the 1911 Act and 77,000 in those added by the 1916 Act. The *Labour Gazette* only gives figures to the end of 1918, when (see issue for February, 1920) the total membership of Trade Unions was 6,624,000 (5,400,000 men and 1,224,000 women) out of an employed population estimated at 16,000,000. There are in all about 4,000,000 persons covered by the Acts of 1911 and 1916, of whom, as mentioned above, about 1½ millions receive benefit through their Unions: the corresponding figure in 1911 was half a million. It is clearly to the advantage of the State that benefit should as far as possible be paid through Unions which make payments out of their own funds, and therefore exercise a much closer supervision over their members than the State can do through Labour Exchanges. It is also clearly to the advantage of the Unions to administer the State benefit, for they save a great deal of wastage in their membership, which in the past has shown great fluctuations. It is to be hoped that under the new Act many more Unions will undertake to pay benefit.

The trend towards a share in the management by the operatives through Whitley Councils, &c., should also help to a much more general consideration of labour problems, including the diminution of unemployment. If operatives understand the position of trade, and employers feel that they have to contribute to insurance, there is a chance of a real attempt to grapple with the question. There will always be workers with a feeble hold on the market. Whether they can be satisfactorily dealt with by the Labour Exchanges and insurance remains to be seen. For the small class of loafers and the work-shy it is possible that penal colonies may be wanted as outlined in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, but it is to be hoped that they will be reduced to very tiny proportions, and that the general improvement in the conditions of the masses will lead to their practical elimination.

At the present time there is no foreign competition, and there is a quite abnormal demand for labour. Wages have bounded up with prices. Unemployment is not a pressing question. It does seem that the war experience has taught us to have more foresight, and that in future the Labour Exchanges and insurance will prevent an acute unemployment crisis. More sympathetic management *with the help of operatives*, combined with a greatly increased number of persons with wages able to make an effective demand, should tend to check the so-called 'cyclical' depressions: and if means can be devised for permanently dealing with those called 'seasonal,' there is hope that in the future the question of unemployment, as we have known it, may almost disappear.

To sum up the main contentions of this paper, the social reformer must hold before him as his goal, not the assistance of the unemployed, but the steadying of employment. The unemployed as a class were fostered by relief works and distress committees. Relief works have proved no remedy, but have accentuated the disease. They should be finally cast aside. The only method of dealing with what is the greatest problem of the wage-earners is to attack the causes of unemployment. *Careful study of these causes is still needed*, but several hopeful lines of progress have been indicated above, and with the co-operation of the Trade Unions it should be possible to reduce trade fluctuation. For dealing with those who are unemployed through temporary dislocations of trade arising from the adaptation of industry to new conditions, from inventions, changes of fashion, discoveries of new material, &c., the best method of public assistance is by way of insurance. Further, the social worker must always keep before him the improvement of the quality of the workman by education, by training, and by better physical conditions, and in the realm of industry his aim must be to encourage larger foresight, which would take into account not merely the old feverish production under stress of a sudden demand, but the full and constant supply which is needed for the satisfaction of the whole community.

DISCUSSION.

In opening the discussion Major ATTLEE (Mayor of Stepney) said they had had three exceedingly interesting papers covering a very wide field, but, if he might be allowed a word of criticism, they were slightly pre-war in their outlook. In all social work we had now to look at things in a new light : in the light of new ideas and of the new attitude of the people. Concerning independence, a point had been made which met with the general approval of everybody present—the point that the family should be independent. Excellent ! But too often in this country we had admired, not the people who were independent, but the people of independent means. We had tried too long to have one ideal for one class and one for another, but we were seeing now that we only wanted one ideal for all. Consideration of the policy underlying public assistance had too often been based on a fundamental fallacy, and it was this : the assumption was made that the ordinary man was able to keep himself and his wife and family without public assistance. If we made this assumption we had to see that the man was able to get work, and sufficiently well paid work, so that he might be able to support his wife and family. We had never had any satisfactory criterion by which we could judge that a man had tried to get work and failed. The question of distress due to unemployment was an enormous one, and unless some provision was made by which we could say to all men, ‘ Here is a chance to work at an adequate wage,’ we could never deal with it satisfactorily. Unemployment was a pressing question at the moment, and must be dealt with. It was said that there was only one per cent. of unemployment in the country, but that meant 3,000 persons in his borough. We must have a new outlook, because the outlook of the worker was new. He was interested in the Chairman’s suggestion that we had first to draw the line between communal and other forms of service. Personally he disliked the whole present conception of public assistance, and wanted to see a new system set up. ‘ We have a great

opportunity,' he added, 'but whatever form public assistance takes in the future it will be a success only as it is part of an effort made by the community as a whole.'

MISS BEATRICE CARTWRIGHT (Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association, Northamptonshire branch), speaking as a County Councillor and a Guardian of many years standing, argued that if the administration of all public assistance were given to the County Council, the latter could not devote to this work the same detailed attention as the Guardians have done in the past.

Councillor Mrs. MORRIS (Camberwell) spoke of the danger of over-lapping, instancing the fact that her Borough Council had now power to grant milk, when the Guardians' office was only across the road.

Mrs. H. B. IRVING (National League of Health, Maternity and Child Welfare) pointed out that what was wanted was help *before* destitution took place, and it was not possible for the Guardians to give this. She claimed that many who at present were forced to depend on the Poor Law should be given State pensions as a matter of right.

Rev. W. WINSTON HAYNES (Wood Green Education Committee), speaking as Chairman of the Council for some years, a member of the Board of Guardians and of the Children's Welfare Committee, and President of a Play Centre, felt that work in connection with the Board of Guardians, if thoroughly and sincerely undertaken, was a work which appealed to the finer instincts of human nature. There was in it that which differentiated it from the work of a County Council. He feared that there might be some loss of the personal, human touch if all public assistance were administered by a County Council instead of by direct representatives of the people.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said that all the papers had been extremely provocative—speakers had trailed their coat tails to be trodden upon. He only wished to remark on one or two points. Alderman Willink talked about

servants generously and gratefully. Some people are too apt to look on voluntary workers as heroes, but upon Town Councillors and Members of Parliament as mere self-seekers. Too often the secretary of a voluntary society is looked on as a perfect Kitchener of organisation, while the civil servant is considered a mere hidebound muddler. Luckily those who take a real interest in public matters realise that this is not so; unfortunately the stay-at-home critics, who do nothing themselves, play a large part in shaping public judgment.

Parliament is, to an increasing extent, putting greater responsibilities on Local Authorities, e.g. housing and land settlement. But Parliament also, without having clearly thought it out, has an instinct that our existing methods of finding public servants in localities is unsatisfactory. This is shown by the extended use of co-option and, more recently, by the proposals to graft the system of proportional representation on to the electoral machinery for Local Authorities. All these are attempts to bring the best men and women into municipal service.

No one can wish to kill private effort, but men and women who desire to serve the community must appreciate the growing need for having the best and most disinterested service on statutory bodies. There should be a growing local patriotism, which should show itself on Local Authorities. They have need for vision, enthusiasm and knowledge. Too often, now, individual councillors lack these qualities. At the Ministry of Health we are in touch with about 1,800 Local Authorities, and I have actually seen, for instance, new-elected Labour councillors, full of good intention, but without knowledge or experience, allowing themselves to be used by reactionary forces to hinder progress in housing.

However, though one may chafe occasionally at apathy, ignorance, vested interests or individual slowness, it is better to have a gradual, perhaps even slow, development of Democracy, rather than that we should be tempted to get quicker efficiency by Prussianising public life. There are some who have seen the wonderful work done in the army to improve the health of the forces, who desire to extend the same sort

or organisation to our civil life. This would be contrary to our traditions and to the British character. It can only be by stimulating the individual sense of responsibility towards, and the desire to serve, the community that we shall get that fullest development of public welfare which all social reformers are driving at.

The Hon. SIR ARTHUR STANLEY then submitted the following statement :—

The Voluntary Hospital System.

By SIR ARTHUR STANLEY, G.B.E., C.B., M.V.O.

(Chairman, Joint Committee, British Red Cross Society, and Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England).

THE recruiting statistics during the last six years have shown us very clearly the unsatisfactory state of health of the men of the country, and the necessity for a new spirit in matters of public health. It is fortunate that the Ministry of Health has just been formed, for it has come at the right moment for itself and the country, and I am confident that there is a great and beneficent future before this new department of His Majesty's Government. Many of the departments are trammelled by traditions and red tape, but the Ministry of Health starts in happier circumstances, with its hands unfettered and with no traditions to hamper or impede its course.

It is a matter of general knowledge that the voluntary hospitals of the country at the present moment are going through something in the nature of a financial crisis. For the past six years they have, of course, been able to carry out very little in the way of ordinary renewals or repairs, and the whole accumulation of these has now to be met. Moreover, prices have arisen to an abnormal height, and subscribers who have so generously given of their means in the past years to the hospitals now find themselves hampered both by these high prices and also by taxation.

To meet these financial difficulties three courses are open :—

- (1) That the voluntary hospitals should be taken over and maintained by the State.
- (2) That the cost of voluntary hospitals should be borne upon the rates.
- (3) That a great effort should be made to organise the collection of small sums to meet the deficit on the budgets of the voluntary hospitals.

I am here to-day to advocate the adoption of the last of these plans. I am a sincere believer in the voluntary system which has worked so well and has made the voluntary hospitals of this country a model for all other nations of the world.

It is difficult to find out with any degree of exactitude how many people now subscribe to the voluntary hospitals, but it has been estimated by those best acquainted with the subject that at the outside not more than 10 per cent. of the population contribute to the upkeep of these institutions. I am confident that if an appeal were made to the other 90 per cent. of the population we should, at all events, get 10 or 20 per cent. who would interest themselves in these matters; and if that could be achieved we should have gone a long way towards solving the financial difficulties of the present moment. It must be remembered that hospitals themselves have changed considerably during the last few years. Formerly it was the general idea that a hospital was a place to which one did not go except 'in formâ pauperis.' No one who had means would have thought of going to such a place. Moreover, there was always the idea at the back of the minds of the poor people who were obliged to go to hospitals, that they were there largely to be experimented upon by the students. Now, however, a complete change has come or is coming over the scene. It is recognised that hospitals are the places of all others where the patients can obtain at one and the same time the best surgical or medical treatment and the most devoted nursing and attention. A movement is on foot among some of the hospitals to open their wards for

paying patients, and it may well be that a partial solution of the present financial problem may be found in this manner. Most of the big hospitals have almoners' departments, whose duty it is to secure from any patients attending the hospital such measure of financial aid as he or she may reasonably be expected to give to the hospital. That, as a system, is still capable of extension and, personally, I would prefer to rely upon the gratitude of the patient rather than establish a fixed charge for his treatment.

There is, however, one way in which State aid can be given to the hospitals without in any way interfering with their voluntary character. The State has, quite rightly, entered upon a campaign against tuberculosis and venereal disease. If these diseases are to be fought by the State it is necessary that there should be hospital accommodation for the patients. If this accommodation could not be provided by the existing voluntary hospitals, then the State itself would have to build new hospitals and equip them. It is only fair, therefore, that where the voluntary hospitals are doing this work for the State they should receive payment out of public funds, and this payment should be on a scale sufficient to meet full expenses and maintenance. If this course were pursued, the assistance given to the hospitals would be analogous to that which was given during the war by the capitulation grant paid by the War Office for the treatment of military patients.

During the next year the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John hope to bring personally to the notice of every man and woman in the kingdom the need for supporting the hospitals. This will be done, of course, without in any way interfering with the excellent work already carried on by the Hospital Saturday Fund, the Hospital Sunday Fund, and the League of Mercy. Is it too much to hope that when all these organisations get to work the money necessary for the upkeep of the hospitals will be obtained and the voluntary system which 'is twice blest: it blesseth him that gives and him that takes,' will be safe from the extinction which now threatens it?

Lieut.-Col. F. E. FREMANTLE, M.P., then submitted the following paper :—

The Place of the Volunteer in Health-Work.

BY F. E. FREMANTLE, O.B.E., M.A., M.Ch., F.R.C.P.,
F.R.C.S., D.P.H., Lieut.-Col. R.A.M.C. (T.F.).

(Consulting County M.O.H. for Herts).

MR. CHAIRMAN AND COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

I rise to address you as a representative, like yourselves, of that growing army of citizens, male and female, paid and unpaid, who are devoting all their efforts to the improvement of the physical conditions of life, and are thereby laying the physical foundations which are essential to all the higher educational, commercial, moral, aesthetic and religious activities.

THE RECENT EXTENSION OF PUBLIC HEALTH WORK.

The particular branch of sociological work to be considered this evening is commonly known under the name of Public Health, and until recently this term was generally understood to denote attention to the environment of the individuals as it affects their physical health. It dealt, and must always deal, primarily with the poorer classes forming the mass of the nation. It dealt with their houses and the housing conditions of their work in factories and workshops; it dealt with their food and water and milk supply; with their alcoholic refreshments and with drugs. It dealt with the disposal of their sewage, house refuse and stable refuse; it aimed at giving them pure air to breathe, and at keeping from them, in short, all forms of infection or deleterious agents with which, during the last twenty years, we have associated the science of bacteriology.

But during the past twenty years we have learnt that the specific bacteria even of the most deadly disease may live in the body of the healthiest persons without causing

any ill-health. We realise that, in order to produce disease, both the seed and suitable soil, both the germs and a susceptible constitution, are essential. We may therefore prevent disease either by attacking—if possible, exterminating—the enemy, the germs and poisons; or by separating the combatants, the germs and their source from the healthy individual; or by strengthening the defences and the individual's power of resistance. Our methods, then, are in three categories—environmental or sanitary (as commonly understood), sociological and personal.

Moreover, we find that bacteria play a far more general and essential part in the world's life than we had supposed; that many are harmless, if not actually necessary to vital processes; that many harmless bacteria may become harmful; that in any particular disease they may defy extermination and we may only hope for their numerical reduction and, above all, for a limit to their rate of propagation.

To this end, therefore, we have latterly turned our attention to the strengthening of the body so as to resist disease. We breed the bacteria outside the body, separate the poisons, inject these poisons in gradually increasing doses into the human being, and so vaccinate and immunise him against the disease. Nature uses the same tactics. Take, for instance, tuberculosis, and we find *post mortem* that a very large proportion of the population have, at one time or other during their lives, suffered from tubercle and have recovered from it. Why? Because their constitution has been gradually strengthened by the guerilla warfare against the tubercle bacilli until it has exterminated them.

But the individual is no test-tube of glass, standardised to one pattern and measure. It is a living entity, varying vastly in the several periods of its life or under different conditions, as one individual differs from every other, in its power of resistance to each form of disease.

So any action that may be taken to strengthen the

individual to resist disease must be multiform, comprehensive, subtle; able to meet all the combinations and permutations of adversity which it may encounter, to ferret out all the hidden corners and flaws, to seal up the leaks, to close or guard the gaps in the defence. Our action, our agency, must be essentially human and personal, as well as material, corporate and co-ordinate. Here is the need for voluntary as well as for official action.

And lastly, in our terms of reference, we must include not merely the forces of the enemy and the individual strength and circumstances of the defence; but not least must we consider the problem of recruitment. An army may of course outrun its supplies; it may increase in numbers at the strength of its quality, training and leadership. But there is no question that a proper system of distribution and direction will generally enable full use to be made of every sound recruit available; that the larger the field of selection, the higher will be the attainments of those selected; in short, that the problem of a declining birth-rate, unequally declining in different nations, different communities, different races, is one of the most serious of those underlying the physical foundations of civilisation.

THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE.

These, then, are the problems we have to face; and, as T. H. Green has said,* 'It is the business of the State to maintain the conditions, without which a free exercise of the human faculties is impossible.' How much more is this necessary after five appalling years of war, in which our Empire alone has lost 862,284 naval and military lives from action, raids, wounds, accidents and disease; and presents a sadly long tale of disability, temporary and permanent, with five years of greatly-reduced birth-rate and habits to counteract that make against the maintenance of the race!

* "Liberal legislation and Freedom of Contracts," 1881.

‘It is the business of the State,’ said T. H. Green; but we in this Conference have to emphasise that State-action, necessary as it is, is of little use without the cordial co-operation of the individual subject and of individual, private, unofficial enterprise and assistance.

The State, which in a leisurely and haphazard way, from the rebuilding of London after the great fire in 1666, and the reform of the Poor Laws in 1834, had from 1874 to 1906, mainly under Conservative and Unionist administrations, steadily been passing Acts—the great Public Health Act of 1875, the Water Acts, the Factory Acts, the Infectious Diseases Acts, the Midwives Act—to improve sanitation and limit the spread of epidemic disease, from 1906 under a Liberal régime reflected the growing desire for the improvement of the individual physique and its environment in the Children Act, the medical inspection of school children, the Housing and Town-Planning Act. From 1899 to 1902 in South Africa and now far more since 1914 its success has been put to the acid test of war.

THE LESSONS OF THE MILITARY SYSTEM.

In war we have all seen, those of us who have served in administrative posts have seen most vividly, how far a State machinery can carry us in the direction of health. It has indeed opened our eyes to possibilities even in civil life. In the Field it was sufficient for evidence to be given on reasonably sure grounds as to insanitary conditions or regulations or habits, in any way tending to reduce physical efficiency, for the one responsible authority, the General Officer in Command, to require it to be set right. In Mesopotamia, for instance, where the Army was faced with the extreme conditions of physical trial, with the most varied assortment of virulent diseases, medical information, research, prevention and treatment were co-ordinated under a single medical authority, who had only to state his case to heads of other departments in the same area or if necessary to Commandant or G.O.C., to get whatever supplies or services or regulations he required, in so

far as they were available and compatible with the general interest. In this direction the British Regular Army had in 1914 already learned fairly well the lessons of the South African War; the temporary Army learned much from them and from bitter experience. Committees, except for special purposes, were not of much use; consultants in sanitary work were little required; for the Army system is complete; and where, as in Mesopotamia, a free hand was given to sanitary officers, and all were imbued with the strenuous need and great possibilities of their activities, the whole properly co-ordinated under General Headquarters and checked by a proper system of statistics, reports, instructions and sympathetic advice, the results were on a vast scale, general and obvious. Seldom were means better adapted to ends. Perfection seemed in sight, had not this unique experience of War been rudely interrupted by Peace.

In this military system there was small place for the voluntary worker, for it was the duty of all to co-operate in every way to the end in view. Certain voluntary organisations, no doubt, contributed not a little, mostly indirectly, to the health of the Force—the Red Cross, the unofficial Canteens, the Y.M.C.A.; and after all it was mainly an army of volunteers whose main object was to win the war and get back safe and sound to civil life—who by intelligent and, for the most part, willing co-operation made possible the results, which without such co-operation can never be ensured under even the most complete system of administration.

What, then, are the lessons of this experience for practical use in civil life? Despite the great differences that distinguish civil from military life, it is of practical value to recognise the importance of research, directed to the lines of greatest use; of the systematic collection of evidence from all quarters, properly collated at headquarters, and of the results and consequent action being communicated to all concerned for unwavering compliance. The importance is shown of pitiless examination

without delay of all accepted facts, habits and rules; of a single authority for the preventive, curative and research branches of medical work; of medical and sanitary staffs equal in status and authority to those of other departments, receiving on a single, clear scale their due share—although this was not always the case—of pay, promotion by merit and rewards. It was evident, often by bitter experience and under pressure of public opinion, that the preservation of health was a vital necessity, to which, except in emergencies, all must give way. These lessons still require to be learnt in civil life. They are practical lessons of immense value.

But the differences between civil and military conditions are great. The civilian is not a pawn, a common soldier, who can be ordered about in his own home. His home is his castle, which he will defend, if needs be, against every Inspector and most devices of Government. He pays for democracy, perhaps with his life or the life of his children, but democracy he will have. He claims the right to do with his own as he thinks best; he often thinks wrong; more often he does not think at all; but he resents the intrusion of other people's thoughts; he will carry on as his parents did before him, or as God intended him to do, or, in whatever way he may put it, as *he* finds most suitable.

THE CLAIM OF INDIVIDUALITY IN CIVIL HEALTH.

Here, then, is the primary effort of volunteer effort in health-work. Our citizen demobilised has no company officer or non-commissioned officer over him. He has to be persuaded; better still, his wife has to be persuaded; best of all his children have to be persuaded and trained to healthy habits, for they are the citizens of the future. Even in this work, the State machinery which does much should do more. Since 1906 the educational system has been gently but surely turned in this direction; and long before 1906 the individuality of school teachers had often

expressed itself in excellent influence for all things healthy and good. Then again, since 1902 the profession of midwife has been used for the same end; and with that beginning, the legislation for control of tuberculosis, maternity and infant welfare has led to the introduction of State nursing, which the far-sighted leaders and officers concerned have firmly directed to the inculcation of health in the home. The women's movement, too—the movement, that is, for general independence of women and their employment in wage-earning capacities—has led several to become sanitary inspectors and so add to the already very useful work done by local authorities in the home since 1875.

But the individuality of the individual in civil life makes it necessary to employ every volunteer that is possible in filling up the gaps. For a machine, however good, must necessarily work on certain definite lines, and cannot adapt itself to every personal variation of life and circumstance. And so in the field of home nursing we have much excellent work done by the well-to-do for their poorer neighbours, by the squire, the parson, the doctor, the employer, the private resident, and their wives; first informally out of the milk of human kindness, and then more systematically through private associations. One of Miss Florence Nightingale's last schemes for the welfare of the poorer classes was for the training of young ladies as rural health visitors in the county of Buckingham. And, recognising this need, the State machinery makes use of volunteer assistance in school management and child welfare, in educational schemes and in countless other ways. The private work of the lady rent-collectors, initiated by the late Miss Octavia Hill in Marylebone, was a most astute means of exploring and improving the home conditions in many poor districts. Indeed, wherever any person of heart and intelligence has the opportunity of contact with those of less intelligence, of whatever station in life, but especially amongst those who are in need, there is a chance, often used but all too often neglected, of influencing their health conditions, directly or indirectly, for good.

THE CLAIM OF DEMOCRACY IN CIVIL HEALTH.

But there is another vital difference between military and civil life. In the Army there is a single, clear, pontifical chain of authority; and each link in the chain is a single person, whose duty it is to interpret the orders received or regulations laid down and give clear, definite orders to the further links in the chain, until the tendency is for the lower links to feel that they are mere links without right to use any human spirit or intelligence that may be left to them. How often have gallant gentlemen in the ranks felt this galling position! How often have those above them, when under good leadership in face of difficulties, revelled in the clarity and force of that leadership and longed for it in civil life! But that difference was deliberately chosen by our nation in the civil wars nearly three centuries ago. We chose democracy rather than autocracy; and by democracy we stand or fall. No despotism, no oligarchy or bureaucracy can be allowed in this country, least of all after the Reform Act of 1918. It is the whole community that rules through its representatives, whether in imperial, national or local affairs. Therefore authority in civil life is fluctuating, elastic, changing—from place to place, council to council, from one generation to another. Therefore, also, every member of the community reserves to himself some power of conscience, as he may call it, to interpret the action and rules of authority as he thinks fit. In the interests of the community and of the helpless, certain laws and rules are laid down; but precision is impossible; and democracy can only succeed when the communities and individuals are allowed to suffer, in the last resort, from their own action. Here, then, is a vast field of work for voluntary action. We have seen what it can do in educating and helping the individual to attain and to maintain his own health and that of his home. But in the shaping of public policy, in the adaptation and carrying out of health measures, private initiative, resource and opportunity are of vital importance.

THE RECORD OF VOLUNTARY WORK.

Indeed the whole history of Public Health is full of instances to show the essential part played by voluntary effort. Public care of the sick started with the privately-owned hospitals and monasteries. Sir Edwin Chadwick, by his private writings and efforts, was largely responsible for the Reform of the Poor Law in 1834: his Parliamentary Committee on the Condition of the London Churchyards reported in 1843 and led to the Burial Act of 1855. The 'Labourers' Friend Society,' later the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes, with the Prince Consort as its first President, was one of the first voluntary societies which led to reforms of the Public Health; and Lord Shaftesbury's 'National Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes' in 1841 lead to the earlier Housing Acts, as in our day the 'Garden Cities and Town-Planning Association' and the 'National Town-Planning Council' undoubtedly led to Mr. John Burns' 'Housing, Town-Planning, &c., Act' of 1909. Many Public Health Acts have owed much of their origin to business requirements, such for instance as those for the provision of water-supplies and for purification of sewage. How much do we not owe to the science of bacteriology, based on Pasteur's experiments for a brewery? Indeed initiative is almost always private and voluntary; research has gained almost as much as it has lost by its total dependence in this country—until quite recently—on private means or voluntary funds. And so the initiative in health policy has largely come from private or unofficial effort; that for the Midwives' Act of 1902 from the 'Association for Promoting the Training and Supply of Midwives'; for the medical inspection of school children, and the immense advance in school health from the 'National League for Physical Education and Improvement,' amongst others; recent measures for control of infant mortality, tuberculosis and venereal disease from specific Associations formed in those respective interests.

Public Health, indeed, is peculiarly suited to voluntary initiative. For health measures touch the individual in his home, in his person, in ways of which public authority is rightly shy. Such measures must be founded on the proved results of experience. Private enterprise must first make the experiment. If it fails, a handful of private persons have at most lost a little credit and a little cash, although honest endeavour has its own rewards. If it succeeds Government may the more safely follow.

It is often forgotten, too, that special measures require a special personnel to administer them. Educational reform, for instance, is often delayed for lack of sufficient teachers of the type or knowledge required. Public Health measures develop slowly because the medical and nursing personnel, on which so much depends, have been most inadequately instructed in the possibilities and methods of health work. It is on private institutions that the State has always to rely in the first instance for any special kind of training; and to this day it is mainly on the Royal Sanitary Institute that the community depends for the training and certification of its Sanitary Inspectors, while it is only by grants to private institutions and by Boards of Control that the State in any way shapes the training of of nurses, midwives and medical men. The support of these valuable institutions is obviously a most useful function of volunteer effort.

VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATIONS.

It is often felt that there is too much overlapping in these private societies. With this idea an effort was once made to amalgamate the Association for Promoting the Training and Supply of Midwives, the Rural Midwives Association and the Cottage Benefit Nursing Association. A dozen representatives of two of these bodies met for tea in a private house; and much mutual sympathy and agreement were expressed. But towards the end one Association insisted on a year's training as a *sine qua non*, while the others would often employ village-women with a

few months' training or none. Neither would give way, and the meeting ended in a pleasant resolution of mutual regard. The failure in agreement was disappointing; but after all it seemed obvious that two sets of officers and patrons, two committees, two subscription lists, and even double appeals, through the Press or by circular, even to the same persons produced a great deal more interest and bigger results than a single amalgamated association. For in voluntary bodies each subscriber, each worker gives all that he or she feels able or inclined to give of work, time, money, powers and influence to its object and its success. They cannot, will not give more if the body is amalgamated with another; and in process of amalgamation one set of officers and chief responsible supporters will have been choked off. During the war I was asked by Miss Olga Nethersole to join her 'People's League of Health.' 'Another League?' I cried, 'to cover the same old ground?' But the answer came from experience that here was another focus of enthusiasm, tapping probably a new source of influence, influencing public opinion from a fresh quarter; and the League has started its ambitious career.

Many of us will remember, many here owe their presence to, the Agenda Club and the Cavendish Club and Association. These were not specifically concerned with health work, but when they began to put their members out to work for the social objects they had in view, health work was found to provide a natural outlet for many warm-hearted energies; and the Agenda Club devoted its whole powers, other than those required for its general development, to the novel institution of a National Health Week. Who can tell how much the nation owes to that institution for the thorough and passionate advertisement it gave, the public attention it forced, to the requirements of national health! To Thorpe, author of the 'Open Letter to English Gentlemen,' the originator and inspirer of the Agenda Club, to E. V. Birchall, the Old Etonian, who gave his whole time, money and exceptional ability

to the practical execution of its objects, and gave his life for his country on the Somme, to these and to a host of their colleagues the National Health owes much; for above all they brought home to a fresh generation the duty and delights of social service, and put many in the way of definite work. A similar debt is due to those who with greater influence in a more restricted field preached the doctrine of personal service to one's neighbour from the platform of Queen's Hall on the eve of King George's Coronation, and gave effect to their preaching in founding the Cavendish Club and Association.

With these are associated the several Guilds of Help, of Social Welfare, Service or Aid represented here to-day. The work they actually do in supporting or operating the corporate activities of voluntary enterprise bearing on the public health is large in extent and great in value. But their main contribution is the information and incentive they give to individuals and associations, official and unofficial, for the promotion of the public health. In this respect omission must not be made of the University, Public School and Women's Settlements, of the Church Lads' Brigade and kindred organisations, and especially of the Boy Scouts. Much more might be done; but much is already done through these means to influence the nation in the direction of health.

Last, and yet in some respects the first and greatest of all such voluntary associations, comes the Charity Organisation Society, inseparably connected with the name of Sir Charles Loch. This is no place to appraise the work and organisation of that great Society. But there can be no doubt that by its steady persistence and brave adherence to principle it has compelled a more thoughtful analysis of the causes of poverty, has shown up clearly the close relationship of poverty and misery with ill-health and has done much to undermine, both by official and unofficial endeavour, the worst conditions of ill-health in our towns. War Saving Committees have in some districts extended this work; and there is no doubt that both the advocacy

and inculcation of habits of thrift and also the organisation of charity to attain the best results without weakening the self-respect and self-help of the recipients must indirectly do much to encourage and promote their health.

One thing, however, is essential to develop to its full extent the power of all these bodies, scattered and overlapping, all over the kingdom; and that is co-ordination. This implies neither amalgamation nor control; neither uniformity nor loss of initiative and independence. But unity is strength. They can support each other; supplement each other; co-operate for certain purposes; share in certain properties, privileges and even personnel. Their influence in promoting or guiding national policy may in conjunction be considerable; separately it must be slight. And I trust that this Conference will enable the National Council of Social Service to find means of establishing such co-operation as may be of greatest value to the public health.

GRANTS TO VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS FROM PUBLIC MONEYS.

Before leaving the subject of voluntary organisations it may be well to allude to the question of financial contributions from public funds and the difficulty that presents itself to logical minds in accepting such support for a voluntary body. If the State accepts responsibility for part of the payment, it may well in theory be called on to pay the whole; and subscriptions—it may be feared—and voluntary work will fall off. In some cases that will no doubt be true; in other cases it certainly is not. A certain County Nursing Association started in 1907, solely as a voluntary federation of local associations without any help from rates or taxes but with a most efficient nurse-midwife of good education and social standing in the county as its Secretary, who at the same time was appointed Inspector of Midwives by the County Council. The County Medical Officer was appointed its honorary medical adviser. These two links enabled the nursing system to expand as an

integral and most valuable factor in the health organisation of the county. The provision of midwives to every parish has now been completed, with only slight aid from the county rate. For school nursing, tuberculosis nursing, infant welfare, instead of requiring separate official organisations, the County Council made use of the existing nursing system, and so had the inestimable advantage of providing the same nurse for all purposes in the homes and amongst the people whom she knows as neighbours and friends. The County Council has provided a modest grant for each of these services, as Acts were passed one by one for the purpose; has provided district inspectors, to inspect and instruct the existing nurses in their special duties, working under the Inspector of Midwives as the single head both of the official and unofficial elements in the organisation; while an excellent Training Home has been established and gives an eighteen months' course in midwifery, sick nursing, school nursing, infant welfare, tuberculosis and general sanitary work, towards which the County Council gives grants by way of scholarships for four or more to be trained every year. Thus by joint voluntary and official action, the voluntary taking the initiative, a complete nursing service has been established throughout the county for all purposes of enormous and increasing value for the health of the community. With sufficient common-sense, and with the more human spirit that should result to public administration from the new Franchise, I would suggest that grants from public moneys may be a most useful method whereby effort, initiated, maintained and proved successful by an imaginative and philanthropic section for the common good, may be gradually transferred to the community as a whole. The logic at any one stage may be paradoxical, but, as Mirabeau has said of our country, 'C'est le manque de logique qui vous sauve.'

THE FUNCTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN.

Lastly, let us consider the part that every individual citizen of either sex could and should play in the mainten-

ance and advancement of health. This object, we have seen, depends very largely on the intelligent co-operation of every individual. The whole educational system of the country should take this into full account in every section of its work and should see that no boy, girl or young adult is 'turned out' into the world's work without having acquired not only the habits of healthy living, but, according to his or her intellectual assets, a positive understanding of the means by which he or she may contribute to the health of the nation.

In person and family, at home and in the office or workshop, everyone should be concerned not only in practice, but in thought, words and influence in the advancement of health. Much depends on public opinion, and everyone has a certain responsibility in shaping public opinion.

Take for instance the concrete problem of the declining birth-rate. The National Commission on this subject published in 1916 an admirable book giving its first report on the subject; a second report, giving the facts and conclusions on the secondary causes and effects, is now in preparation. The substance of these books should be known to all; it is one of the most vital questions of peace, as was that of recruiting during war. And yet we commonly hear it dismissed with a brief reference to the cost of living and the necessity of bringing only into the world such children as can be supported and educated, *i.e.* generally by the standard to which their parents' parents have attained at the end of a laborious life. We hear little respect paid to the faithful, plucky, natural mother of a large family for her truly magnificent contribution to the national welfare. 'Mrs. So-and-so,' I have heard one lady remark to another, 'is going to have another child; it's positively revolting; like a prize sow.' And the other lady agreed. Such indeed is public opinion, generally less outspoken, to-day. We must change all that. We must teach the young that if the first object of good citizenship is to maintain and improve the present condition of the race, the second and hardly less important is that of securing

its continuance and bringing up as many good and healthy young citizens as possible to continue the nation's work. Every boy and girl should learn that a comparatively early marriage and a considerable family, for which self-restraint, thrift and simple living are essential, are natural steps to the complete development of their lives and are an urgent duty as well as, in the end, a source of infinite satisfaction. Consequent on this axiom is the rider of chastity till marriage, one of the most important factors in national health.

But apart from his attention to health in the home and his share in public opinion, every man and woman has some special avocation in life in which an interest in the health of the nation can be made effective. We have mentioned the squire, the rector, the doctor and their wives, the house-wife, the leisured residents, in their influence on their poorer or other neighbours. But a solicitor in advising his clients, an estate agent, an officer in the public or municipal services, a man of affairs, frequently has the power of directing attention to insanitary conditions, habits or regulations that should be put right, of advising as to the disposition of money, which may be given for better housing or nursing or the advancement of good health work or instruction, whether already in progress or projected. Everyone should become a member and a subscriber, if possible a worker or even an officer in his spare time, of some agency working for the public health. And it is of inestimable advantage for young men and women, on leaving school or 'varsity for their work in life, to sacrifice some fraction of their leisure, as during the war they have so nobly been prepared to sacrifice their whole lives, to this work of human betterment. It is for this object that these Guilds of Help and Social Service exist, that this Conference has met. It is a splendid effort towards national reconstruction.

But let us not part with a pleasant feeling that all is well. We must not merely press along on old lines, in the several associations to which we are committed. We

must go out into the highways and hedges and compel the outsiders to come in. We must not wait for our friends and neighbours to join us; we must go out to the attack. Admiral Sir John Fisher writes to the *Times* of his own service, of his professional colleagues, 'The Navy, in touring round the home ports, is burning thousands of tons of coal over tea parties. Sack the lot!' So we, as firmly and pointedly, if perhaps less rudely, may point out to our beloved Oxford that she gives lip service to the importance of civic work and national health, but not a particle of instruction to undergraduates. There is no M.O.H. to advise upon the University curriculum or buildings; no effort to train up the thinkers of to-day and the statesmen of to-morrow on these lines; no money or time can be spared from the existing course. What does the college tutor care about it, in fact, at the bottom of things? Nothing! Sack the lot!

So in private life serious men will not put themselves out for rest and proper food and fresh air at the expense of their tasks; in early middle life they adopt the easiest routine; when it presses, they enjoy the self-inflicted martyrdom—and inflict it on others. Scholars, moralists, aesthetes, and teachers are probably, as a rule, the greatest sinners.

This is no light matter. For it is from these negligences and ignorances in the mesh of public and private opinion that departments and industries suffer all through our national life; this lies at the root of most industrial unrest: often ill-stated, exaggerated, abused, this impossibility for the workers of enjoying a healthy and happy home-life goes to the core of national security. It would be prevented, may perhaps within a decade or two be prevented, by a systematic understanding of all enlightened professions and persons of good will in their several vocations and ministries.

The Reform Act of 1918 has changed many things; it has emphasised the power of the voter, and above all the

power of the woman voter, for good. These are peculiarly women's questions. The female electorate is casting about for a programme. Let it keep a watching brief by all means on the affairs that must mainly be the care of men. But let it take up as a principal object in its programme the spiritual and material improvement of the race, in every home, every workshop, every calling and way of life; and so contribute to the quality and conditions of the future generation, which it is always the proud privilege of woman to bring into being and enlist in the national ranks for the work and ideals of the British race.

Mrs. DUNCAN HARRIS then submitted the following paper :—

The Development of Public Health Work.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE AND THE VOLUNTARY
WORKER.

By BARBARA DUNCAN HARRIS

(*Hon. Secretary, Croydon Infant Welfare Association*).

I HAVE been asked, as a private in our large army of social workers, to address you to-night on the part of the volunteer in that department of Public Health work which deals more especially with the welfare of mothers and young children.

'Give us the young,' said Benjamin Kidd, 'and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation,' and although the possibilities of child nurture are only beginning to be dimly apprehended, it has provided one of the most dramatic examples of progress in Public Health work during the past decade. It has, moreover, been one in which the voluntary worker has been, and probably always will be, especially concerned, in that a great part of it consists, not in dealing with diseased or abnormal conditions, but in conserving normal health. By health I do not mean simply

negation of disease ; I mean something positive, vivid, vital ;
that which is the birthright of every child

‘ Nimble and light of limb,
In three elements, free
To run, to ride, to swim.’

And the law of this kingdom of health is not all written in learned books. Much of it consists in ensuring to every member of the community some of the simplest and most elementary factors in a well-ordered human life, factors such as any citizen may comprehend.

One deals to-night, of necessity, only with maternity and child welfare in its most limited and specialised sense. The whole of Public Health work is child welfare business. And in its widest aspect there is no social development, whether concerning wages, conditions of labour, housing, education and recreation of old and young, commerce, peace and war, which does not impinge upon the question of the well-being of mother and child.

I speak with the utmost diffidence before an audience so widely learned in social, administrative and medical lore, and am only made bold to do so because I am wholly convinced that ordinary citizens like myself have a very large responsibility for the right development and continuance of the business in hand. This conviction has been strengthened by what I have been privileged to see and share in during the past five years in various capacities, on diverse committees, local and national, official and voluntary.

As Honorary Secretary of a large and thriving voluntary association I have taken part in the organisation of nine Maternity and Infant Welfare Centres, and in the creation of a first and second edition of a Maternity Hostel for normal and abnormal cases, as well as being concerned in many of the allied activities. And during the formative years of the work I had the great advantage of serving also on the Statutory Committee of our Borough Council which was considering the same problems from the official side, for some years acting as chairman, so that I, in common with several other members of both bodies, was enabled to follow the

development of the work from both aspects. I cannot, I am sure, over-estimate the value of close association between the two agencies. In this and in many ways, especially in constant co-operation of our M.O.H. in all the work of the voluntary association, co-ordination, which is the watchword of this Council, proved itself up to the hilt as one of the most potent factors for progress. I have had, too, opportunity of coming in contact with a wide circle of opinion among workers for Maternity and Infant Welfare; as a one-time member of the National Baby Week Council Executive; as a present member of the Executive of the National Association of Maternity and Infant Welfare Centres, and of the Public Health and Insurance Section of the National Council of Women. As a result of this I have a very firm belief in the function of the volunteer.

But I do not want to-day to deal with the question from the point of view of Committees or Councils, but rather, with a profound consciousness that we are dealing with needs common to every section of the community, I would speak, as one mother of babes, touching matters that are the common need of all mothers.

It would not be profitable on this occasion to enlarge on the early history, and the causes which led up to the present development. It has in part moved with the general demand for a fuller life for all citizens, but the strong stream which is now carrying us along had its source in many contributory factors. The Education Act of 1870 made the State sponsor for the mental development of the child, and the logical sequence of its responsibility for the inseparable factor of physical development has been in process of evolution ever since. It has travelled along many roads, and has progressed both as effort for the general health of the people, and as attempts to safeguard young life. In the official exorcism of Sarah Gamp, not yet completed; in the French experiment of the 'Goutte de Lait' and our own first milk depôts, followed by the early 'Schools for Mothers,' fostered, as was natural by the Board of Education; in the coming of the Health Visitor; and in many another way it had its origin.

And side by side with the tentative and experimental work, the irrefutable evidence of the Royal Commission Report on Physical Deterioration, Local Government Board Reports, Registrars' returns, and School Inspection results were piling up arguments for the need of maternity and infant welfare work. And when the crash of 1914 came the public conscience was already dimly uneasy about its responsibility for, at all events, child life and health, although the significance of maternal well-being caught hold more gradually of the public imagination. But up to this point the work was very largely in the hands of voluntary societies who were feeling their way tentatively with the aid of minute grants through the Board of Education. From 1914, fifty per cent. grants became available through both the Board of Education and the Local Government Board, and there can be little doubt that this factor has greatly facilitated expansion both for voluntary and official bodies.

We recognise, with shame, that the great impetus for safeguarding maternity and infancy came, not so much through a realisation of the significance of human life and well-being, but in deadly fear that no nation could stand the losses of both battlefield and cradle, and the disconcerting discovery that the normal toll upon the cradle was heavier than the losses of war; and the effect of the stimulus thus given can be measured to some extent in terms of Infant Welfare Centres, for whereas in 1914 there were only some 400, about three quarters of which were under voluntary organisation, there are now 1718 in England and Wales alone.

The war is over now—more or less. Successive Acts have crystallised and enforced much that was born of the vision and effort of volunteers—the Midwives Act of 1902; the Insurance Acts of 1911 and 1913; the still disembodied Milk and Dairies Act of 1915; the Notification of Births Acts of 1907 and 1915; the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918; and the co-ordination of almost all agencies operating for the welfare of mothers and infants, under the Ministry of Health. Most Health Authorities are taking some steps for the specialised safeguarding of infant life and health and the question inevit-

ably arises as to whether the volunteer will not gradually be extinguished.

The volunteer organisation or individual must always present difficulties to the official side. They are not under immediate control and do not necessarily conform exactly to the official scheme. I understand also that they are supposed to possess the whole gamut of vices, from an obstinate belief in their own methods to a painful disregard of all method; from officiousness to slackness; from reactionary principles to Bolshevik tendencies! And the thought has sometimes crossed my mind that some M.O.H's. might have a more peaceful life after the extinction of the voluntary welfare worker. Is there then any justification for their existence? and if so, what is their proper sphere?

I suggest to this Conference that the crux of this question lies, where the crux of the whole work lies, in the Maternity and Infant Welfare Centres, and I would ask this Conference to consider for a few moments the construction and potentiality of these organisations. Most workers would agree that the development of the Centres has been the inspiration of the work, for out of the direct and spontaneous association of all types of welfare workers with the mothers and babies grows both naturally and rightly the realisation of other requirements and the satisfaction of the same. Through the centres the mother can be put in touch with all the agencies that can help her in her business of bearing and rearing sound citizens. To the Centre the Health Visitor invites the mother to bring her newly-born baby when she visits it after notification; or better still the mother may come during the months of pregnancy to learn how to order her life for the good of herself and her baby. Here she may be put in touch with an efficient midwife, ante-natal and dental clinic, or she may be referred, if desired, to a Maternity Hostel. The question of extra milk supply or other nourishment can best be dealt with through the same channel, and from here the marasmic, ricketty, or wasting babies who for one cause or another refuse to thrive in their own homes, can be sent into the observation ward, hospital, or convalescent

Home. For the overburdened mother the way would open to the Rest Home, or to the engagement of a Home Help, (one of the amenities of life which some of us have learned to value more highly of late !). There should also be something more than a nodding acquaintance between Centres, Day Nurseries and Nursery Schools, for they are providing for the same mothers and babies.

And in the work of the Centres the voluntary helper finds the greatest sphere of usefulness, both as the initiator, and in carrying on the routine work when they are established. The technical sides of the work are dealt with by the doctor and nurse. These are the bases of the educational work and in their hands lie tremendous powers for the shaping of the future. They are the experts in all that pertains to the high science of health, and it is clearly the responsibility of the Local Health Authority to ensure that these expert services, efficiently rendered, are available for the public. With fifty per cent. Treasury grants, and other centralised stimuli there is little excuse for the shirking of that duty, and for the thrifty administrative body that would secure a good return in well-being for a moderate outlay, the work offers great attractions. But the business of mothercraft which finds its focus in these Centres is by no means confined to the high regions of medical lore, and from many aspects the work of the volunteer is invaluable, provided that she (for this part of the business is woman's work) grasps very firmly the limitation of her sphere, and never, under any provocation allows one word of advice on matters which pertain to the sphere of the expert to escape her naughty tongue. So many of the things which count in a baby's life are little things. The Centres are not hospitals for the cure of acute diseases; they are rather preventative Centres where the small deflections from the path of normal health may be corrected, and above all, where the mother may seek knowledge whereby to make the best possible conditions for the new life that has come to her in what are too often far from ideal surroundings. The mother therefore will not in many cases be driven to the centres by the urgency of acute illness—she will be drawn

thither by sympathetic hands. Foremost among these are the doctor and nurse, but they are not the only agents required, It lies in the hands of the volunteer to make the centres not merely means for alleviating acute trouble, but an integral part of the mothers' social life, where she may find comradeship and help in all the diverse problems which confront her, from the feeding of her baby and the knitting of its clothes, to the training of a citizen, and the problems of population. Under what form of management, and with what type of personnel shall we best provide for these needs?

It is a question which is finding many answers to-day. In London, 160 out of 203 Centres are run by voluntary societies, and of the remainder in England and Wales, 519 are under voluntary auspices, 331 under County Councils and 665 under Local Health Authorities. Of these many are under some form of joint management. Of Health Visitors doing Maternity and Infant Welfare work there were, in June, 1915, 320 employed by voluntary societies, 751 whole time and 760 part time employed by Local Health Authorities, and 1,044 district nurses doing health visiting under county schemes. At the same time the Ministry of Health is urging upon the Local Authorities their responsibility for a long list of aids to maternal and infant health. Until the whole country is efficiently covered by State agencies the function of the volunteer is clear. Moreover it would be a far-sighted seer who would venture to predict when the need for experiment and enterprise will cease, for the possibilities of Public Health work have scarcely yet been enunciated, much less explored, and experiment is the acknowledged province of the more elastic volunteer organisations. But I submit to this Conference that even when the State agencies are doing their full share there will still remain a clear field for the volunteer working side by side with the official, not overlapping, but each supplementing the other, on the lines suggested for the work of the Centre. The doctor and nurse would be officials of the Local Authority. The nurse superintendent would combine the office with that of Health Visitor under the Notification of Births Act, so avoiding the pitfall of duplicated visits, and

ensuring that the mother had the earliest personal link with the Centre. The same Authority will probably be the best owner of the premises where the work is carried on, as many allied activities, all the business of the Authority, but not necessarily all the business of any one voluntary organisation, may most conveniently be conducted on the same premises. But I suggest that the social, domestic and ethical side of the work,—mothercraft classes in cutting, mending and adapting garments, organisation of lectures and discussions on educational, eugenic or other subjects, thrift clubs and cradle clubs, the keeping of attendance registers, hygienic clothing stall, distribution (under the order of doctor or nurse), of dried milks, simple drugs, etc., as well as the provision of that most friendly sacrament, a cup of tea, these might all be left permanently in the hands of voluntary workers. And among these helpers will be included the mothers who use the Centres. The need of this co-operation at all points is emphasised by the Women's Co-operation Guild in their memorandum on the National Care of Maternity. 'Working Women' they say 'must be given a voice in shaping the policy to be pursued and in deciding the ideas to be instilled otherwise there might be danger of scientific, eugenic, and official views of the work over-riding individual and family rights. Any attempt to impose compulsion on the mother in work of this intimate and personal character would only hinder progress.'

The need for some form of training for the volunteer is becoming increasingly urgent, and some voluntary bodies are already initiating schemes. In this connexion the help of the V.A.D. who is now taking a good share of the work, will be particularly useful. They have won their spurs through trying years of drudgery, strain, and possibly snubbings; they will have learnt many essential lessons to fit them for this work; they will have learnt not to trespass in the spheres of others, they will have learnt orderly habits, and the vital importance of regularity of attendance at their work. And as no doubt it was largely their maternal instincts which led them to nurse the wounded they will readily redirect their

kindly thoughts to less mature forms of humanity ! But whoever she be, the voluntary helper comes to the work because she has a high ideal of motherhood, and because she loves a healthy baby, and her presence and her influence should be of immense value, both to official and to mother. For one must recognise that the well-being of mother and child is, at no point, a matter that can be dealt with in a vacuum apart. It will progress as part of the general advance in well-being, and as the community recognises a higher standard for every section of the people. In so far as it is specialised it rests very largely on the awakening and self-knowledge of motherhood. Are there those who fear such an awakening? The free-minded, educated mother, well-informed, seeing the world that awaits her baby with clear eyes, may well have a new, and possibly disconcerting point of view to bring to bear on social developments. She will not bear children solely at the bidding of desire or to provide grist for the mills of Mammon, or trophies for the chariot of Mars. The mother freshly returned from the gates of life, with her hardly-won gift of a new creature in her hand views with a terrible clarity of vision our tumbled world, and when her voice is heard it cannot be ignored. Whether we will or no that voice is growing clearer in the counsels of the world, and I submit to this Conference that for the sake of the whole community it is urgent that the parents of our land should have free access to the best of collected thought and fact on all subjects which bear upon their task of making men and women and peopling the earth, so that, secure in well-founded knowledge they may freely contribute towards the perfecting of the race and the progress of humanity.

I have dealt so far practically entirely with the Centre, and I have done so intentionally, both because of the scope afforded by them for the work of the volunteer, and because, given the Centre the mothers will find there an instrument for voicing their own needs. But there are many other urgencies, some of which closely concern the voluntary worker. Foremost of these is the mother's need of individual care, both at confinement and in the months immediately preceding

and following. That arresting little book, entitled 'Maternity,' which was published by the Women's Co-operative Guild and which consists of letters from officers of that Guild relating their experience throughout their child-bearing years, is a monument of evidence to the need for every kind of help, and has had a profound effect on areas of public opinion where blue books seldom penetrate.

The need for a better trained and better paid mid-wifery service, both in crowded cities and among scattered populations, is abundantly proved and recognised, and in 1918 the chief medical officer for the L.G.B. reported that although the inspection of midwives was still unsatisfactory, the Local Health Authorities were making good progress in the provision of attendance at confinements. The ante-natal clinics, too, are reported as making slow but steady progress, and are proving one of the most fruitful of health measures. And, most gracious work of all, maternity hostels for normal and abnormal confinements are springing up all over the country. In the same 1918 report some 18 Authorities are mentioned as providing institutional care at birth, but the work is described as being 'almost entirely voluntary.' Indeed, the fashioning of these 'houses of birth' is holy work that I consign grudgingly to the cold efficiency of a Government department. It is unquestionably the responsibility of the State to ensure that provision be made, for often the necessary accommodation, care, and peace, are sorely lacking in the mother's home. But it is surely fitting that the committee of detail management should be appointed under the widest terms of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918, which allows the recognition of *ad hoc* committees with representatives of the Statutory Committee of the Local Authority. It is a case where something equivalent to the ancient power to empanel a jury of matrons is seemly, and on these committees there is permanent scope for the lay worker, including always the working woman, transformed into a member of an official committee but taking with her a vivid consciousness of the conditions and needs of the mothers who will use the hostels.

There is much need also for a restatement of our social organisation for the help of the mother in her own home. Mr. Bernard Shaw in his 'Pygmalion,' when discussing 'Eliza,' the flower girl, points out that she cannot be a married woman, because for one of her class a year of married life, with its burdens and cares, reduces any girl to the semblance of an old hag! That is Mr. Shaw's statement, but it coincides very nearly with Miss Clementina Black's observation that one of the saddest features of industrial life is the speedy transformation of the high-spirited factory girl into the jaded mother, and I have often been horrified to realise my own contemporaries among less fortunately placed women, and to consider the strain that has made the child-bearing women of our country bent, worn and colourless when they should be in their prime. The whole weight of the household cares rests on the mother until within a few hours before, and from some ten days' after her baby's birth. And of what avail is it to desire rest? For as surely as the sun rises, meals must be prepared, children tended, and the dirt-fiend wrestled with. State grants are now available both for the nursing of mothers and children and the provision of home helps, and I suggest that for some time to come there is a call for the volunteer to organise and ensure these services until the public conscience has accepted full responsibility for this form of protection for maternal health. This is probably more particularly true of the home, or sick room, help than of the nursing service, which is already an accepted, though inadequately organised, social factor.

The question of the Nursery School will be dealt with on another occasion, and though there is much to be said concerning Day Nurseries, I love them so little that I will leave others to say it! They are necessary under our present economic conditions, but a system which compels a mother to be both bread-winner in a hard market and house-mother to young children, presents elements not easy to bring into conformity with the spirit of motherhood and child culture. When every mother is free to nurture her own children there may, indeed, be many day nurseries, where the busy mother

can leave her 'wee stumpy stousie wha canna' rin his lane,' while she washes or cleans or rests, or goes to a funeral or a cinema. But that is another story, and those who have begun already to tell it may protest when I have finished my say.

There is just one other section of Maternity and Infant Welfare Work which is and must be, of necessity, very largely the business of the volunteer, at least until there are very fundamental changes in the construction of our Society.

In the report of the Registrar General for 1917, the death rate for legitimate infants is given as 90 per 1,000 such births. The death rate of illegitimate infants is given as 200 per 1,000, with an even more marked variation in the fatalities at birth. For the special needs of these, the most forlorn of our fellow-citizens, the outcast and the nameless, little has been done either to protect the young life or to give mother and child a chance of making good their citizenship. What has been done has been almost entirely through voluntary channels. I know, however, of one Borough Council which has made a grant of £1,000 to a voluntary society which is starting a hostel where the unmarried mother may live with her baby, earning her living by daily work when the baby is weaned, and other forms of help have been tried elsewhere. But the work is still in its tentative stage. I suggest that such specialised care as is needed by the illegitimate child and its mother must, at present, by reason of the intricacy and delicacy of the individual problems involved, be left to the more elastic voluntary societies to organise, backed by the sanction and aid of the local authority. Mother and child have each a special claim from the point of public health; the child has a claim to at least a normal chance of life and health; the mother, neglected, driven on to the streets for the support of her child, is likely enough to swell the ranks of those who, hopeless and diseased, present one of the acutest problems with which the progress of public health work is confronted. But it is the problem above all others which must, for its right solution, depend on the co-operation of every section of the community.

And so I come back to the point from which we have all started—the need of co-ordination. The essence of efficient welfare work is that it should present to the mother a continuous and homogeneous organisation, with free interchange between all agencies, whether they be official or voluntary, between ante-natal Clinic, Midwife, Maternity Home, Rest Home; between Health Visitor, Centre, Observation Ward, Massage, Dental or other Treatment Clinic; Day Nursery or Hostel. Herein then lies the need for co-ordination, first between all voluntary organisations dealing with the well-being of mothers and babies, and then between voluntary and official bodies. So far as experience has shown, the voluntary worker may, with advantage, permeate the spirit of the work at all points, being more especially faithful to the first calling of Pioneer—keeping very near to the Centres which are the hub of the work, not forgetful of the homely needs of the working mother, remembering also those whose need is greatest, the illegitimate child and its mother.

I have necessarily spoken of the official and voluntary aspects of the work as if they were essentially separate, nay, even opposing factors. But is there, in point of fact, so wide a gulf? Is there, indeed, a gulf at all? Mother and lay worker help to form the public opinion which crystallises into laws. Mother and lay worker are eligible for election or co-optation on to the bodies which administer these laws. Even those mighty potentates, the Medical Officers of Health, condescend to join in the work of the voluntary societies, and to become their greatest assets. And though we work with diverse tools, we are all pledged to the service of the community. We are all met here in the bond of a common vision of a world re-made. We are all dreaming of and working for a new and fairer social order, and if our vision is clear, some of our dreams will come true. Maybe the Napoleons of the world dream the perfect order in terms of armies; maybe the Leverhulmes dream a new earth in terms of industry. In what terms, think you, are the mothers dreaming the world they would build for the men and women of to-morrow?

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Viscount Astor), in opening the discussion, asked : Ought we, the Government, to *empower* local authorities to deal with certain things (*e.g.* to make necessary provision for tuberculosis), leaving it to public opinion to see that local authorities do actually provide such services ; or ought we to impose an *obligation* on local authorities as we have done in the case of housing, where we have imposed a duty and obligation on all local authorities to provide necessary houses for citizens of their own area? The question is now before Parliament in connection with the Care of the Blind. Ought local authorities to be *empowered* to tend the blind, or ought an *obligation* to be put upon them to make the care of the blind inclusive of an obligation to spend money out of rates? I should be grateful to those present if they would deal with such fundamental principles.

DR. MENZIES (Principle Assistant Medical Officer of Health to the London County Council) spoke of the 'tuberculosis problem' as 'one of those problems which is peculiarly a problem to be solved by the combination of official and voluntary effort,' and 'one of the first of which a solution is absolutely necessary.' As indicating the magnitude of the tuberculosis problem, he quoted the fact that 'something like 60,000 people die in England yearly from this disease (London alone contributes 8,000), representing about 10 per cent. of total mortality for the whole of the country.' These facts alone showed the immensity of the problem. Similarly, it must be borne in mind that 'with this great *mortality*, there must be at least 150,000 people at the same time *suffering from the disease* at various stages, or in London alone between 40,000 and 80,000 people.' It was of great importance to realise that one of the terrible features of the disease is that it is peculiarly fatal to men and women in the prime of life. 'In consequence of the fact that a large number of men and women have taken upon themselves the responsibility of married life when suffering from this disease, there results hardship, distress, great suffering and destitution, frequently

ending in a resort to Poor Law institution. It is significant that 56 per cent. of all the people who die in this country from tuberculosis, die in public institutions.' He pointed out that the disease is chronic; it extends often over long years, with the result that all the time a family is being dragged down by this long drain upon its resources, which frequently ends in destitution or great hardship. 'I do not know,' said Dr. Menzies, 'of anything which is more pathetic than the sight of a man or woman dying from this disease, and yet retaining up to the last that extraordinary hopefulness of recovery, and of ultimately getting back to work.' This disease 'is particularly associated with over-crowding, poverty, insanitary conditions, although it is well known that the well-to-do do not altogether escape it.' It 'is probably not hereditary,' but 'its spread is probably due mainly to the close and intimate contact with others who are suffering from it, and to the combined influences of hardships and devitalising influences which make a person more susceptible. There is one thing which is perfectly certain; probably everybody is carrying about with them tubercular vacilli, and probably everybody in this theatre has suffered, or is suffering from tuberculosis. That is one of the most hopeful points of the disease,' said Dr. Menzies, 'for it shows that, given reasonable conditions, the majority of people recover from the disease, otherwise the mortality would be very much greater than it is.' He gave an account of a recent Conference of experts representing Allied Nations as having laid it down that a complete tuberculosis scheme must include the following items: (i) A tuberculosis dispensary; (ii) sanatoria; (iii) hospitals for chronic cases which yet have a reasonable chance of doing some work for a number of years, and for advanced cases; (iv) open-air schools of two types, *viz.* (a) schools for children who may be 'candidates' for tuberculosis—delicate, anaemic children—and (b) open-air schools and industrial colleges for children with tuberculosis; (v) a sound system of after-care and propaganda work, and in addition to these (vi) a combination of factors, *e.g.* satisfactory housing, means of transit, and food and milk

supply. To carry out this programme, both official and voluntary effort were needed. Dr. Menzies then showed how in each item of this programme voluntary effort, in co-operation with the Statutory Authority, had played and still played an important part, so far at least as London was concerned. He ended with a strong appeal for the development of after-care work. 'I do not know of anything that is so hopelessly bad, in England and Wales as a whole, as the tuberculosis after-care work,' said Dr. Menzies in giving an account of how, 'during the war, in spite of the difficulties, thirty-three after-care committees were started in London, each representative of the official and voluntary bodies who are indirectly or directly connected with tuberculosis in their areas.' Personally he hoped that public authorities would be allowed to give money, 'without which after-care committees cannot do their work properly.' 'In hundreds of cases,' said Dr. Menzies, 'a man has gone to an institution for treatment much against his will, well knowing that his family was left with 10/- a week to live on. You cannot expect a man to go to an institution under these conditions. That is a case where it ought to be within the power of the Committee to take the man and by helping his family enable him to get the full benefit of his treatment by freeing him from worry.'

Councillor Miss MARCH (National Baby Week Council) spoke of 'a certain amount of antagonism between local authorities and voluntary bodies,' claiming that if our public health work is to be effectively carried out, it must depend in the first place upon local authorities. The greatest need in the administration of our public health work was, she felt, to secure that the right people are elected to local authorities. We must have right people serving on the Statutory Committees. The voluntary contingents could do much to get public sympathy in support of health work, and so help to get the right people elected.

Alderman GIRLING, the Mayor of Shoreditch, claimed that in his borough progress was being made. It was a borough with a very high infantile mortality, showing that there was room for improvement. Within three months they had dis-

tributed 11,860 gallons of milk. Some people were crying out about the rates going up, but when it was a question of health, of life or death, it was time to act. He submitted that in the maintenance of anti-tuberculosis work the charge should be distributed over a wide area and borne by the State.

The CHAIRMAN, in summarising the discussion, said that the Ministry of Health were always trying to get the opinion of local authorities and other bodies, and had set up four advisory bodies to advise them on policy, one of which consisted entirely of members of local authorities. It struck him that there was some confusion of thought regarding the State. It was said that 'the State ought to do this' or 'the State is not doing that.' It was suggested that the Ministry of Health ought to provide certain services. The Ministry of Health, he pointed out, does not itself provide a single doctor. 'We don't want,' he said, 'to establish a system of bureaucracy, running everything from London. We want our future health development to be secured through our existing system of local government. We want to give additional powers and additional money to the elected representatives, leaving the inhabitants in each area to provide the voluntary effort necessary to make these powers and money effective.' They wanted to stimulate voluntary effort. In regard to housing, for instance, either the Central Authorities could build the houses—that would be bureaucracy—or the Central Authorities could give the power to local authorities. Actually, an obligation had been imposed upon local authority to deal with houses, with a warning that if this was not done properly they would be defaulted and then, instead of having to bear a penny rate, they would have the whole financial burden upon the rates. 'I ask you to think about this question and to discuss it, because we want public opinion to assist us upon it. Is it to be "may" or is it to be "shall?"—which means the compulsory spending of the rates.' Neither the national funds nor the rates were sufficient to meet all the needs of the community. When the Ministry provided the money they had to lay down conditions as to how it

should be spent, and, instead of being thanked, it was at once abused for exercising control! 'Our system of government is based upon this principle:—We give you grants in aid: we cannot give you the whole of the money as suggested just now. We give you the power, we give you some money—not all of it, but enough to stimulate you, to encourage you, and we have to ask you to spend a little bit of your own. We must remember that we are a democracy and work through our representatives.' 'Let me say one word which does not relate to the subject. Don't do the easy thing! If you want to help, do the difficult thing; take up something highly contentious, fight the people who abuse you! For instance, take up the drink question. Two years ago the Registrar said that deaths from suffocation had been halved because of the restriction on drink. Are you helping to deal with this vexed question? There is a tremendous amount of push on the Government from the *other* side; we want you who are interested in welfare to push from *your* side. I do beg you to look for the contentious things and push us from behind: push on Poor Law Reforms; push us on to deal with the blind. We have a struggle to find parliamentary time to bring in our bills, push us, and then we shall get time for dealing with all these measures. There are people pushing to prevent things being done; it is because of that I ask *your* interest to assist us in the development of health. We don't mind criticism so long as it comes from people who understand what they are talking about. There is nothing so helpful as criticism based on knowledge. Unfortunately we get too much of the other sort.'



THURSDAY, APRIL 8th. Morning Meeting.

(Held in the Sheldonian Theatre.)

Subject: **The Scope of Voluntary Effort in Education.**

Chairman:—The MASTER OF BALLIOL (Chairman of the recent Departmental Committee on Adult Education).

THE CHAIRMAN, introducing the session, said: I urge members to speak freely on a subject which bristles with interest. I could not help overhearing, as I came along, an important-looking gentleman say to another, 'Well, I hope you'll let 'em have it,' and I hope that will be the spirit of the discussion!

Mr. J. G. LEGGE then submitted the following paper:—

The Relation of Voluntary Workers to Public Authorities.

BY J. G. LEGGE, B.A.

(*Director of Education for the County Borough of Liverpool*).

THE great work of reconstruction which is before us will call for the united efforts of all sorts and conditions of men and women if we are not to continue to live in a fool's paradise and either to wake up some morning with the sick headache of disappointment or to sink gradually into the state of apathy which is one of the unmistakable signs of a decaying nation. Capital and labour have to appease their jealousies, compose their differences and arrive at some working agreement; sex antagonism, if, as may be doubted, so perverted and repulsive a sentiment exists to any appreciable degree among us, has to be repudiated; and the bureaucracy has to accommodate itself to the stiff-necked community which ostensibly it serves, but which, if unchecked, it may reduce to a state of subjection. The subject-matter of this paper

is included in the content of the third of these problems, *viz.*, the relations of the bureaucracy to the community. It is well at the very outset to bear this large aspect of the question in mind. There can be no doubt that both central and local government will assume larger powers in the future than in the past, and will exercise their powers more actively. But the exercise of power is mainly in the hands of paid officials. We need an educated laity to cooperate with the Press in keeping them under due control. The Ministers who represent departments are not necessarily super-men; indeed they are not. But each of them is the mouthpiece, or sounding-board, of a vast bureaucratic machine. We have heard much of late of the eclipse of Parliament. That eclipse will pass as the clouds left by war are dispersed, for we are not a dying nation, a spent force in the world. We shall pursue the aim our race has always kept before it: government of the people by the people for the people. This principle will triumph over the jealousies and suspicions agitating us to-day, and the issue of the peace-time warfare in which we are plunged can only be a clearer realization of the aim, and a closer approximation to it, by the perfecting of Parliament, our great instrument of government. Meantime, the one element in society which covers nearly every aspect of it, *viz.*, the official element, is fully conscious of its opportunities and neglecting no means of adding to its powers. It is for the community to see that knowledge and a share in administration are not solely the possession of the paid official, that the rank and file in Parliament have the knowledge and experience enabling Members to criticise effectively Ministers and departments, and, if need be, either to stimulate or to check them; and that in the sphere of local government the due balance between freedom and authority is preserved.

One of the best means to attain this end is to secure that side by side with the tight official administration of the country's or county's or city's affairs there is a looser, more flexible administrative system in the hands of volun-

tary workers. Let us come to close quarters with the conditions of the problem, and consider what are the qualities and defects that may be ascribed to the official and the voluntary worker respectively. We have of course to remember that there are two kinds both of officials and voluntary workers, *vis.*, those of the central office and those who are, so to speak, out in the country. The voluntary worker in a central office is often hardly distinguishable from the armchair official; the paid officer of a voluntary association is certainly to be regarded as an official. For our immediate purpose a fruitful discussion must rather concern itself with the rank and file than General or even Brigade Headquarters. The official will generally be engaged full-time and do plodding methodical work; with his fellows he will often be expected to cover the whole field of his department; he will work both *en gros* and *en détail*; he will exercise infinite patience over detail; he will get into trouble if he ties knots or leaves loose ends for his colleagues to unravel or make fast; he will be imperturbable within reasonable limits, and show, outwardly at least, a willingness to suffer fools. The voluntary worker may be a part-time worker, may be expected to bring to his work enthusiasm or earnest purpose, freshness, sometimes initiative, and at times a simplicity which surmounts difficulties because it is the expression of a child-like faith. The spirit in which both the official and the voluntary worker act may be a religious one, and religious in the old-fashioned acceptance of the term, but as the promptings of religion are more likely to be the very impulse towards a particular line of work in the case of the voluntary worker than the official, it is with the former that the definitely religious spirit is more frequently perhaps to be associated. Knowledge and experience are more certainly to be predicated of the official than of the voluntary worker. There is a training that comes by practice as well as study; there are officials who are too dependent on the former, and there are, in these days of Schools of Social Science, voluntary

workers who are too dependent on the latter. Training is most desirable for both, but it is the school of experience which is the university of life and which alone can make the scholar. And on knowledge there is this to be said: you may be master or mistress of the statute law, of bye-laws and regulations, Government circulars with all their pious platitudes, blue-books and the productions of the Fabian Research Department, statistics whether in figures or curves or zig-zags or bewildering complications of colour, but know very little of human nature. The official may have little text-book knowledge, but he often acquires in the carrying out of his administrative duties an astonishingly minute acquaintance with the law relating to his business, and contact with men and women in the course of his daily rounds, or his daily routine even inside his office, often gives him that knowledge of human nature which enables him to get things done. In the army of sanitary inspectors and school visitors throughout the country will be found a host of skilled diplomatists who know how to deal with men, women and children, and have learnt the art of making persuasion do the work of fear. The official is bound to retain one advantage always: he has behind him the sanction of the law. At worst he is regarded as a necessary infliction, for generally the suggestion that he is only doing what he is bound to do soothes an irate citizen inclined to charge him with interfering in what isn't his business. But the fact that he is an officer of the law must always throw on him the hard and unpleasant duty of prosecution—a duty which the voluntary worker is seldom reluctant to pass over to him.

Undoubtedly there is at times some want of confidence on the side of the official when confronted with the voluntary worker. There may be about the latter, if trained, a slight air of patronage, and if untrained a want of *snapp* or *vim*. The good official is ruffled as soon as he detects reluctance to do humble routine work, failure in regularity of attendance, a tendency to slap-dash, or to leave an unfinished job for someone else to carry through. He may

be unconscious on his side that he is too sensitive if he regards as a personal affront the suggestion that his work, or the method of it, might be improved in some detail, that he is in danger of becoming a slave to routine, that his imperturbability may be shading off into indifference, and that his manner is less sympathetic in office hours than out of them.

A consideration of the foregoing, very imperfect analysis will probably lead to the following conclusions. First, the more the official thinks, without brooding, over his work, and reads and studies the literature (or publications) connected with it, and the more the voluntary worker schools himself to take up definite duties, and to discharge them with scrupulous regularity and also thoroughly, the sooner will come the day when a full and happy co-operation between the two is realised. Second, the more a particular official and a particular voluntary worker can work as a pair and get to know each other personally the better. The official may gain in freshness and in keenness by contact with the voluntary worker, and the trained voluntary worker may find he has learnt as much from an old official hand in a morning or afternoon of routine work as from a whole course of lectures by the most accomplished lecturer of unimpeachable academic distinction. Each, no doubt, will retain the consciousness of his own peculiar virtues, but there is a subtle truth in an epigram of Balzac's which some may regard as cynical: there is no such certain bond of friendship as the consciousness in either party of a slight superiority to the other.

Now let us turn to consider what are the great openings for this association between official and voluntary work. They are two—Health (including Housing) and Education. There has always been room for co-operation in them, and there has always been a certain amount of co-operation in them; but recent legislation has so widely extended both spheres that closer and more extended co-operation is not only desirable, but actually necessary

if hopes of a new and better era are even approximately to be realised. On the Health side there should be an immense opportunity for voluntary work in stimulating, supporting and supplementing official effort. The vast amount of voluntary work done mainly by women during the war in the visitation of the dependants of sailors and soldiers and similar duties has had two results. It has, first of all, provided a large body of workers who are no novices in the delicate task of personal visitation. Secondly, and this is quite as important a point, it has given thousands of these workers a first-hand knowledge of social conditions of which they were quite ignorant before the war. They know, for instance, what the housing conditions of so many town dwellers are like, and no amount of soothing syrup administered in official reports will dull their sense of wrongs to be set right. They know the facts, they know that you may have model bye-laws, but that they are not always carried out, they know that only the fringe of the housing problem has yet been touched. On many of them, too, the difficulties in the way of reform will have been burnt in. They will have realised the cost of making good the defects and deficiencies of past stupidity, callousness and neglect, the marvellous patience of some, the apathy of others, whose condition one should seek to ameliorate, the natural and proper and growing resentment of inquisition and patronage and pussyfoot benevolence. If local authorities are wise they will enlist this public force in the gigantic work of reconstruction. They will seek the active co-operation in every parish of the parson, priest and minister and all whom these can gather round them, and in every ward the social organisations that are at work for the good of young or old. They will not drive them into an attitude of bitter criticism or sullen independence. On their side voluntary agencies will have to recognise the limits of their capacities, and the limits set by the nature of things, and to realise that their duty lies in taking an actual part in the government of their city, rather than in

amateur and spasmodic effort of their own unrelated to a general scheme in which they should be proud to be included. There will have to be give and take on both sides, but the whole-hearted co-operation and co-ordination of official and voluntary effort in every area of local government in the country will render this crowning service: it will make fruitful what general regulations of value the central government imposes through Parliament on the country, but local opinion will be solid and well able to keep Parliament posted in the mistakes and deficiencies of the central government, and it will provide the essential check which is necessary if the vast bureaucratic machine of Whitehall is not to develop into a Germanic monster. There is a collective human nature in communities, towns differ in their needs and aspirations and way of working just as individuals do, and no cast-iron system can or ought to be applied in every detail everywhere. Not only in Whitehall, but also in the streets and courts and alleys of every town in the country the battle of good government is to be fought and won.

On the side of Education the field for co-operation is as great as on that of Health. Indeed, the two overlap, inasmuch as the health of children and young persons will remain no less the concern of the Education Committee than of the Health Committee. But it will perhaps be more clearly realised in the future than it has been in the past that one ugly aspect of the housing problem is not to be glozed over by concentrating in an attack upon the schools. It is cleanliness in the homes that has to be secured, for it is idle to suppose that enough has been done when the school is held responsible for cleansing dirty children coming from dirty homes, or the teacher invited to relieve the parent of the duty of caring for his child. Nevertheless in the following up of cases to which the School Medical Officer has called attention, and especially for the after-care of children mentally or physically defective, there is ample scope for co-operation between voluntary workers and sanitary inspectors and

school visitors. Many Education Committees have adopted the system of Managers, and have also recognised Care Committees; some schools indeed are to be found which bask in the sunshine both of a body of Managers and a Care Committee. This seems an *embarras de richesses*. There can be no reason why the scope of management should not be extended so as to include care, and better results might in certain districts be obtained if schools were grouped for management and care. On committees of management and care there is obviously a prime opportunity for the voluntary worker. But such committees will generally find it better in the interests of the charge committed to them if they work harmoniously with the authority which has called them into being. And it must not be forgotten that one type of voluntary worker, a very special type, will have to be admitted to them. There will come the demand for the presence on such governing bodies of representatives of the parents of the children in school attendance. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that patronage is becoming more and more an object of suspicion and resentment; the schools are the people's schools, and the people are quickly waking up to a recognition of that fact. No better means can be devised of educating parents in the nature and possibilities of a school-in-being than by giving them a voice in its management.

On the recreative side there are now opportunities so vast that it is hardly possible to envisage them. As yet we can only feel after them. It is a heresy to believe that a school is designed rather for play than work; and yet, to hear some persons talk, one could imagine that this sentimental poison had infected them. They never speak of 'children,' but always of 'the poor children.' Why 'poor'? What adult is there who would not, if he could, recapture some of the unsophisticated happiness of the child at play in the gutter? No, the real purpose of education is to help the child to develop all its capacities, for recreation as well as study, in conditions the best

possible, so that happiness may abide with it throughout life, both at work and play. The child is happy in the gutter; provide a better place for it to be happy in; refine its notions of play, so that its manners, the reflection of its nature, are refined. In the elementary schools play-centre movement there is a glorious opportunity for the voluntary worker. Experience of the working of play-centres, particularly as carried out in London under Mrs. Humphry Ward's scheme, has shown that to get regular, systematic work and skilled direction and supervision a nucleus of official, paid workers is essential. That nucleus may be expected to contain a number of teachers whose energy and love of children, and skill in handling them, obviously fit them for the work. But there are teachers who have to be protected against themselves, and, in any case, the field is vast and the range of opportunity infinite. Consider what the object is, *viz.*, to give the children in the crowded areas of our towns the same chances of wholesome recreation that many of us more fortunately situated can find for our own children. There will be rooms for quiet, parlour games of all sorts, reading, looking at picture papers and picture books, painting and drawing; rooms for fancy needlework, carpentry and metal-work, and other useful occupations which children love; rooms for music, singing and dancing; rooms for noisy games, where girls can romp, and boys box, wrestle, and jump to their hearts' content. A play-centre for 400 will easily absorb 40 helpers every meeting, and service for two hours in the early evening, once, twice, or thrice a week is the modest demand.

So far as regards outdoor recreation the teachers themselves, both men and women, have done a great work in organising field sports and swimming for their children, and it cannot be thought that their energies will flag; but they welcome the enthusiastic expert who will lend his aid in any branch of honest sport. To more than one master in the art of swimming in my own area who has thus backed up the teachers' efforts we owe much. The

Scouts, too, the Girl Guides, Boys' Brigades and Cadets are doing much. It is in camp life, especially in the summer holidays, that the great opportunity for the voluntary worker will come. Local Education Authorities may be expected to be buying or leasing in the future playing-fields and camping-grounds on a large scale throughout the country. There is room here for the most active co-operation of voluntary associations, who may rival the notable achievements of the National Trust and the National Art Collections Fund, and themselves buy and maintain sites, and allow the use of them, on terms, to Education Committees when they are not wanted for their older clients. But the need of the moment is for an organisation which will do on a huge scale not only what Country Holiday Funds have done with the resources at their command in the past in the way of boarding children out in the country, but will also run camps, and, what is equally desirable, organise games in parks and recreation grounds in the summer holidays when teachers go, as they should, on their holidays, and the children are let loose on the streets. Here is a fair challenge to voluntary effort. Can an association be found strong enough to take it up? Any one that steps into the breach can be assured of the whole-hearted support of Education Committees and their staffs, teaching and administrative.

In the autumn of 1921, the period fixed for the opening of the Day Continuation Schools which are the great feature of the Education Act, 1918, will come another great opportunity for voluntary work. What those schools will be like no one yet can say. The organisation of them will be the hardest task ever undertaken in the sphere of education, but when the task is accomplished they will do infinite good and in ways not dreamed of now. Little more can with certainty be predicted of them at present than this: they will be entirely unlike what anybody at this moment says they will be like. But certain generalities may be indulged in. One is that we must try to make these Day Continuation Schools not only

schools, but also centres of social activity. Physical training is, very properly, to be a special feature of the training of the young conscripts to be enrolled. We shall have to see that this is not all of the fiddle-faced type approved by the Medical Department of the Board of Education. The young conscript will have to be humoured, and a liberal view of physical training will admit a good deal of fun, even on the parallel bars, such as the youth conscious of his growing strength demands, and of rhythmic dancing, even to music abhorred of the orthodox Swede, but which the girl rejoices in. There will be scope for the organisation of field sports. Some have suggested, indeed, that each eight-hour shift can be organised to play 'house' matches with other eight-hour shifts. This is doubtful; it sounds like the public school practice run mad, and one would like to hear Mr. Alec Waugh upon it. It is probable that many of those in attendance will be quite able to provide their own recreation in concert with friends living in their own neighbourhood, or engaged in the same business and occupation as themselves, and with whom they are associated not for an eight-hour shift, but for the working week. There will be plenty of room for clubs not tied up with Day Continuation Schools and eight-hour shifts. But there will be some schools for which it will not be possible to do too much in the way of social endeavour. Every large town will have several schools so situated that they will have in attendance young persons engaged in occupations of a rough, clothes-soiling type. These, I submit, should be the first to be provided with fine, airy, well-equipped, well-lighted buildings; and these should be open in the evening as well as in the day. In the evening hours of voluntary attendance there will be the opportunity for the tutorial supervision of homework without which the Day Continuation School will be but a flash in the pan, and also for the operations of something in the nature of a more serious and solemn play-centre. It is to be hoped that in all Day Continuation Schools there will be some-

one acting under the principal as a welfare supervisor. Such an officer should be in close touch with the Juvenile Employment Committee of the Local Education Authority, not, I trust, of the Ministry of Labour, and he or she should follow young people, where necessary, even into their homes. But such officers should also be responsible for bringing into touch with the school all voluntary agencies, church or chapel organisations, Scouts, Guides, Boys' Brigades, Cadets, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, and securing, with their help, that rational recreation of an evening, as well as on weekly half-holidays, and a wholesome summer holiday are at the command of all. What an opportunity! The harvest, truly, will be plenteous, may the labourers abound!

MISS MARGARET MCMILLAN then submitted the following paper:—

The Nursery School of To-morrow.

By MISS MARGARET MACMILLAN, C.B.E., L.C.C. (*Deptford Health Centre*).

THE nursery school is no longer in the experimental stage, and what we have to do now is to realise it, to multiply it, to perfect it. The idea at the heart of it all is nurture, on a large scale, and including education and preparation for school and adult life, education that does not ignore the human body and its conditions.

In the infant school of yesterday too much was taken for granted. The teachers had no mandate to deal with anything but 'subjects.' And outside lay the great waste of roaring streets and hapless homes, with which no teacher was supposed to deal.

The new order of teacher is to take on new responsibilities. She is to take account of the social conditions, deal with them at last. *Our* teachers are willing to be the children's nurses, without, for this, abating a jot of their claim to academic dis-

inction. They do the 'servants' work of the school, but they also, for instance, act like true artists and adorn the walls with paintings that would not disgrace any studio.

The mothers get to know the true inwardness of all this much sooner than the authorities, for our teachers make friends with the mothers. The street is cleaner than it used to be, and it is quieter too. The children file out, a gay river of happy childhood, for they are taught to love, not only the nursery, but the river, and the boats and sails, the birds too, about the old church tower in the morning. The teachers have many greetings as they walk along, many nods and becks and smiles. 'No one knows where the big Board School is,' cried an inspector, 'but everyone knows where the open-air nursery is.'

Our children come early; at seven they are at the gate, full of eager joy and hope. They stream down to the shelters, the two-year-old and the one-year-old toddlers holding the hands of a big sister or mother, the older children skipping into their own sheds. They are bathed and combed, and some put on camp overalls. Nearly every child is well shod, for the parents give us only a 1/- a week per child, and we can ask them to spend more on clothes and boots. 'For everything we do for your children,' we say, 'you also must do something more. We shall not take your child away and do everything for him. You shall work for him, for he is yours. We are helping you, that is all.' So mothers work harder and save more for their children, though they are with us from 7 to 5.30 every day, going home at night like birds to the nest, and week-ending at home. On Sunday there is a good show of pretty and clean children everywhere; **the home is coming abreast of the school.**

In our school of 120 children we have three shelters, four heads or teachers, and 30 students. These students work only two or three hours per day in the shelters, and they are all working under the direction of trained teachers. Some of our students are themselves trained and certificated teachers, taking a one-year course with us. The majority, however, are free lances, taking a longer course that will

be virtually their whole college training. Of these 'free lances' we have the brightest and boldest hopes, for they respond with ardour unalloyed to the new training. They are being trained on new lines. The new aspect of this little college is that which shows the students mixing in the outer world, and living in touch with its activities. They go out first of all, and above all, into the narrow streets and mean courts, and make friends with the people who live there. The mothers who live there and who send their children to the nursery, have something in common with our young student teachers. Between them stands a child, and they realise their sisterhood through this bond. When one remembers how powerful the mother's influence is and will always remain, and how in every scheme of training she will have the final word, in every child heart the first place, we must write down this new bond between woman and woman as the great initial reform of the nursery school. In virtue of it, by means of it, the child's home-life will draw abreast of the school life. What cannot be said and done between good friends and neighbours?

Next week our students give the Greek play, 'Iphigenia,' ex-service men taking the men's part. And here, let me say at once, is another real development, the *natural* sequence of things that must follow all nursery 'sense-training,' if this last is to be, not a mere fad of the schools, but an integral part of our whole educational system. For what is sense-training? It means first new power of receiving impressions, and secondly the power to give these back in full and beautiful ways and with proper effect. But if one stops all this training at the door of the elementary school one might as well never start it in the nursery. For the development of it means not only skilled use of the voice or mere perfected command of the human body as an instrument. It means new power, moral and mental, as well as new beauty in the adolescent and the adult. So our students vie with artists and themselves become artists. And no one is more appreciative of this than the little child, the artist of artists, who never stops dramatising, who wants to hear tales, who is at

home with heroes and fairies, who cares for all of these things. In short, we want at last to have two things which have long been foreshadowed, but never won, to wit, real child-gardens, and secondly, art training that makes sensory training a real and perfected thing.

At first and for many years the path was a very thorny one. With poor equipment and no public support, we were dependent on our staff in everything. While admitting the generous service of some who stood by us for a while, I should be false to other pioneers if I did not admit that the strain broke us down at last. Now with success in view, we have the happiness of knowing that little children will have nurture at last.

For the days are past, now, when poor equipment (such as ours was) will completely damn an enterprise. The Board of Education will aid any able, any brave and sensible effort to adapt and make even poor equipment serve for the nurture of little children. They will meet local authorities and local committees with help of every kind, with grants too up to the half at least of all expenditure. Nothing stands in the way of the ardent reformer now. He can go forward, relying on a Board of Education which is greatly in advance of the opinion of the country, and yet waits for it, and controlled by a Minister who can, with truth, be called an educationalist and an advanced thinker. It remains now only for the voluntary worker and the education committees to take small risks and find sites and trained workers.

'Sites,' not buildings or houses, for as time goes on it will become clear that another new note in all this work must be 'open air,' and that the buildings must be planned in a new spirit, and offer as much freedom and as much vista as we can command. We are looking for these sites, but we are not as yet very skilled in finding them. Yet the spaces are there in great numbers, awaiting the eyes of the skilled observer.

In Deptford, for example, though the streets are teeming and the houses packed, yet back from the crowded flats lie many dumping grounds, rubbish grounds, fair grounds, bare

stretches of land, old cemeteries turned into recreation grounds (always empty), fenced waste space where gaming and betting lads gather at dusk or after public-house closing hours—in short, a hundred possible child gardens.

Meantime, the Central Care Committee of the London County Council is looking for three sites for three 'detached' nursery schools, and is pledged to have these this year, all it is hoped on open-air lines. Outside, the demand outgrows all those preparations, makes them appear small, almost pitiable by comparison. In six weeks we in Deptford have sent from our open nursery doors at least 100 children. Ten arrived on one morning in February, all desirable, all of the right age, all pale and in obvious need of what we can offer. 'Do take him in,' said the pale mother of one very pale child of four. She, the mother, was dressed in black, and the little one, too, wore a black ribbon. 'He is getting very ill and I have nowhere to take him when I go to work. We looked in at your gate and he wants to come so much; do let him.' We let him in, I believe, but the other nine were quite as needy. Where are they? What is their nursery like? And who helps their mother?

The cost is not so great as might be expected. For 3/- a week you can feed a child well, provided you cook for a large family, say 160. Heating and lighting are heavy items, and yet a child can be kept in a good nursery school for £12 a year. The mothers will pay £4 if we ask them to, so I cannot see that there is any financial problem.

Of the kind of training nothing shall be said here. In the 'Nursery School,' published by Dent, there is some account given of the method we follow. Of the results, too, I will say very little.

To begin with, the children get well. They fling off the old ailments and get sturdy and strong. They are not cold; they do not get colds or rheumatics; these are not open air ailments. Their day is as ordered as the rising, and progress, and setting of the sun. They fall into the rhythm of order and peace. Then they become a great deal more intelligent. People say they are well spoken. Seeing so many

course, greatly depends upon the character of the child's parents, the economic position of its family, and its general environment, but it is also largely regulated by the opportunities for recreation which are conveniently at its disposal. Again, these opportunities vary considerably according to the nature of the district in which the child lives, but if we consider particularly that large section of the community which resides in crowded industrial centres, it may at once be stated that the existing facilities for the healthy recreation of children are grossly inadequate. Apart from the provision of free libraries, museums, and art galleries, used by children only in so far as teachers and others are able to lead them to take some interest in literature, science or art, of parks, and of bowling greens, mainly laid out for the enjoyment of adults, municipal authorities have, until quite recently, done nothing to meet the special needs of children in their spare time. Professional caterers for entertainment have almost entirely neglected the natural demand of the child for suitable recreation, and where they have deliberately stepped into the breach it has been too often to provide amusements of a very dubious nature. Much has been done by voluntary effort to save something from the wreckage, but it still remains true that the leisure hours of the mass of children have been nobody's concern. Vast numbers of them spend their time in more or less aimless play in the streets, varied perhaps by occasional or frequent visits to picture palaces; without guidance or friendly interest in their amusements they become an easy prey to demoralising influences of all kinds. Can it be wondered that permanent mischief is so often wrought during these hours, and that the true aim of education is stultified in so many cases before the plan is half developed?

The position of boys and girls who have left school, at the age of 13 or 14 years, and entered industry is even more alarming. If, to take good average conditions, we consider their weekly programme to be:—Work, 48 hours; sleep, 56 hours; leisure, 64 hours; it will be seen that leisure is now considerably reduced. But the influence of 27½ hours in school is replaced by that of 48 hours in a workshop, mill,

To fasten upon the schools, as is often done, the whole blame for the failure to create and maintain, in our communal life, that high standard of personal conduct which is the outward expression of fine character, is to grasp at the shadow and miss the substance. It is true that, from the point of view now before us, education fails altogether if it fails to develop character; but it is only because education is so often deemed to be something exclusively appertaining to schools that its failures are so generally attributed to the schools. Not until education is seen to include every influence which plays a part in the growth of mind and soul will its failures be traced to the real or the chief causes. The wonder is not that school education does not do more towards the shaping of character, but that it achieves such a considerable measure of success, so heavily are the scales weighted against it.

The whole time of this Conference would not suffice to give adequate consideration to the many other factors of education which affect this question. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to one aspect of the problem, *viz.*, the part which the occupation of young people during their leisure hours plays in the education of our future citizens. In order that the importance of the subject may be grasped it may be useful to estimate the number of hours per week which the average boy or girl has for leisure time occupation; and for this purpose it will be convenient to consider the position of (1) children in attendance at school and (2) young persons who have left school.

For the former the week may be divided roughly as follows:—School time, $27\frac{1}{2}$ hours; sleep, 63 hours; leisure time, $77\frac{1}{2}$ hours. If, as is frequently the case with children attending elementary schools, the nightly hours of sleep are reduced to eight or even seven, the weekly hours of leisure will be increased to 90 or more. It would therefore appear from this rather cold bit of arithmetic that, if time were the only criterion, the question of how a child spends its leisure is three times as important as the much discussed problem of how it should spend its time in school. The answer, of

or office, and, without adversely reflecting upon the moral atmosphere into which the child is introduced, he would be a bold man who would assert that the change is conducive to the highest aim of education. For this, and other reasons which need not be laboured, it follows that the leisure occupation of adolescents is of even greater importance than that of children, and yet it is a question which has, until quite recently, received, if anything, less attention.

Some of the difficulties surrounding the question may, perhaps, best be brought to light by considering particularly the working boy. It is not uncommon nowadays that a boy even as young as fourteen or fifteen should earn from 25/- to 30/- per week; and thus become, if he chooses to be so, independent of his parents for his upkeep. In too many cases he just condescends to live with them, brooks no restraint of his liberty, comes and goes as he pleases, does as he likes, and is fully conscious that he can get lodgings elsewhere if either father or mother dare say him nay. To talk of parental responsibility or the lack of it, in such cases, is merely to repeat a parrot cry. This type of lad, often enough, has eight or ten shillings a week, and even more, to spend on amusements. The consorting of these boys with one another, all with more money than is good for them, but some with much more than others, is a common cause of delinquency. Their leisure is spent in frequent visits to the cheaper kinemas and music halls, to herbalist shops and similar resorts; and when these places pall (and happily they do pall) they return to their old love—the street, there to stand or wander aimlessly, or more often to find vent for their high spirits in horseplay or in harrying residents and passers-by. Not only is the industrial and economic position of such boys deplorable, but it becomes a gross neglect of national and civic duty if, in addition, we fail to provide reasonable opportunities for the healthy employment of their leisure hours.

That working boys and girls will take full advantage of proper recreative facilities, and that these facilities can be made to play a most important part in their education

has been demonstrated, beyond a shadow of doubt, by the success of voluntary organisations, such as Brigades, Scouts, Girl Guides, Girls' Clubs, and Boys' Clubs. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the work which these agencies have done and are doing, but they are a long way from covering the whole ground. In Manchester and Salford, towns which are particularly well provided in this respect, recent figures show that only ten per cent. of the boy population, between the ages of twelve and eighteen years, are members of the boys' club. In Liverpool it is estimated that only one boy in six and one girl in eight, between the ages of ten and eighteen years, are members of any voluntary organisation.

The need can only be adequately met by a big concerted effort on the part of all who are concerned with the welfare of young people. An important step in this direction was taken in December, 1916, when, as a result of the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency throughout the country, the Home Secretary appointed a Committee, known as the Juvenile Organisations Committee, comprising men and women actively associated with organisations for boys and girls, to consider how best to strengthen and extend the work of clubs and kindred agencies. This Committee has already succeeded in promoting most harmonious working between the various national voluntary organisations, and has brought their work into more intimate relationship with the official bodies charged with the care of children and young persons. By the establishment of similarly constituted committees in some 140 towns in England, Wales, and Scotland, greater co-ordination of effort has been obtained locally, and the interest of the public at large has been roused to a very considerable extent. The needs of young people are more fully realised to-day, but it still remains to unfold a comprehensive national scheme to meet those needs.

All important in this connection are the opportunities now afforded by Section 17 of the Education Act, 1918. This Section empowers local education authorities to provide, or aid the provision of, holiday camps, playing fields,

and 'other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening,' for the benefit of all boys and girls up to the age of eighteen years, and also for older persons if they are attending 'educational institutions.' Before voluntary workers take fright at the prospect of their activities being supplanted, or even supplemented, by some form of municipal club, it is well that they should note the alternatives mentioned in the section. Local authorities may themselves supply the facilities, or they may aid their provision by others who are able and willing to do the work. And before an opinion is ventured as to which, if either, of the alternatives local authorities should pursue, it is desirable that we should get a proper perspective of the whole problem, and consider not only the obvious dangers which may arise in ill-conceived official schemes of recreation, but also the present limitations of voluntary organisations and the part they can best play in the future.

Let us, with the friendliest intent, first examine their failures and some of the causes. They have certainly not succeeded in making adequate provision for the recreation of all boys and girls who urgently need it. Apart from such apparent causes for this deficiency as lack of money and shortage of workers, they have failed because in the past they have not co-operated with one another as closely as they might, and by reason of the absence of any serious effort to co-ordinate their work with that of the schools. Competing institutions have offered their varied attractions indiscriminately, and there has been little, if any, attempt to fit the boy to his recreation. If he has become a Scout as a youngster, and then grown too big for his knickers and in his own estimation, he may have been lost to the Scoutmaster; but he might have made a good Club member. If, at any age, he has found ordinary Club life too free and easy for his liking, he might have discovered in the training of a Boys' Brigade just that restrained activity which he needed to carry him through a turbulent period, then to resume his Club membership. But because Club men were aloof, and Scoutmasters and Brigade Captains not always the best of friends, he has often been lost to them all.

Again, voluntary workers have not always succeeded in attaching to their organisations just those boys and girls who most need them. This must be, so long as they continue to view the street as the source of supply, to take what flows in and leave the rest. It is here that co-operation with education authorities would have been most useful. Rarely have school teachers been asked to interest themselves in what the Clubs have been trying to do for their old scholars. Rare have been the opportunities for voluntary workers fully to appreciate all that was being done in the schools for potential members of boys' and girls' clubs. The material has gone from the schools into the streets; some of it has been drawn from the streets into institutions; and part of this has gone back into the streets—probably there to stay. If there has been a plan at all, it has been haphazard, and it cannot be wondered at that all the material had not been dealt with and that some of it has been ill-fashioned.

But the devotion and enthusiasm of this great band of volunteers for their work have more than covered their faults of organisation, and largely overcome the difficulties under which they have nobly laboured. They have made happier the lives of thousands and possibly millions of young people; they have made their Clubs more than just convenient places of amusement—more than mere counter-attractions to the streets; they have demonstrated that there was more in camps than a cheap holiday, more in the Boys' Brigade than **military** training, more in Scouting than playing at Red Indians, more in Clubs than cheap billiards; they have kept a high aim ever before them, and have largely succeeded in influencing for good the character of their members. In a word, they have shown the way to make good citizens. Not for the first time has voluntary effort preceded State measures for the advancement of education and the betterment of social conditions. If the State now wants to copy their methods, **it is rather a compliment** than a reproach to them; and if they can now help the State to learn from their successes and failures, what better part could they desire?

Any scheme of recreation for young people is foredoomed to failure if it introduces even a semblance of compulsion. It

will perish if it attempts to make boys and girls play to a time-table; and it will probably do more harm than good unless it jealously preserves that close personal relationship between the adult workers and the juveniles which is the essence of the affair. A wise local authority will realise all this; it will know wherein lies its strength and its weakness, do what it can do well of its own power, and get the help and advice of others in matters of which it has little, if any, experience. Local authorities have already shown what they can do by the establishment, during the last two years, of evening play centres in public elementary schools. These centres provide a basis for the building up of a sound and complete scheme of recreation for boys and girls. Let it be remembered that all children are in the schools. It is there they should be dealt with in the first instance, and thence they should later be drawn. Here is the best field for the Scout, Brigade and Club movements to commence their operations, and—important to note—a full field and not a few carefully selected and particularly promising patches. Under the present system, or lack of system, new voluntary workers are compelled to become Scoutmasters, Brigade Officers, or Club Managers, before they have had a fair chance of comparing methods or, if it comes to that, of getting to know the boys and girls upon whom they are expected to try a particular method. The consequence is that many such men and women know little outside their own pet groove. But if selected elder members from the various organisations could be induced to serve as voluntary workers in these play centres (and they would be heartily welcomed), they would soon discover that there is much to be said for and against their individual theories and methods, and that children do not like grooves; they would be brought into intimate relationship with one another and with the teachers, to the mutual advantage of all—including the children. If the Club habit be formed during childhood, it is much more likely to be maintained during the years of adolescence; and if, through these voluntary workers, a link can be established with the schools, the children will, on leaving, pass more naturally

into the organisations, and possibly with some respect to their discovered bent in the way of recreation.

School play centres will never do their best work unless they are adequately staffed with young men and women who know how to play with children and how to use play to win their confidence and affection. There are thousands of young men and women who have passed through Clubs, Scouts and Brigades, and experience has already shown that such ex-club members are generally most efficient workers amongst young boys and girls. It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that, as closer co-operation is secured with the schools, full advantage will be taken to supply the need for volunteers in the play centres from such a fruitful and promising source.

The establishment of new clubs and the organisation of camps for young people between 14 and 18 years are much more difficult tasks than the conduct of play centres for school children, as is well known to those who have tried both. Local authorities can, however, do much in this direction. They can provide the buildings and the equipment, and relieve voluntary workers of the worries of meeting maintenance charges, such as lighting and heating. It is their province to supply teachers of special subjects, handicraft instructors, and organisers of physical training classes. And the more these matters are left to them the more efficient they are likely to be. But important as are these things, they do not constitute the real Club life which means so much to boys and girls. Rather is this to be found in the games and sports, the meeting with a 'pal,' or more often with the 'gang,' and in that indefinable thing—the tone, the spirit of the place. The creating and maintaining of the tone in Club and Camp are mainly, if not entirely, dependent upon the personality of the workers, personality which can only be impressed upon the character of young people, just in so far as a close personal relationship exists between them and the workers. Money cannot purchase the services of the right type of worker, and without him the expense and labour are but vain. But that is not to shut out the possibilities of paid workers. There are many men and women who would

devote their lives to a work of love, but who are prevented by the stern necessity of earning their bread and butter. If men and women of this type can be appointed as managers of Clubs formed in connection with the new Continuation Schools, and round them can be gathered others of the right outlook, there is no reason why the work should be less valuable to the youth of the nation than that which has hitherto been the close preserve of the volunteer. The supply of workers will increase as youth grows to manhood in these new schools and clubs, as has been the case in the experience of existing voluntary associations.

The extent to which local authorities will avail themselves of their new powers to establish clubs and similar activities in connection with the schools, will probably greatly depend upon (1) the amount of interest shown in the matter by the general public, and (2) the support given by those who are specially qualified to advise and assist. Every effort should be made to educate public opinion to the need, and voluntary organisations should be prepared willingly to place their experience at the disposal of any local authority desirous of trying experiments so fraught with possibilities for good. The field is immense, and whatever local authorities may do of their own initiative is hardly likely to meet the whole need for many years to come. Adequately to cover the whole ground it will be necessary greatly to increase the scope of the work of the voluntary associations, and it is hoped that education authorities will use their powers, under Section 17, to give financial aid, in suitable cases, to those who are able and willing to extend their activities. If the official bodies go to work quite independently, they will probably suffer the penalties of inexperience. If voluntary workers stand aloof, they commit themselves to a policy of despair, for are they not agreed that alone they are insufficient? It is only by the joining of hands in a common cause that we can hope to make such wise provision for the leisure of young people as shall help them to become worthy citizens, and so advance the highest aim of education.

Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD then submitted the following paper :—

The Scope of Voluntary Effort in Adult Education.

BY ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

(Vice-President of the Workers' Educational Association.)

‘**S**Ocial service’ is not a term which can be applied to Adult Education, nor can the phrase ‘voluntary effort’ be used in the sense in which it is used, for example, in the sphere of various forms of public assistance, without creating a serious misunderstanding. There still clings to the idea of ‘social service’ the conception of helping the weaker brethren, with the implication that those who help are the stronger brethren. I am aware, of course, that voluntary social service is now regarded largely as the co-operation of private citizens, with public authorities for the more effective conduct of certain social services. But even this conception does not enable us to include Adult Education within it.

I do not wish to stress this point unduly, but it is essential to realise that voluntary effort in Adult Education is not concerned with utilising the services of public-spirited people who, from a somewhat higher plane, minister to the needs of the less fortunate, and endeavour to bring home to them their civic and social responsibilities. The term has a special meaning as applied to Adult Education.

The difference arises from the nature of Adult Education, and the character of the students. As regards the former, the orthodox conception of the relations between teacher and taught does not hold. Adult Education is essentially a co-operative process in which all are teachers and all are taught. The tutor brings the results of his reading and reflection; the members of the class bring their experience. The average age of the members of an adult class may be thirty or forty years. They include men and women with a considerable experience of industrial life, and with an intimate knowledge

of its problems. Often the students occupy responsible positions in the trade union or co-operative movement, or are engaged in some form of public work. The tutor, it is true, has his own special contribution to make, but it is not necessarily superior in value to that brought by the body of students; it is merely different from theirs. The University Tutorial Class movement and other similar work has been successful largely because it has been carried on in a spirit of full co-operation.

Moreover, education is something which can be gained only by the efforts of individuals themselves. It cannot be conferred upon them by statute. The State may make provision, but, so far as adults are concerned, it cannot make education compulsory. Though intellectual interests may be stimulated by others, the initiative in the direction of education must be made by the student himself, and he will gain his end just so far as he 'pulls his weight' in the adult class which he joins. We have to remember also that the movement for Adult Education has depended upon the realisation by working people of their needs as regards education, and its policy has been determined by the views of organised work-people as to the ways in which those needs could best be met.

These preliminary considerations bring us to the main question of this paper—the place of voluntary effort in Adult Education. The Committee on Adult Education gave, as its considered opinion, that 'Adult Non-vocational Education has owed its main inspiration, and the success it has attained, to voluntary organisations of various kinds, and particularly those established for educational purposes.'¹ It is, indeed, due to their efforts that there is at the present time a vigorous movement concerned with the extension and provision of Adult Education. But the voluntary organisations referred to above are not associations for the promotion of the education of other people. They are broadly, of two kinds; those which exist for purposes which are not primarily educational, and those whose avowed object is the organisation or pro-

¹ Final Report of the Adult Education Committee. Cmd. 321. Page 112

vision of education, or both. In the case of associations of the first type, education comes to play a more or less prominent part in their activities in order to fulfill a need felt by their members for educational facilities for themselves and their fellow members. The second type of organisation is essentially one in which people interested in and desirous of education co-operate to secure educational facilities. They may seek the support of those who can be of assistance to them in pursuit of this end, but this in no way obscures the main characteristic of educational organisations.

It is because the impulse comes from within these two kinds of organisations that the demand for Adult Education is a reality. It has led not only to systematic attempts at the provision of educational facilities, but to missionary effort with a view to stimulating a demand for education amongst members of these organisations hitherto imperfectly aware of the necessity of continuous study, and amongst people eligible for membership of such organisations. Another inevitable result has been to concentrate attention upon 'the formulation of methods in harmony with adult needs.'² It was discovered that Adult Education will thrive only in an atmosphere of freedom. Hence it is that 'the voluntary organisations engaged in educational work have striven to provide an atmosphere in which a social spirit and co-operation in the search of truth can flourish.'³

The expansion of extra mural University education and of the facilities of Local Education Authorities will not render voluntary effort unnecessary. It is, of course, desirable that both Universities and Local Authorities should extend their facilities, and recognise their responsibilities as regards the education of adults. But this in itself is insufficient. The Adult Education Committee rightly insists that 'the advance of Adult Education can proceed only as quickly as their agencies can stimulate, focus and organise the demand for it; and that in the last resort the volume of educational activity is determined, not by the capacity of the Universities

² Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, page 13.

³ Ibid.

and Education Authorities to provide facilities, but by the ability of organising bodies to give shape and substance to the demand.⁴

A further and somewhat lengthy reference to the Report of the Committee may be pardoned, for it brings out clearly the importance of voluntary effort. 'A body such as the Workers' Educational Association possesses experience of educational administration; it has, moreover, a knowledge of the methods and constitution of voluntary organisations such as Universities and Local Authorities cannot be expected to possess. It is largely composed of voluntary associations to whose needs it is, therefore, responsive. On the other hand, its contact with suitable teachers, and its connection with Local Education Authorities and Universities give it an advantage which voluntary organisations in general are without. Educational agencies of a voluntary kind perform an essential service in stimulating, organising and assisting educational efforts, both amongst individuals and associations. The method of the University or Local Education Authority is usually to make an announcement as to educational facilities which may or may not be widely published. This necessarily perfunctory procedure is not likely to touch more than the fringe of the public which might take advantage of such facilities. In the majority of people the desire for education is latent, and requires to be aroused. To bring a group of students into existence is work which voluntary educational agencies are admirably fitted to perform. It is work of a missionary character, requiring special knowledge and a special organisation. These bodies open up new sources, from which students may be drawn; they prepare the ground; they stimulate the demand for education; they ascertain the needs of students and bring together those with similar interests and tastes; they arrange for the type of class which, in the circumstances, is most suitable. They consult the students on all matters connected with the organisation and conduct of the class. They infuse into it a corporate spirit. The students organised by voluntary agencies con-

⁴ Ibid.

duct the internal affairs of the class and become responsible for its success. In this way, freedom and responsibility are combined. Moreover, voluntary educational movements are able to bring groups of students in the same and even different towns into touch with each other by means of common discussions, week-end lecture schools and social functions. Students by these means become associated with others enjoying the same interests, and come to realise that they are identified with a wider movement than membership of a class would otherwise appear to involve.⁵

But this work will be effectively carried on only if there is real co-operation between educational agencies, and the voluntary bodies from whom the students are mainly drawn, and the voluntary educational organisations. The necessary degree of co-operation can only be realised by the participation of the voluntary associations with the educational agencies in the provision of facilities. In the case of extramural University education this measure of co-operation has been obtained through the establishment of University Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes, which are normally composed of equal numbers of representatives of the University and of workers nominated by the Workers' Educational Association. In most cases the District Secretary of the W.E.A. is one of the joint secretaries of the Joint Committee, and it is mainly through the machinery of the W.E.A. that the classes are organised. It is no exaggeration to say that the present extent of the Tutorial Class Movement is due principally to the W.E.A.

It is of the utmost importance in the interests of Adult Education that the same principle of co-operation should be extended to Local Education Authorities. Hitherto, whilst they have assisted non-vocational Adult Education in several directions, the volume of work carried on under their own auspices has been relatively small. Where Local Education Authority classes for adults have been successful, it has generally been because they were inspired and watched over

⁵ Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, pages 114-5, paragraph 206

by the Workers' Educational Association or some similar body. It is safe to say that Adult Education under the auspices of the Local Education Authorities will never flourish (until there is behind it the knowledge, experience and dynamic of voluntary organisation).

The Adult Education Committee propose that Adult Education Joint Committees should be formed by two or more Local Education Authorities in co-operation.⁶ 'It should be the duty of such a Committee to co-opt representatives (1) of bodies engaged in organising non-vocational classes aided out of public funds, and (2) of Universities.'⁷ The motive behind this proposal is not to supersede the activities of voluntary organisations, but rather to assist their development. Bodies doing educational work would, if the suggestion were adopted, continue their work knowing that, subject to the fulfilment of the general conditions laid down by the Joint Committees and the regulations of the Board of Education, their classes would receive the active help of Local Education Authorities. A class organised by a voluntary association which provided it with a tutor would receive recognition, subject to the above safeguards, from the Local Education Authority concerned, and would receive financial aid. In other cases the assistance received might take the form of the provision of a tutor approved by a class, and of accommodation for class meetings. The Adult Education Joint Committee, out of funds provided by the co-operating Local Education Authorities and by State grants would, besides paying tutors' salaries, meet the travelling expenses of tutors and administration officers, maintain a travelling library, meet clerical expenses and provide scholarships for Summer Schools.

In the future, voluntary effort in the sphere of Adult Education will act in co-operation with Universities on the one hand, and Local Education Authorities on the other. But this joint action will not absorb all the energies of voluntary educational organisations. Even if it were possible for

⁶ The Committee suggested that a single County authority might establish an Adult Education Joint Committee.

⁷ Final Report of Adult Education Committee, page 164

educational institutions and authorities to carry on a large programme of Adult Education without the assistance of voluntary bodies (which I do not think is possible), there would still be left an important field for voluntary effort. The effect of a development of systematic and organised educational work will be, as experience has already shown, to stimulate less systematic effort in a variety of directions. There is, at the present time, a considerable volume of work carried on by voluntary agencies which, though it could not well be carried on under the auspices of Local Authorities, nevertheless provides valuable elements in any comprehensive scheme of Adult Education. Courses of lectures, study circles and conferences, for example, are valuable as means of stimulating interest, and as preliminaries to more sustained study. On the other hand, they have their value for more advanced students. A study circle, for example, whilst it may be used for purposes of preparatory study, may also be a method whereby students may, after systematic class work, take up a more intensive study of particular problems, or even undertake research. A good deal of this work might be possible amongst groups of students, but it could not always be carried on under conditions which entitled the group to Government grants. The value of educational work is not to be measured by whether it is grant-earning or not. Class work generally must be grant-earning in order to obtain the services of an adequately paid tutor. But where the paid tutor is not essential, educational work can be successfully carried on at relatively little cost, and will be carried on to an increasing extent by voluntary organisations. It is desirable that spontaneous activity in these directions should be encouraged to develop, both as a foundation for organised class work and as an outcome of it.

These various considerations led the Adult Education Committee to report that 'our general view is that the extension of publicly provided education will not destroy the value of voluntary educational effort, nor will it supersede the need for it. One of the greatest evils which can befall education is a rigid uniformity. It inevitably devitalises education of

every kind ; but it would cause adult non-vocational education either to perish or to seek new channels outside the influence of the uniform system. In the sphere of Adult Education, where so much yet remains to be discovered, and where, owing to the age and experience of the students, direction from above plays a smaller, and initiative from below a much greater part than is the case in other forms of education, voluntary association and effort are essential As more adequate provision is made for non-vocational studies, and as the appetite for knowledge grows amongst adults, the voluntary organisation will find itself not with a narrowed area of activity, but with a wider field of service before it. Voluntary agencies must, therefore, be regarded as an integral part of the fabric of national education in order to give spontaneity and variety to the work, and to keep organised educational facilities responsive to the ever-widening needs of the human mind and spirit.¹⁸

DISCUSSION.

Professor SIR RICHARD LODGE (Edinburgh University), opening the discussion, said : My contribution to the discussion is a simple suggestion which was inspired to a large extent by the first paper read at this Conference by the Mayor of Leicester. We have heard this morning suggestions for dealing with individuals, with children of tender years, with young persons, and with parents. I would like to point out that the population does not consist of isolated groups of individuals, but of families. I think that there is a serious danger in connection with the movement for Juvenile Organisations Committee's nursery schools, play centres, &c., of breaking up the family life of the country. We have to remember that leisure is not confined to young persons, that the limit of working hours, which is gradually becoming extended, will create a problem dealing with the leisure of the community, which is a greater problem than that of dealing with the recreation of young persons alone. That is what the Council of Social Service should usefully

¹⁸ Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, page 116.

centre its attention upon, *i.e.* the provision of recreation for families as a whole, not merely upon isolated parts, or groups of families, away from their homes. What this country needs is what other countries have more successfully developed—forms of recreation in which the fathers, mothers, and their children can share. Until we have really grappled with that question we shall not have grappled with what I think is the most pressing problem at the present time, namely, the provision of adequate methods of recreation, whether educational or not. I confess I hope no very positive line will be drawn between recreation and education. We should aim at making provision for the employment, pleasureable and recreative in the best sense, of the leisure of the people.

Alderman MR. GIRLING, Mayor of Shoreditch, said that there were two points he would like to deal with. In his opinion we had had no satisfactory solution, so far, to the problem of young delinquents. Mr. Clark-Hall, the Bow Street magistrate, had during the last two years worked upon a system, with the help of voluntary workers, for dealing with the children who had come before him, with such splendid results that it was an eye-opener to other stipendiary magistrates. So far as the East End of London, from which he came, was concerned, the environment in which these kiddies lived must be taken into consideration. He had been told of children seen round the stalls at Hoxton picking up the vegetables which had fallen from the stalls; they had been able to get a Sunday's dinner as a result of it. 'Do you blame them,' asked the Mayor, 'for knocking a potato off that stall, knowing full well that without it on Sunday he would be made to go without his dinner?' Mr. Clark-Hall had adopted a system in which, with the voluntary worker's help, the results had been marvellous. 'Two years ago we had something like 18,000 juvenile delinquents a year coming before that court, and the following year those cases were reduced to 900! Last year they dropped down to nearly 500. With the voluntary worker, who visits a child from time to time, who canvasses the plucer of work, who sees the kiddie

in his natural environment. Mr. Clark-Hall's work has been justified.'

The Mayor of Stepney, MAJOR C. R. ATTLEE, urged that voluntary workers could help to secure that a proper value was put on education. He maintained that this country does not value education, and in proof of it he asserted that 'all through elementary education, from secondary education to University education, we hopelessly sweat our teachers. The qualifications of the teacher have very little commercial value to-day, and one of the things we have to lay heavy stress upon is the question of value; education authorities all over the country are faced with the great shortage of teachers, simply because of this question.' In this country we had no proper appreciation of education. He added, 'we waste an enormous amount of brain power in this country through our educational system, and especially through the fact that the great majority of people are debarred from going through the University.' 'In the district in which I live,' he said, 'there are numbers of scholarship children who do not get further than winning the scholarship because of lack of funds. It is a hard thing to say to a parent, "keep your child at school till 18." We are all of us keen on education, but we do not put up the money. If we get a strong feeling in favour of education, we shall get the money for it.' Here was a great chance for voluntary agencies.

Miss ELSIE HALL (Incorporated Midwives Institute) spoke as one who had worked as practical mid-wife and teacher of mid-wifery for 19 years. This nation had not recognised the value of good mid-wifery and the importance of this work, and so the mid-wife had not been able to fulfil the office as she might have done, but had worked under great disability. 'She has had no social standing, and has none to-day. She has not had a living wage, and I beg of you to create public opinion as to the value of good mid-wifery.' As one who had worked in the slums of London for 19 years she did not think it good, as a principle, to make mothers go into institutions; rather, she asked the community to see that their homes are improved. 'Institutional treatment is sometimes

necessary; every mother in the land should have the best opportunity to be safely confined; but it is beginning at the wrong end of the stick to take her out of the home instead of improving it.'

Mr. SHEPHERD (Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union) pointed out that thousands and thousands of children are outside the membership of juvenile organisations. He argued that the Government should give financial support to Juvenile Organisation Committees. He called attention to the need for enthusiasm and inspiration in work amongst children and regretted certain omissions in the papers read. The greatest evil in all the world was involved in the liquor traffic; it lay at the heart of the problem which they were considering, and must be faced by all who looked for a new England. No mention had been made of religion. He believed that unless there was a deep passion for religion in all their hearts there would be little hope of realising the high idealism to which they had listened.

Mr. MORTON RAWLINSON (Reading Council of Social Welfare) thought that the voluntary school managers' very important work could be done more effectively than it is in many parts of the country. The managers' relations with the authorities and the schools was very valuable. They could do work which the officials could never do, providing many opportunities for services of a voluntary kind.

FATHER HODGE (Oxford Juvenile Organisations' Committee), speaking on the work of the Juvenile Organisations, said they should be very much on their guard against keeping them select. The better class boys and girls would take care of themselves.

Inspector SWAINSTON (Women's Police Service) said that as a member of the Women's Police Service she had come into contact chiefly with those girls who had made a mess of their lives. These girls struck her chiefly not as being bad girls, but as being such nice girls—girls with endless possibilities. She felt that a great many of those who had wrecked their lives would never have done so if they had had some ideal of service in front of them. 'The tendency nowa-

days is to try and find what can be got out of life, and that is never going to give us a happy youth. Many of these girls who are struggling back to the difficult paths of virtue tell us that if they had had something to live for when they were younger, they would not have made the mistakes they did.' Therefore she urged all who were dealing with young people to try to win the interest of the young girls of the country, that through clubs and other organisations they might learn the happiness of service.

Sir JAMES DOUGLAS, Bart. (Newcastle Citizen's Service Society), spoke of the 'difficulty of estimating to the full the value of "system" in educational work for all walks of life.'

Miss SAYE (Girls' Friendly Society) spoke of the pioneer work which the Society had been carrying on for 15 years. She said that amongst other things members had been taught not only to help themselves and to rule themselves, but also to serve others. The opportunities for voluntary helpers were very great, and more were urgently needed; the possibilities of the work were almost unlimited.

Dr. PURVES (Belfast Council of Social Welfare) said he was impressed by the fact that conditions which made for progress were apparently so prevalent in all parts of England, and so absent in Ireland 'and even Belfast.' He drew a moving picture of conditions there, and asked for sympathy and help in the work that they were trying to develop.

Mr. CHARLES DODD (Wrexham Civic Guild of Help) said he understood that there was still some prejudice with regard to the work of such bodies as the W.E.A. They were held by some to be purely organisations which had for their objects the advancement of Labour ideas and Labour views. He supposed it was because the workers had shown such a desire for education, that they run a great many of these classes themselves, but that was all to their credit. The pity was that those who had had greater educational opportunities were not helping to develop Adult Education, which offered a splendid opportunity for service. The thing which appealed to him in the Conference was the new spirit. He was glad of the tributes that had been paid to the splendid work done

by elementary school teachers, to whom was owed an enormous debt. The immediate need was for largely increased service from young men.

The MASTER OF BALLIOL (Chairman), closing the discussion, said: I was very glad indeed to hear the attitude taken by Mr. Legge on the great need of educating the laity. I welcome this from him as an official, for there is a great opportunity, greater than ever now of co-operation in the sphere of educational work. I welcome the emphasis that has been placed upon co-operation in the various papers and speeches. We were all interested, I am sure, in the description of the new type of nursery school, and the importance, and indeed necessity, of open-air work, given by Miss McMillan. I was struck by what she said in regard to something which has come home to me very thoroughly in the last few years, namely, that we are past the state of experiments in this field, and we ought now to be putting the results of prolific experiments of the recent years into actual practical effect.



THURSDAY, APRIL 8th. Evening Meeting.

(Held in the Sheldonian Theatre.)

**Subject: The Organisation of Voluntary Social Service in
Relation to the Work of Statutory Authorities.**

*Chairman:—Professor W. G. S. ADAMS (Chairman of the
National Council of Social Service).*

THE CHAIRMAN said: The general purpose for which this Conference was held was to consider the relationship of the voluntary worker to the Public Authorities, and we have to-night to consider this general question in the light of the papers which have been read and the speeches which have been made at the previous meetings. One of the greatest things in the history of this country has been the growth of the spirit of social service. It has carried into being many pioneer societies, and a vast army of voluntary workers. The best use must be made of this great supply of service and good-will. Experience has already proved in some of our municipalities, how great an advantage it is to have a common Council on which are represented all the local voluntary agencies of social service. It makes possible a survey of the whole local field of work, it prevents avoidable overlapping, and it develops co-operation in aim and effort. What is true locally applied in a larger sense nationally. With this end in view, the National Council of Social Service has been formed. Its programme will be outlined to-night in the papers which are to be read. We hope that it will commend itself to you and that you will give it your support. We shall to-night and at all times welcome your suggestions and criticism, for we are quite clear that the work of the Council must be on a democratic basis if it is to succeed.

ARTHUR COLLINS, Esq., then submitted the following paper :—

**The Organization of Voluntary Social Service in Relation
to the Work of Statutory Authorities.**

BY ARTHUR COLLINS
(*Birmingham Citizens' Committee*).

THIS Conference marks another mile stone on the road of progress traversed by workers in Social Service circles towards the goal to which many look forward, namely, the establishment of the most effective relationship between voluntary and statutory agencies expending their energies on Social Service work.

2. The subjects discussed at these meetings, and the names of those leading the discussion, indicate quite clearly the wide range of operations in which voluntary and official workers are already associated. These notes are consequently not burdened with the necessity of proving by elaborate argument a case for a new theory. They deal rather with the development of plans for building upon the substantial structure of established facts.

3. To understand and visualise the aims of the future it is helpful to indulge briefly in retrospection. Before the War we had many local and some national organisations composed of voluntary workers encouraging the spirit and utilising the product of voluntary effort.

4. Local Committees abounded, mostly *ad hoc* agencies, looking entirely for initiative and support within local circles, concerning themselves mainly, if not wholly, with their own particular subject, and but little with the work, hopes and aspirations of their neighbours in other districts.

5. Much good work also has been done by bodies represented in various parts of the Country, such as, by way of illustration, the Charity Organisation Society, the Association of Guilds of Help, the Workers' Educational

Association, the National League of Health, Maternity and Child Welfare, and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Associations, to keep local workers connected with live wires at headquarters.

6. As a general rule, however, it would probably not be inaccurate to say that these and similar national bodies had very little in common with each other; at any rate, if as is the way of tradesmen, their local shop windows exhibit similar goods, their wholesale depots, from which supplies were drawn, maintained their independent spirit.

7. In trade and in most things commercial, competition is good, and as for rivalry—the keener the better; but a different spirit animates the whole movement of voluntary effort.

8. Yet it seemed to be difficult to inculcate and develop the doctrine of national or even local co-operation amongst voluntary workers as a whole.

9. Upon examination these difficulties would be found to be but natural. They do not arise from jealousy, or any other undesirable motive. They are the outcome of human nature. Some workers being disposed to take an interest only in an old soldier, leaving others to deal with child welfare. Some would visit slums and undertake the after-care visitation of children with diligence; others, considering slum-work ostentatious or at any rate objectionable, found an outlet for the spirit of benevolence in secretarial duties, assisting local agencies, and so on.

10. In many such ways social service in some form was regarded as a duty by ever so many who were content to work within their allotted sphere, doing good by stealth and never tiring, but looking only on their own field of labour, without a glance towards the horizon.

11. War brought us more closely together. All who had undertaken any specific duties, however light, felt the call anew to serve generally, in every way—every way possible. Thus it was that those who probably had never

spoken to a 'common soldier,' as he was then termed, were proud to be associated with every man who wore the King's uniform, and his family.

12. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, perhaps, and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, first felt the influence of the new flood of voluntary effort. With thousands enlisting there was a call for help from those who were left behind, and few could resist it. Can anyone forget the way in which not only old experienced workers joined the volunteer forces for social work, but new and untried helpers enrolled in such great numbers? Many were not utilised, many fell away, but many remain faithful to their posts.

13. The first real and successful endeavour to weave the detached strands of voluntary service into stout cords which should survive any test came in June, 1915. Several National bodies then existing called a Conference at Westminster of all voluntary workers, and at that Conference the foundations were laid for the organisation of a National movement, of which the possibilities were then only dimly seen.

14. A Joint Committee was set up of representatives of the National Association of Guilds of Help, Councils of Social Welfare, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Charity Organisation Society, and Committees for the Prevention and Relief of Distress, to consider and promote schemes for securing some measure of uniformity in local organisations, and also to strengthen the existing bonds between the voluntary workers and the various Government Departments making use of their services.

15. From this Committee, regularly in session from 1915 to 1919, and periodically extending its scope and constitution, there has been evolved the National Council of Social Service, becoming more and more representative of all existing voluntary and official agencies, and gradually paving the way for a maximum amount of co-operation between voluntary and official agencies.

16. The present constitution of the Council may be judged from this list of officers and bodies represented upon it:—

Professor W. G. S. Adams, Chairman.
 Sir Henry Rew, K.C.B., Vice-Chairman.
 Sir Charles Stewart, K.B.E., Hon. Treasurer.
 S. P. Grundy, O.B.E., Hon. Secretary.

Local Councils of Social Service:—

Belfast Council of Social Service.
 Birmingham Citizens' Committee.
 Chester Council of Social Welfare.
 Halifax Council of Social Welfare.
 Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid.
 London Council of Social Service.
 Oldham Council of Social Welfare.
 Reading Council of Social Welfare.
 Scarborough Council of Social Welfare.
 Warrington Council of Social Service.

Voluntary Agencies:—

Borstal Association.
 Cavendish Association.
 Central Association for the Care of the Mentally Defective.
 Central Council for Infant and Child Welfare.
 Church of England.
 Federation of Charity Organisation Societies.
 Friendly Societies.
 Hebrew Congregation.
 Labour.
 National Association of Guilds of Help.
 National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.
 National Council of Women.
 National Federation of Women's Institutes.
 National Land and Home League.
 National League for Health, Maternity and Child Welfare.
 Roman Catholic Church.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association.
 Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society.
 Village Clubs Association.
 Women's Local Government Association.
 Women's Village Councils Federation.

*Associations of Local Government Authorities and of
 Local Government Officers:—*

County Councils Association.
 National Association of Local Government
 Officers.
 Poor Law Unions Association.
 Rural District Councils Association.
 Union and Rural District Clerks' Society.
 Urban District Councils Association.

*Representatives of the following Government Depart-
 ments Acting in an Advisory and Consultative
 Capacity:—*

Board of Education.
 Charity Commissioners.
 Juvenile Organisations Committee.
 Ministry of Pensions.
 National Savings Committee.

17. The policy of the Council was, is, and ought always to be this:—

- (a) To promote voluntary organisation of social work both nationally and locally.
- (b) To provide information, particularly as to legislation and the regulations of Government Departments, for voluntary social workers.
- (c) To co-operate with the Government Departments and local authorities making use of voluntary effort.
- (d) To assist in the formation for each local Government area of organisations of a uniform character representative of voluntary effort.

18. The general idea of such a Committee is not new, but the conditions arising from the War have rendered such co-operation and co-ordination both more necessary and more practicable. The work of the Local Representative Committees of the National Relief Fund and the organisations engaged in the relief of military and civil distress have widened the outlook of thousands of voluntary workers. Not only in that field of service, but in every other class of social work, war has taught us to realise, and to translate into action, our obligation to our fellows, and the value of united effort, inspired by a common purpose. If the workers are to render the most effective service in the future, simplicity and cohesion in organisation, and the fullest information on social subjects is necessary.

19. The Council hopes that this brief programme will meet with general approval. They realise that voluntary effort can only be organised on lines suitable to local conditions. They do not wish to interfere in local problems, but experience has already shown that only by bringing local effort into effective co-operation with national movements can the best practical results be obtained.

20. The Council's productive effort has been useful and practical. A hand-book of information for the help and guidance of voluntary workers, has been appreciated by thousands of voluntary workers throughout the Country. More work of this kind is in hand, soon, it is hoped, to be published. The report of the enquiry into the position of widows is a practical example of the great value of the recorded experience of voluntary workers all over the country *if it can be made available.*

21. It is not without hopefulness and confidence that the originators of the Council submit their record and reveal their vision. Hopefulness, based not only upon useful work done, but upon a great development of the will to co-operate amongst the representatives of so many agencies. Confidence that such a National Committee having been set up, its potential powers will be extended and

consolidated, so that the spirit of mutual helpfulness already secured will never be allowed to disappear.

22. Yet when all its work has been recorded, it falls far short of the realisation of its aims, and it is to indicate broadly the possibilities of development in its programme that these notes are written.

23. First, wide as the constitution of the Council is, its bounds must be wider still, so as to represent more voluntary agencies.

24. These agencies adopt almost every variety of domestic organisation, as they concern themselves with a great variety of tasks. Some have, as their local units, individual institutions throughout the country (such as the British Hospitals Association); some concern themselves with a particular type of individual through a local Committee or representative (such as the Central Association for the care of the Mentally Defective); some are engaged chiefly in propaganda work and in the creation of public opinion (such as the National Association for the prevention of Consumption and other forms of Tuberculosis); whilst another group of agencies (such as the Charity Organisation Societies and the Guilds of Help) have a general purpose.

25. Before any systematic organisation can be attempted of the very numerous voluntary agencies which may be described as National, their classification has to be considered, according to the special aspects of the social problem with which they deal. When the principal agencies have been grouped in this way, representation of each group on the National Council should be secured, so that it would be possible to approach the constituent members of a group through the medium of their representatives on the Council.

26. Voluntary agencies in general may be grouped under the following heads:—

1. General Welfare.
2. Health (including mental and physical deficiency).

3. Education.
4. Distress.
5. Delinquency.

27. The range of each of these groups might, for illustration, be shown in outline in this way: —

(1) *General Welfare*—

- A. Rural organisations.
- B. Women's organisations.
- C. Juvenile organisations.

(2) *Health*—

- A. Medical and nursing.
- B. Maternity, infant and child welfare.
- C. Special diseases.
- D. The blind.
- E. The deaf and dumb.
- F. The epileptic.
- G. The mentally defective.

(3) *Education*—

- A. Adult education.
- B. Juvenile education.

(4) *Distress*—

- A. General:
- B. Relief to Special Classes:

(5) *Delinquency*—

- A. Delinquency and crime.
- B. Rescue work.

28. This schedule does not pretend to be in any way complete, or to do more, at this stage, than illustrate the possibilities of arriving at a method of classification. Its adoption would result in the enlargement of the Council by the addition of representatives from each group of voluntary agencies. It might then be thought desirable to establish group sub-committees to carry on the systematic organisation of all agencies included in the group. Already the agencies concerned in promoting general welfare in rural areas have been grouped into a special depart-

ment, and its Chairman, Sir Henry Rew, is to speak at this Conference.

29. This aspect of the future constitution of the Council is being most carefully considered, and criticisms and suggestions would be welcomed from this Conference. The sole desire of the Council is to leave nothing possible undone to justify the word 'National' in its title. The internal or domestic plans, arrangements, or methods of working of each individual Society, Committee or Agency, need not be disturbed. It is their relationship to each other in the national sense, *i.e.* at headquarters, rather than their own private affairs, which have first to be improved, and anything in the direction of fusion of interests, amalgamations, or other re-arrangement of the work of each separate body, is left to find its genesis amongst the workers themselves, each body being master of its own destiny.

30. Secondly, the National Council having been set up, and having presented an outline of its ultimate composition, it is proceeding with all its strength to develop in each locality some measure of co-operation between voluntary agencies, and between voluntary and official agencies.

31. As the National Council represents such a fusion of interest and effort at headquarters, so may each locality throughout the kingdom be encouraged to follow the same course within the bounds of its own district.

32. The constitution of the Local Councils of Social Service is not a matter upon which the National Council wish to lay down any hard and fast rule, nor could they succeed in their endeavours if they tried any arbitrary plan.

33. The primary aim of the National Council at this stage is to promote, and having promoted to support and guide the movement for bringing together representatives of all existing agencies, voluntary and official, in each locality at a round table conference, under the presidency or chairmanship of the Mayor, the Chairman of the Local Council or other recognised leader of public thought.

34. It is confidently believed that nothing but good could accrue from such a gathering, called together to consider to what extent common objects, interests and aims may be the subject of common action.

35. From such meetings in a number of cases the result anticipated is the formation of a permanent Committee or Local Social Service Council. Such a body should become the recognised Local Council of Voluntary Work, regarded—in its own sphere of voluntary service—as the *vis-a-vis* of the County Council, Town Council, Urban District Council, or Rural District Council, in their official work.

36. Let it not be supposed that any such Council should be born in an atmosphere of rivalry between volunteer and official bodies. In that case the last state would be worse than the first. On the contrary it is only the desire to make the most effective use of voluntary agencies that prompts even the preliminary meeting, with this end in view, namely, the formation of a local body on the lines indicated, representative of official and voluntary effort.

37. There may be some disposed to say that all this is an ideal or a fanciful design. For any such it is well to recall practical examples.

38. Councils formed on the representative principle have been set up in Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, Croydon, Halifax, Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham, Reading, Scarborough, Tunbridge Wells, Warrington, &c., and in many of the Boroughs of London. In a number of other localities similar Councils are in the course of formation.

39. In the City of Birmingham there is a Citizens' Committee, consisting of representatives of the following:

1. Board of Guardians.
2. University of Birmingham.
3. Local War Pensions Committee
4. Chamber of Commerce.

5. Birmingham Citizens' Society (which carries on the duties of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, the Charity Organisation Society, and the Birmingham City Aid Society, and other similar organisations).
6. Allied Trades' Federation.
7. National Brassworkers' Society.
8. Gas, Municipal and General Workers' Union.
9. National Union of Railwaymen.
10. The Workers' Union.

The Civic Recreation League has merged its identity in that of the Citizens' Committee, and it is realised that the people's leisure is as important an element of general welfare as the relief of distress.

There is considerable scope for the extension of the representation, and in time there is reason to believe that this Committee may become as widely constituted as, for example, the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service or the Hampstead Council of Social Welfare.

40. Other towns have followed suit and others are following them. Examples are also available of similar representative bodies in Urban Districts and Rural Districts, wherein the principle has been adopted although practice may, and must necessarily, differ in detail. Rural organisation, for instance, has special aspects which another paper will bring to the notice of the Conference.

41. With regard to London, many present will be better qualified to speak than a provincial man: but as far back as 1910, consequent upon the report of the Poor Law Commission in 1909, with its many references to the promotion of Social Welfare Councils (as they were then called) in every County, County Borough and Borough in Great Britain, the movement towards promoting a Council of Social Service in each of the Boroughs in the Metropolis began, and there is now a London Council of Social Service.

42. The objects of the London Council of Social Service seem to be well worth reproduction :—

1. To promote throughout Greater London systematic co-operation in voluntary social work by bringing into closer relations public departments, local authorities and societies and persons engaged in social work within their area.
2. To secure general agreement amongst all the local Councils in Greater London without interference with their internal management.
3. To secure for London as a whole a means of intercommunication and interaction between groups of its social workers.
4. To co-operate with, and if requested by them to act for, official agencies in undertaking any particular social service within Greater London.
5. To co-operate with the National Council of Social Service, in order to secure the common object upon a National scale.

43. It will be observed that the London Social Service Council stands *in loco parentis* to many Metropolitan Borough Social Service Councils, just as the National Council hopes to do for the country generally.

44. So it will appear that there is a steady, if not a rapid, movement in every type of Local Government area towards the aims which the National Council of Social Service have in view.

45. The Council does not turn a blind eye to the difficulties of its task, neither does it ignore the pitfalls which beset so plentifully the path of progress in this direction.

46. Mistakes have been made and no doubt more will occur, but nothing was ever done by those who made no mistakes. 'Nothing venture, nothing win' still remains a sound maxim, and constructive work is always more valuable and more difficult than destructive criticism.

47. The growth of local Social Service Councils naturally brings in its train the important question of the link to be forged between such Councils and the National Council. Through representation, direct or indirect (as in the case of London already), it is hoped to bring local organisations into personal touch with each other, and with agencies having national scope. In this direction promising progress has been made.

48. A few only of the difficulties may be mentioned at this stage. Chiefly, they are to be found as usual in the realm of finance and of the Drudgery Department known as the secretariat.

49. With regard to finance the difficulty may perhaps be met locally on the Birmingham lines of inviting numerous citizens to membership of an Association represented by the local Social Service Council, with a nominal subscription of 5/- per annum, to cover secretarial expenses. The national programme, as outlined, must depend primarily on its acceptance by social service workers throughout the country, but also on the extent to which it wins not only sympathy, but subscriptions. It is now arranged that all who will help may become Associates of the Council, and many will be enrolled, it is hoped, at this Conference.

50. There is no magic wand with which to conjure up funds for Social Service work, especially to provide adequate assistance in alleviating distress, but it may not be out of place to remark that a local Social Service Council can do a great deal to prevent duplication and overlapping of appeals to the public for funds for this or that society. To enter deeply into financial questions, however, would unduly extend a paper already rather lengthy, and the whole problem of funds for Social Service work demands a long paper dealing solely with this subject.

51. Mention of overlapping naturally leads to the consideration of registration of beneficiaries from local relief funds, and it may be recommended as an ancillary but most important branch of work which a local Social Service

Council may undertake, that a mutual registration system would be a valuable product of such a Council.

52. Here lying ready to hand is an opportunity in many towns for Social Service workers to render valuable help as volunteers. Moreover, there is scope for the development of a mutual registration system into a partnership between volunteer and official bodies, in keeping a common register. This is in fact in operation in Birmingham.

53. With regard to secretarial duties it is not without self-reproach that the members of the voluntary agencies should have to confess their difficulties in the execution of such work. Secretarial work is not showy, but it can be performed by many who are not temperamentally or otherwise suitable for case work.

54. In the main, with a leading citizen at the helm the organisation of the ship of secretariat means only an effective arrangement of watches. Divided between a reasonable and competent number, not large, secretarial work may be prevented from becoming a toil. In the same way the installation of a few willing volunteers to help in a quiet way may make all the difference between securing a capable leader being enrolled, and chaos resulting from the unwillingness of any one worker to take on so exacting a task single-handed.

55. It is perhaps not inappropriate to suggest that while this Conference is disposing of the affairs of State in the great realms of policy relating to voluntary work, the modest but necessary secretarial and clerical posts shall not remain unfilled by volunteers.

56. While indicating that the difficulties of the task of a general establishment of local Social Service Councils are fully recognised, it is not intended to suggest that these brief observations have in any way disposed of those difficulties. It is, however, hoped that from the contemplation of a high ideal there may be derived a powerful incentive to work for an attainable end.

57. As Matthew Arnold reminded us, the test of courageous loyalty to ideals is for men, while never ceasing to strive for the highest aims, sometimes to learn to be ready 'to be content with second best,' but with Emerson we should have the vision to 'hitch our wagon to a star.'

SIR HENRY REW, K.C.B., then submitted the following paper :—

Social Service in Rural Areas.

By SIR HENRY REW, K.C.B.

(Vice-Chairman, National Council of Social Service, and Chairman of the Rural Department; Chairman of the Village Clubs Association and of the Joint Committee of the National Federation of Women's Institutes and the Village Clubs Association).

IT is not necessary to dilate upon the urgent importance of the development of social activities in the country districts. The dullness of village life has long been recognised as one of the main reasons for the migration of the sons of the soil to scenes of fuller activity, but efforts to alleviate it have been spasmodic and sporadic. The time has come when the human needs of the countryside have become insistent, and the future of agriculture is seen to involve a sociological, as well as an economic, problem.

In one respect efforts to stimulate social activities in rural life start with an advantage. In many, it may perhaps be said in all, country villages there is a tradition of social service which only needs to be re-invigorated and adapted to the new conditions. It is easy to sneer at the Lady Bountiful conception of human relationship, but criticism of it should be directed rather to the social system under which it existed, than to those who honestly tried to fulfil the responsibilities which fell upon them, and to do their duty conscientiously in that state of life to which they had been born. This spirit of

social responsibility, which was the appanage of the inheritors of the patriarchal scheme of village life, must be widened and cultivated, so that all members of the community shall feel that their duty to their neighbour is a mutual obligation.

But if the countryside has a tradition of social service which may be counted for righteousness, it derives from its past other qualities which increase the difficulties confronting all attempts to revive the communal spirit. The psychology of the countryman is baffling, even to those who have spent their lives in the country. The recent improvement in the economic status of the farm worker, and still more the self-confidence which organisation awakens, have presented him in a new aspect to many who thought themselves well-acquainted with him. The young men who return to the villages from the army, have to a large extent abandoned the mask which has so long hidden the working of the rural mind. They have not only found expression, but they have thrown off timidity. Their fathers were inarticulate and timid by habit and instinct. Their real feelings and thoughts were only discoverable by a few who combined insight with observation. One of the few—the author of ‘Folk of the Furrow’—who took peculiar trouble to observe and has also the gift of insight, says: ‘The people on the land have not been easy to approach because their qualities have been found difficult of interpretation by those who have not had the opportunity to penetrate below the surface.’ It is true that from time to time there have arisen from the ranks of agricultural labourers, spokesmen who have voiced the aspirations of their class, but they were little heeded and their right to be regarded as representative was challenged. Now the farm workers are organised, and those who speak as their representatives can do so with the confidence which the authority of numbers gives. From them we know that the outlook of the men who live by the land is not restricted to wages, but that they are also claiming better opportunities for enjoying the amenities of life. They are before all a practical race, and have a wholesome distrust of those who promise the millennium. But they do insistently demand that life in the villages shall comprise

something more than toil, and that its amenities shall extend beyond the limited resources of the ale-house.

This demand must be met, and met without delay, if English rural life is to continue and a countryside population, which is so vital to the welfare of the nation, is to be maintained. The demand is universal. The organisers of the Village Clubs' Association have only been actively at work for a very few months, but in all parts of the country they have visited—from Lancashire to Sussex, from Norfolk to Devonshire, from Hertfordshire to North Wales, from every county and district, the demand is the same. The Women's Institutes, of which there are some 1,500 throughout England and Wales, testify to the same urgent need. All recent enquirers into the rural problem are insistent on the subject. The case is well put in the Report of the Adult Education Committee, of which the Master of Balliol was Chairman :

‘ The rural problem, from whatever point of view it is regarded—economic, social or political—is essentially a problem of re-creating the rural community, of developing new social traditions and a new culture. The great need is for a living nucleus of communal activity in the village, which will be a centre from which radiate the influences of different forms of corporate effort, and to which the people are attracted to find the satisfaction of their social and intellectual needs. We conceive this nucleus to be a village institute, under full public control. Its size would vary with the number of people it was designed to serve. . . .

‘ The institute should be the headquarters of organised local activities of all kinds. Trade union branches, friendly societies, pig clubs and bee clubs, and agricultural and horticultural societies of one sort and another, adult schools and classes arranged by voluntary organisations, women's institutes, schools for mothers, chess clubs, and so forth, should be encouraged to use the institutes ; and one or more rooms, as may be necessary, should be provided for the purposes of their meetings. The institute should contain a hall large enough

for dances, cinema shows, concerts, plays, public lectures, and exhibitions. At the institute there should be a public library and local museum. If arrangements can be made for games and sports, so much the better. The institute, in a word, should be a centre of educational, social and recreational activity.'

This passage expresses fully and forcibly the primary aim of the Village Clubs Association. The Women's Institutes, although they were formed, as their name implies, for only one sex, and did most admirable work during the war when so many of the other sex were absent from the villages, are now co-operating cordially in the effort to extend the principles which they advocate, so as to embrace all the members of the community.

The difficulties of providing buildings where they do not exist are at the present time very great. The suggestion of the Committee just quoted, that village halls should be provided out of public funds, is one which has obvious attractions, and unquestionably a very strong case can be made out for the adoption of this course. A building in each village, held in trust for the benefit of the whole community, and free from any restrictions as to its use, other than those necessary for order and decency, would be a public advantage, and it would provide facilities for carrying on public work, such as for example, continuation schools, which may often be hampered by the lack of such accommodation. A village hall is as necessary as a town hall, although the purposes which it should serve are more varied and comprehensive. Its design would be different, and its accommodation proportioned to the needs of the population, but it should be essentially the centre and focus of the active life and social interests of the community.

Local authorities have at present certain powers of rendering financial assistance for the erection of village halls.

District Councils can, as part of a housing scheme and subject to the approval of the Ministry of Health, provide a Public Hall, and in such a case the financial assistance given by the Exchequer to Housing Schemes would be available.

Parish Councils may levy a Rate not exceeding 3*d.* in the £ (or, with the consent of a Parish Meeting, up to 6*d.* in the £). This is the maximum allowed, and must cover the whole expenditure of a complete financial year. It may include the provision and maintenance of buildings required for Public Offices, meetings, &c. But subject to this limitation they may further the erection of village halls in the following ways :—

- (a) If the hall were erected by voluntary subscriptions, they can accept it as a gift for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Parish, and so become responsible for its future maintenance.
- (b) They can contribute towards the cost of erection, as a war memorial, with the sanction of the Ministry of Health.
- (c) They can contribute towards the cost of erection, as a building which would be partly used for public offices or for meetings, and could raise a loan for this purpose with the sanction of the County Council.
- (d) They can erect the building as a war memorial and for public offices or for meetings (with sanction as above mentioned) and receive voluntary subscriptions as contributions towards expenses.
- (e) If the building were to be used partly as a public library they can take action by adopting the Public Libraries Act, 1892, which would enable them to raise a 1*d.* rate for that express purpose. The adoption must be by the Parish Meeting.
- (f) A Parish Council may let any building vested in them, but in the case of a building erected at the expense of the rates, may not do so for more than one year, without the consent of the Ministry of Health.

Under the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act, the new county agricultural committees are directed 'to make such inquiries as appear to them to be desirable with a view to formulating schemes for the development of rural industries and social life in rural places, and for the co-ordination

of action by local authorities and other bodies by which such development may be effected, and shall report the result of such inquiries to the Board and to any local authority or body concerned, and the expenses incurred by the Committee under this sub-section to such amount as may be sanctioned by the Board with the approval of the Treasury shall be defrayed by the Board.'

This express statutory recognition of the importance of the development of social life in rural places, is satisfactory and significant. The county agricultural committees must be set up within six months after the passing of the Act, but it is premature to speculate what the results of their action may be.

There are 62 County Councils, 650 Rural District Councils, and over 7,000 Parish Councils in England and Wales, and only a very sanguine person will expect that all of them—or even any considerable proportion—will immediately use even the limited powers they possess for the development of social life in the villages. While, therefore, doing all that may be possible to secure substantial assistance, whether pecuniary or otherwise, from public authorities, we cannot afford to wait, and it is better to assume that, in the future as in the past, voluntary effort is imperative if timely and effective progress is to be made. Much has already been accomplished by the public spirit and enterprise which still happily characterise English men and women. A large number of village halls are already erected, sometimes by individuals and sometimes by the collective energy of the community. We are gradually collecting data which will in due time enable us to compile a record of the village halls and institutes throughout the country, but our information is still far from complete. The Village Clubs Association and the Federation of Women's Institutes recently had occasion to make enquiries in a certain number of villages, and received reports from 356 villages scattered over 46 counties, which indicated that in a considerable number of those villages, club-houses or institutes available for the use of all the inhabitants, were in existence.

In spite of the great difficulty of building much is being done. In many villages the collection of funds for

the erection of a hall or institute is actively proceeding, and in this work the Women's Institutes are rendering the most valuable service. Feminine ingenuity and assiduity in financial matters are being devoted with exemplary zeal to levying, both by direct and indirect methods, contributions from all classes of the community towards the provision of a hall or institute for the use of all the inhabitants. It is a very hard task in many of the smaller and more remote communities, where persons of means are few or apathetic. There is no doubt, however, that the effort to erect their own hall is in itself a stimulus to the communal spirit. Instances have come to notice where a building is being gradually erected by the personal labour of the villagers, and the result in such cases will be a pride of possession which can never be aroused in the same degree by the acceptance of a gift. Provision from extraneous sources is therefore not an unmixed blessing, and personally, I should prefer that funds should be available to supplement local effort rather than to supplant it. Is it too much to hope that some person or persons of wealth will see an opportunity of promoting in the most direct way the happiness and contentment of our villages, and thereby winning immortal fame, by providing a fund from which grants could be made to enable those who are doing their utmost to help themselves, to complete their work before they abandon it in despair.

The recent establishment of a Rural Department of the Council of Social Service, testifies to the general recognition of the importance and urgency of the rural problem. The initial need for some co-ordinating body is great. I have spoken of efforts already being made, and it is quite true that more is being done throughout the country than is generally known. Those who are doing it are not given to advertisement, and in these days much of the best work is the least advertised. Even those who are well-informed with regard to social work in the towns, are often ill-informed as to activities in rural districts. In a book just published, which gives a very useful introduction to the whole subject of social service, only two or three pages are devoted to work in the

villages, and no indication is given of the attempts which are being made to grapple with it. We are hoping to modify that kind of attitude. The Rural Department is intended to ensure that the rural side of the problem secures at least its proportionate share of attention. We are well aware that this is predominantly an industrial country, and that the inhabitants of rural districts in England and Wales, according to the last census represent little more than one-fifth of the total population. We recognise that the complexity of town life presents special difficulties to the social worker. But we claim that the maintenance in comfort and contentment of the rural population has an importance to the State which cannot be measured by arithmetic, and that the comparative simplicity of country life is in itself an impediment to social organisation.

I make no attempt to formulate a definite programme. We stand in the first instance for the principle of co-ordination of all efforts for the betterment of rural conditions. We seek the co-operation of all persons of good-will who are aiming in diverse ways to assist and develop social activities in the villages. Co-ordination and co-operation do not imply centralisation. The only centralisation we want is a centralisation of ideas, and the only combination we want is a combination for mutual help and inspiration of those having similar aims. The bed-rock basis of the two organisations for which I speak is self-government for every unit. It is possible that social work in the towns may in some degree be standardised. But it is certain that you cannot standardise the country districts. Just as in farming every field requires separate study, so every village presents its own particular problem. But those who are grappling with a thousand local problems can bring to a common stock the experience which will help in the solution of all. It is our hope that the Rural Department of the Council of Social Service will form not only a clearing-house for ideas, but also a real stimulus and present help to all those who are working for a fuller and brighter life in the villages of England's green and pleasant land.

The COUNTESS FERRERS then submitted the following paper :—

Voluntary Social Service in Relation to the Work of Statutory Authorities.

By the COUNTESS FERRERS

(London Charity Organisation Society).

THE nineteenth century has been the great period for adventure and romance in voluntary social service. The sudden expansion and changes due to the industrial revolution brought a new world into being. The emotions of pioneer colonists, setting out to found new homes in the midst of wild deserts and savage forests, must have been not wholly unlike those experienced by ardent philanthropists and reformers, as they set out to grapple with the widespread conditions of squalor and misery. Narrow courts and crowded alleys were their backwoods. Instead of wild beasts, they confronted moral and physical diseases in their most deadly forms. That the work was difficult, that at times there might be a slight flavour of personal danger did not make it less attractive. Individuals of a nation so practically adventurous that it has produced the world's greatest colonists, so humanely sentimental that it originated societies for the protection of animals, were not slow to respond to an appeal made at once to their minds and their hearts.

These romantic adventurers, then, were unwearied in their constant labours. On the one hand they sought to bring immediate relief to the widest circle they could touch, but on the other they were instant in that yet more important part of personal service—arousing the conscience of the country, that the evil in the midst should be made known, pondered and purged away. Their thoughts and aspirations laid the foundations of our present social ideals and such statutory remedies and improvements as now exist.

But, just as the early colonists, themselves the vanguard of civilisation, withdrew yet further into the wilderness before

the advance of the main body, or became overwhelmed and lost in its vast numbers, so has it appeared to be with these enthusiasts of a former day. On the approach of Statutory Authority some turned from their first special interest and sought new fields to conquer, some lapsed into pure officialdom, others in a paradoxical fashion seemed to be displeased that their own efforts had resulted in the State accepting neglected responsibilities, that yet could not be dealt with adequately by isolated persons or societies. Unwilling to serve where once they led, to the infinite loss of the State they were tempted to withdraw from the public service their experience, their ardour and their many personal gifts, the actual inspiration of the State action.

This attitude of mind is very comprehensible. To continue the comparison with pioneer settlers. How distasteful to them must have been the intrusion of the modern township, with its hustle and din, into their spacious solitudes; what a poor exchange railroads and asphalt paths made for untrodden, grassy ways; how useless were the new safeguards to life, if they should destroy its essential values. It was not unnatural to stand aside and take little or no part when the country they alone had discovered, half tamed, wholly loved, was suddenly invaded, policed, surveyed, laid out on a system and reduced to an amazing order. Adventure was dead and Regulation reigned in its stead.

At the beginning of this century some such feeling seemed to have pervaded and paralysed the voluntary spirit. Volunteers chafed under official restraint, officials looked darkly on the uncertain comings and goings of amateur helpers. Then came the war. The history of our country records no other period when the conception of national duty and personal service so inspired and inflamed the whole community. They were great days, and our tradition is richer with a memory that holds its own amongst our most splendid glories. Voluntary work came to its own. To many of us it was a time of stirring hope. We had a vision of a future when men would have a complete understanding that the State is truly founded on mutual service when there would be a

universal recognition of our social inter-dependence, of the dignity of service, of the claims and duties of citizenship. And now we have come to a moment of reaction. The great war efforts are mainly over: the prisoners of war are home, the canteens are shutting, the V.A.D. hospitals are closed or closing, the pensions' offices are filled with salaried staffs. There is a feeling in the air that the volunteers' work is done and that they may now depart in peace, recognised and justly praised, and leave the great State machines that are coming into being to be worked by officials only.

Yet, if they will but open the eyes of their imagination, voluntary workers may see that even now, when it seems as though an official would be provided for every crisis in human life, and official remedies, like patent medicines, meet us at every turn; now, at this very moment, is their opportunity. There has been already one great chance. The volunteers of the nation took it and made good. And now there is a second call: quite as insistent to open ears as the more dramatic, 'Your king and country need you'—a call not so easy to catch, but not less urgent when once our hearing is attuned to its note.

All of us here are familiar with large quantities of official documents dealing with different aspects of reconstruction. Many of us have pored over new Acts of Parliament, fresh regulations set out by one ministry or another, feeling the while that such reading requires as vivid and dramatic an imagination as is ever needed by the censor of plays. And at the end of it all we are ready to say, with Ezekiel, 'Can these bones live?' As it was in days of his vision, so must it be now. The spirit came upon the bones, and behold—a great and living army. It is to the voluntary spirit—the gift spirit, as it has been called—that we are looking, for the great vitalising force that is to make of the skeleton a body clothed with flesh and blood.

We have all worked with officials filled with the devotion and enthusiasm that we mean by voluntaryism, just as we have all met volunteers whose want of mental elasticity could not have been increased by any red tape. But it is from

the volunteers as such that we are expecting the wide outlook, the creative imagination, the patient, detailed, personal work that their greater leisure should enable them to offer, and not only to offer, but to communicate. The tradition of the new statutory departments is in the making, it is still open to volunteers to take their share in creating one worthy of a great State. To them we are looking for many lovely spiritual gifts, not to be brought haphazard, but polished, trained and presented in a disciplined service. For discipline, 'The very true beginning of wisdom,' must be the foundation of all our endeavours--the disciplined spirit that accepts direction, that is willing to co-operate, that carries on the drudging grind after the first emotional impulse is over, that is willing to be faithful in small things. And service, too, is a word on which we may well pause, with all that it implies of observation and thought, of personal effort and sacrifice. This is what is asked for by the State.

We have not yet finished with social legislation, and, that our laws may be wise and prudent, we need a healthy and sane public opinion. It is not the least of the functions of voluntary workers that they should take their share in consciously forming that opinion, which they can only honestly do from first-hand knowledge, acquired by active work with statutory bodies.

The State is inviting the co-operation of volunteers. Those who respond in the spirit of true citizenship will find work ready to their hands, worthy of their highest gifts and utmost capacity. It is easy to take fright at conditions and limitations, but, after all, the nature of these is material, and they do not touch the essential spirit. Pegasus, in some small sense, may be bound, but he is still dear Pegasus and dwells among the stars.

The CHAIRMAN: Before opening the discussion I am going to ask Mr. S. P. Grundy to add a word in explanation as to the position of the National Council.

Mr. S. P. GRUNDY (Hon. Secretary) said that he wanted to make it clear, in the first place, that the programme of

the Council was not original, but was based on the experience gained during the past fifty years in the organisation of voluntary effort in such centres as Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and London. He acknowledged how much they owed to the pioneers of the movement, particularly to Sir Charles Loch, of the Charity Organisation Society, whose ripe wisdom and experience had been most generously placed at the disposal of the younger generation, and to the late Captain E. V. Birchall, D.S.O., Hon. Secretary to the National Association of Guilds of Help, who had played a leading part in the negotiations which had led, ultimately, to the formation of the Council. Secondly, he wished to make clear the financial position of the Council. Captain Birchall had left him (Mr. Grundy) a legacy of £1,000 with which to carry on his work. This legacy was placed at the disposal of the Council some twelve months ago, and had enabled them to carry on during the past year. In the future, however, the Council must rely upon a wider circle of contributors. Organisations represented on the Council, and the Local Councils which were being formed all over the country, were contributing according to their means, but he made a strong and urgent appeal to all who valued the voluntary spirit in our national life to enrol themselves as personal associates of the Council, paying an annual subscription. A national movement must have an adequate organisation, and already their staff needed to be doubled. The Conference itself, gathered from all parts of the British Isles, and representing an unusual and unexpected variety of both voluntary and official Social effort, was evidence of the essential soundness of the idea underlying the programme of the Council. He had no hesitation in asking those present not only to support the Council financially, but to assist in every way in carrying on its work.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. D'AETH (Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid), opening the discussion, pointed out that in the case of public administration there existed the central public authority and

the authority : function and support guaranteed. But in the case of voluntary organisation there was no central voluntary body, and there was, normally, no single local organisation. In the days to come he hoped that volunteers would recognise the value of some such representative body as the local Council of Social Service. At the present time there were springing up all over the country, spasmodically, various bodies undertaking various tasks. The situation demanded some system of co-ordination, if the full value of social organisation was to be secured. The National Council, composed partly of Government representatives, acting in an informal way ; partly of the Associations of Local Government Associations and Municipal Officials ; partly of National Associations ; and partly the local representative Councils of Social Service, aimed at bringing all these efforts together in close relationship. The functions of local representative Councils might be said to be four. First there is the question of financial relief to anyone who could not secure it in any other way, and who needed it. In past years that seemed to be an important function : to-day it is still an important, but it is seen to be only one of several, and not the most important. The local Council should see, however, that this work was properly organised. Next, in large centres of population and in villages there are human difficulties, human quarrels—a thousand and one things—which to a large extent could be remedied by personal service of a fellow villager or fellow citizen quite apart from finance. The organisation of such personal service is then a second function. The third function is to maintain a register of assistance and care ; and fourthly there is the co-ordination of the institutions and agencies in the town, whatever they may be. The fourth function was, he felt, less commonly understood. In many places only a few experts knew what institutions and agencies there were in the town ; there was no list of them. Certain towns, London for instance, and some large towns had compiled a register of local institutions in which their functions were described, but for the country generally such registers

did not exist. People did not realise the extent of the voluntary forces in their own district. Having got information as to existing institutions, the local Council could provide a centre of information as to local action, statutory and voluntary, a bureau of information. A local representative Council made it possible to get a better perception of local circumstances because of its representative character, and the information which flows into it through its constituent bodies. Through such a Council it was possible to secure the good will of every organisation in the town, both voluntary and official, and having got that good-will, to take action, to negotiate, to ascertain things for the common good of the town. The actual character of the organisation in the town would vary according to its size. It must not be afraid to meet the varying needs of the town. There could be no stiff rule with regard to its development, it must grow naturally through local conditions. 'People have told me,' said Mr. D'Aeth, 'that I am an absurd dreamer, but there is in every town a desire to make the town better, and when it is known that the only object of organisation is service, you cannot surely *fail* to secure the unanimous support of every citizen.'

Mr. W. PULLINGER (National Association of Local Government Officers) said that one thing which had struck him in connection with all the papers that had been read was the recognition of voluntary effort, the recognition of the voluntary worker in the past, the recognition of voluntary work at the present time, and a faith in that work in the future. If that faith was to be justified it was necessary that all delegates should make up their minds to work in closer co-operation. He was attending as the representative of the National Association of Local Government Officers, and the fact that they sent him showed that *they* saw the necessity for co-operation with voluntary workers. He added that he was a little diffident in speaking as an official notwithstanding all that had been said by previous speakers, but he suggested that although, to the volunteer, the official might still be 'an abomination,' yet they would admit that he was often 'a very present help in time of trouble.' 'I look to the establishment

of **Local Councils of Social Service**,' said Mr. Pullinger, 'as a means of getting over any little friction between the voluntary worker and the officials.' For more than a year his Association had been connected with the National Council, and he had been impressed with the value of the work being done. 'I ask you to see that the Association you represent becomes affiliated, and that you yourselves become Associates.' He would remind them that 'who gives quickly gives twice!'

Miss LONG (Westminster Council of Social Service) gave an interesting account of work which had been accomplished in less than a year. The Council was completely representative of official and voluntary agencies in the city. It had three Standing Committees, on 'Health and Housing,' 'Preventive and Rescue Work' and 'Recreation.' It acted as the Juvenile Organisations Committee for the Borough, and had already formed separate federations of Boys' and Girls' Clubs. Miss Long said that she could speak with first-hand knowledge of the practical value of work which could be done by such representative Councils, and she urged delegates to do their best to promote their establishment throughout the country.

Miss ARMISTEAD (Derbyshire Federation of Women's Institutes), speaking of rural districts, said that valuable service might be done by anyone who would explain to the mothers what the new Education Act really meant, because in the country the great opposer of the Bill was the middle-aged mother who had not had the advantage of the education which their children were having, and so did not always appreciate its value.

Mr. H. L. WOOLLCOMBE (Cavendish Association) said there was no doubt that the National Council of Social Service had come to stay, though its efforts depend upon every member individually and collectively doing their best to further the work. He urged delegates to respond to the appeal for financial support, for the work depended on the financial support that was given to it. 'What we have to realise,' said Mr. Woolcombe, 'is that in this work of Social Service

it is not a case of one class benefiting another class, but of all the classes joining hand in hand for the benefit of the district and therefore the country at large.'

MISS GRACE HADOW (Barnett House, Oxford) felt that the rural question was one of the most urgent at the present time. An attempt was being made to shoo people back to the villages like chickens, and we must see that, having arrived there they were not expected to find recreation by scratching the ground. There was enormous scope for Social Service in villages. There was throughout the country a great growth in the Women's Institute movement—a growth which was somewhat terrifying—and with which they could hardly keep pace. At Barnett House they were being asked constantly to go out into the villages, and they wanted the House to be looked upon as a centre from which information and help could be obtained by the villages around. She suggested that much more might be done by town dwellers for their brethren in the villages. The work of Barnett House was on all fours with the work of the National Council—was part of a bigger movement—for they were out to place their knowledge at the disposal of other associations, and of their immediate neighbours in the country, co-operating in the great march of progress.

MR. C. E. CLIFT (Juvenile Organisations Committee, Board of Education) said that if representatives of the Government Departments could be brought down in full strength to Conferences of such kind it would do a great deal of good!

MR. L. F. ELLIS (Secretary of the National Council) said that there were only two things necessary to make any movement succeed. First, it must be founded on a true ideal. If ever there was any doubt as to the possibility of finding a common purpose in all the multitudinous work of social service it must have been dispelled by that Conference. He did not think it mattered very much whether any very definite or practical decisions had been taken: the success of the Conference was not to be judged by such a test: the fact that all that gathering of people had met together to consider

these questions showed how much they had in common, not withstanding any differences in point of view or immediate aim. It proved the need for the provision of some place where they could meet and confer together at intervals, and some machinery whereby ideas could be gathered up and individual efforts could be strengthened, and through which joint effort would be made possible. The second thing necessary to the success of any movement of the kind was that those who believed in it should make up their minds that it *should* succeed. The ideal of common service which had characterised the nation during the war must be kept alive and developed as *the* characteristic of the age they lived in, and if all who were concerned in Social Service made up their minds about this, the movement would succeed. So far as the National Council itself was concerned it only wanted to show the essential unity of the work of others, and through their united strength to be of service.

The CHAIRMAN, concluding the proceedings, expressed the hope that great benefit would accrue from the Conference. He felt that a note of hopefulness had been sounded throughout the meetings, and a spirit of friendliness and of comradeship revealed, which could not fail to bear fruit in the great adventure to which they were all pledged.

On the motion of Professor Sir RICHARD LODGE (Edinburgh), a vote of thanks to the Chairmen and speakers throughout the Conference was adopted.



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

**HANDBOOKS OF INFORMATION
ON SOCIAL SERVICE.**

PUBLIC SERVICES.

2nd Edition (Revised' and Enlarged).

**Published for
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE,
8a, New Cavendish Street, London, W.1
by P. S. KING & SON, Ltd.,
Orchard House, 2 & 4, Great Smith Street
Westminster, S.W.**

1920

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The information contained in this Handbook is intended for the use of those who are engaged in Social and Personal Service work. Originally published as a pamphlet by the Joint Committee on Social Service in 1917, it has proved of practical value, and 14,000 copies have been issued. In its present form it is hoped that it will be of even greater service.

In the preparation of this Edition the Council has been fortunate in having had the assistance of the various Government Departments concerned with the administration of the Public Services described, special thanks being due to the Ministry of Health, the Board of Education, the Home Office, the Ministry of Labour, and the Ministry of Pensions. With their help the information has been carefully revised and brought up to date.

The Council would welcome any suggestions in regard to the matter itself or the method in which it is presented, and they will be glad to give further and more detailed information concerning the Services described to anyone who requires it.

On behalf of the Council,

LIONEL F. ELLIS,
Secretary.

8A, NEW CAVENDISH STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

20th June, 1920.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. The Public Health Service is supervised centrally by the Ministry of Health, and administered locally by the County, Borough, Urban, or Rural District Council, generally through a Committee.

The Local Health Authority, under various Acts of Parliament and Regulations, has certain powers and duties imposed on it with regard to the supervision of health, the prevention of disease, and the provision of treatment.

The chief executive officer is the Medical Officer of Health. All communications should be addressed to the Clerk of the Authority.

PART I.—INFECTIOUS DISEASES.

(a) *Compulsory Notification.*

2. *Specified Diseases.*—If any inmate of a house is suffering from any of the following diseases: Smallpox, Cholera, Diphtheria, Membranous Croup, Erysipelas, Scarlatina or Scarlet Fever, Typhus, Typhoid, Enteric, Relapsing, Continued or Puerperal Fevers, Tuberculosis, Cerebro-Spinal Fever, Ophthalmia, Neonatorum, Plague, Acute Poliomyelitis, Acute Primary Pneumonia, Acute Influenzal Pneumonia, Malaria, Dysentery and Trench Fever, Acute Encephalitis Lethargica, or Acute Polio-Encephalitis, it is the duty of the head of the family, the occupier of the house or room, or the medical man in attendance, to give notice to the Medical Officer of Health.

As failure to notify a case of any of the diseases specified is subject to a penalty, it is advisable in case of doubtful illness to call in a medical practitioner at once.

It is also an offence if any person while suffering from a dangerous infectious disorder wilfully exposes himself without proper precaution against spreading the disorder in a public place or conveyance, or exposes any other person so suffering, or exposes infected articles.

3. *Isolation and Disinfection.*—Immediately after notification arrangements are made, when necessary, for the removal

the patient to the isolation hospital and for the disinfection of the house and all articles that have been exposed to infection, *i.e.*, clothing, bedding, &c. Endeavours are made to trace the source of the infection and to prevent its spread.

The detailed arrangements of each Health Authority with regard to isolation and disinfection can be obtained from the Local Medical Officer of Health.

The Ministry of Health and the Local Authority with their approval have power to add other diseases to the list given above.

(b) *Tuberculosis.*

4. *Notification.*—All cases of tuberculosis, whether pulmonary or otherwise, must be notified to the Medical Officer of Health. When a notification is received, the Medical Officer of Health, or an officer of the local authority acting under his instructions, makes such inquiries and takes such steps as are necessary or desirable for investigating the source of infection, for preventing the spread of infection, and for removing conditions favourable to infection. Arrangements are made for the examination at the appropriate Tuberculosis Dispensary of contacts with the case which has been notified, with a view to any necessary treatment being afforded.

5. *Treatment.*—(a) *Insured Persons.*—At present under the National Insurance (Health) Acts (*see* Chapter II) persons insured under those Acts are eligible for Sanatorium Benefit, subject to the recommendation of the Insurance Committee for the appropriate County or County Borough. (*See, however, paragraph 6.*) Sanatorium Benefit consists in treatment for tuberculosis, either in a residential institution, or as an out-patient at a Tuberculosis Dispensary, or at home by the insured person's panel practitioner. Any insured person requiring Sanatorium Benefit should apply to his Insurance Committee, or communicate with the nearest Tuberculosis Dispensary. The Insurance Committee are responsible for arranging for the treatment of persons recommended by them for the benefit. For institutional treatment (*i.e.*, treatment in a residential institution or at a Tuberculosis Dispensary) most Insurance Committees have made standing arrangements with the County or County Borough Councils of their respective areas.

These Councils have, with very few exceptions, set up schemes for the institutional treatment of tuberculosis in their areas which are available for the whole population, insured or uninsured. Under these schemes Tuberculosis Dispensaries have been provided in the charge of medical practitioners who have had special experience in the treatment of tuberculosis, and also residential institutions for the treatment of

tuberculosis. The dispensaries are centres not only for treatment but for diagnosis, examination and other purposes connected with tuberculosis. An insured person who applies for Sanatorium Benefit to his Insurance Committee will ordinarily be referred for examination to the Tuberculosis Officer of the Dispensary.

(b) *Uninsured Persons*.—An uninsured person who desires to obtain treatment for tuberculosis from the Council of the County or County Borough in which he resides should apply to the nearest Tuberculosis Dispensary or to the County or County Borough Medical Officer of Health at the Council's offices.

6. Under the provisions of the National Health Insurance Act, 1920, which became law on the 20th May, 1920, Sanatorium Benefit will, at a date not later than one year from the passing of that Act, cease to be one of the benefits conferred upon insured persons by the National Insurance (Health) Acts. For institutional treatment tuberculous persons (whether insured or uninsured) will then look to the County or County Borough Council of the area in which they live. Insured persons suffering from tuberculosis will continue to be entitled to the attendance of their panel practitioners in respect of the disease, as part of their medical benefit under the National Insurance (Health) Acts.

(c) *Venereal Diseases*.

7. *Treatment Centres*.—Treatment Centres for venereal diseases have been established at many general hospitals and elsewhere. These Treatment Centres are available for the treatment of all comers free of cost, and no letters of recommendation are required. Absolute secrecy is maintained in connection with the treatment afforded. Advertisements appear periodically in the local press and in other places setting out the days and hours of the clinics, and the Medical Officer of Health will always furnish this information to anyone applying to him. It is most important that any person who suspects that he or she is suffering from venereal disease should attend at the Treatment Centre without delay. If any person is unable to pay his railway fare to the nearest Treatment Centre, an application should be made to the Medical Officer of Health of the County or County Borough in which he or she is residing.

8. *Illegal Treatment*.—The Venereal Disease Act, 1917, is in force in many areas and prohibits the treatment of venereal diseases in these areas except by duly qualified medical practitioners. In these areas quacks are liable to heavy penalties for treating patients suffering from these diseases.

PART II.—HOUSING AND SANITARY INSPECTION.

(a) *Housing.*

9. The various Housing, Town Planning, &c., Act are administered centrally by the Ministry of Health.

The local authorities for housing purposes are, outside London, the Borough, Urban, and Rural District Councils, and for London the County Council, the City Corporation, and the Metropolitan Borough Councils, the last-named providing houses within their area for their own population, and dealing with small slum areas and unfit houses in their respective boroughs.

The following statement shows briefly the principal provisions of the new Act of 1919, and especially the increased responsibilities of local authorities in the matter of housing.

10. *Obligation on Local Authorities.*—Every housing authority must provide such houses as are required for the working classes in their district, and as will not be supplied by other means. For this purpose they must prepare an outline scheme and submit it to the Ministry of Health within three months of the passing of the Act.

If the local authority fail to prepare an adequate scheme or to carry out their obligations under the scheme when it has been approved, the Ministry of Health may either empower the County Council to act, or may themselves act, in the place and at the expense of the local authority.

11. *Financial Help.*—Subject to certain conditions, any losses upon an approved scheme or schemes of any local authority which exceed the produce of a penny rate will be defrayed by the State. This financial provision extends also to expenditure on the acquisition, clearance, and development of land included in an improvement or reconstruction scheme approved by the Ministry, and any re-housing scheme in connection with the same.

12. *Land.*—Where the necessary land cannot be obtained by agreement the local authority may, with the approval of the Ministry of Health, exercise compulsory powers.

Under the new Act local authorities are given larger powers with regard to the purchase and disposal of land, or for any purpose incidental to its development as a building estate, and can thus obtain the advantages of estate development which were formerly possible only to private enterprise.

13. *Power to Buy Houses.*—A local authority can also buy houses and any interest therein, and alter them so as to make them suitable for the working classes. They can further, if they think fit, arrange to buy houses erected or to be erected by a contractor.

14. *Relaxation of Bye-laws.*—If the plans and specifications for a housing scheme, as approved by the Ministry of Health, do not comply with the local building bye-laws, these bye-laws are to that extent superseded.

This does not mean that a lower standard is recognised, but that a proper planning of the whole scheme is provided for.

15. *Rents.*—In view of the present high cost of building it is not anticipated that it will be possible at present to charge an economic rent (*i.e.*, one which gives a fair return on capital cost) in respect of the new houses and it is for this reason that the Government is giving the financial assistance already mentioned; but rents must be adjusted in 1927 so as to give a fair return, as far as possible, based on what would be the cost of the building at that time.

16. *County Councils.*—County Councils may now build houses for any persons employed or paid by them—*e.g.*, roadmen, police, teachers—and the Government will give financial assistance.

17. *Public Utility Societies.*—The Government will now give financial assistance to Public Utility Societies to build working class dwellings, both by way of loan and by annual subsidy.

In addition to this, the local authorities (including County Councils) may promote Public Utility Societies or assist them financially.

18. *Purchase of Houses by Tenants.*—A local authority (or a County Council) can now lend up to 85 per cent. of the value of any house not exceeding in value £800, to enable any person resident in the district to buy the house in which he lives or intends to live.

Moreover, a local authority can, with the Ministry's consent, sell any houses bought or erected by them, and may agree to the price being paid by instalments or to the payment of part of the price being secured by mortgage of the premises, but any house so sold may not be used by any person having an interest in it to house his employees.

19. *Clearance of Slums.*—It is the duty of local authorities to clear any areas which are shown to be insanitary, and, where necessary, to rehouse the inhabitants.

20. *Unfit Houses.*—It is also the duty of local authorities to close, and where necessary, to demolish unfit houses and to remove buildings which interfere with proper ventilation or are otherwise obstructive.

A fit house should be :—

- (1) Free from serious dampness.
- (2) Satisfactorily lighted and ventilated.

... provided with adequate sanitary conveniences, and with a sink and suitable arrangements for disposing of slop water, and

(4) In good general repair ;

and should have

(5) A satisfactory water supply.

(6) Adequate washing accommodation.

(7) Adequate facilities for preparing and cooking food ; and

(8) A well-ventilated store for food.

21. *Repairs.*—New powers have been given to local authorities to lend money, in suitable cases, to house owners to carry out necessary repairs.

If a house is not in sound condition but is capable of being made fit without reconstruction and the owner fails, after notice, to carry out the necessary repairs, the local authority may do the work and charge the cost to the owner.

The following is a list of common defects :—

Paving to Yards.—Broken or defective—causing pools to accumulate.

Roofs.—Tiles or slates loose or broken ; flashings, defective or perished ; eaves, gutters or rain water pipes, defective or broken.

Walls.—Defective pointing allowing damp to strike through. Defective external plaster peeling off in patches or allowing wet to accumulate at the back of the plaster. Damp-proof course cracked, perished, or otherwise become ineffective ; ground banked up above the level of the damp-proof course, causing dampness in the walls. Defective internal plaster, badly cracked or breaking off in patches or soft, dirty or loose wall papers.

Ceilings.—Plaster badly cracked, loose, falling off in patches, or dirty or sodden with filth.

Floors.—Broken, cracked, too thin to be safe or so rough as to be very difficult to keep clean ; defective hearths or ash holes.

Stairs.—Broken treads or risers, or broken handrails or balusters. Want of handrails or balusters.

Windows.—Perished or rotten frames or sashes ; broken hinges, cords or window fasteners.

Doors.—Doors so swollen or warped that they will not shut properly ; broken hinges or fasteners.

Ventilators or Flues.—Stopped up or broken.

Cupboards.—Insufficient or defective.

Grates, Stoves or Ranges.—Broken, badly set or wanting setting ; ovens, boilers or hot plates cracked, fire-bars missing.

Minor defects may not cause more than inconvenience but should, nevertheless, be put right ; on the other hand, the cumulative effect of small defects may become serious.

22. *Tenement Dwellings.*—Local authorities are now given full powers, in the case of houses used or to be converted for use as tenements for the working classes, to make and enforce bye-laws to prevent over-crowding and to secure the provision of the necessary sanitary conveniences, water supply, precautions against fire and the like.

If a local authority fail to exercise their powers where needed, the Ministry of Health may themselves act.

23. *Town Planning.*—Any local authority may now prepare a town planning scheme without first having to obtain the sanction of the Ministry.

Every borough and urban district with a population over 20,000 *must* prepare a scheme by 1st January, 1926. The Ministry can before that date require a scheme to be prepared by a local authority where they consider this course necessary.

(b) *Sanitary Inspection.*

24. Under the Public Health Acts, the Local Health Authority have the duty of causing their district to be inspected with a view to ascertaining what nuisances exist, and they have power to require the abatement of such nuisances, and in certain circumstances themselves to execute works with this object.

25. *Nuisances.*—The following are nuisances* within the meaning of the Act :—

Any premises (including tents, vans, &c., used for human habitation) in such a state as to be injurious to health.

Pools, ditches, gutters, water-courses, privies, urinals, cesspools, drains or ashpits which give rise to a nuisance.

Animals kept so as to be a nuisance.

Accumulations of filth, rubbish, manure, &c.

Overcrowding in houses, &c.

* This list is not intended to be exhaustive. As regards certain of the nuisances the power is dependent upon the particular provision of an Act of 1890 or of 1907 being in force in the district.

- Factories and workshops not kept in a cleanly state, not properly ventilated, or overcrowded.
- Fireplaces and furnaces in factories not consuming their own smoke as far as practicable.
- Chimneys (not in private dwelling houses) emitting an excessive amount of black smoke.
- Offensive trades.
- Pigstyes improperly kept.
- Waste or stagnant water in dwelling houses.
- Overflowing water closets, privies or cesspools.
- Chemical refuse, condensing water or other liquid, giving rise to a nuisance when run into sewers.
- Cisterns in houses improperly placed, constructed or kept.
- Gutters, drains, shoots, stackpipes or downspouts of buildings when defective.
- Deposits of material causing damp in buildings.

PART III.—MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE.

(a) *Notification of Births.*

26. Every birth and every still-birth must be notified in compliance with the provisions of the Notification of Births Act, 1907, within 36 hours of occurrence under a penalty of £1. The notification must be made to the Medical Officer of Health for the district in which it occurs either by the parent, the doctor, the midwife, or any person in attendance on the mother. This notification does not relieve the parents of the necessity of registering the birth with the Registrar.

(b) *Midwifery.*

27. *Supervision and Training of Midwives.*—County Councils and County Borough Councils are responsible for the supervision of midwives in their respective areas. Unsatisfactory women are reported to the Central Midwives Board which has power to strike their names off the Midwives Roll. Grants in aid of the training of midwives are payable by the Board of Education to recognised training institutions only, at a rate not exceeding £20 for each student who has declared her *bona fide* intention to practise as a midwife, or has been for not less than three years in full-time employment as a Health Visitor, or has completed successfully a course of training approved under the Regulations for the Training of Health Visitors. Grants at a rate not exceeding £6 are also payable in respect of extensions of the normal six months' course by a period of practical training of not less than 1 month. Similar grants are also payable for special courses for practising midwives, lasting from two to six weeks, held at any recognised residential institution.

28. *Provision of Midwives.*—Many local authorities and voluntary agencies undertake the provision of a midwife, reducing or remitting the fees to patients where the circumstances of the case warrant it. In rural districts midwives are usually provided by District Nursing Associations, and local authorities for Maternity and Child Welfare have power to contribute towards the establishment and maintenance of such District Nursing Associations. The Ministry of Health themselves also make grants for this purpose through the County Nursing Associations to which District Nursing Associations are affiliated.

29. *Medical Fees.*—All local supervising authorities (*i.e.*, County Councils and County Borough Councils) are required by the Midwives Act, 1918, to pay the fees of doctors called in by midwives in cases of emergency under the rules of the Central Midwives Board, the rate of payment being fixed by Ministry of Health, under that Act.

(c) *Nursing.*

30. *Powers of Local Authorities.*—Local authorities are empowered to provide home nursing for expectant mothers, maternity nursing, nursing for puerperal fever, and nursing for measles, whooping cough, epidemic diarrhoea and poliomyelitis in young children and for ophthalmia neonatorum. For this purpose they may either appoint nurses themselves or contract with a body such as a District Nursing Association.

(d) *Health Visitors.*

31. *Duties.*—Almost every local authority has now provided a staff of Health Visitors whose duties include the visiting of births notified in their area and the giving of advice to the mothers as to the care and management of their infants. They also visit expectant mothers and advise them as to the care of their health. Nearly all paid Health Visitors are employed by local authorities, but there are also a number of paid and many unpaid Health Visitors working in connection with voluntary societies. There are about 900 whole-time and about 1,000 part-time Health Visitors employed by local authorities while the services of about 1,100 District Nurses are utilised by local authorities for the same work. Voluntary agencies employ about 350 trained Health Visitors.

32. *Training.*—Regulations made by the Board of Education prescribe the training which students desirous of becoming Health Visitors must undergo at recognised Institutions. The course for persons without previous experience lasts two years, and a grant not exceeding £40

as payable by the Board. Students already possessing substantial knowledge or experience likely to be of assistance to them may attend a shortened course of one year's duration in respect of which a grant not exceeding £20 is payable by the Board. Appointments of paid Health Visitors which require the sanction of the Ministry of Health and in respect of whose salaries grant is payable will be sanctioned on and after a date of which due notice will be given by the Ministry only if the person it is proposed to appoint has obtained the certificate described in the Board of Education Regulations. Until such time as the Ministry consider that there are available a sufficient number of candidates who have completed the recognised course of training, women who are acting as Health Visitors or who may be appointed in the intervening period, will not be required to have taken the recognised course of training.

33. *Home Visiting.*—The importance of home visiting is that the visitor is able to see whether there are any insanitary conditions in the house and, if there are, can take steps to have them remedied. She can also urge breast feeding or, where this is impossible, can advise as to the best method of artificial feeding. She can, in addition, give advice as to clothing, ventilation, and the provision of fireguards and cots, and on health and hygiene generally.

The office of Health Visitor may conveniently be combined with that of School Nurse, Tuberculosis Nurse or Infant Protection Visitor.

(e) *Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and Clinics.*

34. In nearly all populous districts there are now Maternity and Child Welfare Centres to which expectant and nursing mothers can go with their infants for hygienic and medical advice, and in some places ante-natal clinics are also provided to which expectant mothers can go for a similar purpose.

35. *Educational Work.*—Collective teaching in the form of short simple health talks is also organised and classes on such subjects as home nursing, first aid, cookery, &c., are arranged.

36. *Treatment.*—In some cases arrangements are made either at a Centre or elsewhere, for the holding of clinics for the treatment of women and of infants (*e.g.*, dental, ophthalmic, &c., cases) where the women cannot afford to pay a doctor.

37. A memorandum on Centres has been issued by the Ministry of Health containing information as to the function of these institutions, the lines upon which they should be organised, and the essential conditions which must be fulfilled in their conduct.

There are over 1,700 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres in England and Wales, about three-fifths of which are provided by local authorities and the remainder by voluntary societies.

Voluntary workers can give valuable assistance in creating an atmosphere of human sympathy and friendship which is eminently desirable. They can also, if able to attend regularly, undertake definite duties, such as the keeping of records, preparing babies for weighing, showing model garments and giving simple instructions as to their making.

(f) *Day Nurseries.*

38. Day Nurseries are intended primarily to provide for the care of healthy infants and young children whose mothers are obliged to engage in daily work which takes them from their homes, or who are temporarily in distress. Where circumstances permit, the nurseries are available for the needs of mothers who, for domestic or other reasons, are temporarily unable to provide satisfactory care for their little children in their own homes, or with suitable relatives or friends, or with good foster-mothers. Day Nurseries are most suitable for children under three years of age, but not under nine months of age. Voluntary workers can render valuable assistance in connection with Day Nurseries, as in the case of Centres.

There are about 200 Day Nurseries, most of which are conducted by voluntary societies. Local authorities have power, with the sanction of the Ministry of Health, to contribute towards the expenses of Day Nurseries conducted by voluntary agencies.

(g) *Hospitals.*

39. Local authorities, and in some cases voluntary societies, provide accommodation for the reception of normal as well as abnormal confinement cases, and of children up to the age of 5, and local authorities are empowered to arrange for the retention of beds for such cases in voluntary hospitals. In confinement cases where there is need of a person to look after the house during the lying-in period, whether the confinement takes place at the home or elsewhere, a Home Help may be supplied for the purpose. The duties of a Home Help are the ordinary domestic duties undertaken by the mother and should not include any work which properly belongs to the sphere of the trained nurse or midwife.

(h) *Homes.*

40. Convalescent homes, homes for children, and homes for unmarried mothers and their children are usually provided by voluntary societies, though local authorities may, in

connection with their schemes for Maternity and Child Welfare, either themselves undertake such provision, or contribute, in respect of the reception of cases from the district, towards the expenses of a home conducted by a voluntary society.

(i) *Food and Milk.*

41. Local authorities are empowered to provide, with the sanction of the Ministry, for the supply, either free or below cost price, of food and milk to expectant and nursing mothers and to children under 5 years of age in cases in which the Medical Officer of Health or the Medical Officer of a Centre certifies that such provision is necessary and that the woman cannot afford to pay the full price. In addition local authorities may under the Milk (Mothers and Children) Order, 1919, and without the approval of the Ministry, provide milk for expectant and nursing mothers and children under 5 years of age either free or at less than cost price, in cases in which a person authorised by the local authority certifies this to be necessary by reason of the retail price of milk in their district.

(j) *Nurse Children.*

42. Under the Children Act, 1908, persons who undertake for a period of more than 48 hours the care of an infant under 7 years of age for gain must give notice to the Poor Law authority of the district of the reception of the child. This provision does not, however, apply to any relative or legal guardian of the child, nor to hospitals, convalescent homes, or institutions established for the protection and care of infants and conducted in good faith for religious or charitable purposes, or boarding schools at which efficient elementary education is provided. The Poor Law authority is required to appoint Infant Protection Visitors to inspect the homes of persons receiving children, and the authority may fix the number of such children to be kept in any dwelling and in the event of children being improperly kept may take steps for their removal to a place of safety.

(k) *Grants in Aid.*

43. *To Local Authorities.*—The Ministry of Health pays to local authorities a grant amounting generally to half the expenditure incurred in connection with the provision of the following services :—

- (1) The salaries and expenses of Inspectors of Midwives.
- (2) The salaries and expenses of Health Visitors and Nurses engaged in Maternity and Child Welfare work.

- (3) The provision of a midwife for necessitous women in confinement and for areas which are insufficiently supplied with this service.
- (4) The provision, for necessitous women, of a doctor for illness connected with pregnancy and for aid during the period of confinement for mother and child.
- (5) The expenses of a Centre, *i.e.*, an institution providing any or all of the following activities :—medical supervision and advice for expectant and nursing mothers, and for children under 5 years of age, and medical treatment at the Centre for cases needing it.
- (6) Arrangements for instruction in the general hygiene of maternity and childhood.
- (7) Hospital treatment for complicated cases of confinement or complications arising after parturition, or for cases in which a woman to be confined suffers from illness or deformity, or for cases of women who cannot with safety be confined in their homes, or such other provision for securing proper conditions for the confinement of necessitous women as may be approved by the Medical Officer of Health.
- (8) Hospital treatment for children under 5 years of age found to need in-patient treatment.
- (9) The cost of food provided for expectant mothers and nursing mothers, and for children under five years of age, where such provision is certified by the Medical Officer of the Centre or by the Medical Officer of Health to be necessary and where the case is necessitous.
- (10) Expenses of crèches and day nurseries and of other arrangements for attending to the health of children under 5 years of age whose mothers go out to work.
- (11) The provision of accommodation in convalescent homes for nursing mothers and for children under 5 years of age.
- (12) The provision of homes and other arrangements for attending to the health of children under 5 years of age, whose parents cannot provide a satisfactory home for them.
- (13) Experimental work for the health of expectant and nursing mothers and of infants and children under 5 years of age, carried out by local authorities or voluntary agencies with the approval of the Ministry.

- (14) Contributions by the local authority to voluntary institutions and agencies approved under the scheme.

44. *To Voluntary Agencies.*—Grants are also paid to voluntary agencies, the work of which is approved by the Ministry, on condition :—

- (1) That the work of the agency is approved by the Ministry and co-ordinated as far as practicable with the public health work of the local authority and the school medical service of the local education authority.
- (2) That the premises and work of the institution are subject to inspection by any of the Ministry's officers or inspectors.
- (3) That records of the work done by the agency are kept to the satisfaction of the Ministry.

PART 4.—MENTAL DEFICIENCY.

45. Mentally defective children and adults in this country are dealt with under three Acts of Parliament :—

- (1) The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, which empowered (but did not oblige) Education Authorities to provide or to send to special schools, defective children (broadly speaking, feeble-minded children) between the ages of 7 and 16.
- (2) The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1914, which made the 1899 Act compulsory.
- (3) The Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, which laid a duty on County and County Borough Councils to deal with certain classes of defectives.

46. *Central Authority.*—The Central Authority for the administration of the Lunacy Acts and of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, is the Board of Control (66, Victoria Street, S.W. 1), a department formerly under the Home Office but now under the Ministry of Health.

47. *Local Authority.*—The Local Authority for the administration of the Mental Deficiency Act is the County or County Borough Council, acting through a Statutory Committee for the Care of the Mentally Defective.

The duty of the Local Authority is :—(a) To ascertain who are the defectives in their area with whom they have a statutory duty to deal ; (b) to place such defectives under "supervision," by visiting them in their own homes ; and

(c) to provide institutions, by building or otherwise, for defectives for whom supervision does not afford sufficient protection.

This duty of the Local Authority must be emphasised. Owing to the war it has not been possible to build new institutions, but it must be clearly understood that Parliament has laid a legal obligation on authorities to provide institutions for those defectives coming within the scope of the Act, who need institution care.

48. *Defectives who can be dealt with under the Mental Deficiency Act.*—Persons who can be dealt with under this Act must first of all be proved to be defectives “within the meaning of the Act,” that is persons whom two medical men are prepared to certify as coming within the definitions laid down for idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons and moral imbeciles. In all cases the defect must have existed from birth or from an early age; *no one* can be certified as defective within the meaning of the Act unless the certifying officer can state that the person is either an idiot, an imbecile, feeble-minded or a moral imbecile.

They must also be proved to be defectives “subject to be dealt with.”

49. *Defectives subject to be dealt with.*—In order that a Local Authority can place a defective under supervision, or can take the steps to send him to an institution for defectives, he must come under one or other of the following categories:—

He (or she) must be a defective—

(1) who is found neglected, abandoned, or without visible means of support, or cruelly treated. Neglect can be interpreted as “constructive,” not deliberate.

Or (2) who is found guilty of any criminal offence, or who is ordered or found liable to be ordered to be sent to a certified industrial school. Such cases coming before a court would be remanded for evidence of mental defect, and if this was proved they could be sent to a certified institution for defectives rather than to a prison, &c.

Or (3) who is undergoing imprisonment (except imprisonment under civil process or penal servitude), or is undergoing detention in a place of detention by order of a court, or in a reformatory, or industrial school, or in an inebriate reformatory, or who is detained in an institution for lunatics, or a criminal lunatic asylum. In these cases the Secretary of State can on the evidence of two medical certificates transfer the defective to a certified institution for defectives.

- Or* (4) who is an habitual drunkard within the meaning of the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900.
- Or* (5) who is notified by the Local Education Authority as—(a) not being capable of receiving benefit or further benefit in a special school (broadly speaking, the idiot and imbecile); (b) not being capable of being educated without detriment to other children; (c) where there are special circumstances, such as bad home, lack of control, &c., that make it desirable that the defective should be under supervision or guardianship; (d) about to leave a special school and needing institution care or guardianship.
- Or* (6) who is in receipt of poor relief at the time of giving birth to an illegitimate child or when pregnant of such child.

If the defective does not come under one of these categories the Local Authority has *no duty* to deal with the case.

50. *Certified Institutions*.—If the Local Authority decide to take action, they instruct their officer to bring a petition before a justice, with a statement of particulars stating under which of the above classes the defective is subject to be dealt with, and accompanied by the two medical certificates. If the magistrate approves, he signs an order sending the defective to an institution, the name of which must be specified in the order. The order lasts for one year, and is then renewed for another year; after that it is renewed every five years.*

51. There is another way of getting defectives certified and sent to an institution, that is, if they are "placed under certificates by their friends and relations." An *idiot* or an *imbecile* of any age can be certified and "placed" by the parent or guardian, and detained in, an institution for defectives. A *feeble-minded person* or *moral imbecile* can only be sent to an institution by his parent (not by his guardian) if he is under 21.

Defectives who are certified can only be sent to certified institutions or certified houses or placed under guardianship.

52. It follows from this that even if a defective comes within the meaning of the Act, and is subject to be dealt with, the Local Authority cannot take action unless they have a place in a certified institution to send him to. The present

* In cases dealt with by the Poor Law, the Local Authority can take no action, even if the defective comes under one of the above categories, unless the Poor Law Guardians first notify to the Ministry of Health their desire that the defective should be exempt from the Poor Law and transferred to the care of the Local Authority.

shortage of institution accommodation is therefore responsible in a great measure for the very limited administration of the Act.*

53. *Special Schools.*—The Mental Deficiency Act is a very limited measure, though if actively administered it can do a great deal. It is, however, dependent for the more important part of its work on the efficient carrying out of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Acts. All high-grade defectives should pass through special schools, and if the children who are found to need institution care are notified to the Local Authority and are either kept in touch with by supervision or are sent to institutions, then it will be possible to protect and care for a great number of high-grade defectives. Without special schools most of the cases will only come to the knowledge of the authorities after they are in danger or have fallen into serious trouble.

54. *Voluntary Associations.*—It is important to note that there are large numbers of defectives who do not come within the provisions of the Act, but are greatly in need of a friendly visitor to keep in touch with them, and to advise and help the parents and friends. To give a few instances:—

- (1) Children under seven years of age.
- (2) Defectives who have left institutions.
- (3) Defectives who are well cared for at the moment, but whose parents are glad to know of someone to whom they can turn should circumstances render it necessary for their children to be dealt with.
- (4) Defective women who have immoral tendencies, or have given birth to illegitimate children, but are not in receipt of Poor Law relief and cannot therefore be dealt with.
- (5) Defectives in whose case it is impossible to say without prolonged experience and observation whether they are defective or merely dull and backward or unbalanced.

To help these defectives, as well as those coming under the Local Authority, Local Voluntary Associations have been formed in different parts of the country. There are now 42 such Local Associations working in various county and county borough areas. The names and addresses of the secretaries, together with any other information regarding the care and training of defectives, may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Central Association for the Care of the Mentally Defective, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

* A full list of certified institutions, etc., can be obtained from the Board of Control, 66, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

PART 5.—THE WELFARE OF THE BLIND.

55. A special branch of the Ministry of Health deals with the welfare of the blind, with the assistance of an Advisory Committee. Seven regional Advisory Committees advise this central Committee on all local matters. The Agencies operating in the area of each local Advisory Committee are grouped in a Counties Association.

56. *Definition.*—The definition of blindness adopted by the Ministry is: "Too blind to perform work for which eyesight is essential."

57. *Register.*—A Register of the individual blind is maintained at the Ministry of Health, and a Register of Institutions, Societies and Agencies for the blind. A list of those institutions, etc., approved by the Ministry, has been issued.

58. *Education and Training.*—The Education Authority must provide special education for blind children up to the age of 16, school attendance being compulsory up to the latter age (*see* para. 152). Training in basket-making, brush-making, and other suitable branches of industry may be obtained through the various institutions, societies and agencies referred to above, many of whom also provide home teachers to teach adult blind persons in their own homes how to read embossed type, to read to them, and to instruct them in simple forms of home occupations.

59. *Grants in Aid.*—A grant is available in respect of the following services:—

- (1) Workshops for the blind.
- (2) Provision of assistance to home workers.
- (3) Homes and hostels for the blind.
- (4) Home teaching.
- (5) Book production.
- (6) The work of Counties Associations.
- (7) Miscellaneous.

Grants are payable to approved agencies under Regulations and Rules issued by the Ministry of Health.

CHAPTER II.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

60. The National Health Insurance Acts are administered under the supervision of the Ministry of Health, to which the powers and duties of the National Health Insurance Commission were transferred on 1st July, 1919.

61. *Administration.*—In general the benefits of the Acts are administered locally by Approved Societies and Insurance Committees.

- (1) The Approved Societies provide Sickness Benefit, Maternity Benefit, and Disablement Benefit, and application must be made to the Secretary or Agent of the Approved Society of which the insured person is a member.
- (2) The Local Insurance Committees provide Medical Benefit, and inquiries should be addressed to the Clerk to the Local Insurance Committee.
- (3) The whole of the benefits of Deposit Contributors are administered through the Insurance Committees. The cash benefits of members of the Navy and Army Insurance Fund are administered by the Ministry itself.

PART I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS.

62. *Persons required to be Insured.*—Employed persons aged 16 or upwards and under 70 who are engaged in non-manual work are required to be insured, unless their remuneration is at a rate exceeding £250 a year. Persons employed by way of manual labour must be insured irrespective of the rate of their remuneration. (A few part-time employments are excepted by Special Order, and there are certain other exceptions.)

63. *Persons Ceasing to be Insurably Employed.*—An insured person who ceases to be insurably employed, remains insured for all benefits for one year (exclusive of any period of illness of which notice is given) from the date on which he ceases insurable employment, and his title to medical benefit continues until the expiration of six months from the end of the half-year in which his insurance terminates.*

* *Voluntary Contributors.*—Any person (other than a married woman) who has been employed in an insurable employment for at least 104 weeks and then ceases to be employed may become a voluntary contributor. Further information on this point will be supplied by his Approved Society on application.

64. *Persons Exempt.*—Any person who has a private income of at least £26 a year, or who is mainly dependent on some other person, or mainly dependent on an occupation which is not employment within the meaning of the Acts, may apply to the Local Officer of Customs and Excise for a Certificate of Exemption. This will excuse him from paying contributions himself. The employer must nevertheless pay his own share, and the employed person is entitled to Medical Benefit subject to certain conditions.

65. *Contributions.*—Contributions are paid in the first instance by the employer, who stamps a card, and then deducts the employed person's share of the contribution from the next payment of wages. The amount of the joint weekly contribution is 10*d.* for a man and 9*d.* for a woman. The following table shows the apportionment of the contribution :—

	Amount payable.			
	Men.		Women.	
	Employer.	Employed Person.	Employer.	Employed Person.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1. Where the employed person is between 16 and 18 years of age	5	5	5	4
2. Where the employed person is 18 years of age or upwards :				
(1) Where board and lodging is provided	5	5	5	4
(2) Where board and lodging is not provided and the rate of remuneration				
(a) Exceeds 4 <i>s.</i> a day	5	5	5	4
(b) Exceeds 3 <i>s.</i> but does not exceed 4 <i>s.</i> a day	6	4	6	3
(c) Does not exceed 3 <i>s.</i> a day	10	0	9	0

No contribution is payable by an employer for any week for which no remuneration is received by the employed person and during which no services are rendered by him.

If remuneration is paid for any part of a week during which no services are rendered, a contribution is payable unless the employed person is in receipt of Sickness or Disablement Benefit for any part of the week.

66. *Arrears.*—Unless a certain number of contributions

are paid every year, the insured person will fall into arrears. This will render him liable to penalties in the form of reduction or suspension of one or more of the benefits provided by the Acts. A table of these penalties is set out on the Record Card (*see* para. 70). Shortly after the termination of the contribution year, which ends during the last week in June or the first week in July, Approved Societies notify their members of any arrears outstanding against them. A period of grace is allowed in which the insured person may make a payment to redeem his arrears in whole or in part; and the rates of benefit to which he is entitled during the benefit year commencing in the following January will be governed by the state of his arrears account at the close of the period of grace. Contributions are not payable during any period when the insured person is rendered incapable of work by specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement, but, in order to claim benefit or, if benefit be not claimed, to prevent arrears accruing, medical evidence of the incapacity must be furnished without delay to the Approved Society. An insured person may himself pay the full contribution for weeks of sickness or unemployment in order to help to make up the 104 contributions required to qualify for full benefits.

67. *Method of Effecting Insurance.*—Insurance may be effected through an Approved Society or as a deposit contributor. It is to the interest of every person who has attained the age of 16 years and is engaged in an insurable employment to make application for admission to an Approved Society—an application form will be supplied by the selected Society—otherwise, as a Deposit Contributor, he does not enjoy the full advantages of insurance. An employed person who does not join an Approved Society before the 1st April or 1st October next following the end of the half-year during which he entered into insurance becomes a Deposit Contributor.

68. *Transfer of Membership.*—An insured person who wishes to transfer his membership from one Approved Society to another should communicate with the Secretary of the Society which he wishes to join, who will inform him of the procedure to be followed and will furnish him with the necessary forms to be completed for the purpose.

If an insured person wishes to terminate his membership of his Approved Society and become a deposit contributor, he should give due notice to that effect to the Society on a special form for the purpose which can be obtained on application to the Ministry of Health, Insurance Department, North Side, Wandsworth Common, S.W. 18.

An insured person who terminates his membership of his Approved Society either to transfer to another Society or to become a deposit contributor, is required to pay a transfer

his entry into insurance and he has not previously been transferred from some other Approved Society to his present Society.

The termination of membership in all cases of transfer will ordinarily take effect only at the end of a half-year covered by a contribution card, and until membership of his Approved Society has been effectively terminated, an insured person should regard himself as a member of that Society for all purposes connected with National Health Insurance—*e.g.*, the surrender of his contribution cards or the making of a claim for benefit.

69. *Procedure.*—Every insured person is required to produce a contribution card to his employer for the purpose of being stamped. This card is obtained by him from his Approved Society or from the Post Office. If for any reason the insured person is unable to produce a contribution card, the employer must make use of Emergency Cards, a supply of which may be obtained at a Post Office. For convenience, the card is usually deposited during its period of currency with the employer, but the insured person may demand it at any time, and the employer is under penalty to return it within 48 hours.

70. *Record Card.*—At the end of the half-year the card must be sent to the Secretary of the Approved Society, who will enter the number of contributions on a record card, which is then handed to the insured person. The Record card constitutes the member's record of contributions paid, and entry should be made by the Society when a contribution card is surrendered at the end of the half-year to which it relates. The card shows the rates of benefit payable under the Acts. At the end of each half-year a deposit contributor should forward his stamped card to the Ministry in the special envelope provided for the purpose; the questions on the inside of the flap of the envelope should be carefully answered. A blank card for the coming half-year will be sent to him by the Ministry.

71. *Complaints or Disputes.*—All complaints or disputes relating to contributions should be referred direct to the District Inspector, Ministry of Health (Insurance Department).

PART II.—BENEFITS.

72. The Acts provide Medical, Sickness, Disablement and Maternity Benefits. (The position in regard to Sanatorium Benefit is set out in para. 5, on page 2.) The full advantage of insurance can be obtained only by joining an Approved Society.

(a) *Medical Benefit.*

73. *Definition.*—Medical Benefit consists of medical treatment and attendance from a practitioner on the current

list, including provision of proper and sufficient medicine, &c. It does not include attendance on confinement (*see Maternity Benefit*, paras. 95-100), Specialist, or Dental treatment.

74. *Eligibility*.—A person who, upon entering into insurance, joins an Approved Society, becomes entitled to Medical Benefit forthwith, and he continues entitled to the benefit until the expiration of six months from the end of the half-year in which he ceases to be insured. The right to medical benefit does not cease at the age of 70.

75. *Choice of Doctor*.—If an insured person does not receive a Medical Card in due course, he should apply to the local Insurance Committee upon a form which is obtainable at any Post Office. On receipt of the card he should consult the Panel List, which is exhibited at all Post Offices, and select a doctor, with whom he should communicate immediately in accordance with the instructions printed on the card.

76. *Change of Doctor*.—An insured person may change his doctor on the 1st July or 1st January in any year by giving notice to the Insurance Committee before 1st June or 1st December.

77. *Special Arrangements for Persons Constantly Moving*.—Special arrangements have been made for the Medical Benefit of persons who are constantly moving from place to place in the course of their employment. Particulars of these arrangements will be supplied on application to any Insurance Committee, or to the Ministry of Health.

78. *Conduct during Sickness*.—The Rules of Conduct during sickness, printed on the back of the card, must be strictly observed. If the patient is incapacitated from work and desires to claim sickness benefit, a medical certificate should be obtained from the doctor on the first day of incapacity and forwarded immediately to the Society; further certificates should be obtained weekly during the continuance of incapacity.

79. *Complaints*.—All enquiries or complaints regarding Medical Benefit must be addressed to the Clerk to the local Insurance Committee, whose address is given on the Panel List.

(b) *Sickness Benefit.*

80. *Definition*.—Sickness Benefit consists of periodical money payments when the insured person is rendered incapable of work through some specific disease or bodily or mental disablement.

81. *Administration*.—The benefit is administered by the Approved Society, or in the case of Deposit Contributors by the Insurance Committee.

82. *Rates of Benefit.*—For the first 26 weeks of insurance and until 26 contributions are paid, no sickness benefit is payable. After 26 contributions have been paid the rates are:

	s.	d.
For men... ..	9	0 per week.
For women	7	6 ..

After 104 weeks of insurance and 104 contributions have been paid the rates are :

	s.	d.
For men... ..	15	0 per week.
For women	12	0 ..

83. *Deposit Contributors.*—The rate of sickness benefit for a deposit contributor is approximately the same as for a member of an Approved Society, but payment can only be continued so long as the money standing to his credit will allow.

84. *Conditions of Eligibility.*—The claimant must have been insured six months and have paid at least 26 weekly contributions. Benefit is payable commencing on the fourth day of incapacity, and no account whatever is taken of an incapacity lasting less than four days. If notice of illness is not given within the first three days, benefit will not ordinarily commence to be payable until the day following that on which notice is in fact given. An insured person will not, however, be deprived of benefit under this provision for any period of illness in respect of which he can show that he was not reasonably able to give notice.

85. If a second claim for benefit follows within 12 months of recovery from an earlier illness it is reckoned as a continuation of the first, and payment is made as from the first day of the second period of incapacity.

86. *Duration of Benefit.*—Sickness Benefit is payable so long as incapacity continues up to a maximum period of 26 weeks after which, if 104 contributions have been paid and the insured person has been in insurance for 104 weeks, he becomes entitled to Disablement Benefit, which continues to be payable so long as he remains incapable of work.

87. *Method of Obtaining Benefit.*—The rules of the Society must be strictly followed, for loss of benefit may otherwise result. It is most desirable that the insured person should purchase, or obtain, from his Society a copy of its rules and become familiar with them before he needs to claim benefit.

88. A certificate must be obtained from the doctor on the first day of incapacity, and with this is incorporated a declaration which must be filled up by the insured person. It should

be forwarded without delay to the Secretary of the Approved Society. Further certificates must be obtained each week, and sent punctually to the Society (even when benefit is not payable).

89. *Conduct during Sickness.*—During sickness certain conduct is prescribed, and it is most important that the rules of the Society should be followed, for any breach of them may result in fine or suspension. No work must be done, the patient must be at home between certain hours, must not go away from home without the permission of the Society, and there are other varying provisions only to be found in the rules. A Society cannot withhold benefit from a pregnant woman on the ground that her pregnancy was due to misconduct.

90. *Sickness Benefit While in an Institution.*—If an insured person is receiving treatment in an institution, such as a Sanatorium, Hospital, Asylum, or Poor Law Infirmary which is maintained or supported by a charity or voluntary subscriptions or out of public funds, no benefit may be paid to him while he remains an inmate, but if there are dependants the whole or part of the sum may be paid to them or applied for their benefit at the discretion of the Society after consultation wherever possible with the member.

If he has no dependants, or if although he has dependants any part of the sum has not been paid to them or applied for their benefit, the amount of the benefit, or the balance, may be applied at the discretion of the Society, and with the authority of the member, towards defraying any expenses for which he may be liable otherwise than to the institution.

In so far as the benefit is not expended as above, it may, at the discretion of the Society, be paid in whole or in part to the institution, but no such payment can be made to a Poor Law Institution, Infirmary, Asylum, or other similar Institution maintained out of public funds. Any balance of benefit not expended as indicated above must be paid to the member after he leaves the institution, either in a lump sum or by instalments, as the Society may think fit.

91. *Compensation or Damages.*—If an insured person is incapacitated by reason of an accident, injury, or industrial disease, in respect of which he would be entitled to compensation or damages, Sickness Benefit is not payable unless the compensation or damages received are less than the benefit he would otherwise receive, in which case the Society pays the difference. If there is delay in recovering compensation, the Society may pay benefit on loan and recover later. Any agreement for a lump sum in compensation must be reported to the Society.

92. Where an insured person has received compensation or damages of a weekly value of less than that of the benefit

which would ordinarily have been payable and a part only of the benefit has been paid he is treated, on again falling ill within 12 months of his recovery, as having received benefit not for the full number of weeks for which it was in fact paid but only for a period proportionate to the sum he has actually received as benefit.

(c) *Disablement Benefit.*

93. *Definition.*—Disablement Benefit consists of periodical money payments, normally of 7s. 6d. per week, in cases where the incapacity continues for more than 26 weeks. The amount is subject to reduction if an Arrears Penalty is outstanding (see para. 66).

94. *Eligibility.*—To qualify for Disablement Benefit 104 contributions must have been paid.

An insured person may pay full weekly contributions for the period during which he has been in receipt of sickness benefit and for weeks of incapacity continuing after such benefit has ceased to be payable in order to qualify for Disablement Benefit by paying 104 contributions at the earliest possible date.

If the insured person wishes to pay contributions in respect of weeks when he has not been ill, but has been unemployed, he should ask for further information from his Society.

Contributions which an insured person desires to pay himself for weeks of illness or of unemployment must be paid before the termination of the period of grace following the contribution year in which such weeks occur.

(d) *Maternity Benefit.*

95. *Definition.*—Maternity Benefit (in cash, or otherwise) is payable to the mother on confinement or to some person specifically authorised by her to receive it.

96. *Rates of Benefit.*—Payment is made as follows :—

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| (1) A woman who is not an insured person is entitled to receive in respect of her husband's insurance | Normally 40s. |
| (2) An unmarried woman who is an insured person is entitled to this benefit | Normally 40s. |
| (3) A married woman who is herself an insured person, but whose husband is not, is entitled to two benefits from her own Society | Normally 80s. |

- (4) A woman who is herself, and whose husband also is, an insured person, is entitled to two benefits, one from her own and one from his Society if he is fully qualified, or otherwise, both from her own Society ... Normally 80s.

97. *Arrears.*—Arrears are not reckoned, in the case of a woman who is herself an insured person, during the two weeks before and four weeks after her confinement, nor in the case of a posthumous child, for the period following the death of the husband.

98. *Conditions of Eligibility.*—The member in respect of whose insurance Maternity Benefit is claimed must have been insured 42 weeks and have paid at least 42 weekly contributions. A form of claim must be obtained from the Society, and should be returned within seven days of the confinement. Many Societies require the production of a marriage certificate, and the Registrar will furnish a copy for this purpose for a reduced fee of 1s. if the requisite form supplied by him is filled up.

Where the double maternity benefit is payable no remunerative work must be done by the mother during the four weeks following confinement. The rules of Societies require that a woman should be attended by a duly qualified medical practitioner, or a duly qualified midwife.

99. *Method of Payment.*—Under ordinary conditions the benefit is paid in cash, and the woman pays her own doctor or midwife, but the Society has discretion as to the form the benefit shall take. It may, if arrangements have been previously made, pay the doctor and pay the remaining portion of the benefit to the woman.

100. *When the Mother is in an Institution.*—No payment can be made to the mother while she is an inmate of an institution supported by a public authority or out of public funds, or by a charity or voluntary subscriptions, but the disposal of her maternity benefit will be subject to the same provisions as govern the application of the sickness benefit of inmates of such institutions (*see* para. 90). If, however, two maternity benefits are payable, only one such benefit may be paid to or applied for the relief and maintenance of her dependants.

Whatever sum has not been expended during the mother's residence in the institution must be paid to her, or applied for her benefit, when she leaves the institution.

(f) *Married Women.*

101. *Special Benefits.*—An insured woman who marries ceases to be entitled to the ordinary benefits as soon as she

has been away from work, otherwise than on account of illness, for 8 consecutive weeks within a year from the date of her marriage. She then becomes entitled to a special scale of benefits, viz. :—

- (1) Sickness or disablement benefit at the rate of 7s. 6d. a week for not more than 6 weeks in all during the year following the end of the 8 weeks of unemployment.
- (2) Maternity benefit of 40s. on her first confinement after the end of the 8 weeks of unemployment and within 2 years of the date of her marriage.
- (3) Medical benefit up to the 30th June or 31st December, whichever first occurs, after the expiration of a year reckoned from the end of the 8 weeks of unemployment.

If, however, she keeps at work after marriage and does not complete 8 consecutive weeks of unemployment within a year from the date of her marriage, she will continue to be entitled to the ordinary benefits, and will, on giving up work after a year has elapsed since marriage, be in the same position as any other insured person who ceases insurable employment—*i.e.*, she will become entitled to a free year's insurance and to medical benefit until the expiration of six months from the end of the half-year in which her insurance terminates.

102. *Pregnancy.*—Sickness Benefit is normally payable in respect of incapacity when certified by the doctor as due to pregnancy, but the rules of conduct during sickness are strictly enforced.

PART III.—SAILORS, SOLDIERS AND AIRMEN.

(a) *Position during Service.*

103. *Men Affected.*—All Active Service Ratings in the Navy and Marines, all Soldiers in the Regular Army, all Airmen in the Regular Air Force, are insured during service with the exception of Naval Warrant Officers, and Royal Marine Gunners.

104. Men who were called up from the Reserves or who enlisted in the Navy, Army or Air Force for the period of the war were with few exceptions likewise insured during service, the principal exceptions being men, who were uninsured before enlistment and who, having the option, decided to remain uninsured during service.

105. *Contributions.*—The rate of contribution during service is 4½d. a week, and under the revised schemes of pay the whole contribution is paid by the Admiralty, Army Council or Air Council.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

106. *Benefit.*—The only benefit payable during service is Maternity Benefit, which, as in the case of civilians, is subject to the condition that the husband must have been insured for at least 42 weeks and have paid at least 42 contributions.

- (1) The benefit is payable whether the husband is a member of an Approved Society or not, and whether the wife is "married on the strength" or not. The benefit is payable to the wife and must be claimed by her.
- (2) If the husband is a member of an Approved Society, the claim should be made by the wife to the Secretary or local agent of the Society, who will give any help that may be required.
- (3) If the husband is *not* a member of an Approved Society, application should be made by the wife to the Accountant General of the Navy, Admiralty, S.W. 1, if the husband is serving in the Navy, or to the Paymaster who keeps the accounts of the unit in which her husband is serving, if he is in the Army or Air Force.

107. *Procedure.*—Contribution cards are not used for sailors, soldiers or airmen, but on discharge a certificate is issued showing that the man has been insured and giving the period of his service. In the case of sailors and marines the certificate is sent to the Approved Society of which the man is a member, or to the Ministry of Health, Insurance Department, Maida Hill, London, W. 9, if he is not a member of an Approved Society; in the case of soldiers and airmen it is given to the man on his discharge with instructions to send it to the Approved Society to which he belongs; or if he is not a member of an Approved Society, to send it to the Ministry of Health, Insurance Department, Maida Hill, London, W. 9.

(b) *Position after Discharge.*

108. *Benefits.*—A sailor, soldier or airman who has been insured during service in the Navy, Army or Air Force is entitled after his discharge to the ordinary benefits under the National Health Insurance Acts.

Every invalided man should receive from the Ministry of Pensions on discharge a Medical Attendance Voucher (Form I.S. 1). On taking this to a doctor he can obtain medical benefit at once. The form is only issued to invalided men.

109. *Members of Approved Societies.*—A discharged man
(2567)

Approved Society should communicate with the Secretary or local agent of his Approved Society in order that he may be placed in a position to obtain the ordinary benefits as a civilian.

110. Men who are not Members of Approved Societies.—

A man who has been discharged from the Navy, Army or Air Force otherwise than on account of wounds, sickness or disease, should at once apply to an Approved Society for admission as a member. If he is admitted to membership the Society will arrange for a medical card to be sent to him to enable him to obtain the services of a doctor when required, and for him to receive the ordinary benefits under the usual conditions. If he delays his application for membership of an Approved Society, he will become a Deposit Contributor entitled to benefits to a limited amount only. If, however, owing to the state of his health his application for admission to an Approved Society is rejected, he should apply to the Ministry of Health as soon as possible, but in any case within six months from the date of discharge, for re-admission to the Navy and Army Insurance Fund. If he delays his application it may be too late.

111. Invalided Men who are not Members of Approved Societies.—A discharged man who is not a member of an Approved Society and has been discharged on account of wounds, sickness or disease, will become a member of the Navy and Army Insurance Fund, which is administered by the Ministry of Health. If a man has been discharged on account of some minor ailment, he may receive notice from the Ministry of Health calling upon him, as a condition of continued membership of the Fund, to show that his health prevents him from obtaining admission to an Approved Society.

As soon as possible after the facts are ascertained, arrangements are made by the Ministry of Health for the issue of a medical card to enable the man to obtain the services of an Insurance Practitioner.

The benefits of members of the Navy and Army Insurance Fund are administered through local Insurance Committees, and when a member is incapable of work he should forward the weekly medical certificates received from his Insurance Practitioner to the local Insurance Committee.

112. Men with Disablement Pensions.—A man who is granted a pension for Disablement in the Highest Degree, i.e., 100 per cent. on account of injuries or disease due to the war (not less than 40s. a week excluding allowances for children), will, as a condition attaching to the pension, have his ordinary rate of Sickness Benefit reduced by 7s. 6d. a week until he has again since his discharge been in insurable

employment for 26 weeks and 26 weekly contributions have been paid, and Disablement Benefit will not be payable until he has again since his discharge been in insurable employment for 104 weeks and 104 weekly contributions have been paid. The same conditions apply to an allowance in lieu of pension during treatment or training. These conditions only apply so long as the man remains in receipt of the above pension or allowance. No reduction in the rate of sickness or disablement benefit is made in the case of pensions for disablement in a lower degree, or for disablement not due to the war. Medical and Maternity Benefits are not affected by the receipt of a pension for disablement in the Highest Degree.

113. *Discharged Men not Insurably Employed.*—A discharged man who has been insured in His Majesty's Forces but does not become employed and insured after discharge will be entitled to all benefits for a limited period.

- (1) If he is a member of a Society or has been re-admitted to the Navy and Army Insurance Fund by reason of the state of his health, he will be entitled to all benefits, subject to the provisions as to arrears, for at least a year from date of discharge, when his membership of the Society or of the Navy and Army Insurance Fund will cease. He will, however, be entitled to receive Medical Benefit until the expiration of six months from the end of the half-year in which his membership ceases.
- (2) If he has become a Deposit Contributor he will be entitled to Medical benefit and to other benefits to a limited amount for a limited period of about a year; he then ceases to be a Deposit Contributor.

114. *Voluntary Contributors.*—Discharged men who were not insured before service (*i.e.*, Civil Servants, Municipal employees, persons working on their own account, &c.), but were insured during service in His Majesty's Forces will in some cases wish to continue to be insured after discharge. If a discharged man has been insured for 104 weeks, including any period during which he was employed and insured in civil life, he may continue in insurance as a voluntary contributor, if he gives notice to the Society of which he is a member, or to the Navy and Army Insurance Fund, if he is a member thereof, of his desire to do so before the date on which his membership would otherwise cease.

PART IV.—GENERAL.

115. *Information.*—Information regarding a member's position in insurance or relating to Voluntary Contributors

and other Special Classes of Contributors will be furnished by Secretaries of Approved Societies, or if the man is a member of the Navy and Army Insurance Fund, by the latter.

116. *Disputes.*—Disputes between a member and his Society must be settled in accordance with the rules of the Society, and the proper procedure can only be ascertained by reference to the rules. If these need any explanation, reference should be made to the Society.

If a member considers he has not received the benefit to which he is entitled, and is unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation from the Society, it would be open to him to represent the facts of the case to the District Inspector, who would take such action as he considers necessary.

CHAPTER III.

THE POOR LAW.

117. The Poor Law System combines a central control exercised by the Minister of Health,* responsible to Parliament, with local administration through Boards of Guardians, elected by the ratepayers. The Guardians' powers of granting relief are determined by statute, but in the exercise of those powers they are subject to regulations, issued by the Minister, which lay down general rules for their guidance, among the most important of which are the Relief Regulation Order, 1911 (*see* para. 123), and the Poor Law Institutions Order, 1913 (*see* para. 124). The Minister also issues, from time to time, instructional circulars.

(a) Administration.

118. *The Board of Guardians.*—The Board of Guardians is responsible for the local administration of the Poor Law. The Guardians are charged with certain statutory duties of relieving the destitute, the manner in which these duties are performed being prescribed by Act of Parliament and by Regulations issued by the Minister. The Accounts of Boards of Guardians are subject to audit by the District Auditor, and the Guardians are liable to be surcharged for any irregular expenditure.

The General Inspector appointed by the Minister inspects Poor Law Institutions, attends meetings of the Board and its Committees, and advises the Guardians.

119. *Institutions.*—The Institution (formerly known as the Workhouse) and the Infirmary are subject to the control of the Guardians, and are in the charge of the Master. If separate, the Infirmary is under the control of the Medical Superintendent. Separate Schools are under a Superintendent.

120. *Officers.*—The chief executive officer is the Clerk to the Guardians, to whom all communications should normally be addressed. Relief is obtained through the Relieving Officer for the district in which the applicant lives.

Medical attendance on sick persons in their own homes is given by the District Medical Officer on receipt of an order from the Board of Guardians or the Relieving Officer.

* To whom all the powers and duties of the Local Government Board were transferred by the Ministry of Health Act, 1919.

Workers should know the name and address of the Guardians, the Relieving Officer, and the Poor Law Medical Officer for the districts in which they work.

121. *Eligibility.*—A destitute person is entitled to receive relief from the Guardians for the Parish or Union in which he is living, but under certain circumstances the Guardians have a right to remove him to the care of the Guardians of some other area, or to recover from such other Guardians the cost of his maintenance. This removal is effected either by agreement or under an Order of Justices. The law upon this subject is extremely complicated, and information, if desired, should be sought from the Clerk to the Guardians.

122. *Application for Relief.*—Application for Poor Relief should, if possible, be made by the applicant in person to the Relieving Officer for the district in which he or she lives. The head of the family must, if able, make the application. Other persons should only apply to the Relieving Officer on behalf of those who are seriously ill and have no relatives who can apply on their behalf. At the time of application the Relieving Officer takes the particulars required by law, including the names of the relatives legally liable to maintain. (See para. 139.)

The Relieving Officer may in cases of urgency give relief in kind, e.g., groceries, coal, milk, &c., until the meeting of the Relief Committee, or in cases of sickness give an order for the doctor or hospital. Before the meeting of the Guardians, or Relief Committee, he visits the home of the applicant and makes such enquiries as may be necessary. Hence application should, if practicable, be made a few days before the Guardians, or Relief Committee, meet.

The Guardians, or Relief Committee, usually meet weekly and consider each case. The applicant may be called upon to appear in person. The Guardians decide on the form of relief to be given in accordance with any regulations they may have laid down, which must not be inconsistent with the Relief Regulation Order or the Statutes.

(b) *Out-door Relief.*

123. *Conditions of Grant.*—The main regulation governing Out-door Relief is the Relief Regulation Order, 1911, which is in force over the whole country.

- (1) Briefly, the Order prohibits relief, except in an Institution, to any person and his family except (a) in case of sickness, accident, bodily or mental infirmity; (b) for burial; (c) to a widow or married woman living separate from her husband having no illegitimate child born after the commencement of her widowhood or separation.

- (2) It prohibits the payment of rent, wholly or in part, by the Guardians or their officials. But the Guardians may provide shelter or temporary lodgings in cases of sudden and urgent necessity, and may consider the expense of lodgings in regulating the amount of out-relief.
- (3) The Guardians are not allowed (a) to establish any applicant for relief in business; or (b) to redeem from pawn for any applicant for relief any tools, implements, or other articles; or (c) to purchase for or give to any applicant for relief any tools, implements, or other articles, except such articles as are included in the expression "relief in kind"; or (d) to give money to or on account of any applicant for relief for the purpose of effecting any of the above objects.
- (4) During exceptional circumstances (e.g., during times of unemployment) the Guardians may, by resolution, and subject to approval of the Minister of Health, adopt the following special measures: (a) they may grant Out-Relief to a man's wife and children while relieving him in the Institution (Modified Workhouse Test); or (b) they may set the man to work and keep him at work and give Out-Relief, one-half in money and one-half in kind (Labour Test).

The Guardians may, under special circumstances, depart from some of the above regulations provided that they report within 21 days to the Minister of Health and the latter approves.

The Local Regulations made by the Board of Guardians may usually be obtained from the Clerk to the Guardians by application, and should be considered at the same time as the Relief Regulation Order.

(c) *Institutional Relief.*

124. *Condition of Grant.*—The main regulation governing Institutional Relief is the Poor Law Institutions Order, 1913. Briefly, the Order provides for the classification, dietary, and discipline of the inmates of the Poor Law Institutions, and sets out the duties of the officers. The Master, subject to the direction of the Guardians, has the general control of the Institution and the inmates, and all communications with regard to inmates should be addressed to him.

125. *Admission.*—A person is admitted to a Poor Law Institution:—

- (1) By an order of the Guardians.
- (2) By an order signed by a Relieving Officer (or an Overseer).

- (3) By the Master without any order in any case of sudden or urgent necessity, or in certain other special circumstances.

126. *Discharge*.—An inmate of the Institution is only allowed to leave the Institution on giving reasonable notice. He may be detained after he has given notice of his intention to leave for the following times :—

- (1) If he has not discharged himself from the Institution within one month before giving the notice, twenty-four hours.
- (2) If he has discharged himself once or oftener within such month, forty-eight hours.
- (3) If he has discharged himself more than twice within two months before giving the notice, seventy-two hours.

The Master has authority to dispense with the observance of these rules, and if a man has reasonable prospects of work may allow him to leave before the expiration of the required time. Men and women with families must ordinarily take them with them on leaving the Institution

127. *Classification*.—The Guardians have in general discretionary powers in the classification of the inmates of their institutions according to age, character, and behaviour, but they are required to make arrangements for the maintenance of children over three years of age apart from the Institution (formerly the Workhouse), and to provide accommodation for any aged (over 60) married couple to live together if they desire it.

128. *Children and the Poor Law*.—The Poor Law provision for children may take the form of schools, cottage homes, or boarding out with families, or, in eligible cases, placing in voluntary homes.

- (1) Children are admitted to schools or cottage homes or boarded out on the order of the Guardians, who, in deciding whether to grant out-relief to the parents or to maintain the children, should consider all the circumstances, including the character of the parents or guardians, the sanitary condition and cleanliness of the home.
- (2) Special provision is made by the Poor Law (Certified Schools) Act, 1862, enabling Guardians to send children to schools provided by voluntary bodies and certified by the Minister. This provision is largely used by Roman Catholic Societies with the desire of ensuring a suitable atmosphere for the education of Roman Catholic children. There are very large Roman Catholic schools, and a very

large number of children are sent to them by the Guardians, especially from the big towns, but it is not understood that all chargeable Roman Catholic children are sent to these schools. Where a child is sent to a certified school the Guardians may contribute towards the cost of its maintenance, &c., at a rate not exceeding the maximum fixed by the Minister.

- (3) The Guardians may, and under certain circumstances must, appoint a woman visitor for the purpose of visiting the homes in which children are boarded out; they may also appoint a Boarding-Out Committee, either of Guardians or of other persons, for superintending the boarding-out of children, &c.
- (4) If the Guardians are maintaining the head of the family in the Institution and the children in a school or home, the children are ordinarily discharged when the head of the family is discharged. Also if the parents are, with the permission of the Guardians, not in the Institution they can usually obtain the discharge of their children on giving reasonable notice.
- (5) In special cases, however, particularly where the parents are immoral or guilty of serious neglect, the Guardians may by resolution assume the rights of the parents, if the children are already chargeable, and exercise all parental powers until they attain the age of 18.

Under section 12 of the Children Act, failure to take steps to procure adequate food, clothing, medical aid, or lodging for a child by application to the Poor Law Authorities is an offence.

(d) *Medical Relief.*

129. *Form of Relief.*—The Guardians provide medical relief in two forms:—(a) at home, by the attendance of the Poor Law Medical Officer; (b) in an Institution, by admission to the Infirmary. In either case, the applicant *should apply (in person if possible) to the Relieving Officer* during office hours except in case of urgency.

130. *Medical Relief at Home.*—If the circumstances warrant it the Relieving Officer will give an order on the Medical Officer for the district for attendance at his surgery or at the patient's home. The Medical Officer decides whether a patient is suitable for admission to the Infirmary.

The Guardians may not ordinarily grant relief, other than institutional relief, relief in kind, or medical relief, on account

of sickness unless the Poor Law Medical Officer certifies the nature of the disability. The Medical Officer may also give orders for nourishment, surgical appliances, &c., which may be supplied by the Relieving Officer in addition to the ordinary out-relief.

131. *Institutional Medical Relief.*—The sick who are unable to receive proper attention at home are admitted to the Poor Law Infirmary. Generally speaking, voluntary hospitals do not provide accommodation for chronic or prolonged cases, or for persons who require hospital attention at frequent intervals. Such cases are treated by the Guardians in the Infirmary or elsewhere.

132. *Convalescent Treatment.*—In addition to treatment in the Poor Law Infirmary, the Guardians have power (with the sanction of the Minister of Health) to subscribe to convalescent homes, sanatoria, and other institutions. In cases where a sick person in receipt of relief is advised to go to a convalescent home or other similar voluntary institution it is advisable to enquire from the Relieving Officer if the Guardians have arrangements for such treatment.

133. *Exceptional Treatment.*—The Guardians possess very wide and varied powers for dealing with cases requiring exceptional treatment. They have power to provide surgical appliances for persons in receipt of relief, on the recommendation of the Poor Law Medical Officer. They may, if they wish (with the sanction of the Minister of Health), send consumptive persons to sanatoria, and blind, defective, feeble-minded, idiot, and convalescent children and adults, and also those who are suffering from incurable diseases, to the special homes and institutions provided for these classes.

134. *Vaccination.*—The Poor Law Guardians make arrangements for free vaccination by appointing Public Vaccinators. At the time of the registration of the birth of an infant the parent is given the necessary forms requiring him to comply with the requirements of the Vaccination Acts.

(e) *Relief of Special Classes.*

135. *Lunatics.*—The support of lunatics is in general borne by public funds. The Lunacy Acts provide for the general supervision of institutions for lunatics. Lunatic Asylums are provided by the County or County Borough Council, often by several Councils in co-operation. Admission for Poor Law cases is usually obtained by application to the Relieving Officer, and he is the proper official to communicate with in the case of a person suddenly becoming a lunatic. Arrangements will be made for a medical examination and transference to the proper Asylum.

136. *Epileptics*.—The Poor Law makes provision for epileptics, sending them, when suitable, to institutions.

137. *Nurse Children*.—See para. 42,

138. *Casual Paupers*.—Casual Paupers are persons receiving relief but having no settled address in the Union, such as men travelling in search of work, tramps, &c. The treatment in the Casual Ward is controlled by strict regulations of the Minister of Health, who decides the kind of sleeping accommodation, the dietary, the conditions of admission and discharge.

Subject to the discretion of the Guardians*, a casual pauper cannot ordinarily discharge himself before 9 o'clock in the morning of the second day following his admission, nor unless he has finished the labour test. Detention may be for longer periods in certain cases. Sunday is not counted as a day. If, however, a casual pauper represents that he wishes to seek work he may, at the discretion of the Superintendent, be discharged after the first night.

(f) *Liability of Relatives.*

139. *Liability of Relatives*.—The following are legal obligations :—

(1) A husband is bound to maintain his wife.

(2) Parents (including widows) are bound to maintain—
(a) children under 16 years of age; (b) children over 16 years of age, who are unable to work through sickness or other cause.

(3) Grandparents are bound to maintain their grandchildren under 16 years of age.

(4) A stepfather is bound to maintain the children belonging to his wife at the time of marriage (whether legitimate or illegitimate) until such children attain the age of 16 years, but should the mother die the liability of the stepfather then ceases.

(5) A married woman *having a separate estate* is bound to maintain :—(a) her husband, (b) her children under 16, (c) her parents.

(6) Single women are bound to maintain their illegitimate children under 16.

(7) Legitimate children are bound to maintain their parents when unable to work through sickness or other cause.

(8) Other relations, *e.g.*, brothers and sisters, grand-children &c., are not similarly liable.

* In London casual paupers are dealt with by the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Throughout the country much progress has lately been made with the constitution of Vagrancy Committees representing Guardians in the whole county or larger area. These Committees (a) secure a considerable measure of uniformity in the administration of the different Unions; (b) arrange for mid-day meals and other systems of assistance for persons apparently genuinely seeking work and others; (c) make arrangements whereby the cost of the relief of casual paupers is spread over the whole county.

Recovery of Relief.—The Guardians may recover out relief or the cost of maintenance in an institution either wholly or in part from certain relatives. (See para. 130.) Through the exercise of this power they are largely responsible for enforcing family responsibility in cases which may fall to be dealt with under the Poor Law. For example, in cases of (a) parents who will not maintain their children; (b) children who will not contribute to the maintenance of parents; (c) husbands who desert their wives, &c., Guardians may recover the relief by legal proceedings in the Police Court, entailing imprisonment in the last resort. Where liability is disputed the decision rests with the Justices.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, as amended by the Act of 1919, pensions are provided by the State to persons of 70 years and upwards who fulfil certain statutory conditions.

141. *Administration.*—The administration of the Acts is divided between the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, who make the necessary enquiries into the applicant's circumstances through their Pension Officers, the Local Pension Committee, which is a Committee appointed by the County or County Borough Council, who consider and determine all applications, and the Minister of Health, who decides any appeal made to him by the applicant, or by the Pension Officer against a decision of the Pension Committee. A Local Pension Committee may also be appointed by the Council of any Borough or Urban District with a population of 20,000 or over.

142. *Eligibility.*—The statutory conditions for the receipt of a pension are :—

- (1) The person must have attained the age of 70.
- (2) The person must satisfy the Pension Authorities that, for at least the last 10 years, he has been a British Subject.
- (3) The person must satisfy the Pension Authorities that his income does not exceed £49 17s. 6d.
- (4) The person, *if a Natural-born British Subject*, must have had his residence in the United Kingdom for at least 12 years after attaining the age of 50, and, *if not a Natural-born British Subject*, for an aggregate period of not less than 20 years.

143. *Rates.*—The following are the rates of pension :—

Where the Yearly Means of the Pensioner—	Rate of Pension per Week.
Do not exceed £26 5s.	10s.
Exceed £26 5s., but do not exceed £31 10s.	8s.
Exceed £31 10s., but do not exceed £36 15s.	6s.
Exceed £36 15s., but do not exceed £42	4s.
Exceed £42, but do not exceed £47 5s.	2s.
Exceed £47 5s., but do not exceed £49 17s. 6d.	1s.
Exceed £49 17s. 6d.	No pension.

If the applicant is one of a married couple living together in the same house, the means of either the husband or the wife are taken to be half the total means of the couple.

144. *Claimants Suffering from Mental or other Incapacity.*—A Local Pension Committee may appoint a person to act on behalf of any claimant or pensioner who is unable to act by reason of any mental or other incapacity, and to exercise any right to which the claimant or pensioner is entitled under the Old Age Pensions Acts, and may authorise the person so appointed to receive on behalf and for the benefit of the claimant or pensioner any sums payable by way of pension.

145. *Disqualifications.*—The following persons are disqualified:—(a) Aliens, (b) Lunatics in Institutions, and (c) Persons undergoing imprisonment. Persons liable to have a Detention Order made against them under the Inebriates Act, 1898, may be disqualified for a pension by an Order of the Court.

146. *Poor Law Disqualification.*—A person is *not* disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive an Old Age Pension by reason of the receipt of Out-door Relief. A person who becomes an inmate of any workhouse or other Poor Law Institution will be disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive a pension except that if he enters the institution for the purpose of obtaining medical or surgical treatment he will not during a period of three months be disqualified on that ground only.

147. *Application.*—An application may be made four months before the claimant reaches 70 years of age. Forms of application may be obtained from any Post Office. When filled in, the form should be posted to the Pension Officer of the district, whose address can be obtained at the Post Office.

The Pension Officer, who investigates the application, will visit the applicant, and should be supplied with any information he desires. The application is then submitted to the Local Pension Committee for decision.

148. *Proof of Age.*—Claimants may prove their age by one of the following documents:—

- (1) Certificate of Birth.
- (2) Certificate of Baptism.
- (3) Certificate of service in any of the forces of the Crown.
- (4) Certificate of membership of any Friendly or Provident Society or Trade Union.
- (5) Certificate of Marriage;
- (6) Or by any other evidence which appears sufficient for the purpose, such as an old entry in a Bible.

If the applicant has no certificate of birth or baptism, and

can give the Pension Officer particulars of the date and place of birth and the names of both parents, the Pension Officer is empowered to ask the Registrar-General to make a search for an entry of the birth free of charge.

If the Registrar-General should be unable to trace any entry of the birth, the Pension Officer, on being supplied with the address at which the applicant resided as a child in March, 1851, may apply to the Public Record Office for a search in the records of the census of 1851, and the return then made by the parents of an applicant, in which the ages of their children are given, is often traced. Where a marriage certificate has been lost by an applicant, a copy of it may be obtained from the Clergyman of the Church at which it was celebrated, or from the Superintendent Registrar of the district of registration, on payment of 3s. 7d., which includes the fee for searching the register for one year. If, however, the applicant is not certain of the year of registration, an additional charge is made for the search in any year more than one.

149. *Adjustment of Existing Pensions.*—If a pensioner whose pension is at a less rate than 10s. a week considers that, in consequence of a decrease in his means, he is entitled to a pension at an increased rate, it is open to him to apply to the Pension Officer for an increase of the pension. The application will be decided by the Pension Committee, and will be subject to the right of appeal to the Minister of Health, as in the case of a claim to a pension.

Similarly, if it is discovered that a pension has been wrongly granted in the first instance, or that the pensioner has ceased to be entitled to the pension, the Committee may be asked by the Pension Officer to reduce or revoke the pension, and their decision will also be subject to the right of appeal to the Minister of Health.

CHAPTER V. EDUCATION.

The Public Education Service is superintended centrally by the Board of Education, and administered locally through Statutory Committees of County Councils, County Borough Councils, and Urban District Councils.

(a) *Elementary Education.*

150. *School Attendance.*—Every child between the age of 5 and the end of the term in which it attained the age of 14 years of age *must* attend a Public Elementary School, unless there be a reasonable excuse for non-attendance, until the end of the term in which he attains the age of 14.

The Local Education Authority may require by their bye-laws parents to cause their children to attend school up to the age of 15, and may in their bye-laws grant exemption between the ages of 14 and 15, for such time and upon such conditions as the authority think fit.

The Local Education Authority may make a bye-law that parents shall not be required to cause their children to attend school before the age of 6 years, provided that in considering any such bye-law the Board shall have regard to the adequacy of the provision of nursery schools for the area.*

The following are reasonable excuses for non-attendance :—
(a) that the child is under efficient instruction in some other manner; (b) that the child has been prevented from attending school by sickness or any unavoidable cause; (c) that there is no Public Elementary School within such distance as may be prescribed by the Bye-laws of the Local Education Authority.

151. *Method of Enforcing Attendance.*—Attendance at school is enforced through the School Attendance Officer. He visits the home of any child absent from school, and if the parents fail to send the child, they are summoned before the

* *Nursery Schools.*—The Board of Education make grants in aid to approved Nursery Schools, provided either by Education Authorities or by Voluntary Managers for children between the ages of 2 and 5 or such later age as may be approved by the Board.

School Attendance Committee. As a last resource the parents may be prosecuted at the Police Court, and may be fined, or sent to prison. In addition, the Magistrates may make an order for the child to attend a Day Industrial School, or commit it to a residential Industrial School and order the parents to pay towards its maintenance.

In all cases where it is proposed to interfere with the attendance at school of a child by sending it to a convalescent home, or for a holiday, the School Authorities should first be consulted, so that unnecessary trouble may be avoided.

152. *Special Schools for Defective Children.*—The Education Authority must provide special education for blind and deaf children up to the age of 16.

They must also provide special education for mentally defective children who are educable. They are required to report non-educable mentally defective children to the Mental Deficiency Authority.

The Education Act, 1918, section 20, makes it the duty of an Authority to ascertain what children within their area are physically defective or epileptic, and to make suitable provision for their education between 7 and 16. But the duty to provide in county areas certified schools for boarding and lodging physically defective and epileptic children is postponed for a period of seven years after a day appointed by the Board of Education.

Many Education Authorities make special provision for consumptive, delicate, stammering, and short-sighted children. The provision for special classes of children may take the form either of day classes with special teachers, or residential schools.

(b) *School Medical Service.*

153. *Medical Inspection of School Children.*—The purposes of the School Medical Service are not merely the detection of defects, the discovery of child patients, and the treatment of such children, but the advancement of the health and physical development of the whole child population of school age (*see also* para. 160).

Under the regulations of the Board of Education every child attending school is inspected three times during its school career: once during the year of entrance, once in an intermediate period, and once in its thirteenth year of age.

In addition, special cases, or "ailing children," may be submitted to the Medical Inspector, by the school teachers, nurses, parents and other persons, when the routine inspection

of entrants and leavers takes place. Special "inspection clinics" are also held for dealing with such cases. Parents are invited to be present at the examination.

Particulars are obtained as to physical and mental condition, cleanliness, &c., and notes are taken of any defects.

154. *Treatment*.—The Education Authority has a duty to provide or otherwise to secure treatment at Clinics (medical, surgical and dental), or to make arrangements for treatment with existing institutions. The arrangements vary considerably under different Authorities. Authorities provide Nurses or other Visitors to follow up the children in their own homes, and to see that proper treatment is obtained. Particulars as to facilities for treatment in any area can be obtained from the Secretary or Director of the Local Authority.

155. *Protection of Children*.*—The Local Education Authority is now empowered to prosecute persons under section 12 of the Children Act, 1908, for assault, neglect or ill-treatment of children in their charge; such neglect includes failure to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid or lodging for the child, or failure to take steps to provide the same.

156. *Meals for School Children*.—The Education Authority may provide meals for ill-nourished or necessitous children while they are attending school. The usual provision is one meal, generally mid-day, but a second meal may be provided. The Education Authority may provide meals during the holidays.

* *Protection of Children*.—Under the provisions of the Acts for the protection of children it is a penal offence—

- To undertake for reward, for more than 48 hours, the nursing of an infant under 7 years of age without giving notice thereof to the Local Authority.
- To refuse to allow an Infant Protection Visitor, or other authorised person, to examine any such infant or the premises where it is kept.
- To assault, ill-treat, neglect, abandon, or expose a child under 16 years of age in a manner likely to cause unnecessary suffering or injury to its health.
- To fail to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid or lodging for any such child, or (if unable to provide it) to fail to take steps to procure it under the Poor Law Acts.
- To cause the death of a child under 3 years of age by overlaying.
- To allow a child under 16 years of age to be used for the purposes of begging.
- To allow a child under 16 years of age to be trained for any dangerous exhibition or performance.
- To expose a child under 7 years of age to risk of burning or scalding through failing to provide a fireguard, &c.
- To allow a child between the ages of 4 and 16 years to reside in or frequent any disorderly house.

In all cases the Authority is required to make enquiries into the economic circumstances of the family, and the cost may be recovered from the parents if they are in a position to pay.

157. *Care Committees.*—Many Local Education Authorities have instituted School Care Committees of voluntary visitors, who visit children in their homes, and act generally as auxiliaries to the work of the school, of providing meals for necessitous children, of the School Medical Officer and Nurses, &c.

158. *Exclusion from School.*—The School Medical Officer advises the closing of schools or classes, and is responsible for the exclusion of individual children when there is an epidemic of infectious disease, or when the health of the child would suffer from attendance at school.

(c) *Higher Education.*

159. *General Provisions.*—Under the Education Acts prior to that of 1918, education, except for defective children, is optional after the age of 14, but the local Education Authority has power to provide: (a) General Secondary Education, (b) Technical Education in Day or Evening Classes, and (c) Evening Continuation Classes.

The Authority has also power to provide Scholarships, Bursaries, Exhibitions and Free Admission. Full particulars of these subjects can be obtained on application to the Director or Secretary of Education for the County or County Borough.

Under the Education Act of 1918, after a day to be

To cause or encourage the seduction or prostitution of a girl under 16 years of age.

To sell cigarettes or cigarette papers to a child under 16 years of age.

To give intoxicating liquor to a child under 5 years of age.

To allow a child to be in the bar of any licensed premises.

To allow a child under 14 years of age to be found begging; wandering abroad without home or visible means of subsistence; destitute; in charge of criminal or drunken parents; frequenting the company of persons of ill-repute; or lodging or residing in a disorderly house.

For a Marine Store Dealer to purchase any old metal from a person under 16 years of age.

For a Pawnbroker to take any article in pawn from a child under 14 years of age.

For a vagrant to take about with him from place to place a child over 5 years of age, so as to prevent such child receiving efficient elementary education.

Various local authorities are concerned in the administration and enforcement of the provisions of these Acts, and there is no uniform practice throughout the country. *Certain provisions may also be modified by local bye-laws.* In case of doubt as to where any offence should be reported, the advice of the local inspector of the N.S.P.C.C. should be obtained.

appointed by the Board of Education, all young persons from the Elementary School leaving age up to the age of 16 will be required to attend Day Continuation Schools for a certain number of hours each year; certain exemptions from this requirement are allowed, based entirely on educational qualifications. When seven years have elapsed after the appointed day, the obligation to attend Continuation Schools will be extended to young persons up to 18 years of age. The hours of attendance at these Schools must not be before 8 a.m. or after 7 p.m., and will normally fall during the hours of employment.

160. *Medical Service.*—Section 18 of the Education Act, 1918, extends the advantages of the School Medical Service to Secondary Schools provided by Authorities and Continuation Schools under the direction and control of the Authority.

(a) *Social and Physical Training.*

161. *Juvenile Organisations Committees.*—Section 17 of the Education Act, 1918, empowers local Education Authorities to provide and maintain, or aid the provision and maintenance of, facilities for the social and physical training of children and young persons in order to supplement and reinforce the public system of education. Such social and physical training may be provided by means of Clubs, Playing Fields, School Holiday Camps, &c. In order to secure the best advice in organising social facilities for young people, and to make that advice available also for local Education Authorities, the Juvenile Organisations Committee, appointed by the Home Secretary in December, 1916, was transferred in 1919 to the Board of Education. A large number of local J.O.C.s have been set up in various places at the instance of the Central Committee for the purpose of bringing together those engaged in voluntary work among young persons in order to co-ordinate their efforts and to prevent any possibility of overlapping, and it is hoped that those Local Committees may perform a useful service in advising local Education Authorities as to the need for, and the best method of, providing for social training for the young persons in their respective areas.*

* At the present time only a comparatively small percentage of the children and young persons for whom facilities for such training are probably desirable are in touch with any Voluntary Organisation catering for their social interests, and it is clear that the expansion of such training which is rendered possible under the Education Act, 1918, will demand a vast army of voluntary helpers, for social training, if it is to be truly "social," must largely depend on voluntary assistance. There is, therefore, a great opening for voluntary workers to come forward and to assist in developing this side of the national scheme of education.

(e) *Industrial and Reformatory Schools.*

162. Up to 14 years of age, children, whether guilty of an offence or neglected, can be sent to an Industrial School: between 12 and 16 years of age, if guilty of an offence, they can be sent to a Reformatory School.

163. *Procedure.*—Children are committed by the Magistrates, who, in conjunction with the Local Authority, decide to which School the child shall be sent. The Committing Authorities fix the payments the parents shall make towards the expenses of maintenance, and the amount is collected by local Agents* on behalf of the Chief Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

It is important to remember that children who are living in immoral surroundings, or with vicious parents, may be committed to an Industrial School. (*See Section 58, Children Act, 1908.*)

164. *Visiting.*—Parents who wish to visit the children should apply beforehand to the Superintendent of the School. Many Schools have certain fixed "visiting days." In most schools the children go to camp each summer.

165. *After-Care.*—Children may be kept until the age of 16 in Industrial Schools and up to 19 in Reformatory Schools, or may be allowed out on Licence under special circumstances earlier. They are under the supervision and control of the Managers of the Industrial Schools until 18 and of Reformatories until 19. Social workers can render material assistance by taking a friendly interest in boys and girls released from these Schools.

* The Police generally act in this capacity.

CHAPTER VI.

INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT.

PART I.—EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

(a) *General.*

166. Employment Exchanges are now established under the control of the Ministry of Labour in all parts of the United Kingdom, their purpose being to bring employers and work-people into touch with each other. Their organisation includes a clearing house in London for unfilled vacancies. Clearing house lists of vacancies for the United Kingdom are circulated daily to all Exchanges.

167. *Railway Fares.*—Where workpeople are sent through an Employment Exchange to employment at a distance the Exchange will, as a rule, advance their railway fare by issuing a railway warrant, provided that a written undertaking is given either by the worker or the employer that the full amount will be refunded.

168. *Application for Employment.*—Personal application may be made any day during office hours, when particulars of the application and industrial qualifications of the applicant will be noted and dealt with.

The application must be formally renewed weekly, or the applicant's name will be removed from the active file. Meantime a call of enquiry may be made at any time.

It should be borne in mind that the applicant is more likely to obtain a suitable situation if as full particulars as possible of his industrial qualifications are given at the time of application.

(b) *Juvenile Employment Committees.*

169. In connection with many Employment Exchanges Juvenile Employment Committees have been appointed to advise and assist boys and girls (up to 18) and their parents with regard to the choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon. Such Committees may be either Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment appointed by the Minister of Labour, or Juvenile Employment Sub-Committees appointed by Local Education Authorities—in pursuance of schemes under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910—or, in some cases, Committees not appointed under any direct statutory authority.

Parents are invited to attend at the Juvenile Employment Exchange and consult with members of the Committee as to the most suitable forms of employment for their children.

170. *After-Care.*—The Committees often form After-Care Committees of voluntary visitors, who visit the children in their homes and follow up the work of the Juvenile Employment Committee during the earlier years of the children's industrial life.

These Committees are anxious to co-operate with all other social workers. Their offices are either at the Employment Exchange or at the offices of the Education Authority, but on enquiry the Exchange will always furnish the address.

PART II.—UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

171. Insurance against unemployment is compulsory in many trades. Anyone in doubt as to whether his or her trade is included or not should consult, by letter or in person, the local Employment Exchange or other Local Office of the Unemployment Fund, the address of which can be ascertained at a Post Office.

(a) Contributions.

172. *Method of Payment.*—The fund for the payment of benefit is provided by contributions in the form of Unemployment Insurance Stamps affixed to the Unemployment Book of the workman by the employer. These contributions are payable not in respect of calendar weeks but in respect of periods of employment; the weekly rate in respect of workpeople over 18 is 5*d.* The necessary stamps must be affixed by the employer, who may then deduct one-half the value from the worker's wages. The State also contributes an amount equal to one-third of the total contributions paid by the employer and workman.

(b) Benefits.

173. *Rate of Benefit.*—After the first week of unemployment benefit is paid at the rate of one week (*i.e.*, 11*s.*) for every five full contributions standing to the workman's credit. Benefit is paid for no less period than one day (1*s.* 10*d.*), and no more than 15 weeks' benefit may be received in any one insurance year.

174. *Conditions for the Receipt of Benefit.*—All claims to benefit are subject to the following statutory conditions:—

- (1) That the workman has paid not less than ten full contributions to the Unemployment Fund.

- (2) That he has made a claim as described above and proves that since the date of his application he has been continuously unemployed.
- (3) That he is capable of work and unable to obtain suitable employment.
- (4) That he has not exhausted his right to benefit.

A workman is disqualified for receiving benefit: (a) If he loses his employment by reason of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute; (b) if he loses employment through misconduct or voluntarily leaves employment without just cause; (c) while he is an inmate of any prison, workhouse, or other institution supported wholly or partly out of public funds and whilst he is resident outside the United Kingdom; (d) while he is in receipt of any sickness or disablement benefit or disablement allowance under Part I. of the Act (Health Insurance).

175. *Application for Benefit.*—The worker on becoming unemployed must lodge his or her Unemployment Book and may make a claim to benefit at an Employment Exchange or other office of the Unemployment Fund within the prescribed hours. Claims to benefit may be either direct, *i.e.*, for payment by the Employment Exchange or Local Office of the Fund, or indirect, *i.e.*, for payment through an Association of which the worker is a member, which has made an arrangement with the Ministry of Labour under Section 105 of the National Insurance Act, 1911.

PART III—DISTRESS COMMITTEES.

176. During periods of exceptional distress, due to unemployment, the Distress Committee, which is appointed in a number of urban areas by the Local Authority, the Committees in London being under the control of the Central (Unemployed) Body, has power to provide relief works for men out of work and also to assist emigration, subject to the provisions of the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, and regulations made thereunder.

PART IV—INSPECTION OF FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS, &c.

177. Under the Factory and Workshop Acts, the Truck Acts, the Shops Acts, and the Employment of Children Act, workers are protected against injurious conditions. The inspection is carried out partly by H.M. Inspectors of Factories and partly by the Local Authority. Some of the principal of the injurious conditions which can be remedied are set out below, *but there are many others*. Where any doubt arises the matter should be put before the Local Inspector of Factories.

178. *Offences in Factories, Workshops and Laundries.*—The following are amongst the injurious conditions which can be remedied :—

- (1) Insanitary, ill-ventilated, or damp workrooms.*
- (2) Overcrowding.*
- (3) Extremes of temperature.
- (4) Want of separate, sufficient, and suitable sanitary accommodation.
- (5) Wet and badly drained floors.*
- (6) Accidents.
- (7) Neglect of precautions in dangerous trades.
- (8) Fines and deductions excessive in amount or without due notice.
- (9) Illegal overtime.
- (10) Illegal employment in meal hours.
- (11) Illegal employment at home at end of legal day.
- (12) Insufficient means of escape in case of fire.

As regards safety from fire, offences should be reported to the Local Authority responsible in this matter both for factories and workshops. Other offences both in factories and workshops should be reported to the Factory Inspector, excepting those marked with an asterisk, which, *if they occur in a workshop* (*i.e.*, a place where no power-driven machinery is in use) should be reported to the Superintendent of the Sanitary Department of the Local Authority.

179. *Offences in Shops.*—The following are amongst the injurious conditions which can be remedied :—

- (1) Insufficient and unsuitable sanitary accommodation.
- (2) Illegal employment in meal hours.
- (3) Failure to give weekly half-holiday.
- (4) Employment of young persons for more than 74 hours per week.
- (5) Failure to provide seats for women assistants.
- (6) Non-observance of the general early-closing hours.

The above offences, *if they occur in shops*, should be reported to the Superintendent of the Sanitary Department of the Local Authority.

180. *Offences in Offices.*—The following are amongst the injurious conditions which can be remedied :—

- (1) Insanitary state of premises.
- (2) Insufficient sanitary accommodation.

The above, *if they occur in offices*, should be reported to the Superintendent of the Sanitary Department of the Local Authority.

PART V.—REGULATION OF CHILD EMPLOYMENT.

181. The Employment of Children Act, 1903, as amended by the Education Act, 1918, imposes important restrictions on the employment of children. The Home Office and the Board of Education are concerned in the administration of these provisions centrally: locally they are administered by the Local Education Authority under local bye-laws.

182. *Definitions.*—The term "child" means, here, any person under the age of 14; "employment" means "employment in any labour exercised by way of trade or for the purposes of gain, whether the gain be to the child or to any other person."

183. *Children under 12.*—No child under 12 may be employed except so far as the employment of children by their parents may be permitted by local bye-laws.

184. *Children between 12 and 14.*—A child between the ages of 12 and 14 may not be employed:—

- (1) On any Sunday for more than 2 hours.
- (2) On any day before 6 a.m. or after 8 p.m.
- (3) On any school day before the close of school, except in so far as local bye-laws may vary this provision for specified occupations. In any case employment before 9 a.m. must be limited for one hour, and a child so employed must not be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon.

185. *Street-trading.*—Street-trading is entirely prohibited for children under 14. The Local Education Authority may by means of local bye-laws further regulate street-trading by persons between the ages of 14 and 16.

186. *Contraventions.*—All contraventions of local bye-laws governing the employment of children should be reported to the Local Education Authority.

PART VI.—MINIMUM RATES OF WAGES.

187. Under the Trade Boards Acts, 1909 and 1918, and the Corn Production Act, 1917, provision is made for the fixing of a legal minimum rate of wages for workmen employed in certain trades (or branches of work in such trades) and in agriculture. These minimum rates of wages are fixed (a) by Trade Boards established by the Minister of Labour, and (b) by the Agricultural Wages Board established by the Board of Agriculture.

(a) Trade Boards.

188. *Trades Affected.*—Trade Boards have now been established for the following trades:—Aerated Waters, Boot and Shoe Repairing, Button-making, Brush and Broom, Chain,

Coffin Furniture, Corset, Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing, Flax and Hemp, Fur, Hat, Cap and Millinery, Hollow Ware, Jute, Lace Finishing, Laundry, Paper Bag, Paper Box, Perambulator and Invalid Carriage, Rope, Twine and Net, Shirt Making, Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving, Tailoring, Tin Box, Tobacco and Wholesale Mantle and Costume Trades. Details of the processes or branches of work affected and particulars of the minimum rates fixed by any Trade Board may be obtained from the Trade Boards Office (*see* para. 189). Failure to pay the rates fixed is an offence.

189. *Complaints*.—Complaints should be reported to the Secretary, Trade Boards Office, 5, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2. All reports and information are treated as confidential.

(b) *The Agricultural Wages Board.*

190. *District Wages Committees*.—Minimum rates of wages for workmen employed in agriculture have now been fixed on the recommendation of District Wages Committees established by the Agricultural Wages Board. Failure to pay the minimum wage is an offence.

191. *Complaints*.—Any workman engaged in agriculture or anyone authorised by him may complain to the Agricultural Wages Board, 80, Pall Mall, S.W. 1, that the wages paid to him are at a rate less than the minimum rate applicable in his case.

PART VII.—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

192. If a workman (man, woman, or child) meets with an accident "arising out of and in the course of his employment" he may claim compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906.

If the accident is the result of the employer's negligence he may have an alternative claim under the Common Law or the Employers' Liability Acts, in which case he may sue for full wages, doctor's bill, &c.

If therefore there is any question of negligence arising he should be referred at once to the Poor Man's Lawyer Department, or, if able to pay the fees, to a solicitor.

The first step to be taken is that the injured person should give written notice of the accident to the employer at the earliest possible moment. Then he should be referred to the Poor Man's Lawyer Department or a solicitor, who will advise him how to proceed.

Notice of the claim to compensation must be given within six months of the accident. Unless some satisfactory explanation of the omission to give notice of either the accident or the claim can be given, the employer may escape liability.

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193. *Amount of Compensation.*—The amount payable to an injured person during *partial* incapacity is a weekly payment not exceeding half average earnings, and not more than £1 per week.

The same applies to *total* incapacity with an addition of 75 per cent. under the Workman's Compensation (With Addition) Acts. In the case of persons under 21, they are entitled during total incapacity to full wages, provided they do not exceed 10s. per week. If the wages exceed 10s. and are less than £1, they are entitled to 10s. a week. If the wages are £1 or over, they are entitled to half wages. In each case they are entitled to the additional 75 per cent. mentioned above.

In case of death, if there are total dependants, the amount payable may vary from £150 to £300 according to the earnings of the deceased. Where any of the dependants are infants the compensation awarded is usually administered by the County Court Registrar in their interest.* If there are only partial dependants the amount is to be such sum as represents the loss, but not exceeding what would be payable in the case of total dependency. If there are no dependants the amount payable is the cost of reasonable expenses of medical attendance and burial, not to exceed £10.

No compensation is payable in respect of the first week if the incapacity lasts less than two weeks.

In cases where the injury is likely to be permanent and the incapacity is only partial it often happens that there is a dispute between the two parties as to the amount payable, and the workman is asked to sign an agreement for a lump sum or to accept reduced weekly payments. All such agreements to be binding must be filed in the County Court. Powers are conferred on the Registrar of the Court in certain cases to refuse to register the agreement if the amount appear inadequate, &c.

In cases where the man is temporarily fit for work, but may afterwards have a relapse, the amount of compensation payable under the agreement may be reduced to a nominal sum, which keeps open the rights of the man in case he is in future unable to earn as much as he did before the accident.

* *Infant's Damages.*—Money recovered in the *High Court of Justice* for personal injuries, including the loss of a parent, by a person who is under twenty-one years of age, or of unsound mind, is usually paid to the Public Trustee, so that he may administer the fund for that person's benefit until the beneficiary attains his majority. The Public Trustee's jurisdiction is founded upon Order 22, Rule 15 of the Rules of the Supreme Court, and he is not concerned with Workmen's Compensation, which in the case of an infant is recovered in the County Court.

194. *Medical Referee.*—In case of dispute as to the fitness of an injured man for employment, expert medical evidence may be required, but if the Judge is not satisfied by the evidence he may refer the man to the Medical Referee for examination. On receipt of the report from the Medical Referee the case will be heard again.

195. *Industrial Diseases.*—The Act also applies to certain scheduled industrial diseases if the Certifying Factory Surgeon certifies that the workman is disabled therefrom.

Note.—*No attempt should be made to give legal advice on the above information, but in all cases of difficulty reference should be made to a solicitor.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

PART I.—THE LAW COURTS, &c.

196. The administration of justice is divided into (a) Criminal, (b) Civil Cases, which, with some minor exceptions, are dealt with by the High Court of Justice, the Assize Courts, and the County Court. Criminal cases are dealt with in the first instance by the Police Court, who refer more serious cases to Quarter Sessions, Assizes, or the Central Criminal Court.

(a) *The Police Court.*

197. The Police Courts deal mostly with criminal matters, but also with a few other cases, such as actions for recovery of wages, detaining goods, ejection, separation, and bastardy orders, recovery of penalties incurred under the Public Health Acts, payments to Poor Law Authorities, &c., arising in the area of the Court.

Police Court cases are heard by a Stipendiary Magistrate or by unpaid Justices of the Peace. Information as to local proceedings may be obtained from the Clerk to the Justices.

198. *Summonses.*—Proceedings are commenced usually by summons obtained on application and payment of fees by the injured party. The fees for a summons are 2s., to which in many districts is added a fee of 1s. for service. Applicants who are not in a position to pay fees may, in the discretion of the Justices, be granted a free summons. Additional charges are in many districts made for service outside the police area.

199. *Warrants.*—If a person who is summoned before the Court does not appear, the Court may issue a *warrant* for his arrest by the police. The fees for a warrant are 2s. 6d. The warrant is sent to the police, who may then arrest the offender if he can be found. In most cases the applicant must be able to give the police information as to his whereabouts.

200. *Fines and Imprisonment.*—Punishment may take the form of fine and payment of costs or imprisonment.

An offender who is sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine may be released at once by payment of the total amount due, but if in prison the payment required is reduced proportionately each day as the sentence is being

served. If a person who is sentenced to imprisonment, with the option of paying a fine, has not the ready money, but could pay in a week or fortnight, he should explain the circumstances and ask the magistrate to allow him time to pay.

In serious cases the magistrates after a preliminary hearing commit the accused to Quarter Sessions or the Assizes. A person accused of stealing, obtaining money, &c., by false pretences, may in many cases be given the option either of being tried at once or of being sent to the Sessions.

201. *Probation.*—Offenders of any age may be placed on probation for a definite term by the Court on conditions such as an undertaking :—(a) to be of good behaviour ; (b) to remain steadily at work ; (c) not to associate with thieves or bad characters, or (d) to abstain from intoxicating liquor, &c.

For any breach of the conditions a warrant may be issued, the probationer arrested, brought before the Court and sentenced for the original offence.

Probation Officers have the supervision of all persons on probation, and must visit them four times in the first month, and occasionally as required. Probation Officers may be consulted with regard to any persons under their care.

202. *Ejectment.*—A landlord who wishes to regain possession of his property from an unsatisfactory tenant must proceed by ejectment summons. He gives the tenant a week's notice to quit and then gives seven days' clear notice of his intention to apply to the Court for ejectment.

The Court, if satisfied that the tenant may be ejected without grave injury to health, may issue an ejectment order, but the right to an order for ejectment, where the rent or rateable value is not more than £70 in the Metropolitan Police District, or £52 in other parts of England, is, for the present, considerably restricted by the Increase of Rent, &c., Acts. If the tenant, who has paid his rent to date and kept the other conditions of his tenancy, receives notice that his landlord intends to apply for an ejectment order, he should consult a Solicitor or the Poor Man's Lawyer.

The above remarks apply to similar proceedings in the County Court. (See paras. 205 and 211.)

203. *Separation Orders.*—Separation orders are granted for aggravated assault, desertion, neglect to provide reasonable maintenance, persistent cruelty and habitual drunkenness.

At the hearing a separation order with provision for maintenance may be granted to the wife. If the summons includes a charge of assault the husband may be warned, bound over to keep the peace, imprisoned or fined.

If the maintenance is a month in arrear the wife may take

out a summons and if the husband be brought before the Court. If he can give no satisfactory reason for non-payment, he may be sent to prison. If he does not obey the summons a warrant may be issued.

It is the usual practice to order the maintenance to be paid through the Court. A woman is usually well-advised to consent to this being done, because it prevents any dispute as to the amount paid or in arrear, and also protects her against her husband.

In cases where payment is made direct to the wife and difficulty continually arises, she should apply for the order to be varied, so as to allow payment through the Court.

There is a tendency to apply for separation orders for insufficient and trivial reasons: application for a separation order should never be advised unless there is danger to the wife from continued brutality or neglect.

204. *Affiliation Orders.*—Proceedings may be taken before the birth of the child or within twelve months from the birth, or within twelve months from any payment by the putative father. Corroborative evidence of the Mother's statements is always required, and as this involves highly technical points, skilled advice should be obtained. The maximum amount is 10s. a week until the child attains 14, and the order may be made by any Petty Sessions for the district where the mother may be residing. Before 1st January, 1920, the maximum amount payable was 5s. a week. Where such an order is still in force the person entitled to receive the payments may apply to the Court to have the amount increased.

The matter may be settled by an agreement without proceedings, but it is doubtful whether this is the best, or, in the end, the least expensive way. An order of the Justices is enforceable by arrest and imprisonment, but an agreement is only enforceable in the Civil Courts.

(b) *The County Court.*

205. The County Court may be used for the recovery of debts concerning property, provided (generally speaking) that the value is not more than £100; for the enforcement of contracts; and for the recovery of damages for injury (see also para. 193).

206. *County Court Summonses.*—Actions are commenced by the aggrieved party entering a "plaint" at the County Court Offices, for which the fees are 1s. in the £ and 1s. for service on the defendant (or debtor).

The Court then issue and serve a County Court Summons calling upon the Defendant to attend the Court at a specified date. The Defendant should always attend the Court for

the hearing because in his absence judgment may be given for the Plaintiff "by default," *i.e.*, because the Defendant did not appear.

207. *A County Court Judgment.*—Judgment for a lump sum, where the Defendant shows that he is unable to pay the full amount at one time, may be ordered to be paid by weekly or monthly instalments. The amount of the instalments will be fixed by the Judge in relation to the amount of the debt and the circumstances of the Defendant.

The costs of the summons and hearing will be added to the amount to be paid by the Defendant.

208. *A Judgment Summons.*—If the Defendant does not obey the judgment by paying the necessary sums or otherwise, the Plaintiff may either issue execution, *i.e.*, send the bailiffs to seize the Defendant's goods, or may apply to the Court for a "judgment summons."

This summons calls upon the Defendant to attend the Court on a specified date and show why he has not obeyed the judgment. When the summons is heard the Defendant will have an opportunity to explain why he has not paid and to give some evidence that he has not had the necessary means to pay, but he will not be allowed in any way to contest the original judgment. If he does not satisfy the Judge on this point a *Commitment Order* will be issued. This order will state that the Defendant must make certain payments, and if he does not make them he will be committed to prison by the officers of the Court. Any person therefore who is summoned to appear at the County Court should attend at every stage of the proceedings or serious results may follow.

As a general rule, there is no necessity for a person to be represented by a solicitor, and appearance in person is all that is required. In case of doubt on this point the advice of the Poor Man's Lawyer Department should be taken.

When any person receives a summons or other paper from the Court, he should read it carefully right through. If he does not understand what to do he should go to the County Court any day between the hours mentioned on the summons and the officials are always ready to explain and help defendants, although they cannot advise a defendant if he should dispute the claim or not. If the Defendant owes the money he should go down at once to the Court or write to the Registrar, admitting the claim and stating how he can pay the money, and giving reasons. Debtors who are unable to keep up payments to the Court under a judgment, owing to ill-health or loss of work, should report the circumstances to the Court as soon as possible.

209. *Administration Order.*—Such an order is equivalent to Bankruptcy on a small scale.

When a debtor cannot pay the amount of a judgment, or when several creditors are pressing him, he has the opportunity of applying for an administration order. He may obtain a form of request from the County Court Offices and must fill in the required particulars of all his debts, which must not exceed £50, his earnings and other means of support, his dependants, &c. When the request has been returned to the Court the Judge will fix a day for hearing. If everything is satisfactory an order will be made that the debtor shall pay a regular instalment into the Court, and when the whole debt is paid the money will be divided among the creditors, whose original rights of proceeding individually are merged in the order. Under such an order the Judge may give the Defendant a discharge on payment of less than 20s. in the pound.

Such procedure may be found useful in cases where a man is hopelessly in debt and is first paying off one creditor and then borrowing from other people.

210. *Bailiffs.*—Bailiffs may be sent either by the County Court under a judgment or by a landlord in dstraint for rent. The points that arise are usually so technical and involved that the applicant should be referred to a solicitor.

(c) *Courts Emergency Powers Acts, 1914-1919.*

211. By these Acts no judgment may be enforced, dstraint issued, possessionary property resumed, right of re-entry, foreclosure, or realisation of any security, exercised, any deposit forfeited or insurance policy lapsed, without leave of the Court, which will not be granted if the person sought to be charged is placed in that position directly or indirectly through the present war.

This includes relief in the case of Insurance Policies not exceeding £25, where the premiums are payable at intervals not exceeding a month, and which were paid for two years prior to 4th August, 1914.

By implication these Acts include hire purchase agreement and practically every other contract known to English Law.

These Acts continue in force until six months after the termination of the present war, which, by the Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act, 1918, will in due course be defined by Order in Council.

(d) *Poor Man's Lawyer Departments.*

212. In many towns such Departments are conducted by members of the legal profession in accordance with regulations laid down by the local Law Society.

Preliminary advice is given free of charge as to the legal position, and if the circumstances justify it the applicant is referred to a solicitor, who will require the ordinary legal charges.

PART II.—THE POLICE FORCE AND PRISONS.

(a) *The Police Force.*

213. The Police Force is administered by the Standing Joint Committees in Counties* and in Boroughs by the Watch Committee, subject to inspection and supervision by the Home Office.

214. *General Duties.*—The main objects of the Police are the protection of life and property, the detection of crime, and the preservation of the peace. Their work includes the restoration of lost property, the provision of ambulances, the issue of hawkers' and peddlars' licences, the service of summonses, the execution of warrants in criminal cases, the collection, in most districts, of parents' contributions to the maintenance of children in residential industrial, and reformatory schools, and many other miscellaneous duties.

Any communications should be addressed to, and inquiries made from, the Chief Constable of the County or Borough, or the Local Superintendent.

(b) *Prisons.*

215. The Prisons are under the control of the Prison Commissioners, a department under the Home Office. Detailed Regulations are made as to the dietary, treatment, punishment, and privileges of persons committed to prisons.

- (1) Sentences of penal servitude for three years or over are served in convict prisons.
- (2) Sentences of imprisonment for a shorter period, with or without hard labour, are served in local prisons.

Special provision is made in local prisons for persons imprisoned for non-payment of debt.

216. *Remission of Sentence.*—Prisoners who are sentenced to more than one month's imprisonment, if of good behaviour, may earn a remission of sentence amounting to one-sixth.

In the case of prisoners committed in default of paying a fine, the payment of part of the fine reduces the term of imprisonment proportionally.

217. *Letters and Visits.*—A prisoner who is of good behaviour may be allowed to send a letter and receive a visitor two months after sentence, a second letter and visit six weeks

* In the London Metropolitan Police area (except the City of London) by the Home Office.

after the first, and subsequent letters and visits every month. Serious news, such as the death of relatives, &c., may be conveyed through the Governor.

218. *Discharge*.—Male prisoners are usually discharged at 7 a.m. Female prisoners at 7.30 a.m.

(c) *Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.*

219. *Objects*.—To assist prisoners of both sexes on their discharge from prison.

220. *Application*.—A notice appears in each cell of the prison advising prisoners of the existence of the Society, and that application should be made to the Governor, Chaplain, Priest, or Minister, who will explain the conditions under which assistance is given. The case then will be referred to the Society, who decide on the advisability of help. Assistance may take the form of clothes, food, lodging, assistance to families, obtaining employment, restoration to relatives. Except in very special circumstances assistance will not be given in cash.

Adult Prisoners convicted since July 1st, 1913, now earn no gratuity while serving their sentence. The Government have recently abolished the system of payment of gratuities, and substituted for it the right of every prisoner to apply for assistance to the Society, to whom the Government now make an increased grant.

It should be remembered that these Societies only deal with persons who apply to them while still in prison. Only under very special circumstances can cases be considered where application has not been made by the above-mentioned method.

(d) *The Borstal System.*

221. *The Borstal System*.—Special treatment, known as the Modified Borstal System, is provided for young persons between the ages of 16 and 21 committed to prison for any period up to two years.

The Prison Authorities of each local prison are assisted in carrying out this system by a Voluntary Committee, known as the Borstal Committee.

Persons treated under the system earn a gratuity (not exceeding 10s.) proportionate to the length of sentence, which is spent by the Committee on their behalf.

This Committee also interviews all Juvenile Adults who are remanded for trial at Assizes or Quarter Sessions, and in consultation with the Governor and Chaplains recommend to the Court the advisability or otherwise of their being sentenced to a period at a Borstal Institution.

222. *Borstal Institution*.—Young persons between 16 and 21 may, under certain circumstances, be committed for two to three years for treatment under the Borstal System in a Borstal Institution.

223. *After-Care*.—The After-Care of Juvenile Adults who have been committed under the Borstal System is undertaken by the Borstal Association, 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

The Association may decide, while the prisoner is on licence, his place of abode, and work, and he must satisfy them that he is leading a sober and industrious life. The Association makes use of Voluntary Visitors in various districts for reporting on persons under their care.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR PENSIONS AND ALLOWANCES AND
MEDICAL SERVICES.

224. The Pensions Service is administered by the Ministry of Pensions from central offices in London and Regional Headquarters in the 13 Regions into which the country is subdivided. Still closer touch with pensioners is established by means of nearly 2,000 Local War Pensions Committees or Sub-Committees in all parts of the Kingdom.

PART I.—PENSIONS FOR MEN.

(a) Disablement Pensions and Allowances or Gratuities.

225. *Eligibility.*—To establish a claim for pension, &c., a man must come within one of the following classes:—

- (1) *Discharged as Medically Unfit* for further service or while suffering impairment of health attributable to or aggravated by service during the Great War.
- (2) *If after Demobilisation or Discharge* he is suffering from a disablement which is certified as attributable to or aggravated by his service.

Where a man is discharged as medically unfit for further service, which unfitness is neither attributable to nor aggravated by his service, he is not entitled to a pension, but may be granted a gratuity or final weekly allowance.

In any case the disability, impairment or unfitness must not be due to the man's serious negligence or misconduct.

The grant of a pension, gratuity or allowance is subject to the conditions of the Royal Warrant (for soldiers) Order in Council (for sailors) or Order (for airmen).*

* Women discharged from the Auxiliary Corps attached to the Navy, Army, or Air Force (viz., W.R.N.S., Q.M.A.A.C., W.R.A.F.) are not pensionable, but may be granted compensation under either the Workmen's Compensation Acts, or the Injuries in War Compensation Acts. Applications in such cases of disability arising out of service should be made to the Admiralty, War Office, or Air Ministry. Seamen of the Mercantile Marine, who signed certain agreements to serve under the Admiralty for the duration of the war, are entitled to the benefits of the Royal Warrant and Order in Council.

226. *Method of Claim.*—Before a man is discharged as *physically unfit*, or as *surplus to requirements but with a disability*, he is examined by a Medical Discharge Board, who give an opinion as to the degree of incapacity and whether it is attributable to or aggravated by service.

On discharge the papers are sent through Records to the Ministry of Pensions (Awards Branch).

On Demobilisation a man not examined by a Medical Board has the opportunity of making a claim on Army Form Z 22, and if he makes such a claim, he is examined by the Medical Officer of his unit, and the report sent through Records to the Ministry of Pensions.

If after Discharge or Demobilisation a man suffers from a disability which he considers to be attributable to or aggravated by his War Service and *which has not been the subject of a decision by a Medical Board*, he can put forward a claim for pension through the Local Pensions Committee. He will have to produce evidence (*e.g.*, medical certificate) showing the connection between his service and the disablement on which his claim is based.

227. *Position pending Decision on Claim.*—On leaving Hospital or Discharge Centre an *invalided* man receives from the Officer in Charge a temporary pension book for four weekly payments. On *demobilisation* a man continues to receive Army Pay for four weeks, during which time he is on furlough. If the pension is not received at the expiry of the four weeks the man should be referred to the Local Pensions Committee, who may, if the Medical Referee certifies that disablement is attributable to or aggravated by service, make advances to be recovered from the pension.

228. *Rates of Men's Pensions.*—The weekly rate of a man's Disablement Pension corresponds with the degree of his disablement as shown in the First Schedule of the Royal Warrant† as follows :—

† The grant to a man who has served before the date of the Royal Warrant, 1919, may be assessed under the terms of previous warrants regulating Disablement Pensions, if such a course is to his advantage.

Where the degree of disablement is less than 20 per cent., or where it is considered more in the interests of the man, a gratuity or final weekly allowance may be awarded in place of any pension.

In case of injuries not shown in the above schedule and in the case of disease, the pension may be assessed at the degree in the Schedule, which is held most closely to represent the disablement corresponding to the disablement or disease.

In exceptional circumstances the Special Grants Committee of the Ministry may supplement pensions by grants under their regulations. Application should be made through the Local Committee.

PENSION BE GRANTED FOR SPECIFIC INJURIES

Disablement Pensions according to Rank.*

Specific Injury.	Proportion corresponding to Degree of Disablement	Disablement Pensions according to Rank.*											
		Warrant Officer, Class I.		Warrant Officer, Class II, or N.C. Officer, Class I.		N.C. Officer, Class II.		N.C. Officer, Class III.		N.C. Officer, Class IV.		Private &c. (Class V.)	
	Per cent.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	
Loss of two or more limbs ..	100	60	0	53	4	50	0	46	8	43	4	40	0
Loss of an arm and an eye.													
Loss of a leg and an eye.													
Loss of both hands or of all fingers and thumbs.													
Loss of both feet.													
Loss of a hand and a foot.													
Total loss of sight.													
Total paralysis.													
Lunacy.													
Wounds, injuries, or disease resulting in disabled man being permanently bedridden.													
Wounds of or injuries to internal, thoracic, or abdominal organs, involving total permanent disabling effects.													
Wounds of or injuries to head or brain involving total permanent disabling effects, or Jacksonian epilepsy.													
Very severe facial disfigurement.													
Advanced cases of incurable disease.													
Amputation of right arm through shoulder.	90	54	0	48	0	45	0	42	0	39	0	36	0
Amputation of leg at hip or below hip with stump not exceeding 5 inches in length measured from tip of great trochanter; of right arm below shoulder with stump not exceeding 6 inches measured from tip of acromion; or of left arm through shoulder.	80	48	0	42	8	40	0	37	4	34	8	32	0
Severe facial disfigurement.													
Total loss of speech.													
Lisfranc operation, both feet.													

* In the case of men entitled to a Service Pension special provisions are made. (See paras. 229 and 230.)

NOTE.—In the case of left-handed men, certified to be such, the compensation in respect of the left arm, hand, &c. will be the same as for a right arm, hand, &c., and vice versa.

Specific Injury.	Proportion corresponding to Degree of Disablement.	Disablement Pensions according to Rank.*											
		Warrant Officer, Class I.		Warrant Officer, Class II, or N.C. Officer, Class I.		N.C. Officer, Class II.		N.C. Officer, Class III.		N.C. Officer, Class IV.		Private, &c. (Class V.)	
	Per cent.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Amputation of leg below hip with stump exceeding 5 inches in length, measured from tip of great trochanter, but not below middle thigh; of left arm below shoulder with stump not exceeding 6 inches measured from tip of acromion; or of right arm below shoulder with stump exceeding 6 inches measured from tip of acromion, through elbow, or below elbow with stump not exceeding 5 inches measured from tip of olecranon.	70	42	0	37	4	35	0	32	8	30	4	28	0
Total deafness.													
Amputation of leg below middle thigh, through knee, or below knee with stump not exceeding 4 inches; of left arm below shoulder with stump exceeding 6 inches measured from tip of acromion, through elbow, or below elbow with stump not exceeding 5 inches measured from tip of olecranon; or of right arm below elbow with stump exceeding 5 inches measured from tip of olecranon.	60	36	0	32	0	30	0	28	0	26	0	24	0
Amputation of leg below knee with stump exceeding 4 inches; or of left arm below elbow with stump exceeding 5 inches measured from tip of olecranon.	50	30	0	26	8	25	0	23	4	21	8	20	0
Loss of vision of one eye.													
Loss of thumb or of four fingers of right hand	40	24	0	21	4	20	0	18	8	17	4	16	0
Lisfranc operation, one foot.													
Loss of all toes of both feet above knuckle.													
Loss of thumb or of four fingers of left hand, or of three fingers of right hand.	30	18	0	16	0	15	0	14	0	13	0	12	0
Loss of two fingers of either hand	20	12	0	10	8	10	0	9	4	8	8	8	0
Loss of all toes of one foot above knuckle.													
Loss of all toes of both feet at or below knuckle.													

* In the case of men entitled to a Service Pension special provisions are made. (See paras. 229 and 230.)

229. *Service Pensions*.^{*}—When the rates of pension were increased by the Royal Warrant of 1919, it was provided that pensions for long service in the Army or Air Force should be merged in the higher rates of Disablement Pension, but in order to avoid a reduction in existing pensions, a man who was receiving both a Service Pension and a Disablement Pension (at the rate of the 1918 Warrant plus 20 per cent.) should be allowed to continue to receive both if it was to his advantage. Accordingly a soldier or airman, in order that he may receive the full rates of pension under the Royal Warrant of 1919 must forego his Service Pension, but he has the option of receiving a pension at the rates of the Royal Warrant of 1918 plus 20 per cent. in addition to his Service Pension.

230. *Sailors*.^{*}—A sailor who is entitled to a Service Pension receives a Disablement Pension calculated on the private's rate under the Royal Warrant of 1918 plus 20 per cent. A sailor who is not entitled to a Service Pension receives a Disablement Pension calculated on the private's rate of the 1919 Warrant.

231. *Allowances*.—A man in receipt of a Disablement Pension may be granted allowances in respect of a wife (para. 232), child (para. 233), or for constant attendance (para. 234).

232. *Allowance for Wife*.—The allowance in respect of a wife is the proportion of 10s. corresponding to the husband's degree of disablement.

But no allowance is payable in respect of a wife married, after either the end of the war, the man's discharge, or the receipt of the wound or injury, or his removal from duty on account of the contraction or aggravation of the disease, for which he receives pension. Where the wife is separated from her husband the allowance is not payable to him, but may be paid to her.

Where a woman has lived with a man as his wife, and drawn separation allowance as for a wife, an allowance may be granted as to a wife but with the rate of 7s. 6d. substituted for 10s.

233. *Allowance for Children*.—The allowance in respect of children is the proportion of the following rates corresponding to the father's degree of disablement :—

(1) Where an allowance in respect of the man's wife is already granted.

For the first child, 7s. 6d.

For each child after the first, 6s.

^{*} These paras. are subject to numerous exceptions, too complex to set out.

- (2) Where no allowance in respect of the wife is granted.

For the first child, 10s.

For a second child, 7s. 6d.

For each child after the second, 6s.

The definition of a child under the Royal Warrant includes any child of a soldier born before or within nine months after his discharge, and may include any child regularly maintained by the soldier at the commencement of the War or at the date of his enlistment if later.

In normal cases the child's allowance ceases when the child attains 16 years of age, but may be continued—*(a)* Beyond the age of 16 in the case of young persons receiving nominal wages or children whose education is continued at a Secondary School, Technical Institute or University, and *(b)* between the ages of 16 and 21 in the case of children incapable, through mental and physical infirmity, of earning a living.

234. *Constant Attendance*.—A man who in consequence of his disablement requires another person to be constantly in attendance upon him, and is not in a position to obtain such assistance without pecuniary help may receive an allowance. Such allowance is only granted to a man who is receiving Disablement Pension of 100 per cent., or a corresponding Alternative Pension (*see* para. 240).

The maximum allowance is 20s. a week, and the amount granted varies with the extent of the attendance required.

Applications for such an allowance will only be granted on a medical certificate accompanied by a recommendation of a Local Committee.

A man in receipt of a constant attendance allowance is required to furnish a quarterly certificate that he has been actually waited on by a constant attendant.

235. *Method of Payment*.—The Pensions Issue Office provide the pensioner with an Identity Certificate (Ring Paper), which he presents at the Post Office week by week.

He is required to sign an Allowance Form, and one ring on his Identity Certificate is cancelled by the date stamp of the Post Office each time a payment is made. On payment of the tenth draft in each quarter the pensioner is given a renewal Life Certificate which must be completed, witnessed and forwarded to the Pension Issue Office, before the book of Allowance Forms can be issued for the next quarter.

236. *Duration of Temporary Pensions*.—Until the disablement has reached its final form, a Disablement Pension is temporary at a rate appropriate to the temporary disablement; and the Medical Re-Survey Board examine the man from time to time in order that the grant may be reviewed.

In the case of *attributable* pensions if the disablement disappears the grant of pension ceases, but if the attributable disablement revives, the man may again be eligible for pension.

In the case of a man whose disablement was *aggravated* by service, if the aggravation is certified to have passed away, the grant of pension ceases with the current award.

Where the grant of pension (including renewals) does not run beyond one year, a supplementary gratuity of £5 may be granted.

If while a man is in receipt of a temporary pension, there is a delay in the continuance of the pension through no fault of the man, Local Committees may make advances to be recovered out of future issues of the pension.

237. Duration of Permanent Pensions.—A permanent pension may be awarded when the man's disablement is considered to have reached its final and stationary condition.

A man to whom a permanent Disablement Pension has been granted may require the grant to be reviewed, (a) if he claims that there has been a substantial increase in the extent of the disablement due to the original cause, or (b) if he shows it would be more advantageous to him to be granted an Alternative Pension (*see* para. 240).

On the other hand, the Minister of Pensions may order the review of a permanent pension on certain grounds (including grants made in error, and where a pension may have been obtained by improper means).

238. Claims of Under Assessment.—If a man is dissatisfied with the finding of the Board and the amount of his pension or gratuity, or if he claims that his condition has become substantially worse since his examination, he may by application to the Local Committee, have his claim either referred to the Medical Appeal Board or to the Medical Referee. If the Medical Board has already decided that the disablement was neither attributable to nor aggravated by service, or if they found that it was aggravated but not attributable he has a right of appeal to the Pensions Appeal Tribunal (*see* para. 244).

239. Pensions in Respect of Former Wars.—The pensions of soldiers and sailors totally or partially disabled:—(a) by wounds or injuries sustained in action or in the performance of duty in former wars; or (b) by disease wholly or directly due to service in former wars, have been increased to the rates that would have been payable if the men had been similarly disabled in the Great War.

No allowances for wife, children, constant attendance treatment or training can be added to such a pension. Application for revision is made by the pensioner to Ministry of Pensions (Awards Branch Pre-war Pensions Section)

giving full particulars of number, rank or rating, regiment or ship, date of discharge, rate of pension and date of admission to the Pension List.

(b) *Alternative Pensions.*

240. *Definition.*—Alternative pensions are provided to meet the case of a man whose pre-war earnings (with the addition of 60 per cent. mentioned below) were higher than his pension and allowances together with the average earnings of which the man is still capable. If granted, it is in substitution for the Disablement Pension and allowances for wife and children.

The pre-war earnings are calculated in accordance with certain rules and regulations, and for the purpose of Alternative Pension an addition at present amounting to 60 per cent. is made.*

It is provided that the Alternative Pension together with the present average earnings shall not exceed £5 per week, or in the case of a student or articled pupil £4 per week.

In the case of a man who has lost both arms or both legs or the sight of both eyes, no account is taken of any amount that he may be able to earn.

241. *Eligibility.*—A man in receipt of a Disablement Pension may be eligible for an Alternative Pension if his pre-war earnings exceeded 25s. a week.

242. *Method of Claim.*—Claims for Alternative Pension must be made to the Local Committee before the 6th December, 1920, or within one year of the notification of the first award of Disablement Pension whichever is the later date.

The Minister of Pensions has a discretionary power to extend the time for making a claim, if satisfied that the man was unable, through physical incapacity or other cause over which he had no control, to prove his pre-war earnings within the time specified.

It is important to bear in mind that the allowances to a wife and children may cease at a future date either by the children attaining 16 or by death, and that a disabled man who is not now eligible for Alternative Pension may become so at a later date, and therefore should make application within the time specified.

243. *Duration of Award.*—An Alternative Pension will be awarded in the first instance for a temporary period, usually

* The pre-war earnings, for a man employed under a contract of service, are his average weekly earnings during the 12 months immediately preceding the outbreak of war; for a man in business the average of his profits for the last 3 years preceding the outbreak of war; for an apprentice, the standard rate of wages of his trade at the commencement of the war; for a student, the highest rate of Disablement Pension with an addition of 8s. for each completed year of attendance. In the case of the student, however, no addition of 60 per cent. is made.

six months. The Local Committee, before the expiry of the award, must report to the Ministry as to the earning capacity of the man, with a view to the continuance or review of the Alternative Pension. But in the case of a man who has lost both arms or both legs or the sight of both eyes, and whose earning capacity is therefore deemed to be nil, the Alternative Pension is awarded permanently.

(c) *Appeals to the Pensions Appeal Tribunal.*

244. *Men Entitled to Appeal.*—A man has a right of appeal to the Pensions Appeal Tribunal where the claim for Disablement Pension (a) has been rejected by the Ministry on the ground that the disability on which the claim is based is not attributable to or aggravated by service in the Great War, or is due to his serious negligence or misconduct; or (b) although admitted to be aggravated by, is yet certified to be not attributable to such service.

245. *Men Not Entitled to Appeal.*—The right of appeal to a Pensions Appeal Tribunal does not extend to cases:—

- (1) Where the man's claim has already been heard and rejected by a Pensions Appeal Tribunal or the Ministry Appeal Tribunal, which previously heard appeals.
- (2) Where disability has been admitted to be attributable to or aggravated by Service, and the man is dissatisfied with the amount of pension. (Such cases are referred either to the Medical Referee or Medical Appeal Board.) (See paras. 283 and 284.)
- (3) Where a man claims for the first time in respect of a disability which has not yet been considered by the Ministry. (Such cases are referred through the Local Committee to the Ministry of Pensions Awards Branch for consideration.)

246. *Method of Appeal.*—Application should be made to the Local Committee, who may assist the man by advice and in obtaining any relevant evidence. As the decision of the Tribunal is final, it is important that the man should present his case as fully as possible.

(d) *Funeral Expenses.*

247. *Grants.*—Where a man who is not undergoing treatment in an Institution dies as the result of a disability attributable to or aggravated by War Service, the Local Committee may make a grant not exceeding £7 10s. or the actual amount of the funeral expenses whichever is the less.

In the event of a disabled man dying in an Institution to which he was admitted as an in-patient under the regulations of the Ministry, the Local Committee may pay funeral expenses within the sum of £7 10s.

They must satisfy themselves that the Admiralty, War Office or Air Ministry have not undertaken the provision of a service funeral.*

PART II.—PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS AND DEPENDANTS OF MEN.

(a) *Widows' Flat-rate Pensions.*

248. *Definition.*—Widows' pensions are granted under three different Articles of the Royal Warrant.

Article 11 provides for permanent pensions for widows of men who were killed or died of wounds in the performance of duty, or died within 7 years of disease contracted or aggravated by active service.

Article 15 provides temporary pensions for widows of men dying during the War from wounds or disease not due to service.

Article 17 provides pensions for the widows of men who at the time of death were in receipt of disablement pensions exceeding 10s. a week at the rate of the 1918 Warrant.

“Widow” means the widow of any sailor, soldier or airman, but does *not* include a widow whose marriage took place :—

- (1) After the end of the War.
- (2) After the discharge of the man.
- (3) After the receipt of the wound or injury or the contraction or aggravation of the disease that caused his death.

Nor does it include a widow who was separated from her husband at the time of his death.

249. *Conditions of Tenure.*—Pensions to widows cannot be claimed as a right, but are given as a reward of service. The Minister may refuse to grant a pension to a widow who is unworthy of a grant from public funds, and may terminate or suspend any pension that may have been granted or may provide for its administration under conditions.

Special provision is made for dealing with cases of misconduct, cruelty to children, &c.

* Application for a military funeral if desired should be made at once to the General Officer Commanding in the district in which the death takes place. The necessary arrangements will be made where practicable.

250. *Widows who are Eligible.*—The following are eligible pensions :—

- (1) A widow is entitled to a pension under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant at a rate set out in para. 253 below if her husband (a) was killed while in the performance of duty during the War; (b) died as a result of wounds or injuries received in the performance of duty, within 7 years of receiving such wounds or injuries; or (c) died within 7 years of his removal from duty on account of disease certified as contracted or commencing while on active service during the War, or as having been aggravated by such service, or, if he was not removed from duty on that account, within 7 years of his discharge or demobilisation, provided that there is a continuous history up to his death of sickness on account of the disease.
- (2) A widow may be granted a temporary pension under Article 15 of the Royal Warrant at the rate of 15s. a week for the period of the War and 12 months afterwards, if her husband died *during the War* (a) while serving, from wounds or injuries neither attributable to service nor certified as contracted or commencing while on active service, nor as having been aggravated by such service, or (b) *after discharge*, from such disease on account of which he was discharged.
- (3) A widow may be granted a pension if her husband at the time of his death was entitled to (a) a Disablement Pension, or (b) an Alternative Pension, which calculated at the rates of the Royal Warrant of 1918 would not have been less than 10s. a week: provided that—(i) the circumstances of his death do not entitle her to a pension under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 248), and (ii) she would have been eligible for a pension under that Article if her husband had died under the circumstances set forth therein.

The rate of such pension under Article 17 of the Royal Warrant will not exceed (a) one-half of what the deceased man's pension (not including any children's allowances) would have amounted to had it been calculated under the Royal Warrant of 1918, or (b) the rate of a widow's pension under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant of 1918.

251. *Method of Claim.*—When the man dies while on service, the Ministry of Pensions are officially notified, the claim is considered and the award made.

In other cases application should be made through the Local Committee to the Ministry of Pensions—Widows and Dependants Branch.

252. *Position pending Decision on Claim.*—Where a widow is not in receipt of Separation Allowance, the Local Committee has power to make weekly advances pending the decision on her claim for a pension.

253. *Rates of Widows' Pensions.*—The pension of a widow under Article II of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250) varies with the man's rank as shown in the table below.

Rank of Husband.	Widow over 40 years, or with chil- dren eligible for Allow- ance. (<i>See</i> para. 256.)	Widow not over 40 years and without children eligible for Allowance. (<i>See</i> para. 256.)
	Weekly. s. d.	Weekly. s. d.
Warrant Officer, Class I, <i>or</i> Marine Warrant Officer, Class I	40 0	30 0
Warrant Officer, Class II, <i>or</i> Non- Commissioned Officer, Class I, <i>or</i> Marine Warrant Officer, Class II	35 7	26 8
Non-Commissioned Officer, Class II, <i>or</i> Chief Petty Officer, Colour and Staff Sergeant of Marines	33 4	25 0
Non-Commissioned Officer, Class III, <i>or</i> First Class Petty Officer (O.S.), Petty Officer (N.S.), and Sergeant of Marines	31 1	23 4
Non-Commissioned Officer, Class IV, <i>or</i> Second Class Petty Officer, Leading Rates and Corporal of Marines	28 11	21 8
Private, etc., Class V, <i>or</i> All naval ratings below those described above, and Marines below Corporal	26 8	20 0

254. *Duration of Pension.*—A pension granted under Article II or Article 17 of the Royal Warrant will be for life, except that it will cease on remarriage. Such pensions, however, are subject to the powers of the Minister set out in para. 249.

A pension granted under Article 15 of the Royal Warrant will be for the period of the war, and 12 months afterwards.

255. *Gratuity on Husband's Death.*—To meet expenses consequent on her husband's death, a widow may be granted a gratuity:—

- (1) If she is eligible under Article II of the Royal Warrant, not exceeding £5 for herself and £1 for each child for whom she is receiving separation allowance, or in respect of whom she is entitled to an allowance (*see* para. 256).

- (2) If her husband died while on service and she is eligible for pension under Article 15 of the Royal Warrant, not exceeding £5 for herself and £1 for each child for whom she is receiving separation allowance.

256. *Allowances in Respect of Children.*—A widow pensioned under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant may be granted an allowance at the following weekly rates for each child under the age of 16, so long as the child is maintained by her :

	s.	d.
For the first child	10	0
For a second child	7	6
For each child after the second	6	0

No allowance is granted to widows pensioned under Article 15 or Article 17 of the Royal Warrant.

257. *Method of Payment.*—Payment of pensions and allowances is made as described in para. 235.

258. *Gratuities and Children's Allowances after Remarriage.*—A widow pensioned under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant may on remarriage be given a gratuity equal to one year's pension calculated under Article 11 of the 1918 Warrant, with an addition of 1s. 3d. a week to such pension if she has attained the age of 45.

Allowances to children may be continued after remarriage, but payment will be suspended during any period during which separation allowance is payable in respect of the second husband.

(b) *Widows' Alternative Pensions.*

259. *Definition.*—A widow's Alternative Pension is a pension based on her husband's pre-war earnings, and where granted is in substitution for the pension and children's allowance awarded under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant.

260. *Rates.*—In the case of a widow over 40, or a widow with children eligible for allowances, the Alternative Pension may not exceed two-thirds of her husband's pre-war earnings (see para. 240) up to a maximum of 66s. 8d. per week.

In the case of a widow under 40 and without children eligible for allowances, the Alternative Pension may not exceed one-half of her husband's pre-war earnings up to a maximum of 50s. a week.

If the children of a widow under 40 cease to be eligible for allowances, her Alternative Pension will be reduced from two-thirds to one-half of her husband's pre-war earnings.

When a widow under 40 without children reaches the age of 40, her Alternative Pension will be increased from one-half to two-thirds of her husband's pre-war earnings.

261. *Eligibility*.—To be eligible for Alternative Pension a widow must:—

- (1) Be awarded a pension under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant.
- (2) Show that she was married to the man before the commencement of the war or before the date of his enlistment, whichever is later.
- (3) Apply for Alternative Pension before 6th December, 1920, or within one year of the notification of the award of pension under Article 11.

Widows with pensions under Articles 15 or 17 of the Royal Warrant, widows married after enlistment, and widows who fail to apply within the specified time are not eligible for Alternative Pensions.

It is important to remember that a widow who at present is receiving allowances for her children which give her no immediate advantage in claiming an Alternative Pension, may at a later date, when the children have passed the age of 16, benefit by an Alternative Pension. For example, the widow of a private, if over 40, with three children, receives 26s. 8d. a week Flat Rate Pension plus 23s. 6d. a week for her children while they are under 16. But as the children grow up this 23s. 6d. gradually drops off, and the widow ultimately has only the 26s. 8d. If her husband earned 30s. a week, his "pre-war earnings" would be 48s. (30s. + 60 per cent.), and an Alternative Pension of two-thirds of that amount (or 32s.) would then be to her advantage, though it was not so while her children's allowances were payable. If she has claimed within the specified time she may change over from Flat Rate Pension to Alternative Pension as soon as it is advantageous to do so.

262. *Method of Claim*.—Application should be made in the first instance to the Local Committee.

263. *Duration of Award*.—A widow's Alternative Pension ceases on her remarriage. She may, however, then be granted a gratuity of the amount stated in para. 258.

264. *Deductions from Alternative Pension*.—Any pension payable in respect of a child removed from the control of the widow, or in respect of an illegitimate child of the soldier, will be deducted from the Alternative Pension.

Where it has been necessary to secure the proper care of a child of a man whose widow is in receipt of an Alternative Pension, the Minister may deduct from the Alternative Pension such sum as he may deem sufficient for the maintenance of the child, and may administer that sum under such conditions as he may determine.

(c) *Pensions for Motherless and Illegitimate Children.*

265. *Motherless Children.*—Where any child of a man who died in the circumstances set forth in Article 11 of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250 (1)), is or becomes motherless, or has been removed from the control of its mother, a pension not exceeding 12s. per week may be granted.

Where two or more children are being maintained by one person in the same house or institution the amount granted will be reduced to 11s. for each child after the first.

Any motherless child of a deceased pensioner whose widow would have been eligible for a pension under Article 17 of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250 (3)), may be granted a pension not exceeding 10s. a week.

Where two or more children are being maintained by one person in the same house or institution the amount will be reduced to 9s. 2d. for each child after the first.

The total of such pensions may not exceed one-half of the man's pension calculated at the rates of the 1918 Royal Warrant.

266. *Method of Claim.*—If pension is not issued by the Ministry of Pensions in the ordinary course, or if a soldier's widow dies leaving children, application should be made to the Local Committee.

267. *Payment and Supervision of Children.*—Payment of pension is made ordinarily to the person or persons having charge of the children.

The Local Committee exercise a general supervision of such children, to ensure that no pensioned child suffers from want of care. Where it appears that a child is suffering from neglect or want of proper care the facts should be reported to the Local Committee.

Pensions may be granted to children over 16 years of age or continued after 16 years, if the child's education is continued, or it is suffering from physical or mental incapacity.

The amount of pension may be reduced if the child is in any institution wholly or mainly supported by public funds.

268. *Illegitimate Children.*—The illegitimate child of a man who has died under the circumstances set out in Article 11 of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250 (1)) may be granted a pension not exceeding 8s. a week (a) if an affiliation order was in force on account of the child at the date of the man's death, or (b) in the case of the child of a woman not married to or supported by the man, if there was satisfactory proof that he was the father.

269. *Payment and Supervision.*—Pensions to illegitimate children are subject to the same provisions as to payment, supervision and continuance after 16 as set out in para. 267 for motherless children.

(d) Separated Wives.

270. *Separated Wives.*—A wife who was separated from her husband and would otherwise have been entitled to a pension as widow under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant, may be granted a pension equal to the amount due to her under a separation order, or otherwise paid by her husband. The pension will not be less than 3s. 6d. a week or more than 13s. 9d. a week.

On remarriage her pension will cease, and she may be granted a gratuity not exceeding 26 weeks' pension calculated under the 1918 Warrant.

Allowances for children may be granted to a separated wife, whether the husband contributed to her support or not. These allowances may continue after remarriage as in the case of a widow.

(e) Unmarried Wives.

271. *Unmarried Wives.*—Any woman who has lived as his wife with a man, who died in the circumstances set out in Article 11 of the Royal Warrant, may be granted a pension of 12s. a week (*a*) if she was wholly or substantially dependent on that man, and (*b*) if she has been drawing or has been eligible for separation allowance as for a wife.

The pension may be continued (*a*) so long as she has any children of the man in her charge, or (*b*) so long as she is wholly or partly incapable of supporting herself through infirmity or old age.

Allowances may be paid to her for the man's children while she has them in her charge.

If she has no children of the man in her charge the pension is continued for 12 months after the war, or 12 months after she ceases to have any child of the deceased soldier in her charge, whichever is later.

If the children are removed from her care owing to her misconduct, the pension ceases at once, and the children become eligible for pension. (*See para. 268.*)

If the woman marries, her pension ceases, and she may be granted a gratuity not exceeding 26 weeks' pension at the rate of the 1918 Warrant.

(f) Parents.

272. *Parents.*—“Parent” includes a grand-parent, or other person who has been in the place of a parent to the man, and has wholly or mainly supported him for not less than one year at some time before the commencement of the war.

The parent or parents of a man who died in the circumstances set out in Art. 11, R.W. (*see para. 250(1)*) may be granted a pension under the following headings :-

- (1) Dependency Pension if the parent was dependent on the man.
- (2) Need Pension if the parent is wholly or partly incapable of self-support and in pecuniary need.
- (3) Flat Rate Pension if (a) the man was unmarried; (b) no pension is being paid for a child or other dependant; or (c) the man was under 26 at the outbreak of the war, or date of joining for service if later.

A Flat Rate, or Dependency Pension may not be granted to the mother of a man if she has married or remarried after the date of mobilisation or enlistment if later.

273. Incapacity and Pecuniary Need.—The conditions ordinarily necessary to establish a Need Pension are :—

- (1) Incapacity for self-support, which must be due solely to age or infirmity, and not such causes as the care of young children or household duties.
- (2) Pecuniary need, which means a disproportion between the income deemed necessary to support the household and the actual income. The actual income includes the amount of contributions to household expenses made by persons living in the house and possible contributions from children who are in a position to help.

274. Rates where one son has died.—The following are the rates at which pensions are payable :—

- (1) Dependency Pension may be granted equal to the amount of pre-war dependence increased by 20 per cent. with a minimum of 4s. 2d. and a maximum of 18s. a week.
- (2) Need pension may be granted at a rate which represents the amount by which the actual income falls short of the amount deemed necessary to support the household with a minimum of 4s. 2d., and a maximum of 18s.
- (3) Flat Rate Pension is 5s. per week.

The amount of any pension is the same whether there is one or more than one parent, and on the death of one any amount paid to him or her may be transferred to the survivor.

275. *Rates where two sons have died.*—The following are the rates at which pensions are payable :—

- (1) Dependency Pension or Flat Rate Pension may be granted on account of each son, but the total of the pensions cannot exceed 18s. a week for each surviving parent. Where the pre-war dependence on the sons exceeds 18s. for one parent or 36s. for two parents a gratuity may be awarded in respect of the excess of the pre-war dependence over the pension awarded.
- (2) If either parent is in receipt of a pension in respect of one son who was an officer, then the total of the pensions receivable in respect of the sons may not exceed the pension payable to such an officer's widow, or if there are two parents 36s. a week if greater.
- (3) Subject to the preceding paragraphs the pension is the same as if one son had died, and there is the same provision for transfer on the death of one parent to the surviving parent.

276. *Allowance for children.*—An allowance may be granted in respect of any child of the deceased soldier, maintained by the parent and not otherwise provided with pension or allowance in addition to the parent's pension.

277. *Gratuities in non-attributable cases.*—The parents of a man who during the war, but since 1st May, 1918, has died from wounds, injury or disease neither attributable to disease or commencing while on active service nor aggravated by such service, but not due to the serious negligence or misconduct of the deceased man may be awarded a gratuity or weekly payment if the parent (a) was dependent on the man; or (b) is wholly or partly incapable of self-support from age or infirmity and in pecuniary need.

Such a grant may not exceed in all a year's pay of the deceased man, or a year's allowance at the rate at which separation allowance and allotment of pay were paid or payable, whichever is greater.

278. *Duration of Pensions.*—Need Pensions are revised periodically and reconsidered with reference to the existing circumstances.

Dependency Pensions and Flat Rate Pensions are continued without review, but if granted to a woman they cease on her remarriage, and a gratuity not exceeding 26 weeks' pension calculated at the rate of the 1918 Warrant may be granted.

(g) Other Dependants.

279. *Other Dependants.*—Pensions are only granted to dependants other than parents where the dependant is (a) wholly or partially incapable of self-support, and (b) in pecuniary need.

Gratuities may be granted in other cases where dependant is capable of self-support, or is not in pecuniary need.

Further, such pensions and gratuities are only granted to dependants other than parents where the man died in the circumstances set forth in Article II of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250 (1)), and where the dependant was eligible for separation allowance. There are no pensions or gratuities for dependants other than parents in non-attributable cases.

The rate of pension is the pre-war dependence plus 20 per cent. with a maximum of 16s. 6d. a week.

If the incapacity ceases, a gratuity of 26 weeks' pension may be awarded, or the balance of the gratuity calculated from a year's pay or year's allowance at the rate at which separation allowance and allotment were last paid or payable.

The pension granted to a woman will cease on marriage, and a gratuity not exceeding 26 weeks' pension calculated at the rate of the 1918 Warrant will be payable.

Gratuities to other dependants may not exceed a year's pay of the deceased man, or a year's separation allowance at the rate at which separation allowance and allotment of pay were last paid or payable, whichever is the greater.

(h) Appeals to the Pensions Appeal Tribunal.

280. *Widows and Motherless Children entitled to Appeal.*—An appeal to the Pensions Appeal Tribunal may be made where the claim to pension has been rejected on the ground that the death giving rise to the claim (a) was not due to wounds or injuries attributable to service in the Great War, or to disease contracted or commencing during, or aggravated by, active service in the Great War; or (b) was due to the man's serious negligence or misconduct.

281. *Widows and Motherless Children not entitled to Appeal.*—An appeal may not be made (a) where the claim has already been considered by a Pensions Appeal Tribunal or the Ministry Appeal Tribunal which previously heard appeals; or (b) where pension has been refused on the ground that the applicant does not come within the definition of "widow" or "child" given in the Royal Warrant.

282. *Parents and Other Dependants.*—There is no right of appeal to the Tribunal in the case of parents and other dependants.

PART III.—MEDICAL SERVICES.

(a) Organisation.

283. *Medical Boards.*—The following are the principal duties of Boards :—

- (1) Medical Discharge Boards examine men as a preliminary to discharge and to the first award of pension.
- (2) Medical Resurvey Boards examine men at the expiration of the period of their current pension, and men who, during the period of their current pension, claim that their condition has grown worse.
- (3) Medical Appeal Boards examine men who are dissatisfied with the awards made by the Discharge or Resurvey Boards.

284. *Medical Referees.*—Local Committees may send men to Medical Referees, who have the duty of examining and certifying men as to *(a)* any necessary medical or surgical treatment ; *(b)* their fitness for vocational training ; *(c)* whether, in case of disablement first noticed after discharge, such disablement is attributable to or aggravated by service, and if so the degree of disablement ; *(d)* the extent (if any) of an increase which the man claims to have arisen in his disablement, since examination by a Medical Board more than a month previously ; or *(e)* the man's physical condition in claims for an alternative pension.

(b) Treatment.

285. *Eligibility.*—Treatment is available where a claim for pension has already been decided by the Ministry for a man suffering from a disablement *(a)* attributable to service, in an institution or otherwise without limitation of time ; or *(b)* aggravated by service, in an institution or otherwise until aggravation has passed away.

A man who was *invalided* from the service, and whose disablement has been decided to be neither attributable to nor aggravated by service, is eligible for treatment *in an institution only* for the duration of the war and 12 months afterwards.

In cases where a claim for pension has not yet been decided by the Ministry a man suffering from disablement may be eligible for treatment pending decision of the claim by the Ministry if *(a)* invalided from the Service for his invalidity disability ; *(b)* demobilised and having claimed at the time of demobilisation that his health was impaired by service ;

or (c) **discharged and having** claimed after discharge that he is suffering from a disability attributable to or aggravated by his war service.

286. Application. Application for treatment must be made to the man's Local Committee, who will arrange for him to be medically examined with a view to treatment if necessary being recommended.

287. Provision of Treatment.—Treatment may be medical, surgical or convalescent treatment.

Institutional treatment is given at institutions which have made arrangements for treatment with the Ministry, and a man may be treated as either an in-patient or an out-patient.

Further, provision is made for dental and electrical treatment and massage. Local Committees may make arrangements with Local Nursing Associations for the provision of sick nursing at home, and where diet, which does not form part of a normal dietary or is required in excess of the normal, is certified as necessary, the Local Committee may, within certain limits, make arrangements for its supply.

Great-coats may be supplied by Local Committees on loan to men whose disability is attributable to or still aggravated by service, and who are out-patients or are undergoing treatment at home involving exposure.

Blankets may be provided by Local Committees for cases of tuberculosis where open-air home treatment is recommended.

288. Artificial Limbs.—Artificial limbs are ordinarily supplied before discharge and, as soon as possible, a duplicate will be provided by the Ministry direct.

Accessories such as stump socks, arm mitts, gloves, walking sticks, crutches, etc., are provided from time to time on application to the Local Committee. Surgical appliances, spectacles, artificial teeth, etc., are also supplied, in suitable cases, through the same channel.

A man who needs repair, adjustment, or renewal of his artificial limb or appliance or further surgical treatment of the stump should apply to the Local Committee.

289. Allowances.—Where a man is undergoing a course of treatment the Local Committee may pay allowances at the rates in the following table :—

TABLE SHOWING ALLOWANCES PAYABLE TO OR IN RESPECT OF A DISCHARGED SOLDIER OR AIRMAN* UNDERGOING TREATMENT.

N.B.—For the purposes of this table the normal allowance for a wife (10s. in Home, and 20s. in Institutional cases) has been taken.

RANK.	AT HOME.						IN INSTITUTION.											
	Man only.†	Man and Wife,	Man, Wife and 1 Child,	Man, Wife and 2 Children,	Man, Wife and 3 Children,	Man, Wife and 4 Children,	Man. † ‡	Extra for							Children only (where no allowance is being paid either for a wife, or unmarried wife, or for a dependant living with the children.)			
		or Man and 1 Child.	or Man and 2 Children.	or Man and 3 Children.	or Man and 4 Children.	or Man and 5 Children.		Wife only.	Wife and									
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)		
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		
Private ..	40 0	50 0	57 6	63 6	69 6	75 10	21 0	} 20 0	27 6	33 6	39 6	45 6	12 0	23 0	34 0	45 0		
N.C.O., Class 4 ..	43 0	53 4	60 10	66 10	72 10	78 10	24 4											
" " 3 ..	46 8	56 8	64 2	70 2	76 2	82 2	27 8											
" " 2 ..	50 0	60 0	67 6	73 6	79 6	85 6	31 0											
" " 1 ..	53 4	63 4	70 10	76 10	82 10	88 10	34 4											
Warrant Officer, Class I ..	60 0	70 0	77 6	83 6	89 6	95 6	41 0											
(Each additional child, 6s.)							(Each additional child, 6s.)							(Each additional child, 11s.)				

* In using this table for Seamen and Marines certain modifications are necessary.

† Special adjustments are necessary in the case of a man entitled to a Service pension.

‡ No allowance is payable in respect of a man unless his disability is attributable to or aggravated by Service.

When the Local Committee pay allowances, they recover the man's Identity Certificate (Ring Paper), so that he cannot draw his pension in addition, and return it to him when the treatment has terminated.

(c) *TRAINING.*

290. *Training.*—Training is provided under normal conditions by the Ministry of Labour or the Board of Agriculture. It is only provided for:—

- (1) Men suffering from a disability attributable to or aggravated by service; and, if they are likely to profit by the course, men discharged with a non-attributable disability, provided that they are certified by the Medical Referee to be (a) either unfit to follow their pre-war occupations or unable to follow them without diminution of earning capacity; and (b) fit for a course such as is proposed.
- (2) Widows and dependants (other than children under 16 years of age) of deceased officers.
- (3) Widows of deceased men, in receipt of pension under Article 11 of the Royal Warrant (*see* para. 250 (1)) or of an Alternative Pension.

Where the Medical Referee certifies that the man requires concurrent treatment and training it is provided by the Ministry of Pensions, but only for men suffering from a disability attributable to or aggravated by service.

291. *Application.*—The Local Committee is responsible for ascertaining whether a disabled man is eligible and suitable in health for training. Having done this they then refer the man (a) for agricultural training, to the Secretary of the County Agricultural Committee; (b) for professional training, to the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour; or (c) for industrial training, to the Divisional Director of Industrial Training of the Ministry of Labour.

292. *Allowances.*—During training under the Ministry of Labour or Board of Agriculture, allowances are paid to ex-privates according to the following scale:—

	£	s.	d.
Personal allowance	2	0	0
Allowance for wife	0	10	0
First child under 16 of married man with wife	0	7	6
Each additional child under 16 of married man with wife	0	6	0

First child under 16 of married man with no wife	£	s.	d.
	0	10	0
Second child under 16 of married man with no wife	0	7	6
Each additional child under 16 of married man with no wife	0	6	0

A Dependants' Allowance of from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a day may be paid where the training provided requires that a man should live apart from dependants whom he has been wholly or mainly supporting.

A Special Lodging Allowance of 5s. a week may be paid in the case of a single man obliged to live in lodgings away from home during his training.

Additional allowances are payable in the case of Warrant Officers and N.C.O's.

Disability Pension is discontinued during receipt of Training Allowance.

During concurrent treatment and training under the Ministry of Pensions, allowances are paid as in the case of treatment. (See para. 289.)

An efficiency bonus of 5s. per week may be paid on the satisfactory completion of training.

National Council of Social Service.

The National Council is composed of the following members :—

PROFESSOR W. G. S. ADAMS, CHAIRMAN.
 SIR HENRY REW, K.C.B., VICE-CHAIRMAN.
 SIR CHARLES STEWART, K.B.E., HON. TREASURER.
 S. P. GRUNDY, O.B.E., HON. SECRETARY.

Representing Local Councils of Social Service.

B. E. ASTBURY (*Chester Council of Social Welfare*).
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 J. H. HEIGHTON (*Croydon—National Association of Guilds of Help*).
 MISS GRACE HADDO (*Barnett House, Oxford*).
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 DR. EAGLEFIELD HULL (*British Music Society*).
 MRS. H. B. IRVING (*National League for Health, Maternity and Child Welfare*).
 MISS KEELING, M.B.E. (*Liverpool—National Association of Guilds of Help*).
 MRS. KENNEDY (*English Folk Dance Society*).
 MRS. MORRIS (*Women's Local Government Association*).
 MRS. OGILVIE-GORDON (*National Council of Women*).
 REV. C. PLATER (*Roman Catholic Church, nominated by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster*).
 ALDERMAN E. L. POULTON, O.B.E. (*Labour*).
 REV. J. C. PRINGLE (*London—Federation of Charity Organisation Societies*).
 SIR HENRY REW (*Village Clubs' Association*).
 REV. J. SCOTT-LIDGETT (*National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, nominated by the President*).
 REV. S. P. H. STATHAM (*Central Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society*).
 REV. J. F. STERN (*The Hebrew Congregation, nominated by the Chief Rabbi*).

MISS E. STURGE (*National Home Reading Union*).
 MAJOR SIR A. TUDOR-CRAIG, K.B.E. (*Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society*).
 MISS THOMPSON (*Bristol—Federation of Charity Organisation Societies*).
 H. P. WESTON (*Co-operative Holidays Association*).
 GEOFFREY WHITWORTH (*British Drama League*).
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 MISS WILSON (*Central Council for Infant and Child Welfare*).
 H. L. WOOLLCOMBE (*Cavendish Association*).

Representing Associations of Local Government Authorities and of Local Government Officers.

MISS BRODIE HALL (*Poor Law Unions' Association*).
 S. M. JOHNSON (*County Councils' Association*).
 F. H. PADWICK (*Federation of County Agricultural Executive Committees*).
 R. M. ROWE (*Urban District Councils' Association*).
 LIEUT.-COLONEL SEYMOUR-WILLIAMS (*Rural District Councils Association*).
 J. J. SIMPSON (*Union and Rural District Clerks' Society*).
 W. H. PULLINGER (*National Association of Local Government Officers*).

And the following Representatives of Government Departments acting in an Advisory and Consultative Capacity.

C. E. CLIFT (*Juvenile Organisations Committee*).
 G. MONTAGU HARRIS (*Ministry of Health*).
 C. F. ADAIR HORE, C.B. (*Ministry of Pensions*).
 A. C. KAY, O.B.E. (*Charity Commissioners*).
 E. H. PELHAM (*Board of Education*).
 SIR WILLIAM SCHOOLING, K.B.E. (*National Savings Committee*).
 L. F. ELLIS, D.S.O., M.C., SECRETARY.

1. The main objects of the Council, stated briefly, are :—

- (a) To promote the systematic organisation of voluntary social work, both nationally and locally, with a view to securing (i) the co-ordination of the voluntary agencies, and (ii) their co-operation with the official agencies engaged in the same sphere of work.
- (b) To assist in the formation for this purpose of organisations in each Local Government area representative of both voluntary and statutory administration.
- (c) To provide information, particularly as to legislation and the regulations of Government Departments, for social workers.
- (d) To advance international co-operation in social service.

2. One of the greatest things in the history of this country has been the growth of the spirit of Social Service. It has called into being many pioneer societies and a vast army of voluntary workers. The best use must be made of this great supply of service and goodwill.

3. The Council believe that there has never been a time when so much could be achieved by organised voluntary effort. They invite all who share that view to join them in their work and to become Associates of the Council.

Further particulars may be obtained from—

THE SECRETARY,
 National Council of Social Service,
 8A, New Cavendish Street,
 London, W. 1.

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TRUSTS

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, K.C.B.,

AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH DINNER

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCLE,

5TH MAY, 1921.

CHAIRMAN:

JOHN A. HOBSON, Esq.

The toast of "The King" having been proposed from the Chair, and loyally honoured.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is my pleasant task to propose the health of our guest, whose name and reputation are known to all of you who are economists, and if there are any who are not economists the name of Sir William Beveridge is probably known to them also. Sir William has performed many services which entitles him to be regarded as a man whose words we should hear gladly and ponder carefully. Sir William as a very young man, according to my recollection, made a great and rapid reputation by producing a book upon the somewhat depressing but very necessary subject of Unemployment. That book is still,

I think I may say that this is a standard book upon the subject in this country. ("Hear, hear.") Sir William Beveridge, however, has traversed many fields of economics. He is not only a theorist in the economic world, but a practitioner of great skill, as all know who followed his career during the organization of the economic system of this country in the war. Controls are not very popular, and war controls were very unpopular, but I venture to say that the particular control which fell into the hands of Sir William Beveridge was performed with a skill which everybody admitted to have been to the public service. Recently he has succeeded to the place of Principal of the chief Institution of this country for economic instruction, the London School of Economics. During the last few weeks those who are readers of the *Times* newspaper have had an opportunity of seeing a touch of his power of argument and his knowledge in an attempt—I will not say a successful attempt, I wish I could say so, but a good, honest, vigorous and powerful attempt—to point to a solution of the disastrous struggle which is going on in this country at the present time.

On these and on many other grounds I will invite you to drink with me the health of our guest—Sir William Beveridge. (Applause.)

Sir William Beveridge: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I must begin by thanking you most heartily: you, Mr. Chairman, for the very kind way in which you have spoken of me, and you who have heard what the Chairman has said and have yet taken it kindly about me, because I am not sure that it is really a recommendation of me to allude to the efforts which I made in the war to prevent you from eating too much, particularly on a festive occasion such as this. I am glad to say that I am not going to talk to-day either about food or about coal mines; nor am I going to talk about the whole subject of Trusts, because, although the evening is yet fairly young, it is not quite as young as all that. It would not be possible within the space of this evening, or many evenings, even to recite the names of all the publications that have dealt with Trusts and the laws which have endeavoured to curb their action. I am speaking on this subject simply because I am, like you, a taxpayer, and I rather like to try to get some value for my money. ("Hear, hear.") Some of you may remember that at one time during the war, or towards the end of the war, we had and we paid for a Ministry of Reconstruction. Some of you may also remember that a little later on we had and we paid for a

Profiteering Department of the Board of Trade. The Ministry of Reconstruction, amongst other works—I do not say it was its only useful work—did produce a Report upon Trusts, a Report of a Committee that was ultimately presided over by Mr. McCurdy; and the Profiteering Department of the Board of Trade has produced a number of Reports upon Trusts—Trusts in particular Industries—and I as a taxpayer, having joined with all of you in a co-operative effort to pay for the production of these Reports, quite unlike probably most of you, thought that I had better try to read them. I have come here simply to give you the result of my reading, to try to show what fresh light, if any, these Reports throw on the problem of Trusts, and the way of dealing with that problem.

Now, as far as the Report of the Committee on Trusts is concerned, that dealt with the question quite generally. The main result that one gets from that Report is the impression of a passing of competition from the industrial world in this country and in other countries. The Committee summed up their conclusions broadly by saying that they thought that in no distant period the Combinations would exercise a permanent control over almost all the important British Industries, and they said that the development towards association between individual capitalists in each trade was growing rapidly, and had been much stimulated by the war.

The various sub-committees of the Profiteering Department of the Board of Trade did not deal with the question generally. They were simply appointed to deal with particular Trusts, or alleged Trusts, in any trade which happened to catch public attention or the attention of a member of the Committee, and between them they produced about twenty Reports which dealt with Trusts in meat, milk, fish, salt, tobacco, bricks, cement, soap, electric light, laundries, road transport, farriery, yeast—there is a list of twenty or more of these, an exceedingly odd job-lot of trades that they investigated. It is curious that that list in fact excludes most of the very important trades and many of the trades which are most completely controlled by Trusts; it is certainly not typical. But I think it is worth while to give you, not a *résumé* of all those Reports but just to pick out three or four of them, and to call your attention to a few special points which they elucidate in the working of combination between the owners and managers of capital producing any one commodity.

I am going to deal specially with the case of soap, with the case of electric lamps, and with the case of light castings.

These are very interesting, because they do bring out some point of **general importance**.

Now the **first thing that comes out from all those three Reports, and from many of the other Reports, is the very large extent of control exercised by Combinations in these trades.**

In the case of soap, which is a subject with which I was personally concerned, we came to the conclusion that there **was an Association of soap manufacturers which directly fixed the price for about 80 per cent. of the output of soap in this country.**

In the case of electric lamps, the Combination covered, I think, from 90 to 95 per cent. of the total output.

In the case of light castings, the Association covered about 95 per cent. of the total production. I do not know if every one knows what light castings are. Light castings are the stoves, rain-water pipes, baths, and so on, that we get in our houses when we get the houses.

Of course the main object of all these Associations is to regulate prices. That, in fact, is almost the sole object of the Association which I want to mention first, namely, that in the Soap Trade with which I was most concerned. I was Chairman of the Committee which reported on that Trade. We found there that there was an Association, the Soap Manufacturers' Federation, producing 80 per cent. of the total output, fixing the prices for all their ordinary soap, which of course regulated the prices of all other soaps, and that within the Association there was a group which we called (without meaning to be offensive) the Lever Combine. We had to call it something. That was a group of companies which I think made 90 per cent. of that 80 per cent., that is to say, about 72 per cent. of the total output, and which were all connected financially by the holding of shares, interlocking of directorates, and so on. That Association regularly met and fixed the prices of soap, both wholesale and retail, at all stages. The conclusion we came to was that, having raised the retail prices of their product without a moment of delay when the prices of raw materials rose, even though they were still using the cheaper raw materials that they had bought before prices rose, they made very large profits on the rising markets. That is what happens in every trade more or less, whether you have a Trust or not. But when the prices of the raw materials which they had bought began to fall, they did not let down at once the prices of what they sold; that is to say, on rising prices they were using cheap material and selling at prices corresponding to the high material, but when prices began to fall they did not bring

down the retail price until they had gone some way towards exhausting the more expensive material which they had bought. What they said—and there is a good deal in it—was this: you could not afford to bring down the retail price of your product as soon as the wholesale price of material which you bought fell, because you were still using up your more expensive raw material and you would make a heavy loss. In normal times, they said, we should make that loss: we should use up some of the profits which we had made in good times, but now the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken that as excess profits. There is, I think, a great deal in that argument, and I think that is another illustration of the complete unsoundness of a tax like the Excess Profits Tax. It treats as permanent profit a thing which, in part, should be a reserve to meet future liabilities. ("Hear, hear.") I am not saying that the Excess Profits Tax when it was first imposed was not necessary; the mistake was to go on using, in peace, a war measure which should have been abolished the moment you wanted to get people back to ordinary methods of industry and ordinary encouragement of production. That really is by the way.

The broad effect of this combination in the Soap Trust, as we made it out, was that at the time of our Report the price of soap was 11d. a lb. and it should have been 9d. As a matter of fact it has now come down to 9d. It came down to 9d. on the day of our Report, but according to the figures I have based on the present price of raw materials, it should have been somewhere between 6d. and 7d. Unfortunately there is no Committee to report on that or to encourage that further fall of prices. The Profiteering Department of the Board of Trade is either dead or dying. There is no doubt at all, I think, about the effectiveness of that combination in the Soap Trade for keeping up or delaying the natural fall that would otherwise come. But in other ways that particular combination is not very active. It did not, as far as we could see, attempt to squeeze out competitors, people who would not come into the Trust. Its method of getting control of the Industry was rather to buy out the competitor on rather lavish terms. We found no bad feeling in the Trade against that particular Trust at all. The people who suffer from it are the consumers, not the competing producers. We also found that there was really no attempt to control the distributors. Any retailer was free to sell more or less what he liked. He might sell soap belonging to a manufacturer in the Combine or soap made by somebody else equally. There was no special motive to sell one rather

than the other. I mention ~~that because~~ I am now coming to a different Trust, which has acted on a very different principle in that respect, and that is the Combination which dealt with electric lamps.

That Combination, according to the Report of the Committee, covered about 90 to 95 per cent. of the production of the Trade of electric lamps and there, as in the case of soap, there was an Inner Ring of three particular firms who, I think, in that Trade are known as the Holy Trinity, in whose interests the whole Association was in fact run. That Combination, controlling 90 per cent. more or less of the output, not only maintained prices. The conclusion of the Committee was that where the public were paying 3/- for a lamp they ought to have been paying 2/-. I have not looked into the figures myself, but that is the Report of the Committee. What the Committee brought out very clearly was the extent to which the whole distributive organization was controlled by this Combination. The lamps supplied by it to the middle-men, wholesalers and retailers, were supplied upon an elaborate system of discounts which was run something like this. The ordinary trader, if he was not on the black list as being the agent of a rival firm, could get 20 per cent. discount; if the trader agreed not to stock or advertise or solicit orders for the product of a non-Association firm, he could get from 20 to 30 per cent. discount; if he agreed not to sell the product of a non-Association firm at all, he could get from 30 to 40 per cent. discount—very big discount indeed. By that means the Combination got a very firm hold on the distributors. In fact I think some of the non-Association firms said that they had practically given up trying to get their lamps bought by the ordinary public who would have to go to a shop to buy them, because most of the shops, in order to get the high discount, would stock only Association lamps, and these non-Association firms practically had to rely upon the big consumer, the school or hospital or big public building, which would buy its lamps direct from the manufacturer and not through the shopkeeper. That control of the distributive organization occurs in many other Combinations and Trusts, and is a very interesting piece of machinery of Trusts, as we have seen it in these Reports. To that I want particularly to call attention.

It occurs also in the Light Castings Trade. The Light Castings Association are more interesting for quite a different reason, and that is the ingenious pooling arrangement which they have. The Light Castings Association is also very interesting because of its history. I do not know

whether it is sufficiently realized in what an extraordinary way we, in this country, build the houses that we require. Most people would say that the demand for houses, on the whole, grows fairly steadily. The number of children born varies little from year to year. It slightly declines or slightly increases. The number of people who marry and who want to set up in new houses may be growing slowly or falling off slowly, but it is not subject to any violent changes. The demand for houses in this country must from year to year be fairly steady, but if you look to see how that demand is met you get the most extraordinary results. You get built perhaps in one year 80,000 new houses, in the next year 50,000, in the next 30,000, and then you find house production going up by leaps and bounds to as much as 140,000. It has actually within the last twelve years varied between 140,000 new houses built in one year and 36,000 built in another year. You can see what effect that has upon unemployment. Of course it has a most disastrous effect upon employment in the building trade. It also has a disastrous effect upon builders who, after being in a state of great activity, having built an enormous number of houses, find that there is no demand for them and go bankrupt in shoals, and so do all the people who depend on the building trade. The Light Castings Industry depends on the building trade. During the time round about 1900, when the building trade was expanding from building 30,000 houses a year to building 140,000, the Light Castings manufacturers, who make baths, rain water pipes, etc., followed suit, and set up machinery that would supply enough Light Castings for 130,000 a year, and when those in a few years went down to 36,000 they were very nearly all bankrupt. That was in 1910 or 1911. Everybody agrees that the Light Castings Industry at that time was in a thoroughly bad condition; that is to say, nobody could make any profits, everybody was more or less bankrupt. They then came to the conclusion that they were not going to stand this sort of free working of economic laws any longer, and they met together and they made the National Light Castings Association. The National Light Castings Association very soon covered 95 per cent. of the makers of Light Castings. Its main object was to raise or keep up the prices of its products, and to do this by keeping the supply a little below the demand, so that the price would naturally rise. After they had reflected a little they became a little modest about that very candid expression of their policy of keeping up prices to the consumer by restricting the output of Light Castings,

and they dropped those particular rules. I do not think there is any doubt that they continued the action which the rules described, and in order to regulate output they adopted a plan which is to be found in other Combinations, of course, but which I take as specially applying to them, the plan of pooling. That meant that every member of the Association told the Secretary in confidence what his output had been during, we will say, the past five years, and thereupon the Secretary allotted to each member of the Association his quota. He said:—"You in those five years made 10 per cent. of the total output: in future you can make 10 per cent. of the total output: if you make more you must pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the price of what you make into the pool, if you make less you will get $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. out of the pool in respect of that deficiency." That, you see, does not prevent a man from increasing his trade at the expense of the others, but it prevents him from doing it unless he can get a very good price for it, enough to do more than cover the $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tax. It also has this very interesting result, that if you diminish your business you draw an income from the pool, and if you go out of business altogether you still go on drawing a permanent income from the pool. In one particular case upon which the Committee on Trusts reported, I think in the Engineering Trade, that actually happened.

A Member: For how long a term?

Sir William Beveridge: I do not know for how long it went on, but I suppose so long as the Association as such goes on. The Committee on Trusts described the case in the Engineering Trade of a Combination which covered 99 per cent. of the trade, and one particular firm, having joined the Association, decided to go out of that trade. It may have been that it was unable to compete with the others and sell at their price; anyhow, it went out of the trade, and ever since that time up to the time when the Committee on Trusts reported, it had drawn a small permanent income from the pool. That seems to me to be a most generous system of, I will not call it unemployed benefit because it is really unemployable benefit, a benefit introduced by the employers in a trade to keep a member of that trade who decides that he cannot any longer compete in that trade. It seems to me to be an excellent moral for workmen to follow. As a matter of fact, of course, there has been something like it before in the way of unemployable benefit. There certainly was, to some extent, in the Printing Trade, where they

used to give a very generous unemployed benefit which kept out of the market men who really were not fit to work at all. That pooling arrangement of the Light Castings people is described by the Committee which reported upon it as, in their view, contrary to the public interest, because it restricts output and diminishes efficiency. I am not sure that there is very much in the restriction of output. It is, after all, a very flexible control, but clearly it does tend to burden the Industry with the cost of people who draw out of the pool perpetually, and it must tend to some extent to stereotype the lay-out of the Industry, and I think, like all Combinations, it does something at any rate to diminish efficiency.

Those are the three special points—the fixing of prices, the control of the digestive organization, and these sort of pool arrangements for regulating output—which I specially wish to call attention to, as illustrated by these three particular Reports.

But there is another more general point which arises out of the study not only of these Reports but of all the other Reports on Trusts in this country. They all seem to arise more or less spontaneously as the revolt on the part of the competing owners and managers of capital against cut-throat competition. They really are a strike against competition on the part of capital. You do not get, from these Reports at any rate, a picture of the big single firm coming in and squeezing out the small rival competing firm. You do not get the picture of the small man fighting heroically against the octopus that one does get from reading what is said to happen in America. The movement here seems to me to be to some extent different from the American movement in being more spontaneous, and therefore in a sense it is less possible to stop it. In my view, when people go on strike against competing, there is no possible means of getting them back to competition again. That, I think, is a possible contrast between what has happened here and what happens in America; at any rate it is a contrast of emphasis.

Then, pursuing my studies of these Reports—I am simply giving you the main impressions I got from them, and I shall try to sum up some of the conclusions at the end—the other rather striking thing about many of the Reports is, that when you get a very complete Trust you often do not get a very great rise of prices. For some reason or other, Combinations do not seem to exercise to the full, as a rule, what you would think was their monopoly power. You would

think that if they partially **squeezed** out all competition, they would put their prices **very much higher** than they actually do. On the contrary, in quite a number of these cases, the Committee of the Profiteering Department having said:—"This is a complete Combination with an absolute and dangerous monopoly," then went on to say:—"but, as far as we can see, the prices that they have actually fixed have been quite **reasonable**." I think they said that in the case of the Light Castings. They more or less said that in the case of Sewing Cotton. They certainly said it in many other cases. That is a very striking and interesting fact, and, to my mind, it points to an important feature of modern economic conditions. It seems to me that possibly in the past we have attached a great deal too much importance to competition between the individual producers of any one commodity as a means of keeping down prices, and that really, what is almost more important or as important in keeping down prices, is competition between one commodity and another. When a Trust is formed, it is usually formed because there has been over-production and there is a power in the trade to produce more than they can readily find a market for. It therefore remains of the greatest importance not to cut down the market by putting the price too high. If you put up the price of soap too extravagantly, people will simply use less soap than before in one way or another. The same happens with electric lamps—if you put up the price of electric lamps, people will use less electric lamps. There is not really anything that is absolutely indispensable. There is no absolute necessity of life at all. One might think that bread was a necessity of life, or meat, but you who have lived through the war know that that is a complete illusion. Some bread is a necessity of life, some meat is not a necessity but a very difficult thing to do without; but we all know that if the price of meat goes up very high you can cut down your consumption of meat, and eat something else instead. In the same way, if bread becomes very scarce, you can eat less bread and more of something else the price of which has not gone up. That actually happened during the war, when, at Lord Devonport's request, we started to eat much less bread than before, although we all proceeded to eat more biscuits, or more peas, or potatoes, or rice, and in the same way we were constantly fluctuating between having no potatoes at all and eating rice, and then having far more potatoes than we could manage, and no rice. You can adjust your consumption between different commodities, even in such essentials as those. That, I believe, is a very important

point, that when you get a community up above the barest limits of subsistence, as really we are in this country now, nothing is an absolute necessity, or very few things are an absolute necessity to the extent to which it is now being used. Therefore, if the price is put too high relatively to something else, people will take a little less of that and a little more of something else, That I believe to be the main factor which prevents monopolies, even the strongest monopolies, from exercising to the full their monopoly power. That is a general point which comes out pretty clearly from these Reports. I am not saying that monopolies do not raise prices at all, but that they do not exercise apparently to the full what you would think was their monopoly power.

The second check upon monopolies using to the full their apparent power is, of course, the influence of public opinion, if you can mobilize it. It is very important for any Combination, if it can, to work as secretly as it can and to avoid causing anybody to squeal out about it. That is why such a body as the Soap Trust bribes people by lavish terms, instead of squeezing them out by competition. This point is rather well illustrated by the actual history of soap. Most of you remember that the history of combination in soap did not begin in 1919 or 1920, when the Profiteering Committee began to examine it. There was a very famous Soap Trust in November, 1906, or rather there was a proposal for combination between a number of manufacturers of soap with the idea of making great economies in production, in distribution, and in advertising. That particular proposal was, curiously enough, very violently attacked by the whole Press of the country. It was a very successful attack. As the result of that attack, not only by the Press but also by the distributive agents, who thought that they were going to be squeezed out, that particular proposal was abandoned. The Soap Trust did not come to an end. Fourteen years later it is here again in a far more complete form than was then proposed, but it is here again without any economies, either of advertising or distribution. One of the striking things that came out of the Report of the Committee on Soap was that the different firms more or less went on as before : they kept their own travellers, each had its own travellers all in competition with one another. The combination there is not a combination for production. It is a Financial Combine. They are united financially, and they are united for the fixing of prices. You get no economies to speak of—no serious economies of production or distribution, or even in such a matter as advertising.

That is rather an unfortunate point, because it means that a Trust is more likely to get itself established successfully the less useful it is to the community ; that is to say, the less it brings about economies in production, distribution, advertising, or anything of that kind, the less it will cause anybody to squeal out, the less public attention it will get, and therefore the more successful it will be. In saying that about advertising, I am not thinking for a moment of making an attack upon newspapers as such. Their position is exactly that of any distributor. If a Trust gets to work by trying to squeeze out some of the small men, which it could do with great economy, it will cause a storm and will find a difficulty in doing it : if it tries to squeeze out a particular factory, it may cause a storm, and may find a difficulty in doing it ; but if it merely attacks the consumer, raises prices and distributes profits as before to everybody all round, it may not cause any hostility at all : in other words, it is likely to be more successful the less useful it is. That, I think, is an unfortunate but true conclusion.

There are one or two other points which limit the power of Combinations. If a Combination proceeds to fix its prices too high, it may find big consumers starting production themselves. That actually happened in the Light Castings. I was talking to a member of a big firm of engineers the other day, people who used to buy Light Castings, and he said :—" For many years the Light Castings Association held a pistol at our heads and bled us, and eventually we came to the conclusion that we would make our own Light Castings : we imported skilled men from America and 200 labourers, and we now make all we want, and we get them as cheap as we want without the Association." That, of course, is one of the limits of a Combination's power.

There is another limit. If you push up prices at all above what I may call the natural level, unless you regulate output and production you will get over-production, because if you make it a little too profitable to make any particular commodity, each member of the Association, if he is free to make as much as he likes, finds it profitable to increase his trade, and then you get over-production. The inevitable result of combination, if it really tries to put up prices at all, is that it tends to regulate production. That is a much harder thing to do. For these reasons—competition of commodities with one another, fear of public opinion, fear of the big consumer, and the fact that if you effectively push up prices by monopoly you are also driven to regulating production—all between them undoubtedly limit the effect of monopolies in

this country in putting up prices. I do not think any of them have done anything which I should call absolutely extravagant. It is none the less true that they do put up prices higher than they would be under competition. That really means that capital by means of combination is enabled to entrench itself, to some extent, against the consumer, against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and against Labour. That has a good side. It means that if the profits on capital are large, you are likely to have more capital for future saving, and in spite of Mr. J. A. Hobson, I think on the whole it is a good thing to get more saving for future capital production, because the rich men, having a superfluity which they cannot spend on consumption, save it and turn it into capital. The easiest way, the way in which we have hitherto got capital, is out of the superfluity of the rich, and if there are no rich with a superfluity, you must have other devices for getting capital for future development. No doubt Mr. Hobson will have something to say about that. At any rate, I am putting the good side of monopoly. To my mind the bad side very much outweighs it. The bad side is that it maintains inequalities of wealth, and removes the feeling that there are economic safeguards which prevent people getting unduly rich that we used to have under the competitive system.

There was a Labour minority on the Committee on Trusts who signed the main Report but also made a Minority Note of their own which is interesting, and bears on this point. They said that free competition was passing from the industrial world, and that the implications of that are very serious, because it means that the consumer cannot be satisfied that he is getting an article at a cost of production price plus the minimum necessary profit to keep that article being produced. Equally, the labourer does not know that he is not being exploited to yield a profit which is higher than would be necessary to keep the industry in being. I think the greater evil of Trusts is not so much that they may make the consumer poor by charging him too much for what he buys, as that they may enable producers to become inordinately rich, or at any rate that they will not give the consumer and labour any assurance that the capitalist is not becoming inordinately rich.

Now, assuming that one does want in some way or other to limit the activities of Trusts, the question is, what safeguards are needed and are possible? I do not think, many as are the virtues of Free Trade, that Free Trade is any real or adequate safeguard. Take such a case as soap. We make

in this country about 550,000 tons of soap a year, and we consume in this country about 400,000 tons of that. Our total imports of soap were 17,000 tons. Obviously it is going to take a very long time before external competition would be effective in keeping down prices. Beyond that, as the Committee pointed out, it is worth noting that Messrs. Lever Bros., who were the centre of the Soap Combine, were the second biggest makers of soap in America, and possibly one of the biggest in Germany. So that you are not likely to get really strong competition from those countries. That was before the war. Take the Electric Lamp Industry. There you find a very elaborate arrangement for parcelling out markets between the Dutch, American, and English producers. If you go to books which are now quite old, like Mr. Macrosty's book on Trusts, you will find a whole list of products which are more or less controlled, not nationally but internationally. I think it is pretty clear that mere free trade between one country and another is not going to be an effective safeguard against combination. If people go on strike against competition, they will have an international strike, not merely a national strike.

The second thing that I think is no safeguard is compulsory competition. I am not going to dwell upon that, I simply say that the compulsory competition, as it seems to me, is just about as useful an economic device as compulsory labour and just as impracticable. You may break up Trusts and you get agreements: you may break up combinations between separate firms and you get them coalescing into one firm. You cannot make people compete if they do not want to, any more than you can really make people labour compulsorily to any effect by slave labour.

The third thing, which is obviously no special remedy for Trusts, is the Profiteering Act and the Profiteering Department. I am not, of course, speaking of the Profiteering Tribunals, which I do not suppose anybody ever took seriously, and which certainly nobody takes seriously now. Even the Reports which I have been dealing with to-night of the Central Profiteering Department are obviously too scrappy and too transient to be a serious means of dealing with the problem. You are not going to deal with Trusts by getting a scratch committee together of busy people, like myself and others, to investigate difficulties as they arise. But I do think that the Profiteering Department does point the way to one thing which at any rate should be done with regard to Trusts. There is an obvious need for systematic supervision and publicity as to what they are doing. That

means two things, first, that we want a much better and stronger Central Department for keeping us informed about wholesale and retail prices, and the margins between them, and secondly, that when you get in any particular trade something that is a monopoly, you should have power of obtaining quite special returns and information about it; and it seems to me that you might have an independent Tribunal which would decide on inquiry that in such and such a Trade there was a particular Association which was a monopoly, that is to say, that it had 80 per cent. or 90 per cent. of the trade in its hands, and that you then could require from that Association special returns as to its costs and sales and profits, just as we require special returns from Fire Insurance Companies for other purposes. I do not want to multiply returns unnecessarily, but I do think that, when you get a monopoly, it is essential that the public should know what is being done and what is happening to it under that monopoly. To my mind, publicity, effective and informed publicity, will itself go some way towards keeping Trusts in check. I have no remedy for Trusts as such. I do not think you can prevent Trusts and Combinations by any means at all. I shall be glad if any one has any suggestion for doing it. It seems to me that all we can do, at this stage at any rate, is to make certain that we know what they are doing, and that the public know what they are doing, and then, of course, when we have sufficient knowledge it may be possible to control them. I do not want to suggest taking over Trusts. If a thing is really a monopoly you can fix its prices, you can fix its profits, and so on. At this stage we have not enough systematic or sustained knowledge of the problem. I am afraid I cannot end up on any very definite conclusion. I have tried to give you a picture of what Trusts are as we see them. We have to acquiesce in the passing away of individual competition from the industrial world. I do not believe there is any means of getting individual competition between makers of the same commodity. I do not believe there is any means of forcing people back to it if they have once tasted the blood of combination. On the other hand, it is a new movement which is fraught with a great deal of possible risk to the consumer in slightly higher prices, to the community in maintaining inequalities of wealth, and to the community again in that it certainly to some extent will encourage inefficiency, or, rather, remove some of the incentive to progress and efficiency. Therefore the movement is one which must be watched, and watched not by occasional

outbursts of public opinion, not by occasional Committees of Inquiry, but by a perfectly small and properly constituted Department of State. I am quite certain that the cost of that would be trifling as compared with the issues involved. When you are dealing with the operations of Trusts controlling the whole of a big industry like Soap, or Light Castings, or Steel, or Sewing Cotton, and so forth, the proportionate cost of thirty or forty efficient statisticians and economists in a Government Department is very small, in order to get at the real facts, and to see that the public are informed at any time what the position is, to see that the Government is informed, so that the matter can be dealt with by sensible legislation and not by panic legislation.

In conclusion, I would like to say this. I am not myself in any sense a politician. For years I have not known, and I am not sure that I yet know, to what political Party I should ever belong; but it does seem to me that this particular Party which is represented here, the Liberal Party, is one which ought to take a special interest in this matter of Trusts, because the Liberal Party, while it stands for equality or against excessive inequality between people, and does understand something of the necessities of business, is not likely to recommend measures which would hinder greatest production and get in the way of the proper economic development of the community.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know whether I shall have helped you at all to deal with this problem, but I feel that people approaching the matter from what I call the Liberal standpoint, are in some way the best qualified to form a sound judgment upon this very difficult question of Trusts.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman. If I have to answer questions I shall endeavour to answer them, but I hope that you will spare me in your criticisms. (Applause.)

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure you will agree with me that we have listened to an extremely valuable survey of the problem of combination.

I understand that the habit of this Circle is not to invite questions, but to ask members of the Circle to send up their names if they desire to take part in the discussion which follows the address of the guest of the evening. I will, therefore, ask those who desire to speak to write down upon a slip of paper their names and to send them up to me, and I shall call upon them in the order in which they are received. While you are doing so I may perhaps take the opportunity

of making the few observations which I desire to make from the Chair.

We know, of course, that there has been, especially during recent years, a considerable acceleration of the movement which has been taking place in the large and many of the small trades of this country for a long time; that is to say, the displacement of what was formerly known as free competition. The old idea of English economics was that Capital and Labour flowed freely into the various industries seeking the highest rate of profit from the side of Capital, and the highest rate of remuneration from the side of Labour, and that they flowed into a number of businesses which were effectively competing with one another so as to dispose that capital and labour in the most effective way for productive purposes, and that the result of that would be that, having produced in what was, relatively to the arts of production, the most economic way, the various firms by competing with one another for the market that was available would reduce prices to the lowest general standard which would suffice to remunerate the capital and labour engaged, and that the results of any improved economies would thus pass through a brief period of higher profits to the consumer in the shape of lower prices. That is what I understand to be the competitive system. That system has not disappeared, but it has, as Sir William Beveridge has shown you, been qualified to such an extent that it is open to many to contend that instead of having, as we once had, a competitive system qualified by a certain amount of friction, we have a combination system qualified by certain considerations of surviving competition. That I take to be a fair general account of the story which Sir William Beveridge has put before you this evening from certain selected cases.

He, of course, would agree, as all of you would, that there are a great many branches of trade to-day where competition is still surviving very freely, and where the advantages of improvement pass to the consuming public. But notoriously there has been a growth of combination, advancing towards the position which is commonly described as "monopoly." No absolute monopoly, as Sir William has pointed out, is obtained anywhere. There is in no trade a close combination which can put up prices beyond a certain point; there are the qualifications of the law of substitution, the fact that there are many kinds of goods which are in competition, not merely as between the producers of them, but as between the different commodities which may with more or less success be substituted for them. He might have

said, of course, that in some of the cases the art of combination is carried so far as to attempt to pass from the control of the price of one article to the control of the price of other articles in substitution for that article. That has not gone very far perhaps, because if you carried it far enough you would find that you got not only from any one article to other related article, but, to finish the logic of that procedure, to some gigantic Trust which controlled all articles. We are a very long way from that, but there has been, as I say, an accelerated pace of this movement during the last few years, and the war Controls materially assisted to strengthen the art of combination in a large number of industries in this country.

As a Member of the Committee upon Trusts, I was surprised, I confess, to find the amount of evidence that was brought before us to show how rapidly the advance of the art of combination had been taking place in a great number of the departments of the metal and machine-making trades, some departments of the textile trade, and a large number of trades controlling the accessories of the building trade. The difficulties confronting the building trade, those who would supply houses to this country, have been materially increased by the fact that a very large number of minor articles of some importance in the building trade are controlled by very close Trusts. Sometimes those Trusts in this or that department, as Sir William Beveridge has said, are International Trusts, in this sense, that there is a combination or an agreement between the Association controlling the trade of this country with Associations of a similar character in other countries; and the measure of the danger attending this movement towards monopoly will depend upon the extent to which it is possible to associate combination in this country with combination in those other countries of the world which are on the same level of industrial development.

One thing which struck me very much when I was acting on this Trust Committee was the unwillingness of the witnesses called—willing to give an account of the methods by which they acted in association to distribute the market and to make arrangements for fixing prices—to admit that the net result of their operations was to restrict output, to make output smaller than it would have been. They seemed to forget that if their main idea was to prevent prices falling, to prevent a slaughtering of prices, the only way to do that was to make output smaller than it would have been. The only way to raise prices is to reduce the rate of output, unless

you can pump money, as we have been doing, into the community in all kinds of artificial ways so as to increase their nominal spending power. One of the real troubles of the movement which we have to consider is that it does tend to reduce output; that it tends to make it less important for certain firms than it would have been to increase their efficiency and to put out the largest quantity of wealth that they are capable, with the capital and labour at their command, of producing. That is a movement corresponding, of course, to the ca' canny on the labour side of the problem, and it is a ca' canny policy of capital that you have to consider in dealing with this question of Trusts so far as it relates to output and to a rise of prices, which is the main object of combination.

I need hardly say that in order that injury may be done by combination it is not necessary that there shall be an actual rise of prices from the former level. It may be in some cases profitable to a combination to maintain the same level of prices as before, or even to reduce prices, but they will not reduce them to as low a point as they would have been reduced if there had been effective competition without any reduction in the efficiency of the arts of production. At present that is a very grave consideration, especially for the trade of this country, for we are meeting in this country with new conditions of competition in the world. At the moment, of course, world competition is on an extremely restricted and artificial basis, but if we ever get back to a position of industrial security in Europe, and in the world, we shall certainly have to meet a degree of world competition which will be far greater than before; and the question which arises from that is—How far will that world competition be adequate to safeguard the interests of the consumers against the tendency towards monopoly?

No blame, of course, can be attached to anybody for combining with his fellows in order to get the best terms he can for the commodity he produces and sells. At any rate, if any blame does attach, it is perfectly useless to fasten upon that fault or iniquity and to denounce it. We have to meet the actual facts of the situation. When you have got industries producing with very expensive methods articles which require enormous capital, and the tendency is for a comparatively small number of very big firms to produce in the same profitable and economic way, it is the natural next step that these few competing large firms shall make arrangements one with the other in order that they may maintain prices and profits up to what are to them satisfactory terms. What we have to consider is how far those terms can be made

satisfactory for the general public whom they are supposed to serve.

I do not pretend any more than Sir William to give you any adequate solution for this difficulty. I agree with him that Free Trade, although it is of considerable protection as regards this movement at certain stages of its development, and in certain classes of commodities, is not a panacea for the movement towards monopoly. We cannot break monopoly. As an American said in speaking of this subject, there is no way of unscrambling eggs. The American Government has indulged in various experiments for trying to break Trusts, and without going into the question I may say it has been a pretty dismal failure. The attempt to break Trusts, to prevent people who want to combine, and to whose interest it is to combine, from combining, is quite a forlorn hope. We have to find some means of protection. Some of those means are provided by the necessities of the economic situation. It will not pay a combination, even if it controls 90 per cent. of the output of a particular trade, to raise prices beyond a certain point, but it will pay them to raise prices up to that point, and what that point is will depend a good deal on how necessary the particular article is to the consuming public, and how far an effective substitution of another article which is not combined with the first article is open to the public.

If you look forward to a growing strength of combination in some of the essentials of life, you are face to face with a very grave danger to the community in the future, because although there will be a limit, a limit set partly by potential competition and partly by public opinion, to the height of prices at which it may be profitable for this combination to fix their goods, still within that limit there may be a very strong attack upon the general consuming public.

I agree with Sir William that there are difficulties about the raising of necessary capital for the development of the future. There are those who think that any attack made upon the high rate of profits will diminish the saving fund of the community as a whole. I should, however, like to correct Sir William when he said one thing about one of my deepest-seated heresies. He described me as one who thought that there was too much saving and that capital need not be provided on so ample a scale to supply the needs of the public. My view is that by a better distribution of wealth, which partly means a cutting down of high monopoly profits, you would get a stronger pull upon the whole industrial system on the part of the consumer and that you would have a smaller proportion of the total income stored

but none the less a larger actual quantity of saving. The very fact that these Trusts and Combinations have defended themselves very speciously on the ground of cut-throat competition testifies to what business men know to be a familiar recurring fact in our present industrial situation, namely, a tendency for a few years by the great capitalist industries to produce goods at too fast a rate for the market to take them. That theoretically ought not to be possible at all, but it is a fact. If you could get a more even distribution of wealth you would have a pull upon the industrial machinery of the country, of this and other countries, not as high as that which prevailed during the years of war when all the sinews of industry and commerce were kept tight, when everybody was producing as fast as he could—that was an excess; you then had people straining excessively to produce wealth—but if you could have, say, four-fifths of that tension transmitted from the consuming public to the producing public you would then have a condition of affairs which would give full vitality and efficiency to all the available capital and labour and you would not have brought about these chronic periods of depression. But that is a subject which I dare not pursue further, because it would carry me too far afield.

I do think that a very large body of thinking people in this and other countries are coming to see that it is not altogether safe to allow this movement of organization of formerly competing capitalists to continue in the present state of combination without any protection for the consuming public. I agree that publicity is the first thing that we require, but I do not think that publicity alone will settle the trouble. There are plenty of business men who will say: "Well, we, by combining with our former competitors in this trade, are able to raise prices and to regularize the industry. You say that is dangerous to the consumer and that it gives an undue tyranny on the part of capital over the labour engaged in that trade. That is business to-day. What are you going to do about it?" We shall have probably to go further than mere publicity. I do not think that public opinion, in this country or any other country, is capable as a check of doing what is required to stop and to guard against the dangers of combination. I think the future lies with increasing combination, and that in certain countries some trades controlling the essentials of life, or an industry, will be so strong that they will form a Trust or cartel or some federal arrangement, for it is not a close single combination so much as a kind of federation of formerly

competing businesses that confronts us in this country and in Germany and in certain other countries. It is an experiment in the art of federation applied to the business world, but it means that the consumer will be in a relatively weaker position than he has been hitherto, and the consumer will cry out against Government, and although Government interference, Government Control, is extremely unpopular at the present time, what are you going to do when you are confronted with the alternative between a private monopoly and a public monopoly? Are you going to say "We will trust to the private monopoly being so kind as not to raise prices as high as it might do, because it has some consideration for the poor consumer and the general public"? Are you going to trust to that as an adequate check upon this movement? Not if I know anything about the business world in this country, or in any other country. There will be a certain amount of virtue in that check. Nobody likes to offend his neighbour beyond a certain point and to be discovered making larger profits than he would consent to receive as a reward for the energy which he gives out in his business operations, but you may be confronted with the necessity of the State saying to businesses that have combined: "Either we must take over your combination or we must tax your excess profits if we can discover them in a reliable way, or we must take some other method of bringing your motives into a better consistency with the welfare of the community." Elasticity of demand will not do the whole thing, because precisely in those combinations which are most dangerous, because they are combinations in some of the essentials and necessities of life, elasticity of demand is a less valuable check than it is in the cornering or combination of some luxuries where a rise of price by 10 or 20 per cent. will curtail very greatly the demand of the consuming public.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have taken more of your time than I intended. I have been led astray by the interest of the subject. I will now call upon those who have sent in their names to me to speak—Mr. Richards—

Mr. Richards : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—You will agree with me that the address to which we have listened, or rather two addresses, do not afford any real basis for solid argument, that is to say they have been illuminating and doing what Sir William told us he wished to do: they have been placing points before us for our consideration. The few words that I may address to you now will be in the way of throwing further light if possible upon one or two points, and

also suggesting one or two caveats. I am not sure whether the Committee which has been referred to has not been unduly influenced by altogether abnormal circumstances. We have been through a period of national stress when the community, I suppose, had to pay anything and suffer everything for the sake of the national existence. I am not sure that in normal circumstances a combination of a permanent nature has more chance of success than it had in times past. We know perfectly well that about thirty or forty years ago we had a great population in Birmingham engaged in screw making, and that every small competitor in that business was squeezed out by the Nettlefold firm. We had a Trust in that particular business. America I should rule out of comparison altogether on this point, and I should like to see what Sir William has to say upon it. In America combination is very much more easy than it is in this country because of the absence of the Limited Liability Acts. The very fact that in America any company can practically do what it likes, provided it has a plurality, makes it easy for big combinations to be formed, and it is only the absence of such restrictions that enables men like the late J. Gould and others practically to form a monopoly in America of all interests. At any rate that is a matter which should be taken into account when you are considering this country in comparison with America. There has been no strongly pronounced opinion by Sir William on one point, which is, that we must maintain that which is for the greatest good of the greatest number: and I should say with regard to almost every combination—there are a few exceptions—that the combination has been against the consumer. Of course there are some monopolies that have worked in favour of the consumer. I will take what is virtually a monopoly, Brunner Monds alkali process (Solvay). That was for the benefit of the consumer because it brought into this country, by a very much cheaper method, a 58 per cent. alkali, than had obtained before; that is to say, they actually gave to soap makers and others, large users, an article which was 58 per cent. against 24 per cent., and gave it at a very much less cost. Therefore, we must be careful in our generalizations as regards the operation either of combinations or monopolies. I suggest—and I think it is Sir William's view also—that the great difficulty is not so much with the manufacturers, although, of course, they do protect themselves, but that what we require here is a better system of distribution; and I throw out the suggestion (and I am surprised it was not acted on during the war) that every

municipality has in its power very largely to reduce the profits which are made by shopkeepers and distributors. If you were to establish in every borough, in every centre of population, a public market hall and require that those who wished to be provided with stalls in the hall should sell at certain prices and with a certain percentage of profit, you would kill the profiteering which to-day is a scandal. I am told that in the wholesale market fish to-day is 3d. a lb., and we have seen the time when fish was practically given away, and yet by the shopkeepers in any borough you will find that prices are not altered. There is a thing in which the municipalities might, without interference with Free Trade principles, if only they could venture to face their shopkeeper constituents, very largely affect the question of distribution. Of course the Government itself has been somewhat to blame. I do not want to criticise the Government. You will remember that some time ago we had Ministers boasting of the profits they had made in their Departments. I have no doubt that their figures are correct, and that they were able to show on paper a very large profit, but I am not sure that they made a profit taking the long view. I am not sure whether or not if some of these Departments, instead of showing a profit of 100 millions or 150 millions, had thrown their enormous stocks upon the market the coal crisis might not have been avoided. Supposing, for example, index prices had been dumped down 20 per cent., what effect would that have had upon the relations between employers and employed at the present moment? In all these matters our judgment must be guided by the long view: and I am afraid, with all respect to Sir William Beveridge, that the Committee in which he took such an active part were unduly influenced by the short view and the surrounding conditions, rather than the long view and normal conditions. We talk about combination. What is going to happen in the Cotton Trade? You have the Cotton Trade now established on the basis of £3 a spindle. Are you going to have a combination that is going to maintain that absurd price when shortly you will produce much better mills, at, say, £1 a spindle? How far are combinations going to be legitimate, and how are you going to make them illegitimate? In conclusion, I would suggest that the best way of breaking down combinations is not to have an excess profits duty, but a very steeply graded income tax, so that every man will be put on his mettle to make as much as possible, and at the same time individual effort will be rewarded because the State will take care that the income is taxed according to its magnitude.

I thank Sir William for the pleasure that he has given us to-night.

Mr. Lupton : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I have listened with the utmost respect to the exceedingly learned addresses that have just been uttered. It was when we came towards the end of Sir William's address that we learned what the meaning was—a central department of accountants, only thirty or forty, a tribunal, legislation, and I thought of a little hymn I learned “ Unconscious of their fate the happy infants played.” Legislation! There was once a learned man, a great philosopher who lived 2,000 years ago, and he told us of some frogs who used to croak about a pond quite happy, but they complained to Jupiter of their King, King Log, so Jupiter sent them a stork who gobbled them up. People are complaining about voluntary combinations, so they propose a tribunal—legislation—a Government Department to enquire. Soap to-day is sold at 8d. a lb. When the Government Department takes it in hand and thinks that soap should be sold at 6d. and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is hard up for money, he says “ Yes, soap could be made for 6d. then we will have a tax of 2d. a lb. on soap and that will relieve the income tax ” ; and so we shall have soap made into a Government monopoly, and then it will be a real monopoly. No soap from any other country would be allowed in except at an enormous tax. And so we shall go from soap to electric light, and from electric light to light castings, and so on, through the whole range of products. They will all be made Government Departments for Government taxes, and the people who groan when they have to pay 8d. a lb. for soap may think themselves happy if it is not more than 2s. a lb. when the Government find a new way of taxing the people. That is the result of what these great and learned gentlemen have put before us. We have heard a good deal about combinations. I can remember fifty or sixty years ago there was a great combination, William Whiteley & Sons, the universal provider. He would send young gentlemen to a private party for waltzes and I daresay he would supply young ladies to some other hostess who was short of young ladies amongst her acquaintances, and so on. These universal providers have not prevented the small provider. The more you have of these great combinations, these great co-operative stores, these great individuals who have these great departmental stores, as they call them in America, the more the small man grows up all round, the more the small shopkeeper, the more the small manufacturer, the more the small mechanic

with two or three men working with him has his chance. Individual brains will tell. A great combination cannot compete with individual brains. The individual man, if your Government does not interfere, if you leave him alone, will match the great combination and we have nothing to fear except Government interference with free trade. Just before the last happy invention of Lloyd George when he put a 50 per cent. tax upon German production people were sending to Germany for light castings to help them to make various sorts of machinery, the making of which they found too expensive in this country. That is now stopped. It is only necessary for the Government to leave us alone, to let us have free trade, and we need have nothing in the least to fear from these great combinations. What we have to fear are the good gentlemen who want to introduce a Government Department, who want compulsory powers to enquire into the private affairs of people in order that they may arrange things for you. If you are such a jolly lot of idiots that you cannot take care of yourselves, do you think any Government Department is going to take care of you. The Government Department will take good stock of you, men like Sir William Beveridge will see how much money they can get out of you, and you will find yourselves little better than slaves, your children and your grandchildren for the next 300 years, if you listen to this sort of stuff to which we have just listened.

Mr. Marlow Reed : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,— I have been greatly struck with the accurate and comprehensive survey which Sir William Beveridge has given us of the modern so-called Trust movement. A combination is not necessarily a Trust. A combination of people who have goods to sell at a given and agreed price is precisely the Trade Union movement of the Labour Party, who agree to sell their labour at the agreed price and to look upon any man who undercuts them as a blackleg. That is all that it means. As long as it has not legislative sanction it cannot by any means be called a monopoly. Sir William Beveridge was extremely fair all through, and did not suggest the extreme remedy that Mr. Lupton credited him with. He is far too sensible a man for that. A combination to regulate prices is a perfectly legitimate combination. What is the alternative? Our mild friend Mr. Hobson brought into his argument a word which conveys it—the slaughtering of prices. It may be very nice for the consumer to sit at the table and get his tumblers at 2d. apiece while half-a-dozen manufacturers are cutting each other to the death and

to the Bankruptcy Court in order to produce it. It is a very nice thing for the consumer, but what about the workmen and the men who put their capital into the glass works. What is the alternative to a regulation of prices? Cut-throat competition, and a frightful number of cases in the Bankruptcy Court. That is what has been going on too long in this country. In discussing social and political questions, for some reason or other the capitalist is always credited with the brains, superior to the working man. As a matter of fact combination is a copy of what the working man has done, pure and simple. People who are engaged in the trade are entitled to a fair return for their efforts and their capital, and if the consumer has to pay a shade more—and that is all that the Committees which have been sitting on these bogey Trusts have been able to report—you would be astonished if you knew what little return some of the members of these powerful combinations really get on their capital, the percentage that they pay to their shareholders. I did not sit on the Committee. I know lots of witnesses who appeared before the Committee, and the Committee were never able to put their finger on any man who had had 100 per cent. and 150 per cent. return on his capital, and there is an excellent reason for it. I agree with Mr. Lupton that you have no need to be particularly alarmed about this sort of thing. It is going to make for industrial peace and industrial comfort, and I will tell you in a moment how it will not interfere with output. The men are more satisfied, and the capitalist is more satisfied. You pay a shade more, and although you pay a shade more for the goods you purchase if you secure industrial peace by it you are in pocket in the long run. Too little regard has been paid to the protection you enjoy from two causes. They were mentioned by Sir William Beveridge—and this is just where I admire a gentleman who probably has not had much to do with trade, but I can see he understands the elements of trade. Free trade, free from all restriction and all Government interference is an enormous protection against high prices in almost every commodity. (“Hear, hear.”) Again, you cannot put prices up too high. There are two reasons for that. One reason is that you check demand. An enormous duty was put on Havana cigars last year. What has been the result. Nobody has had them, or very few people have had them. You are protected to a large extent by reason of the fact that if you put up prices too high you check demand, and nobody in trade, the workman or the capitalist, wants demand to be checked. There is another danger which the members of

combines are not alive to. If you were in a trade that was returning 50 or 60 per cent. profits to your shareholders do you think you would hold that trade for long? Everybody who had got thousands of pounds to invest would come into the trade and you would have the number of your competitors doubled in less than two years. If it was such a profitable trade that you were getting your so-called monopoly prices out of the article you would attract capital into that particular trade. That is what is always being done in the building trade all through, and that has been the curse of the building trade. I have been for forty years engaged in allied trades to the building trade. It has always been booms and slumps. Why? When there is a demand for bricks, or lime, or cement, you would be astonished at the number of brickworks that go up all over the place, and any of you who travel about the country can see the result of it. Their capital has gone, everything else has gone, the whole thing has been a failure. Therefore you may rely upon it that the people in these combinations are sensible enough not to overdo the thing even for their own protection. You are as much protected by that fact as you are by any legislative or Government interference. There is an article in a trade which the manufacturers agree to sell at 1s. ; under normal conditions it costs 9d. to produce it ; 25 per cent. of it is profit. It is very possible—and this is going on all the time—that some man in some firm gets out a patent, some new device, by which he can produce that article for 8d. or even 7d. Is he going to refrain from doing it? Of course he will do it in order to get the other 2d. for his own firm. These pooling arrangements, which are very Christian-like and helpful things for the poor manufacturer who is struggling along and who, but for the existence of the pool probably would go out of existence, and if he did it would be all the better for the other manufacturers, but they help him over his bad time—these men do not pool their profits ; every man can get as much profit as he can ; they only pool according to their turnover, which I look upon as a very healthy thing. I know to-day of my own knowledge three or four firms who under a cut-throat system of competition would have been out of existence altogether, but they were helped. I will tell you how it would be. If an article is 1s. the people who produce the better quality would naturally get all the orders, but these men have been helped over the stile, and now there is no difference in quality. The quality is a standard quality. They can do as anybody else. Manufacturers strike a bad patch here and there, but ultimately the

consumer gets the benefit of these people keeping in business. That is my feeling about it. If it is right for the workman to combine it is right for the sellers of goods to combine. There is no difference in principle at all. It is the same principle all through. All I can say is that there is no real fear. The danger would be if any legislative monopoly were given. In none of the cases has there been a complete monopoly; there has always been a percentage outside. It is that 10 per cent. outside which might easily grow into 40 or 50 per cent. that regulates the prices of the whole combine. It is after all the outside people. I know that from experience of a dozen of these things. What you have to do if you want to break a combine is to develop the outside percentage, that 10 per cent., and make it 20, 30 or 40 per cent. Those three things will make it almost certain that whatever Government Committee enquires they will have to conclude as they have done already that nothing unreasonable can be charged against them.

The Chairman : Before I call upon Sir William Beveridge to reply, I think we have time for a few words from our friend Major Putnam whose name is known to you as that of a distinguished American visitor to this country.

Major Putnam : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—At this late hour of the evening I will not detain you at any length. I have listened with great interest to the very able addresses of Sir William and the Chairman. I can only say this of the Trusts in our own country, speaking as an average citizen who is not an economic authority, that had not those Trusts been built up behind tariff barriers I do not think nine-tenths of them would have continued in existence. I can name as an illustration one Trust which our Free Trade League in America did not succeed in breaking up by smashing the tariff barrier. Four firms controlled the output of quinine, and when we succeeded in abolishing the duty on quinine those four firms said in their protest to Congress: "If you abolish the duty we shall be driven out of business. The wicked monopolists in Great Britain and elsewhere will get control of the market and they will press up the price of quinine." The result was quite different. Those four firms have continued in business; they are getting what I suppose is a satisfactory profit from their quinine, and the price of quinine has been reduced 50 per cent. in the course of the first three years. I do not think Sir William in giving us his full analysis of the soap industry paid attention to one

point that may have occurred to some of us, the close connection between not soap but want of soap and anarchy. Somebody suggested that the bolshevist theories of economics were very wishy-washy. Wishy is the answer, not washy. If we do not give every opportunity for the full distribution of soap it is the belief of a great many people that there will be an increase of anarchy and that ought not to be furthered in any way by you great economists of Great Britain.

I had the privilege of addressing this Circle in 1904 in connection with a movement then made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain for fixing an economic policy upon Britain. I have been coming here every year for fifty years. This year I find on coming here that a later Chamberlain is attempting through the function of war regulations to fix upon Britain what seems to me to be a more absurd and exaggerated policy, not of protection, but in many cases of prohibition, than we ever dreamed of in our country, and I shall be very surprised if you gentlemen are going to aid Austen to do what Joseph failed to do. I will not delay you further.

Sir William Beveridge : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—At this hour I am certainly not going to attempt to reply to all the points that have been raised. I do not even remember them all. I am going to agree most cordially with Major Putnam in what he has said about the advantage that Free Trade has in making the ground unfavourable for the growth of Trusts.

Major Putnam : One factor at least

Sir William Beveridge : Yes, one of the greatest possible importance, but it does not go quite far enough. You are getting to International Trusts, not National Trusts between the owners of capital against competition. That was my point.

Now, if I may come to Mr. Marlow Reed, I agree with him entirely. He thought he was differing from me, but I agree with him. It is just as legitimate or legal for capital to combine as for labour to combine. The whole point of my argument was that capital was very successfully learning the lessons of labour. It is just as legitimate, but it may be just as bad and unfortunate for the consumer. Nobody, I think, has suggested that Trade Unions were particularly good for efficiency. Nor do I suggest that Trusts are particularly good for efficiency. I do not think they are. I agree with Mr. Marlow Reed again that a feeling of instability in

a trade, such as the building trade, is thoroughly bad, so also is cut-throat competition which drives people out of the industry while no houses are being built, so that when the demand for houses comes there is nobody to build them. That is the sort of thing that leads to alternations of house famine and house superfluity which again are not a feature only of the building trade. That I suggest to Mr. Reed happens in the building trade because there is no Trust. I am not sure that in a trade like the electric lamp trade, which has got hold of the whole of the distributive organization, it would be easy or possible for the outside 10 per cent. to grow into 20 per cent. if prices were put too high. The control of distributive organization by the Trust makes it impossible for any man coming into the trade to use the ordinary methods of distribution, and that is one of the strongest trenches that the Trust has. For my own part, I imagine if I wanted to go into the electric lamp trade and had sufficient millions to put up, I should have to start by getting my lamps sold by boot-makers and people of that sort who did not ordinarily sell electric lamps. It would be an interesting experiment if I had sufficient money to try, but I should want a long purse, and if I had that long purse I could make it still longer by not competing with the Trust, but by agreeing with it. That is the real danger. That is the difficulty of the position. For people to combine to exploit the consumer is like going with the stream and not against the stream. It is not as if people had to be forced into these combinations; they love them because they get under a big umbrella as against the consumer. That is the real danger. That is why I think combination is going to spread, and why I am afraid it is going to be bad for efficiency. Mr. Reed agrees with Mr. Lupton in thinking that we do not want legislation, and at the same time he advises us generally to develop the outside 10 per cent. I cannot imagine how he meant us to do that. I do not know whether he meant that the Government should develop it. I imagine not. Mr. Reed emphasized the point which has been made by a good many of the Committees that apparently prices have not been put up extravagantly by the Trusts. As a matter of fact all the people who represented the Trusts went to the Committee on Trusts and said, "We never charge one farthing more than is absolutely legitimate." All I can say is that if I was playing cards with those people I should call that bluff, or rather I should like to know whether they were not charging one farthing more than they ought to charge. That is the whole of my proposal for scientific publicity. I was not suggesting a

Government Department control or to take over. I am not sure what I should do when I got at the facts, but I am not going to have all these Trusts coming to me and saying, "We are such excellent boys, we never make large profits, you must on no account look into our accounts." I want to look at their accounts before I give them a good character. I think myself that publicity would be more important, not only from the point of view of the public but from the point of view of labour too. It is perfectly clear that labour is going to get upon its hind legs against working for people readily who make too large profits. Frankly I look upon publicity as a means of controlling excessive profits from that point of view. Although I have no definite programme to deal with the danger, yet I suggest it is a serious danger. The consumer may be exploited, because it is such an easy thing to combine and so unpleasant and disastrous to have cut-throat competition. It is a real danger. The first step to deal with it is to know exactly what the danger is. That is my whole plea for publicity. I do not want a large department at all.

Mr. A. H. Scott : Ladies and gentlemen,—Before we part I ask you to join with me in recording our thanks to the Chairman. We have listened to a great economist, but we have had in the Chair one whom we have known for a great many years. I want not only to thank him for presiding this evening, but I want to thank him for the production of the many books on economics that have been so valuable to those of us who have not the ability and have not the opportunity for research work. They have been very valuable to us on the different platforms upon which some of us occasionally are called upon to speak. I want to thank him for presiding over this meeting this evening, and I want to thank him for all that he has done for economists, and for all that he has done for this great question of Free Trade, a question that he has dealt with in masterly style. I know without calling for a seconder you will carry my resolution with acclamation. (Applause.)

The Chairman : Thank you.

The Workers Educational Association.

ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS.

IT is the object of the W.E.A. to supply a platform on which those engaged in manual labour may meet those engaged in the profession of teaching to discuss the problems of education, and more particularly those problems which concern the workers. It has no policy to push, except the policy of making the best education available to all, whatever their means, their creed, or their social position; no party to serve, except the party of those who believe that the education of the people stands above party; no object of flattery save those who, by their faithful work for education, are placed above flattery; no object of condemnation save such educational institutions as by their apathy or exclusiveness are already self-condemned. It will welcome criticism, and will only hope that its critics will pay it the compliment of trying to improve it.

The W.E.A. is necessary. To those who doubt this we say: "Open your eyes and look around you." Four-fifths of us live by manual labour; we have no accumulated wealth to fall back on, no means of offering enormous fees to private or public schoolmasters who will educate our children from eight to eighteen. On the efficiency of

our national elementary schools depends, to a great degree, the health and happiness and progress of our children. On the efficiency of our national secondary education depends their chance of remaining at school till sixteen or seventeen instead of being flung at fourteen, or earlier, into the whirlpool of industrial life. On the accessibility of our national universities to all classes depends the workers' hope of obtaining in the future their rightful share of the intellectual treasures of the world.

But how far can we say that Labour has spoken with a certain voice on the educational problems which beset it? How far is it true that when Labour has spoken, those who control education have set themselves to further its wishes? Consider elementary education. Is it not hampered at every turn by ignorance of industrial life? Could the half-time system, could the employment of school children for long hours before and after school, could the pernicious system of large classes of sixty pupils to one teacher, could the neglect of many local Education Authorities to provide adequate medical inspection survive for a day if the public opinion of the workers on educational matters were vigilant and organised? Consider secondary education. Is it right that secondary education should be shut up in a bottle with such a very narrow neck? Have we such a plethora of ability in our "upper classes" that we can afford not to make secondary education readily accessible to the children of the manual workers? Consider our Universities. Are they as accessible to all classes as they should be? Do the manual workers of the nation occupy their rightful place in them? They need a university education as much, and can use it as

well, as can the members of any other class ; and they will use it, not merely to achieve personal success by "rising in life," but to serve their fellows in the societies to which they belong and to raise them all together.

But labour has not only demands to make ; it has also contributions to offer, and it will enrich national education in proportion as it truly expresses its own ideals. Culture cannot be imposed upon any section of the community from above ; it must spring from the experience won by men in their daily life, and must reflect their own struggles, aspirations, and disappointments. If Labour is to get the education it requires, it must educate its educators, criticise their failures, supplement their deficiencies, applaud their successes, much more regularly than it has done hitherto. When the philosopher Plato was speculating on the future of society, he said, in his half-humorous, half-pathetic way, that the world would never go straight till the kings became philosophers or the philosophers became kings. The modern world is faced with the nobler task of making the people both king and philosopher ; for unless democracy puts on in some measure the philosopher, it cannot hope to win or to retain its kingdom.

THE HIGHWAY

The Journal of

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

MONTHLY—ONE PENNY (1½d. post

Annual Subscription, 1s. 6d.

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The Workers' Educational Association

ITS AIMS AND IDEALS

WHAT IS THE W.E.A. ?

FOUNDED in 1903 by a group of trade unionists and co-operators the Workers' Educational Association is a federation which at the present time includes a very large number¹ of working-class and educational organizations. Owing mainly to the inspiring influence of its founder, Mr. Albert Mansbridge, it has grown in the last few years with remarkable and rather disconcerting rapidity. Its affiliated societies, which in 1906 numbered 283, were, at the date of its

¹ *E.g.*, 737 trade unions, trade union branches and trades councils, 381 co-operative education committees, 302 adult schools, brotherhoods, etc., 170 working men's clubs and institutes, 138 teachers' associations, and a number of miscellaneous working-class organizations.

last Report, 2150; its local branches in England and Wales have risen from 13 at the earlier date to 166 at the later, and work has also been started on vigorous lines in Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. The branches are grouped into districts, of which there are now nine, and these districts, together with societies affiliated to the Central Association, appoint representatives to a Council by which the affairs of the whole Association are transacted. But each branch, and each district, is autonomous and it is within the branches and districts that the real life of the Association moves. Like trade unions, co-operative societies, and mediæval guilds, the Workers' Educational Association is not limited by any articles of association to one specific activity. Its aim is to articulate the educational aspirations of Labour, to represent them to the proper authorities, to stimulate into activity, when it exists, the organization through which they can be satisfied, to create it when it does not. Necessarily, therefore, the work of the Association is in a constant

state of transformation, and at the present moment it is turning its particular attention to the urgent question of educational reconstruction after the war. The main work which it has already accomplished has been to establish the system of liberal education for adult workers, both men and women; which has attained some celebrity under the name of the University Tutorial Class movement. But the establishment of University Tutorial Classes is not by any means the only outcome of its labours. An energetic branch of the Association forms the centre of those educational activities of a district which, because they are not supported out of public money, do not fall within the province of the Local Education Authority, and offers a medium through which they are kept in communication with each other. The University spirit exists outside University cities, and such activities, at any rate in the north of England, are more numerous and more vigorous than might at first be supposed. A successful branch of the Workers' Educational Association secures the affiliation of all

bodies carrying on any educational work, as well as of the local trade unions, trades councils and co-operative societies which are its main support. With the assistance thus obtained it can take steps to meet the educational needs of different sections of the population in ways which vary according to the conditions of different localities, but which normally consist of the organization of lectures, classes, and reading circles. The strength of the movement is that by casting a wide net it is able to draw together all the educational forces of a district, to give the demand for higher education the support of a representative and democratic organization, and to build from within instead of borrowing from without. To build from within, to help men to develop their own genius, their own education, their own culture, that is the secret.

* * * * *

THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL CLASS MOVEMENT

SUCH work is at once educational and propagandist. It meets some of the needs of those who are beginning to demand higher education, and it creates a body of students who desire more advanced, systematic, and continuous study. The provision made for such students, or for some among them, consists of the University Tutorial Classes. A University Tutorial Class is really the nucleus of a University established in a place where no University exists. Its organization is simple. It consists of a group of not more than thirty students who agree to meet regularly once a week for twenty-four weeks during each of the three successive winters for the purpose of study under a tutor appointed by a University, to follow the course of reading outlined by the tutor and to write fortnightly essays. For the purpose of managing these classes every University and

University College in England has appointed a joint committee composed of University representatives and working-class representatives. These committees receive applications for the establishment of classes and appoint the tutors, who are paid partly by the Universities concerned, partly out of the grants which are paid to the classes by the Board of Education. The classes meet every week for two hours at a time, of which the first normally consists of a lecture and the second of questions and discussion by the students. Books are obtained from the Universities, from local libraries, and from the central lending library for students recently established by the United Kingdom Trust. The subjects of study are chosen by the classes themselves after consultation with the tutor. In the earlier years of the movement they consisted almost entirely of economic history and economics. But these subjects were interpreted in a very catholic sense, and included the consideration of a good many matters which would not, perhaps, figure largely in a University course on economics. At the

present time the scope of the classes is tending to widen, and though economic history and economics still probably predominate, there are classes in literature, political science, general modern history, biology, psychology, and philosophy. And, thanks to the fact that they are small, the classes *are* classes, not lectures, in which tutor and students can meet as friends, discover each other's idiosyncrasies, and break down that unintentional system of mutual deception which seems inseparable from any education which relies principally on the formal lecture. It is often before the classes begin and after they end, in discussions round a student's fire, or in a walk to and from his home, that the root of the matter is reached both by student and tutor.

* * * * *

THE QUALITY OF THE WORK

IF the University Tutorial Classes have shown that there is a wide demand for higher education of a liberal type among the workers, they have shown also that there is a large number of workers who need only the opportunity to reach a very high level in their studies. It is as to the quality of the work done in the classes that the academic critic will naturally feel the greatest curiosity, and on which the movement will necessarily be judged by educationalists. The classes are fortunate in having from the first been closely watched by high academic authorities and by the inspectors of the Board of Education. The disposition, which was occasionally shown in their earlier years, to regard them as an amiable but quixotic attempt to provide cheap culture "for the masses," by popularizing subjects which lose their meaning when they lose their austerity,

has, therefore, been brought from the beginning to the test of facts and no longer exists among persons whose experience or attainments entitle them to consideration. The verdict given¹ in their Report to the Board of Education by Professor L. T. Hobhouse and Mr. Headlam after an exhaustive examination of a large number of classes, that their work was "in some respects better, and in others not so good, as that of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate," that the classes "tend to accustom the student to the ideal of work familiar at a University," and that "as regards the standard reached, there are students whose essays compare favourably with the best academic work," is substantially that of most observers who have had experience of teaching in a University and who have seen the work of the Tutorial Classes at first hand. It is, of course, true that in most classes there are one or two students whose mental machinery fell out of gear in

¹ Report to the Board of Education on Tutorial Classes. It is reprinted in "University Tutorial Classes," by Albert Mansbridge, App. iii (Longmans & Co., 2s. 6d.), which gives a full account of the movement.

the critical interval between fourteen and twenty, and who find it difficult to set it in motion when the interests of manhood bring an intellectual awakening, just as there are one or two dunces in any sample of thirty undergraduates taken at random in a University. It is also true that the work of the students suffers severely from the unfavourable economic conditions under which many of them carry it on. To attempt to balance drawbacks such as these and the advantage of the students' maturity—their average **age** is probably about thirty—and the fact that what induces them to submit to a somewhat arduous course of study is not custom or professional advancement, but the desire for knowledge, is neither profitable nor necessary. Though they are susceptible, in more favourable circumstances, of much improvement, the Tutorial Classes have at least proved that work of a University character can be done by men who labour with their hands all day. Of course, "work of a University character" is a vague enough phrase. But if University study means,

above all, facing difficulties, testing accepted theories, shedding conventions and going to sources, then the work of most of the classes, though of course they differ, is certainly University education in the highest sense of those words.

* * * * *

THE IMPORTANCE OF A WORKING-CLASS PUBLIC OPINION ON EDUCATION

ONE noticeable development in the work of the Association in recent years has been, in spite of its lack of funds, the increased attention which its members have found themselves compelled to pay to questions of elementary and secondary education. By conferences, by discussions at its annual meeting, by local inquiries as to educational conditions the Association is helping to develop the educational conscience. It is evident that the natural reluctance of Education Authorities to spend money in improving public education is not likely to be overcome unless the classes whose children have most to gain by its improvement

and most to lose by its deficiencies show that they are as intent upon raising the standard of educational as of economic conditions. The observer who reflects on such matters as the size of classes in elementary schools, the provision for medical treatment and school feeding, the age at which exemption from compulsory attendance is permitted, the provision of scholarships to secondary schools, the conditions upon which the teaching staffs are employed, and who then compares the practice of an average Authority with that of the best, and that of the best with that which might be, can hardly escape a sense of desolation at the waste of opportunity, of intelligence, of human potentiality. Historians tell us that decadent societies have been revived through the irruption of new races. In England a new race of nearly 900,000 souls bursts upon us every year. They stand on the threshold with the world at their feet, like barbarians gazing upon the time-worn plains of an ancient civilization, and if, instead of rejuvenating the world they grind corn for the Philistines and doff bobbins

for mill owners, the responsibility is ours into whose hands the prodigality of Nature pours life itself, and who let it slip aimlessly through the fingers that close so greedily on material riches.

To do more than labour at the foundations, to create the faith to use the weapons that knowledge has put into our hands and the courage which will dare to be extravagant in matters where the true extravagance is a mean and sightless parsimony, is not given to any organization, however comprehensive and enthusiastic. It is not indeed with organization that the final word on these high issues rests. The Workers' Educational Association can, at least, do the humble and necessary work of serving as a vehicle to express the best thought upon educational matters of the plain people on whose attitude the future of English education principally depends. And this it has endeavoured to do, as a result of discussion and criticism from its members in every part of the country, in a series of recommendations just sent into the Government Reconstruction

Committee, which will form the basis of the Association's forthcoming effort on behalf of a better system of national education after the war.

THE NEED FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT

BUT there is one further condition of the Association's success: that sufficient funds should be forthcoming to enable it to discharge its work. The Workers' Educational Association has been hampered throughout its career by financial difficulties.

It relies for its regular support partly on the contributions of affiliated organizations and partly on the subscriptions of its members, rich and poor, for it has found well wishers in all classes. But these sources are barely sufficient to keep its ordinary work in being in normal times, and over and over again extensions of work have been hindered and promising openings neglected owing to sheer want of means. The General and District Secretaries, who should be free to devote their whole time to the urgent needs of the work, have had to turn aside to raise the money

necessary to keep their own offices in being, often without being able to afford the simplest clerical assistance. At the present time, when men's minds are awakened and the opportunities are greater than ever before, there is need of a special effort to free the Association from the incubus of pecuniary anxiety. The working-class membership of the Association is mobilizing its energies to do all that it can. But their contributions cannot, in the nature of things, go far to meet the whole needs of the Association. Those needs are fourfold: firstly, more money to extend and develop the existing work; secondly, a special fund to support the campaign which the Association is undertaking for educational reconstruction after the war; thirdly, donations towards the acquisition of a permanent home in London to serve as a hostel and meeting place for its members when they come up from the country; and lastly, an endowment fund to release those who are carrying on the Association's work from the permanent burden of anxiety. These are large demands and probably £50,000 will be required to satisfy them;

but if those who are responsible, in the last analysis, for the destinies of the country are to face the tasks of the present and future with the knowledge and in the spirit which alone can assure us of national salvation, they are not more than commensurable with the importance and urgency of the Association's work.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
14 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.

Printed at
The William Morris Press Ltd., 42 Albert Street, Manchester