Report on the proceedings of the National conference on the prevention of destitution : Held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th, 1912. President: the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Contributors

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION 1912

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON

THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION.

Held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th, 1912.

PRESIDENT :

THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

LONDON :
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GENERAL PREFACE

In issuing this official report of the proceedings of the second National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution (held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1912) it is only necessary to state that this year's Conference was organised on very much the same lines as those which were so successfully adopted in 1911. But although, as on the previous occasion, the Conference was divided into five Sections, the subject matter of the Sections was somewhat changed. The Public Health Section and the Education Section were retained; the Unemployment Section was extended to include Industrial Regulation; the Mental Deficiency Section and the Legal and Financial Section were omitted, and two new Sections dealing with Housing, and Crime and Inebriety respectively, were organised to take their place.

The total number of delegates and members attending the Conference was 710, of whom, as in 1911, approximately half represented Public Authorities, whilst the remainder attended as the representatives of voluntary associations or in their private capacities.

In this complete report of the proceedings of the Conference each Section is dealt with separately. Reports of joint meetings between two Sections are included in one Section only, and are indicated in the other Section by cross-references.

With regard to the procedure followed at the meetings it should be understood that the papers, having been circulated in proof to the delegates beforehand, were in almost all cases taken as read. Each contributor of a paper was, however, allowed fifteen minutes at the beginning of the discussion in which to give a summary of the main points in his paper. These summaries are not reported.

37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

August, 1912.

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National Conference

on

The Prevention of Destitution

OPENING MEETING

TUESDAY, JUNE 11TH, 1912

The President's Inaugural Address

A General Meeting of all Sections was held in the large Hall on Tuesday morning at 10.30, when his Worship the Mayor of Westminster took the chair, supported by the Bishop of Oxford and the Presidents of Sections.

THE MAYOR OF WESTMINSTER: My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen, It gives me very great pleasure to welcome you all here, on behalf of the City of Westminster, and to have this opportunity of expressing to you how deep an interest we take in the objects of this Conference. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive any subject more worthy of the consideration and attention of all who take an interest in the national welfare than the one which has brought you together. The problem that you are met to face is one not only of such great importance but of such enormous complexity that I feel sure that if any solution is to be found, it will only be found by such an alliance as I see here, of religion, of charity, of education, and of science—an alliance of all the forces that are making for man's improvement. Unless we have such a union—unless the zeal of the warm-hearted social missionary is tempered by the colder reason of science and experience—not only will no solution be found, but, as years go on, the problem of destitution will become more acute. We see, on every side of us, much misery, much destitution, which could easily, by a little forethought, a little charity, a little knowledge, have been prevented. (Hear, hear.) We know that much which was formerly believed to be inborn is merely the result of environment, and in this knowledge we have our greatest justification for hope of improvement, and our greatest stimulus to endeavour. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, we ought to face the whole truth, which I take to be this, that after you have made all your proper allowances for nurture there is a residuum for which nature alone is responsible, and that to treat the results of nature as if they were those of nurture is to court disaster. It is not my province, nor is it my desire, to inaugurate this discussion. That is left to far more experienced and far abler hands than mine; but I cannot resist the opportunity of expressing my fear

—I had almost said my conviction—that many of the agencies which are at work, animated though they be by the noblest, the most self-sacrificing desire to ameliorate the lot of our less fortunate fellow creatures, are nevertheless, from their ignoring the latter part of the truth, aggravating the evils they would cure. (Hear, hear.) We are, on every hand, deliberately promoting the survival of the unfit. (Hear, hear.) We are deliberately giving the unfit not only as good a chance of surviving as the fit but we are giving him a better chance. We are giving him a better chance not only of surviving but of perpetuating his race at the cost of, and to the exclusion of, the children of the fit, who are handicapped in order that the children of the unfit may be galvanised into a semblance of normality ; as if we would cheat nature by so clumsy a device ! It required no small courage on your part to embark on the investigation of so big a problem ; but unless I am much mistaken as to what is the true diagnosis of many of our social ailments, it will require even greater courage on your part to face and to formulate the conclusions you will be compelled to draw ; but I trust you will have that courage, and that you will face your conclusions, be they what they may. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have stood too long between you and your President. This Conference is happy in having for a President a man who has devoted his whole life to the work of improving and of helping his fellow men. (Applause.) He is an ecclesiastic of that high type who looks not only to his own church, to his own diocese, but looks to nature and to humanity, and seeks how he can help. His name is familiar throughout the English-speaking world, and I have much pleasure in thanking him, to begin with, for being here and in asking him now to take the Chair. (Cheers.)

Inaugural Address

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford : Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great honour to be asked to take the chair and to speak in the inauguration of your discussions—the discussions of so important a Conference as this. I suppose that I am right in imagining that we who are gathered together here represent men of very different opinions, political, religious, administrative ; but that we agree about two things—first, that destitution exists to a degree and in a mass which constitutes a national peril and a national disgrace—(hear, hear)—and renders the whole body politic unsound ; secondly, we are agreed (otherwise we should not be here) that destitution is preventable. (Hear, hear.) Sporadical destitution, so far as it is the result of individual carelessness and vice, will always exist ; but destitution to the extent to which it at present exists, and in the mass—destitution which degrades whole classes and masses of society by a sort of almost inevitable action—that I, with the Chief under whom it is my honour to serve, the Archbishop of Canterbury, entirely believe to be preventable and removable. And I suppose that our presence here means that we all believe that it is preventable and removable. It is men's work, not God's. (Hear, hear.)

> " Never did any public misery
> Rise of itself. God's plagues are grounded still
> On common stains of our humanity ;
> And to the flame that ruineth mankind
> Man gives the matter, or, at least, gives wind."

What the poet said is : " Man gives the matter " to this deep disgrace—or, " at least, gives wind." He sets loose the forces that might be restrained which make for destitution.

And we are here partly because what is wanted is to bring together the various kinds of expert knowledge, but also we are here because, besides the expert knowledge, what is wanted at least as much is a diffusion of general intelligence on this subject. (Hear, hear.) But, of course, it is vast, this subject of destitution, and complex in its causes and in its remedies. Therefore, a Conference of this kind, to be profitable, must divide itself into sections which are at once distinct in their subject matter and yet closely allied.

First, there is the Health Section. I do not think any matter which went on under my eyes ever affected me more than the disclosures in Birmingham, where I was living, which were made by the medical examination of school children in respect of breathing, of eyesight, of hearing, of teeth, of malnutrition, and of organic diseases. We reach a stage where we examine and disclose what is amiss, but do not remedy. (Hear, hear.) That we are quite sure is a stage which must be passed over with the greatest possible rapidity. (Hear, hear.) Expense, you say. To that I reply, I am sure there is nothing so expensive, nothing which is so truly and simply national waste, as to allow ill-nourished and diseased citizens to grow up out of our boys and girls. (Hear, hear.) Besides that, we have those insanitary conditions affecting not our children but grown people, which must be matter for consideration by this health section. I mean the conditions of dangerous trade, and that which has already been touched upon by you, Mr. Mayor, the existence of those whose disease is not remediable, but irremediable. You said, Mr. Mayor, that within recent times a belief has been growing that things which were attributed to nature were due to environment ; but I fancy this is not wholly true. The tendency in scientific investigation has not been altogether, perhaps not in the main, in that direction of recent years. Certainly, we must recognise that there is that which is attributable, as you said, not to nature but to environment ; but there is also what is attributable to *nature*, and which nurture cannot remove ; and I think it is indeed melancholy that, because neither political party can make capital out of an agreed-upon Bill, therefore such a Bill as is necessary for dealing with the feeble-minded should be delayed because Parliament cannot find time to pass it—(applause)—that is, pass a measure out of which neither political party can make capital. We want to insist there should be no further delay about that.

Then there is the Education Section. We have spent a great deal of pains, we have felt a great deal of enthusiasm, we have gone to a great deal of expense about Education in the last fifty years, and as we look back upon what we have done we are very far from being satisfied. (Hear, hear.) I feel that a great deal of the education given is a kind such as does not really best serve to equip men for life, whether in town or in country—(hear, hear)—and we are sure that the object of education is to equip boys and girls to play their parts effectively in life. And then we are sure that the education stops too soon. (Applause.) I do not think there is anything more melancholy than to contrast the delightful boys and girls of fourteen in the top standards of our elementary schools, full of vigour and life, and energy, and hope and intelligence, to contrast that with the condition in which we find them ten years after—(hear, hear)—to find out how much they have altogether forgotten, how much they have altogether discarded of what, at our expense, they laboriously learned, and how many of

them have passed from vigour, intelligence, and hopefulness into dullness despondency and hopelessness. That is an evil so vast that it certainly does deserve the very best pains that we can devote to its remedy. (Hear, hear.) Personally, I am, at this moment, owing to a change of occupation, immersed specially in country problems. I am among those who believe there is literally nothing concerning the welfare of our country of such immediate importance as the need for revivifying country life. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure the welfare of this country depends, and will more and more depend, on the life on the land. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure we need to take to heart to what an extraordinary extent we are falling short of what the land might do in the way of bearing a healthy, vigorous, happy and hopeful population; and I believe that you have no greater task in this Conference than to apply your minds to the question of rural education.

Then there is the Housing problem. (Hear, hear). Housing affects this great problem of destitution in many ways. There is a vast number of houses in town, and at least as many in the country, in picturesque and beautiful surroundings, which directly promote destitution, or, what causes destitution and incapacity, by their insanitary conditions. The more you investigate, the more you find out that to be true in the country. Besides that, a man's house, his home—what ought to be his home—has an extraordinary effect upon his character, his feeling about life. It is hardly possible to say that too strongly, and there are vast masses, vast quantities of homes, so-called, in which people live, which have a directly degrading and dispiriting effect upon those who live in them, and which minister quite directly to intemperance by driving people from the places where they live to seek at least some remedy for their uncomfortable and unsatisfying surroundings. So that, from many points of view, other than the æsthetic, this question of housing lies very near the heart of the question of destitution. And you have besides this the problem of rent. That is a very difficult and very complicated problem, and I am quite unqualified to deal with it; but I am sure, not in the country but in the town, the proportion of earnings which goes to the payment of rent, as compared with what goes in food and clothing, is altogether excessive. (Cheers)

Then there is the section which deals with industrial conditions. We have a class who are unemployable. We have a class of the work-shy, of the people who will not work, and we rightly claim that we should be able to exercise compulsory detention upon the work-shy; but I am quite sure that, before we can get the country, the great mass of the workers, to consent to any trenchant or adequate dealing with this class, we shall have to make a far larger and more encouraging effort to deal with the problem, not of the unemployable or the work-shy, but of the unemployed—(hear hear)—or of the half-employed—of those who are employed but whose industry is sweated or manifestly and plainly underpaid.

Now, speaking as one who has been in these respects for many years, for now a long lifetime, zealous for reform, I recognise with a great thankfulness that we have made of recent years in this problem a progress altogether surpassing what even the most sanguine amongst us were inclined to hope for. I refer, of course, to the Old Age Pensions—(hear, hear)—to the Insurance Act—(loud applause)—to the Insurance against invalidity and against unemployment, a measure which, I am convinced, will lose in a great degree its unpopularity—although it may need reform in parts—will in great measure lose its unpopularity in proportion as the people come to understand it better. (Applause.) It came

upon us somewhat in a hurry—(hear, hear)—and as it came upon us somewhat in a hurry, and we are mostly rather slow to take in new proposals—(hear, hear)—I venture to hope that in a little time we shall find it losing its unpopularity, as it becomes better understood. Besides that, we have had Labour Bureaux, from the working of which at present I do not think we have cause for discontent but, on the contrary, for encouragement. And we have also further departures in the direction of Trade Board Acts.

I am among those people who believe in the Bible, and believing in the Bible I am totally unable to separate economics from morality—(hear, hear)—or from justice. I believe that there is no maxim more sound fundamentally, or one which it is better worth while thinking about and studying to apply than the maxim that the proper wage of the worker is the first and not the last charge upon the industry. Well, we have made immense progress. We need, in order to consolidate that progress and find the starting point for further progress, an immensely more diffused intelligence. People get angry about this strike or that strike, this peril or that peril. They become very much excited, and under the leadership of what particular halfpenny newspaper they happen to read they ejaculate the opinions of a particular class ; but it is a very serious fact, though I am sure it is true, that within the last decade we have seen an immense strengthening of class opinion over local opinion. Now local opinion is very much healthier than class opinion. Local opinion is deeply grounded on local conditions and local matters. Class opinion is generally a very ignorant and one-sided thing, and what we have got to do our very best to encourage is the development of the opinion which is wider than class opinion—the opinion which is national and which is human, which looks at these problems as problems which can really be dealt with and is resolved to apply all the faculties of will and of heart and of intellect in order that people shall understand their present opportunities and be able to see how the opportunities of the masses of men can be developed and improved.

And then, lastly, there is the Section which deals with crime and drunkenness. I suppose there is no one of us who is the least satisfied with our treatment of crime, especially with our treatment of crime at its inception. (Hear, hear.) We sadly know too well what are the conditions under which the criminal begins his career. There was a celebrated occasion once on which Mr. Ruskin was induced to visit Mr. Gladstone. He was brought to Hawarden, and he arrived in one of his most paradoxical moods, and amongst the extraordinary merits of the great statesman to whom he came a sense of humour was not amongst the greatest. (Laughter.) And at dinner Mr. Ruskin poured out his scheme for social reform into the ears of Mr. Gladstone. He would have every city divided into mathematically equal squares. Then in each city he would select 100 of the most prominent citizens and he would make a list of their names. Then when any crime occurred instead of undergoing the laborious search for the criminal he would have the first two names on the list taken and punishment applied to them. (Laughter.) The punishment was not to be capital. That, he once said in a letter to the *Times*, was punishment too bad for any persons except bishops and bank directors. But short of that it was to be as severe as might be necessary, but it was to be applied to the prominent citizens. Mr. Gladstone did not understand. He kept muttering, " Indeed, indeed, indeed." But I fancy we understand. Perhaps we have some more sense of humour, but I fancy we understand what Mr. Ruskin meant. We understand that the more we know the more we feel that the responsibility for crime is a social responsibility,

a responsibility which in great measure belongs to us all, owing to the conditions which we allow, and we are not at all satisfied with the effect of the punishment of crime. We want to make great progress in making punishment remediable, and the best of those concerned with prison life are despondent about our present results and are sure that they might be improved. So that in that direction we need great thought, and the application of our best faculties.

And so with regard to drink—drink as a cause of destitution and also as a symptom. We are making great progress with regard to drink in many directions, and that comes not exactly from an increase of morality or an increase in self control but from a change of conditions and a development in the conditions of amusement and recreation which are partly good and partly bad, but at any rate show us to what a very large, to what an enormous extent, drinking habits are due to conditions and circumstances; and that again is a matter which claims your most careful and deliberate attention.

Well, I have done. All these matters are matters of urgent importance. All these matters are matters which need our very best attention and the union of varied intelligences in conflict and collision, but also, I hope, in a final agreement. I say collision and then agreement, because I have had the experience in a small area myself of how often people who start with the most different opinions in political and religious matters, when they are confronted with a particular evil can come to an agreement if they are only brought face to face with the facts. Our general opinions may be very different—our particular opinions as to the particular thing to be done in view of a particular set of social facts are very often found to coincide. I am speaking of those who are more or less experts. But we also want, and I hope this Conference will be the means of bringing it about, a very much more widely diffused intelligence. You said, Mr. Mayor, that many of the best intentioned efforts were mistaken. That is extraordinarily true. I will repeat a very old fable which I dare say you all remember from the American Æsop, about the tender-hearted elephant which, in the jungle, accidentally trod on the mother partridge who was about to sit on her own birds, and the female elephant with tears running down her nose said, "Well, I am a mother myself," and proceeded to sit down on the callow brood, with results that may be imagined. (Laughter.) The moral being that it is not only good intentions which qualify you to take care of an orphan asylum. We do need a more diffused general intelligence about those matters than there is at present.

For my last word, I stand here, and that altogether without shame, as a minister of religion, as a clergyman. I am very often told it is not my business to stand in places like this, as a clergyman; but I am quite sure people are mistaken. (Applause.) I am quite sure there is not, either in town or in country, any thoughful clergyman or minister of religion who does not find himself confronted with something like a brick wall in his moral and spiritual efforts, and when he cross-questions himself narrowly as to what it is builds up that brick wall he finds it is social conditions. There are no social conditions which can stand against moral miracles; but normal social conditions for the great masses of the people of this country act as an impediment of the gravest and the most permanent nature to the interests of religion, because they deprive the people of hope and trust. They deprive the people of those fundamental springs of feeling which make for organised religion. Hence the despondency of the people. And it is our positive task to do all that lies in us to better these social conditions in the interests not only of the country but also of religion. Moreover, we are

profoundly dissatisfied with what has been called religious charity. We are conscious it has done incalculable harm. We know that the distribution of relief has been the bane and not the blessing of religious institutions. We should look to see it, not altogether—that is impossible—but to a great extent divorced from religious administration, and put upon a civil and not a denominational or religious basis. I am sure that is one of the greatest reforms in religious action which we need to bring about; I am sure that the association of religion with charity, with getting, and therefore with cadging, has disgusted what is best and most hopeful in the ranks of the great army of workers; and I am sure that, again and again in the history of the world, the church has been going about with its ambulance cart when it ought to have been thundering at the gates of tyranny, thundering at the gates of those great strongholds which keep men captive in disastrous bondage. So it is in the name of God indeed, and in the name of the Son of Man, that I bid you go forward, whatever your religious or political beliefs, in the work of this Conference, and that I hope for the greatest and best results from your combined efforts. (Loud applause.)

Sir John Spear, M.P. (Association of Poor Law Unions), said he felt sure the members of the Conference would be unwilling to disperse to their various sections without tendering to the Lord Bishop of Oxford their most sincere thanks for the able, eloquent, and inspired address he had given them that morning. He felt sure, if that great body of social reformers wanted any encouragement in starting the work the Conference was called for, they had had it abundantly provided in his Lordship's address, and he, Sir John, had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks. As Poor Law Guardians they took off their hats to a Congress of that kind, for, while their occupation was to deal with destitution when it arose, they were there to-day to try to prevent its arising at all—(hear, hear)—and therefore, dealing with the great questions which had been mentioned by his Lordship, he (Sir John) felt they would be going hand-in-hand as Poor Law Guardians and social reformers in dealing with destitution, the great enemy of the human race.

The Lord Provost of Dundee said, as representing a large industrial community in Scotland, he had sincere pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks and at the same time wished to express his deep personal debt of gratitude to his Lordship for his most interesting, able, and instructive address.

Councillor J. H. Palin (Bradford County Borough Council) said he had the greatest possible pleasure in rising to propose a vote of thanks to the Mayor of Westminster. He was sure they were very much indebted to him for his words of welcome, and to the City Council, which he represented, for the loan of that splendid hall in which to conduct the deliberations of the Conference.

Continuing, Mr. Palin said, coming from the City of Bradford, they looked upon Westminster as one of the wealthiest cities in the Empire, and were apt to look upon wealthy people as somewhat unsympathetic with the object the Conference had in view; but he was very pleased, indeed, to find the Mayor of Westminster so deeply interested, and he (Mr. Palin) sincerely trusted that if his Worship followed their deliberations closely he might be gratified by finding he had welcomed a Conference which had been opening a new page of history for the British Empire. He had welcomed a Conference which had taken the first step to remove the blot on our Empire of poverty and destitution. (Hear, hear.) He was sure the Mayor would find that, in the long run, the ultimate outcome of the Conference would not be a multiplication of the unfit but the elimination of the unfit—(hear, hear)—and he believed that Conference would

be as patriotic in its endeavours as the City of Westminster would desire it to be. He believed that whatever their conception of Empire might be, whether they desired to see a plentiful supply of good material for the Army and Navy, or whether they desired to see, with John Ruskin, a great Empire that depended on neither its Army or Navy, or its wealth of production, but rather upon its number of happy and contented citizens, there was work enough for them all to do, and he hoped the Mayor and Council of the City of Westminster would go on in well doing and lead the way in this campaign against destitution.

Miss Constance Smith said she had great pleasure in rising to second the vote of thanks to the Mayor of Westminster. The work of the prevention of destitution which they were met to do that day was one in which they had to invoke more and more every year the help of the local authorities, and as regarded every item on the programme, the items of health, of education, of unemployment, of the treatment of those who laboured in workshops, and so on, they continually looked to the local authority for regulation and guidance, and assistance, and, therefore, it was an immense encouragement to those of them who had at heart especially the cause of the weakest in their industrial and working population—the women and children—to hear such a speech as that of the Mayor of Westminster which showed that the leading men among the local authorities were deeply studying the questions which affected their welfare. (Hear, hear).

Miss Haslam said she wished to support the resolution as one of the few delegates from Ireland.

The following resolution : " That the best thanks of this Conference be returned to the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and to the Mayor of Westminster, for their presence this morning " was then put to the meeting by the Honorary Secretary Mr. Robert Harcourt, M.P., and on a show of hands was carried unanimously, and conveyed to his Lordship and the Mayor of Westminster.

The Bishop of Oxford : I have to thank you very much indeed on behalf of the Mayor of Westminster and myself. We both recognise it as a great honour, as well as a pleasure, to be able to be here this morning.

PUBLIC HEALTH SECTION.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Sir Francis Champneys, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject of discussion was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF CHILDREN UNDER SCHOOL AGE. The following papers were taken:—

1.—*The Medical Treatment of Poor Children under School Age.*
By Dr. PHILIP BOOBBYER, Medical Officer of Health, Nottingham.

2.—*The Care of Children below School Age by Public Authorities.*
By Dr. A. H. BYGOTT, Medical Officer of Health Barking.

The Presidential Address.

By SIR FRANCIS CHAMPNEYS, Bart., M.D., F.R.C.P.

PUERPERAL MORTALITY AND THE MIDWIVES ACT.

THE department of Public Health with which I am brought most intimately into contact is that which is concerned with the entrance into life; and it is about this that I wish to speak for a few minutes.

Those who live in the present day, and who are not familiar with the records of the past, can have little conception of the perils which beset the mother and the child in former times. The "great pain and peril of childbirth" was a considerable reality until quite recently, and indeed it is because we are only now entering upon a new era that I wish to call attention to the change and how it was effected.

In February, 1874, Matthews Duncan, in an address delivered before the British Medical Association at Norwich ("Natural and Morbid Parturition," 1875, p. 433), quoted statistics which gave for New York a puerperal mortality of 1 in 35; for Prussia, 1 in 84; for Finland, 1 in 106; for Norway, 1 in 134.

He himself, in his classical investigation into the puerperal mortality of Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1855, found the mortality of married women within six weeks to be 1 in 107 at least, and estimated the mortality within four weeks at about 1 in 120. These figures were the result of immense labour, the author not being content with official statistics, but tracing the patients himself in their change of abode, with the result that many fatal cases were included which would otherwise have escaped detection.

His statistics were combated by two eminent persons, Dr. Farr, the Registrar-General, and Miss Florence Nightingale, who entirely declined to believe them, and endorsed the traditional but quite erroneous view that childbirth among ordinary women was a very safe process. This notion I have myself encountered, and some years ago had to insist on the facts being clearly stated on an occasion when a distinguished person objected that they would prevent her nieces from marrying! Dr. Duncan emerged triumphant from the opposition of his two eminent opponents, and his figures have been generally adopted ever since.

The above figures refer to the general puerperal mortality, but in the middle of the last century, and indeed until the latter part of it, the incidence of the mortality varied greatly according as it affected patients among the general population or those confined to Lying-in Hospitals. Indeed, no further back than my own student days it was currently alleged by eminent men that Lying-in Hospitals were hotbeds of infection, and ought to be shut up.

In the great Lying-in Hospital of Vienna, for instance, from 1841 to 1846 inclusive, the mortality in the second division, attended by midwives, varied from 2 per cent. in 1845 to 7.5 per cent. in 1842; while in the first division, attended by students, it varied from 6.8 per cent. in 1845 to 15.8 per cent. in 1842; the average mortality for the second division during the above period being 3.38 per cent., for the first division 9.9 per cent. (nearly 10 per cent.).

During this time not only was the mortality in British hospitals much lower, but in Vienna itself women who were confined in the street on the way to the hospital, or who, having been confined in a house, were brought or walked into the hospital, escaped the terrible mortality of the ordinary inmates.

Taking Dr. Matthews Duncan's figures for the general puerperal mortality, it may be said that no striking improvement took place until the beginning of the present century, when a marked improvement became apparent.

We will now briefly consider the main facts of the history of the campaign against puerperal fever. In this connection most Englishmen will not forget the name of Lister; a good many will remember that of Pasteur; but few will remember Semmelweis. And yet, it may be said that if Pasteur and Lister were the Caleb and Joshua who brought the mothers into the promised land, Semmelweis was the Moses who brought them within sight of it, and would have brought them in but for the hardness of the hearts of the medical profession, who condemned the people to wander forty (twenty) years in the wilderness. For an account of this most remarkable and most pathetic personage I would refer my audience to two works in English, one by the late Theodore Duka (a Hungarian like Semmelweis), and published at Hertford in 1888 under the title "Childbed Fever; its Causes and Prevention: A Life's History," a small but interesting pamphlet of 30 pages; the other, the admirable monograph "Semmelweis: His life and His Doctrine; a Chapter in the History of Medicine," pp. 369, published in Manchester at the University Press in 1909 by Sir William Sinclair.

Semmelweis was born in July, 1818, in the capital of Hungary. In 1846 he became provisional assistant in the first Obstetric Clinic of the Lying-in Hospital of Vienna. The hospital had two divisions: in Division I. patients were attended by students, in Division II. by pupil midwives. The mortality in Division II. (from 1841 to 1846 inclusive) averaged 3.3 per cent., in Division I. it averaged 9.9 (nearly 10) per cent., and three times as much as in Division II. The existing theories with regard to puerperal fever entirely failed to account for these facts, and the idea rushed into the mind of Semmelweis that the chief cause of the fever was infection, in this case by the students who had been in the habit of conducting post-mortem examinations at the same time as they were attending in the wards.

Semmelweis had already noticed that the new-born infants of puerperal fever patients often died, and that their post-mortem phenomena were identical with those of puerperal fever. What clinched the matter, however, was the death of Professor Kolletshcka with identical signs and symptoms from a post-mortem wound inflicted accidentally by one of his students (1847). Semmelweis had been not only keenly interested as a man of science, but profoundly distressed as a man of tender compassion by the dreadful ravages of puerperal fever, and his mind soon sprang to the truth of the nature of the disease and of the right way of combating it. The disease was due to infection, and to destroy infection would probably be to destroy the disease. He at once adopted the best known antiseptic of his day, chlorine, first in the form of chlorina liquida, and then a little later of chlorinated lime, in which every examining student had to wash his hands. The mortality in the first division sank at once from 11.4 per cent. to 3 per cent., and the next year (1848) to 1.27 per cent. Various other cases confirmed this doctrine and experience.

Here we have the truth of infection, and the foundation of antiseptics. But for the hardness of heart of the contemporaries and the immediate successors of Smmelweis, surgical asepsis would have sprung naturally from obstetrics, and who can measure the saving in life which would have ensued?

It is impossible at the present time not to compare the end of Lister's life, full of years, loaded with honours, including a national funeral in Westminster Abbey, with that of his great forerunner, rejected, opposed, dying in the prime of life in his 48th year, and, singularly enough, of the sepsis which he had spent his life in investigating and combating. So unequal are the ways of Fortune. But, in this case at least, both great men, Lister in his acceptance, Semmelweis in his rejection, may be heartily admired.

As regards the work of Semmelweis, in spite of the insight of a few—among whom some of our own countrymen, and especially the late Dr. C. H. F. Routh, deserve honourable mention—the doctrines of Semmelweis met with nothing but discouragement, and practically died out. Exactly twenty years after the discovery of Semmelweis in 1847, Lister, in 1867, founding his observations, not upon those of Semmelweis, but upon those of Pasteur, inaugurated surgical antisepsis, which, in due time, spread to obstetrics. The effect on surgery was immediate, the darkness had passed, and the light had come. But, as regards obstetrics, antiseptic treatment was not commenced until 1876 (nine years later), in the form of external antiseptic dressing to the vulva after labour, in the Lying-in Hospitals of Paris, and of vaginal and uterine injections with carbolic acid solution in 1878.

As regards London, antiseptic treatment was inaugurated at the General Lying-in Hospital by Sir John Williams and myself in 1880. The improvement in results, wherever antiseptics were used, was immediate, and Lying-in Hospitals, instead of being the most dangerous, soon became the safest places for a woman to be confined in. But this was not due entirely to their intrinsic merit, for Lying-in Hospitals ought by rights to give slightly worse results than those of the general puerperal population, inasmuch as their inmates naturally include an undue share of selected bad cases. The real cause was the neglect of doctors and midwives to adopt antiseptic methods throughout the country, which gave unduly bad results in comparison with those of the Lying-in Hospitals.

As has been said above, no marked improvement in the general puerperal mortality took place until the beginning of the present century. If I may be allowed to quote from myself I shall put the figures in the most easily assimilable form. In a discussion at the Royal Society of Medicine (Proc. Roy. Soc. Med., vol. iii., No. 9, July, 1910, pp. 231-2) I gave them as follows:—

"It might interest the Section if I quote from the Registrar-General's Reports, which will be found in the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Lord President of the Council to consider the working of the Midwives Act, 1902. (i., pp. 24 *seq.*)

"From Table A, giving the annual death-rates from puerperal sepsis per million of females living, it will be seen that the death-rate in 1902 was 118, and in 1907 it was 81.

"The Census of 1901 showed that in England and Wales there were 16,800,000 women. The saving of life in 1907, as compared with 1902, was 37 per million. In other words, the lives of more than 621 women were saved in 1907 which would have been lost in 1902.

"Table B, calculated in the proportion of 1,000 births, shows the same thing, and these results are graphically set forth in diagrams A and B. Diagram C, showing the death-rates from puerperal sepsis and accidents of childbirth to 1,000 births, shows that this rate prior to 1902 was never below 4.39; in 1907 it was 3.83. Striking evidence was given before the Committee to the same effect.

"As regards infantile mortality, Dr. Robinson, of Rotherham, stated that while the death-rate in cases attended by midwives was 101 per 1,000 in 1907, the death-rate in cases not attended by midwives was 194; in 1908 the mortality in midwives' cases was 92, in non-midwives' cases 195."

I have only to add that the Midwives Act was passed in 1902, and came into operation on April 1st, 1903. I do not claim the whole of the above improvement for the Midwives Act, but that its inauguration has been the chief factor in the improvement I think admits of no doubt. The rules drawn up by the Central Midwives' Board in 1902, and revised in 1907 and 1911, especially Section E, "regulating, supervising, and restricting within due limits the practice of midwives," may claim to meet the needs of the situation. They are now in their tenth year of operation, and would, I venture to think, be instructive not only to students and practitioners of medicine, but to all those who take an interest in the great department of Public Health concerning mothers and infants. They are published by Spottiswoode for the Central Midwives' Board.

I trust that the brief sketch which I have just given may not be entirely uninteresting. In any case, I shall not have greatly delayed the important business of the Section.

Medical Treatment of Poor Children under School Age.

By PHILIP BOOBBYER, M.D.
(Medical Officer of Health, Nottingham).

IN the first place, I desire to thank Dr. Lyster, and other officers of the Public Health Section, for the invitation they gave me some two months ago to speak here to-day, and in response to which I have undertaken to open a discussion on the medical treatment of children of the poorer classes of less than school age.

It is, I think, hardly necessary to produce statistical and other evidence of the need for such treatment, in larger measure than at present existent, both in town and country, but especially in congested town districts. Perhaps, however, it will be well to inform those who have not made a study of the subject, that not only the death-rates of infants under 1 year of age and of children under 5 years, but the records of ailments, remediable and irremediable, among "entrants" at Public Elementary Schools, plainly indicate the necessity, alike for inspection and treatment, among children of tender age belonging to the poorer classes of the general population.

The infant death-rates, or death-rates under 1 year per 1,000 of births during the year, have ranged during many recent years in our Nottingham slum districts at from 40 per cent. to 100 per cent. in advance of those for the city as a whole, and have amounted to as much as 500 per cent. of those for specially healthy neighbourhoods in the city. The two latter proportional excesses of infant mortality were discovered as existent, almost exactly, in what is known as the Carter Gate and Manvers Street slum area, during 1911, a year with a hot and dry summer—a diarrhœa year. This latter area comprises some seven acres and 600 houses, and contains a population of about 2,000 persons.

The deaths under 5 years per 1,000 of total annual deaths have had a similar but even larger proportional excess above the normal, especially noticeable in times of measles and whooping-cough prevalence. In the unhealthy area mentioned above, the excess of this rate above that for the entire city has ranged in the same series of recent years from 64 per cent. to well over 100 per cent.

So much for the death-rates of a considerable section of the class of children in question—of that section, at any rate, with which in this discussion we are principally concerned.

Let us turn now to consider very briefly the amount of diseases or defects, other than acute infectious maladies, from which children of the relatively poorer class suffer, so far as this is ascertainable from existing records. We cannot, I think, as I have suggested above, do better than consult the records of the Medical Inspection Departments of Public Elementary Schools of the country in order to obtain such information. On page 256 of his Annual Report for 1910, Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, gives the following particulars on this head:—

> "Out of the six million children registered on the books of the Public Elementary Schools of England and Wales, about 10 per cent. suffer from a serious defect in vision, from 3 to 5 per cent. suffer from defective hearing, 1 to 3 per cent. have suppurating ears, 6 to 8 per cent. have adenoids or enlarged tonsils of sufficient degree to obstruct the nose or throat, and thus to require surgical treatment, about 40 per cent. suffer from extensive and injurious decay of the teeth, about 30 to 40 per cent. have unclean heads

or bodies, about 1 per cent. suffer from ringworm, 1 per cent. from tuberculosis in readily recognisable form, from 1 to 2 per cent. are afflicted with heart disease, and a considerable percentage of children are suffering from a greater or less degree of malnutrition."

To this formidable list may be added such important specific complaints as congenital syphilis, rickets, intestinal parasitism, kidney troubles, probably earlier rheumatism, and many others.

A large majority of the affections discovered by the School Medical Officer will have been in progress for a considerable time before they come under his notice, and many are of such character as to require early treatment very urgently, and yet the recorded experience of many School Medical Officers goes to show that in from 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the cases no medical treatment has been sought or obtained. There is, then, no room for doubt that medical treatment is urgently called for among the young children of the poor, and that hitherto such treatment has not been provided.

With this fact before us, we naturally ask, how is the deficiency to be met? For, in the present state of public feeling with regard to all matters affecting the interests of the poor, when such a fact is once fully recognised, a demand is immediately made for some provision to fill the hiatus.

The present situation as regards provision for the treatment of necessitous children attending the Public Elementary Schools of England and Wales is pretty well known; in most of our large towns, at any rate, good headway is now being made towards securing appropriate treatment for such children requiring it. It may be well at this stage to consider the various existing provisions, statutory and other, for securing this treatment, and I cannot, I think, do better than adopt the excellent summary of them contained in Sir George Newman's Annual Report for 1910.

First, we have "Treatment by Private Medical Practitioners."

This is impracticable in most cases for lack of means on the part of parents to pay the practitioner's fees, and, even when the Local Authority contract with the practitioner, it is difficult to obtain from a busy man the almost continuous supervision and treatment which many children's ailments require. At best, the practitioner acts more or less independently, and is not in official touch with those numberless auxiliary persons, departments, and institutions whose aid is frequently more necessary for the ailing or defective child than anything the most skilful medical attendant can personally devise or do.

Then "(1) Treatment under Special Acts of Parliament; (2) Treatment under the Poor Law; (3) Treatment under Section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907.

(1) *Treatment under Special Acts of Parliament.*

"Special provision has been made by Parliament for the education and amelioration of children of abnormal type, or suffering from unhealthy conditions, and the powers conferred under these Acts should be exercised as far as practicable. Examples of such enactments are—

(*a*) The Public Health Acts provide for preventive measures, sanitation, disinfection, and the establishment of hospitals or temporary places for the reception of the sick who are not 'paupers.'

(*b*) The Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools, Articles 18 and 2 (9), and other regulations of the Board of Education, provide for the sanitation of the school and the teaching of physical exercises (which may be of exceptional value in dealing with various physical defects of children).

(*c*) The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, deals with the education of the blind and deaf.

(*d*) The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, under which children who are physically defective (cripples, tuberculous, anæmic, etc.), mentally defective (including feeble-minded children), and epileptic, are provided for in greater or less degree. Open-air schools and special schools for cases of ophthalmia, favus, and so forth, have been certified by the Board of Education under this Act.

(*e*) Under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, arrangements may be made for the feeding of under-nourished children.

(*f*) The Children Act, 1908, provides for neglected and verminous children

(2) *Treatment under the Poor Law.*

(3) *Treatment under Section* 13 *of the Education* (*Administrative Provisions*) *Act*, 1907."

To these agencies must be added the long list of voluntary hospitals and dispensaries, general and special, established wherever the population tends to thicken in all parts of the country. This last section must be taken to some extent in connection with that immediately preceding it, as I shall show later on.

I have already referred to the general medical practitioner, and the necessary limitations of his usefulness, so far at any rate as the effective treatment of many children's ailments among the poor is concerned. I shall now comment very briefly upon the other sources of treatment mentioned above.

The Public Health Acts enable the local Sanitary Authority to deal with infectious diseases to a limited extent, but many important matters (*e.g.*, the effective treatment of such diseases as measles and whooping-cough) are neglected by common consent.

The sanitation of schools, the teaching of physical exercises, and the care and education of the blind, hardly belong to the treatment category, but their application, so far as it extends, is special, and therefore of narrow connotation, requiring no further definition.

The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, has been the means of bringing relief to many sufferers, through open-air schools and special schools of various kinds; but the children I am principally considering (*i.e.*, those under school age) are not benefited by its provisions.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, has fulfilled a very useful purpose, although the necessity for its provisions has, I believe, been exaggerated in some quarters, and the free food provided in many instances (*e.g.*, soft carbohydrates) has been very bad for the children's teeth.

The Children Act, 1908, is intended for the protection of children against parental neglect. Section 12 of this Act imposes penalties upon parents who fail to provide proper medical treatment for their children. This Act, strongly and wisely administered, would be an instrument of untold good for the ailing and neglected children of our slums. Unfortunately, however, there is much mawkish sentiment abroad just now respecting the so-called sanctity of personal liberty, which even extends to many cases where its possessors regard it in the light of license to do as they please, without reference to the feelings or interests of those dependent on them. Certainly no man should have liberty to neglect or starve his family in order to gratify his taste for gambling and drinking; and yet there are those who deprecate the use of restraint for the man who regularly drinks or gambles away more than half his weekly wage, because, forsooth, this savours of interference with personal liberty. The Act, as I have said, might be

the means of helping very materially to secure regular and efficient treatment for young children requiring it, if there were any reliable organisation for enforcing its provisions on their behalf, but unfortunately there is not. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the police in some cases, do much useful work in protecting misused and neglected children, but their action only touches incidentally and occasionally the mass of chronic infantile invalidism to which I have referred.

The next source of possible treatment is the Poor Law Organisation. Children in Poor Law and Workhouse Schools, and Poor Law children attending Public Elementary Schools, receive medical attention under the Poor Law, but, notwithstanding the provisions of the Medical Relief Disqualification Removal Act, 1885, the fact remains that comparatively little effective medical treatment is extended by the Poor Law service to persons other than those classed as paupers. The actual extent to which this source of treatment is available for children attending Public Elementary Schools is set out very clearly in Section VI. of Sir George Newman's Report for 1910, and from this account it will be gathered that there is little continuous and satisfactory treatment to be looked for from this source for children under school age, outside the limits of recognised destitution.

We come now to treatment sanctioned by Section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. Under the liberal interpretation by the Central Board of the powers conferred by this section, as already stated above, very satisfactory provision is now being made for the treatment of large numbers of ailing and defective children attending the Public Elementary Schools in all parts of the country.

It is foreign to my purpose on the present occasion to discuss at any length the admirable organisation which is now rapidly developing on all sides to this end, in more or less effective combination with home visitation by trained Nurses (in "following up" cases), and the teaching of such subjects as hygiene, domestic economy, and the feeding and care of infants. It was abundantly clear from the outset that the School Clinic was a necessary corollary of Medical Inspection. Home visitation, and following up, again, by skilled Nurses and Health Visitors, is absolutely indispensable to successful treatment. Without the following up of cases, much of the treatment prescribed is absolutely thrown away. This fact was realised years ago by hospital physicians and surgeons and others engaged or interested in medical and surgical work among the poor. The late Dr. W. B. Ransom, of Nottingham, endeavoured some ten years since to make arrangements with the Health Department for the employment of a Health Visitor, with full training as a Nurse, to visit the out-patients of the General Hospital in their homes, in order to secure, as far as possible, an intelligent compliance and co-operation on the part of patients and friends with the treatment prescribed at the hospital. In many cases, however, not only is there no possibility of obtaining such assistance and co-operation, but the condition of the home is itself the cause of the mischief for which medical aid is sought. The degraded home—or hovel called a home—of our city slum especially, is the crux alike of the eugenic, the educational, and the housing problem.

The following-up work done by the School Nurse and Health Visitor is admirable in all repects, but it is—directly, at any rate—only intended to benefit the school child. The Nurse would not be allowed by her Department to interfere with a child under school age. The most she could do would be to give a little friendly advice as to what should be done in the case of an ailing child of such age; she could give no effective assistance.

Last on my list stands the Voluntary Public Hospital as a source of treatment for the children of the poor. The attempt recently made in London, to harness some fifteen of the hospitals of the metropolis systematically as adjuncts to the Medical Inspection Department of the County Council's Public Elementary Schools, was not eminently successful in its results. The parents, the School Medical Officers, and the hospital staffs have all failed to be satisfied with the arrangement. The parents complained of waste of time and money involved in long waiting, frequent fruitless visits and unsatisfactory treatment; the School Medical Officers had no directing control or supervision over cases in which they were interested; and the hospital staffs in many instances alleged that the treatment of Public Elementary School children in this systematic manner at the hospitals was detrimental alike to the latter and themselves. The fact is, the hospitals, whatever the scope of the function for which they were founded, have not been accustomed to deal with such a large mass of work in the continuous and systematic and complete manner required by the exigencies of the Medical Inspection Department. They were not, moreover, co-ordinated with the latter and prepared to co-operate with its officers, and adjust their work to the varying requirements of a new and more or less experimental situation.

It is a strikingly significant fact that about 90 per cent. of the cases thus sent to hospital, and obviously requiring, and having often long required, active treatment, have not been to hospital before. This, of course, is a strong further argument in support of my contention that inspection and treatment alike are urgently called for in the case of large numbers of poor children under school age.

I have not discussed the National Insurance Act, because the great bulk of the children with whom I am here concerned will be altogether outside its initial provisions, and it is too soon to begin to anticipate any changes in the latter which the future may bring. There is, however, one point in this connection to which I think sufficient attention has not been given. It is this:—the lower we go in the social scale of any civilised states, the greater the amount of sickness we discover, and the greater, therefore, is the need of supervision, inspection, and medical care; and yet it is this class which schemes like that embodied in the Insurance Act almost necessarily leave severely alone. We must raise the status and earning capacity of such people before we can economically deal with them; but seeing that their unfortunate case revolves in a vicious circle of reciprocal and successive cause and effect, effect and cause, it is difficult to see how it is to be improved by any method that does not involve considerable gratuitous outlay. And we must bear in mind that we cannot expect to do much with the present generation; we must be content to rest our hopes on the next.

I have taken up a good deal of your time with an endeavour to demonstrate the desirability of providing and enforcing earlier medical supervision and assistance than is available at present for the children of the poor.

I shall now give a brief description of a scheme which is steadily developing in my own town, and which has for its object the succouring of the mother and baby of the poor family in the first instance, and of the whole poor family in the second. Our scheme comprises three Schools for Mothers, or Mothers' and Babies' Welcomes, similar to those established years ago on the Continent (Madame Coullet, of Paris, was the pioneer of the movement for providing free meals for nursing mothers), and more recently in about twenty-five towns and townships in these islands—the St. Pancras Welcome being the first established in England. These Welcomes, in Nottingham, are financed jointly by the public

rates and private subscriptions and bequests, and their superintendents are qualified nurses and sanitary inspectors appointed and paid by the Corporation under the Notification of Births Act. Each of them has an honorary Medical Staff, one member of which attends twice weekly in rotation to give advice to the mothers on the subject of their own and their babies' health. They are managed by a large and widely representative committee, including members of the Health Committee of the Corporation, the junior School Medical Officers, and myself. The Duchess of Portland is President.

The following brief extracts from one of my reports on the Welcomes will give a fair idea of the work they have done up to the present:—

"An institution like the 'Mothers' and Babies' Welcome' is an almost necessary adjunct or complement to any scheme of social reform among the poor. The Notification of Births Act could not be of any practical utility without such a local centre as the 'Welcome' affords for the instruction and assistance of ignorant and necessitous young mothers, whose cases come to the knowledge of the Local Authority through the operation of the Act. Without the 'Welcome' we should have to rely solely upon influence exerted by our special Inspectors in the homes, chiefly by the aid of oral and printed instruction; and such ministration, we know, however thorough and painstaking and conscientious it may be, bears usually very little tangible fruit. In the 'Welcome' the women learn in the best of all ways, by observation and experience, the truth of principles they would otherwise be unable to grasp. A good example is set them in various matters coming within their daily domestic experience, and such example is not only valuable to the baby and the mother, but affects also the whole domestic establishment.

"Centres of this character are invaluable aids to Housing reform, for very many of the ills from which the poor suffer in our city slums are the direct outcome of their own ignorance, incapacity, or active vice. Effective teaching must go hand in hand with the provision of better houses and other physical reforms, if the poor are to benefit to any considerable extent, and in a permanent manner, from these reforms. The good fruits of such teaching and demonstrations as the 'Welcome' provides are already to be found in many poor neighbourhoods throughout the city; and during recent inspections by the Housing Committee of the Corporation we have often found houses in poor streets looking bright and clean and wholesome, while all around them was wretchedness and squalor. Some good influence has been at work in these cases, which serve to show what intelligence, thrift, and courage can accomplish under discouraging circumstances. Let such evidence of a capacity for sterling effort to improve, on the part of the poor, stimulate us to persevere with our schemes of social improvement among them."

Some idea of the extent of the influence exerted by these Welcomes may be gathered from the average numbers of attendances in a given period for various purposes. During the past year the free and cheap dinners given at the Welcomes have averaged 621 per month; the numbers of visits paid by mothers to the Welcomes for all purposes, 1,500 per month; and the numbers of new babies brought to the Welcomes, 90 per month. The range above and below the average has in each case been relatively narrow, and the numbers in each category are steadily growing.

It is our intention in the near future to increase the number of these Welcomes. From the generous support accorded them in the past, we have no reason for anticipating any difficulty in raising the funds to enable us to do so. But the

question of the extension of the Welcomes is not so important as that of the extension of their function, to enable them to serve as a species of Inspection Clinic for defective and ailing children of the social class to which the mothers attending the Welcomes belong. If this can be accomplished, we shall be in a position to deal more or less effectively with a large number of ailing and defective children of the poorer class, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have to wait some years for treatment. Much will depend upon the Local Government Board and the Board of Education. If the first will consent to accept this as a legitimate extension of work normally done under the provisions of the Notification of Births Act, and the second will allow some younger children to be sent to the School Clinics " in anticipation," the prospect of a successful development of this scheme in the near future will be greatly improved.

I need not trouble you with details of the scheme as regards the number of additional inspectors required, and the special function or functions of each. These are mere matters of detail. The principal point I wish to make is, that we have succeeded in obtaining the confidence of a large number of the poor mothers of the town, and have no doubt we can do the same with others by the use of similar means. The rest is simple.

The Care of Children below School Age by Local Authorities.

By A. H. Bygott, M.D. (Lond.), D.P.H.
(Barrister at Law; Medical Officer of Health, Barking, E.).

It must not be forgotten that, although Elementary Education for children was made compulsory in 1874, no steps were taken throughout the country as a whole to investigate their physical condition until 1908, after the matter had been introduced by a private Member's Bill in Parliament. The results of these inspections have been sufficient to start a very widespread demand for more care for the physical well-being of school children, especially in reference to the treatment of defects discovered by such inspection, the provision of Open-air Schools, and a curriculum in which the doctor is to have his definite place.

But as regards the children *under* school age, it is, of course, impossible to collect them all together for medical examination, and to base a claim for their more effective supervision and treatment on the evidence thus obtained. Yet evidence is forthcoming from other sources that such a claim ought to be made on behalf of these children also, since they possess greater possibilities for improvement by well-thought-out methods than do even the school children.

In 1909 the following figures were published by Dr. T. H. C. Stevenson, Superintendent of Statistics at the Registrar-General's Office:—

Cause of Death.	Age under 1.	1–5.	5–10.	10–15.	15–20.	20–25.	25–35.	35 and upwards	All ages.
All causes ..	108·73	15·98	3·31	1·96	2·73	3·38	4·88	26·50	14·62
Phthisis ..	0·29	0·23	0·15	0·27	0·80	1·22	1·64	1·74	1·09
Other Tubercular Diseases	3·71	1·57	0·46	0·31	0·25	0·18	0·19	0·17	0·45

These tables show very much more serious mortality figures before school age than after, and this would be even more marked in the case of nutritional or infectious diseases or diarrhœa. Moreover, where one child dies, numbers of children are damaged permanently, and this will be more apparent when more experience has been obtained respecting the children who enter school.

In Hampstead in 1911 the birth-rate was 14.0 per 1,000, and the infant mortality rate 83, whilst in Shoreditch the figures were 30.7 and 177 respectively. In spite of this wholesale slaughter which takes place in Shoreditch, the latter contributes more largely to the metropolitan population than Hampstead does. Thirty years ago, before artificial restrictions on the birth-rate were as common as they are now, Hampstead would have contributed a larger number of children, and more children in Shoreditch would have died. Two hundred years earlier an occasional pestilence and the public executioner would have enabled the population of the two localities to increase on terms more favourable to the healthier community. Now it is obviously impossible by legislative measures to secure the birth of more children in Hampstead, therefore the only course open to the administrator is to attempt to secure more favourable conditions for those born in Shoreditch.

The well-to-do man provides for his children during the early years of their life a separate part of his house, with special attendants, and the wise parent is yearly insisting more strongly on the special training of these attendants in the care and nurture of the young child. It is, moreover, an open secret that about three-quarters of the time of most family practitioners is taken up in attending young children, and a considerable proportion of the other quarter by the care of their mothers, very frequently in connection with child-bearing. This is a great contrast to the case of the poor man whose children have very often to be brought up in one small room. The mother, who is really an unskilled maid-of-all-work without any proper instruction in the care of children, looks after them, and the medical advice is given by a neighbour or chemist or by some other entirely unqualified person.

The ideal time to commence caring for young children is before they are born, the next best time is directly after birth. During the first year of life in the natural state the child is entirely dependent on its mother for food, the teeth begin to develop, and it is exceedingly receptive of impressions which will exercise an immense influence in the periods of more obvious development during the second and third years. It is at this time that rickets, a disease capable of inflicting lasting and permanent deformities, shows itself. Nervous diseases also, such as epilepsy, may commence; and though, by appropriate treatment, they may be rendered harmless, if left unchecked they may absolutely ruin the future life. Such conditions as adenoids, especially if associated with rickets, may so distort the chest or mouth that, even if they are discovered when the child attends school and removed, the deformity will remain. In many cases a child begins to squint at two years or earlier; if it is left untreated one eye is often seriously damaged and treatment rendered much more difficult and capable of yielding a much less satisfactory result by the time it is medically inspected by the School Doctor.

The need of proper surroundings and skilled management have been mentioned already as essential for the proper development of the healthy child. Good food —and here it may be remarked that milk should be a staple article of a child's diet—is not less necessary. The Board of Trade returns (Cd. 3864 of 1908) throw a very unsatisfactory light on the prevention and management of cases of weakness or illness in young children. They show that in the expenditure of

urban workmen, earning under 25s. a week, an average of 8d. per week is allowed for milk with a family of 3.1 children living at home. Try as we will we cannot escape the fact that such a man is very often quite unable to provide his children with food suitable to their age and condition, and that consequently, when they break down, the doctor who attends them is indeed trying to make bricks without straw.

Some very valuable observations on the relationship of poverty to infant mortality appear in the report of the Medical Officer for Birmingham in 1909. He shows that "the mortality among the infants born in 1908 of all mothers employed either before or after childbirth was at the rate of 190 per 1,000 births, whilst amongst those not industrially employed it was 207 per 1,000 births," the births of 1,503 children being investigated in two wards where the infant mortality was 166 and 211 respectively, 54 per cent. of the mothers going out to work. These figures show that, in spite of the greater difficulties placed in the way of breast feeding by the fact of a woman going to work, these were more than counterbalanced by the increase in family income due to her earnings.

We have now to consider what is being done by the various agencies directly concerning themselves with the preservation of the lives of young children. Before the Notification of Births Act, 1907, some attempt was made by a few progressive Authorities to visit the homes in which births had occurred and to give advice to the mothers as to their management of young children. It was, however, found that, as the births were not registered for six weeks, many babies died before this visit could take place. As, under this Act, births must be notified to the Medical Officer of Health within thirty-six hours, much more work is now done in this direction than before. The visiting is now done either by an officer of the Local Authority or by a voluntary society. In most cases the visitor has received some training in hygiene; many of them being either nurses or certificated midwives, whilst in a few instances they are medical women. They give advice to the mother either orally or by leaflets, deal with any sanitary defects in the house, and in cases of destitution are sometimes able to put the family in communication with some charitable institution. There is very often an arrangement by means of which babies can be taken at regular intervals to a central depôt to be weighed and given advice by the Health Visitor or other person in charge. Sometimes dried milk or some preparation of cow's milk is supplied for those babies who attend, either at cost price or, in cases of necessity, free of cost. No medical advice or drug treatment is, as a rule, undertaken at these places, the friends being advised to seek it from the ordinary sources. It is generally not even allowable to suggest the administration of a dose of gray powder. Although this arrangement teaches a doctor how much may be done without drugs there are many cases in which this limitation entirely prevents the adequate treatment of the case. An attempt is usually made to revisit more or less regularly any cases which appear to need it on the first visit, but as the staff available is not generally sufficient for this to be done thoroughly, the existence of a well-equipped and popular advisory department to which babies can be taken by their mothers is of the utmost importance.

Most Authorities entirely lose sight of the child after it is a year old, and do not meet with it again until its arrival at school at an age, which varies with the district, from 3 to 5 years. During the time that it learns to walk and to talk it is therefore left quite uncared for, as far as any Public Authority is concerned.

Some voluntary societies have provided Crèches where young children may be looked after during the day-time whilst their mothers are at work. In a great

many instances the funds available for this purpose are not adequate, there is no regular medical supervision, and the arrangements are not so complete as they might be. Moreover, it is no one's business to inspect these places.

Failing some such institution, the mother, if at work, usually leaves the child in the house of an elderly woman, who is very often ignorant and, of course, has no maternal interest in the child. Their care of such children is often very bad indeed. The sum paid for this service is usually about 1s. 9d. per week. Sometimes an older child manages the baby during the mother's absence.

As a rule, in districts where many of the mothers go out to work, an attempt is made to get the child into school at the earliest possible moment—*i.e.*, at about 3 years of age. The youngest child I have heard of as attending school was 18 months old! When the child has entered school, all the various arrangements for feeding, inspection, and medical treatment are available for its care as for other school children. A certificated mistress receives usually from £100 to £130 a year for teaching these children, and may have to deal with a class of from sixty to eighty of them. An attempt is made to teach them counting and other simple matters by Kindergarten methods, and it is a definite step in advance of the old methods; in a few schools arrangements are being made for the children to sleep during a part of the day in hammocks, or even on old newspapers spread on the floor. If it is decided to continue this method of dealing with small children there ought to be an opening for a special kind of school officer, partly teacher and partly nurse, well versed in infant hygiene and the psychology of the child mind, one who will allow the mind and body to develop along the lines that Nature intends.

It is clear that many children must of necessity be taken from home during their mothers' absence. Hence there appears to be a clear case for the establishment of Crèches in connection with the schools in these districts. Several objections may, however, be made to this. In the first place it has been urged that it encourages the mother to leave her home unnecessarily. Although this may be so in a few instances, by far the commonest cause for a mother's working is the smallness of the family income, and this raises an economic question too large to be touched on here. Moreover, the care of infants needs special training and skill, and it must be admitted that, owing to the ignorance of the mother, the child very often would thrive better if away from the home for the greater part of the day.

Again, the danger of contracting infectious diseases is used as an argument against establishing School Crèches. It is well known that infectious disease is much more fatal to children below school age than it is later on, so that, it is urged, it is advisable to postpone the incidence of these diseases for as long as possible. This argument has greater weight, but it is a common experience to find a very large number of cases of scarlet fever, measles, and whooping-cough in children under school age in which the disease has not been contracted in school. Is it, therefore, better, considering that children are admitted already at 3 years of age, to take these children and care for them under the best possible conditions, keeping them under the observation of skilled attendants on the look-out for the first sign of disease and having at their disposal a sufficient medical staff, than to scatter them amongst a number of insanitary homes near to their mothers' houses?

The absence of such facilities prevents many children being born, and injures many others by the steps taken, after they are expected, to prevent their coming into the world at all.

It has been proposed to hand over the care of these young children to the Public Health Authority. This seems unnecessary. Already our schools cater for some of them, and education is being looked upon more and more as the bringing up of children rather than gathering them into barns and preaching to them. Why not allow the assistance in bringing them up by the Public Authority to begin in the same place where it will certainly be continued when the child gets older? The public are used to the schools, have every confidence in them, and would be able to avail themselves of the services of older children who attend them to take the little ones backwards and forwards to their homes. As so many schools are built with a very limited space around them, centres for infant care could, in some instances, be set up in public parks. Unfortunately, however, the best of these are often situated at the "west end" of the town. Sanitary surroundings and equipment, skilled attendance and provision for abundance of fresh air and sunlight, are the chief factors necessary for dealing with this problem. The question of the provision of food at such a centre could be dealt with by charging the parents a small sum for it in a way similar to that used in the schools for cripples.

For anyone wishing to study infant life the opportunities are at present very limited. The only institutions which take babies who might be looked upon as healthy, on a large scale, belong to the Poor Law. These are, as a rule, imperfectly provided with medical equipment, and many of the babies are distinctly abnormal. It would be a great asset for the nation if we had institutions connected with the Elementary Schools in which the older girls could receive instruction in the care of live babies and in which some of them, on leaving school, could be provided with employment and trained for service as nursemaids.

In addition to the provision which might thus with advantage be made for the care of those children whose mothers are absent from home for part of the day there is a very great need of residential institutions in which poorly nourished children or those suffering from tubercular affections or other diseases might be admitted for long periods to "give them a chance." The voluntary homes for this purpose are insufficient to admit all the children who are very ill indeed, and the demand for their beds seldom allows the child to remain for a sufficiently long period to effect an absolute cure. Through my being able to combine to a limited extent my experience in the homes of the poor with my knowledge of their treatment as hospital outpatients, it has been brought home to me that there is a very great need for some such residential institution. To sit in a chair in the hospital and give judgments and physic in such cases is better than doing nothing—the friends, at all events, feel that something is being done—but it would be possible to do very much more. In several instances I have kept children suffering from such conditions who have been admitted into the Isolation Hospital, suffering from infectious disease in addition, for very long periods after the danger of affecting others was gone, and have been most satisfied with the result.

At Brighton, Dr. Forbes for some years has taken children suffering from tubercular disease of the bones and joints into wards in the Isolation Hospital because there is no other place for them, the home surroundings and the mother's care being quite unsuitable for such cases. The cost of management is very small, and it is probable that this is some of the most useful work undertaken by any Public Authority.

The Open-air School, which is now doing useful work in various localities, will confer tremendous indirect benefits on posterity by emphasising principles on which the management of children should be based. It is rather a curious fact

that Miss Margaret McMillan should be providing open-air treatment for children in an old burying ground at Deptford in which a number of young children are literally sleeping among the tombs instead of in them.

The provision of such arrangements must of necessity influence the health of the rising generation, but their value would be greatly enhanced by good medical advice, more accessible to the poor than it is at present. Amongst other things we are forging new weapons for the doctor. We should abolish the old-fashioned system of waiting till the child has collapsed, and allowing the immediate provision of such assistance to depend on whether the family exchequer can provide the doctor's fee without waiting till Saturday. It is no longer enough to be told the name of a disease, which is very often totally misapplied, and to be satisfied with a bottle of medicine; the doctor must become the medical adviser in illness or before illness comes, and no system will cater effectually for the care of young children until the doctor is just as accessible to the mother of the poor child, who is often ill, as to the rich man's child, who seldom needs him. It is a great mistake to imagine that the poor regard the provision of medical assistance as such a priceless jewel that they will be prepared to seek it along with tramps and vagrants at the hands of the Relieving Officer, and that the latter (absolutely unacquainted, as he very often is, with the elements of child hygiene) will supply it, even if asked, in many cases in which it is most needed.

In Barking this question of the provision of medical assistance for poor children is more difficult than in many other places, for, although there are a number of hospitals in London, they are, for the most part, grouped in the centre, and many very populous districts are entirely unprovided with general hospitals. The two chief hospitals which cater for Barking are the London and the Poplar Hospital for Accidents, distant about six miles and five miles respectively. The railway fare to the London is 10d. return. Cheap tickets are issued at a cost of 3d. return if the persons travel before 7.30 a.m. As many of the departments do not open till 2 p.m. this necessitates an absence from home for the whole day, with no proper waiting accommodation during the morning. A very large number of casual labourers reside in Barking, and in spite of these drawbacks this was, till quite recently, the recognised provision for medical assistance for their young children, many of them whilst suffering from measles, whooping-cough, and other infectious diseases being conveyed by train or tram to these institutions. Quite recently a child was badly burnt whilst its mother was visiting a hospital with another member of the family who ought to have been treated in the district.

These very unsatisfactory arrangements made the Council decide, when they had to consider the provision of treatment for school children, to provide an Out-patient Hospital for the treatment of any person of any age who was in need of it. Section 130 of the Public Health Act, 1874, enables any Local Authority to provide hospitals or places for the temporary accommodation of the sick within their areas. The Local Government Board have recently drawn the attention of Authorities to this power, which enables them to provide Tuberculosis Dispensaries.

The interests of the ratepayer and of local medical men are safeguarded by sending a list each week of the patients who have received treatment for the first time to the doctors practising in Barking. It is instructive to note in this connection that exception was only taken in one case during the past five months to any person whose name appeared on the list. An investigation is made into the home circumstances of every person applying for treatment. The internal

administration of drugs does not, as a rule, form part of the treatment undertaken, the work being largely of an advisory nature or confined to that carried on in the surgical out-patient department in a hospital, there being no provision as yet for the administration of anæsthetics.

This work sprang from a small beginning in the Medical Officer's office, where the treatment was carried out by one of the Council's nurses attached to the Sanitary staff. It has now far outgrown these humble proportions, and it is quite common for more than 100 cases per day to receive treatment there. A very experienced nurse is provided by the Plaistow Maternity Charity, together with one or two probationers. The medical work is undertaken by the Medical Officer of Health. During 1911, 1,006 school children and 267 other persons were treated in this way. Of these, more than 200 were children under school age. These include: Burns, 10; diarrhœa, 60; skin disease, 19; ringworm, 2; measles, 1; nose obstructions, 6; squint, 5; contagious eye disease, 18; ear discharge, 4; sores of various kinds, 16; abscesses, 17; enteric fever, 2; various, 15.

From October 16th, 1911, when the work was reorganised, till May 10th, 1912, 974 new cases have been registered, involving 8,657 attendances. From January 1st until April 30th, 1912, the numbers were: 144 children under school age, 679 school children, and 114 over school age. The Medical Officer also attends on Tuesday afternoons for the special purpose of giving medical advice to the mothers of the babies who attend for weighing.

The particulars of the cost of this work are instructive. From October 14th, 1911, till April 30th, 1912, £11 16s. 11½d. were spent in drugs, bandages, etc. Almost all the ointments are prepared by the nurses. A subscription of £20 per annum is paid to the Charity for the nurse's services, and the rent of building, with coal and lighting, involves an expenditure of about another £20. The cost of the whole arrangement is thus well below £70 per annum, or less than 5s. per day.

The institution is exceedingly popular, and its association with the Public Health Department has brought to light some very interesting facts. In one case, for instance, a child attended, complaining of being ill after eating fried fish. When the shop at which it was purchased was visited, the inspector found the shopkeeper preparing his fish for cooking in a donkey's stable! Many of the mothers, especially in cases of diarrhœa, frequently give very valuable information as to insanitary conditions in the neighbourhood. Again, the experience here is similar to that of the Tuberculosis Dispensary, namely, that it is the best system of notification that could possibly be arranged. Six cases of scarlet fever and as many diphtheria cases have been admitted into the hospital from this institution. During a severe epidemic of typhoid last year, six cases were discovered in this way, two being those of children under 5.

A specially valuable work is done with the eye cases, 157 being treated last year. Mothers have, as a rule, no idea of the serious consequence of neglecting such cases. Before this work was commenced, as the result of a considerable amount of trouble and the intervention of the Inspector for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, some of these cases were induced to get assistance from the parish, but it was found that the corks were not even removed from the lotion bottles, and that no application used by the mothers ever got into the eyes of the child. These children now come up for daily treatment by the nurse, with excellent results. Six young children, from 2 years and upwards, have this year been treated for squint, glasses being ordered in some cases, or the internal muscles of each eye paralysed alternately for a month at a time to secure equally good vision for each eye until spectacles can be provided.

In one case a mother brought up a baby along with an older child and casually asked the doctor to see the baby's eye, the lids of one of them being reddened and swollen. When the eye was opened the child was found to be suffering from primary diphtheria of the eye. Its admission to hospital and energetic treatment prevented it losing the sight of either one or both eyes. A similar result took place with what appeared to be a hopeless case of ophthalmia neonatorum, which was untreated for a week, the child was also admitted into the Isolation Hospital and did well—the unregistered midwife who attended the mother being prosecuted before the Magistrates.

A very serious problem is the provision of food for necessitous cases. A charitable lady provides milk and other food in some instances through the Vicar; a supply of albumen, made from dry serum, has been most useful for nursing mothers and for feeding infants, especially if combined with glucose. A dried milk is supplied at cost price by two chemists in the town to poor persons for whom it is recommended by an officer of the Authority.

Such an arrangement as this seems to be capable of supplying a great deal of the medical treatment required for poor persons in the neighbourhood of their homes, though it does not include domiciliary treatment or specialised hospital treatment. The services of an anæsthetist would, of course, enable much more to be done.

Very good arrangements have, however, been made for co-ordinating the work of this institution with existing medical charities. A subscription of £10 per annum is paid to the London Hospital by the Barking Council, who also provide horses and attendants for an ambulance, subscribed for by public subscription some years ago. An increasingly large amount of transfer thus takes place between this hospital and the Council's institutions. Cases are sent from the London Hospital for open-air treatment, and the mothers of babies who attend the Barking out-patients' department and who do not carry out directions are referred back again by the physician, who sees them at the London Hospital.

During 1911 the Medical Officer saw out-patients for one of the surgeons, and the ophthalmic surgeon at the East London Hospital for Children, at Shadwell, and transferred a number of patients for treatment to this institution. These included the treatment of eye defects and the removal of tonsils, bad cases of rickets, and other cases requiring specialised treatment, as well as those of several children who suffered from bladder troubles. In addition to getting the cases treated, it afforded very valuable experience in co-ordinating the work of these institutions; the help of the highly-trained staff and the hospital equipment is often absolutely necessary for the proper tratment of some of the conditions met with in the out-patient department. In this way a child was discovered at home, brought to the out-patients department in Barking, transferred to the East London, and in some cases the treatment completed in Barking. The whole arrangement was carried out under the personal supervision of the Medical Officer, who frequently travelled with the parents, and on various occasions was able to assist them in difficulties en route. Very few people realise the immense difficulties that even careful parents have very often to contend with in getting and carrying through treatment for their children.

One very instructive piece of work resulted from the connection with the East London Hospital. A very simple method of treating summer diarrhœa in infants is used there, consisting of the stopping of all food and the administration of one teaspoonful of a salt solution (one teaspoonful to the pint) every half hour for twenty-four hours. The result in most cases, if the method is tried sufficiently early,

is very satisfactory. A very bad epidemic of the disease gave great trouble in Barking this year; this was aggravated by strikes, which prevented many parents from getting medical assistance through the usual sources. This method of dealing with the disease was suggested in several cases, but was not elaborate enough for the parents, and decidedly unorthodox. As matters were becoming very serious, salt and water was provided at the out-patients' hospital for the first day, and albumen was given afterwards. Sixty cases were treated in this way with only one death, that of a child who had a relapse largely due to mismanagement. In each of these cases the mothers had to bring up a written report daily, showing when the mixture was given and the times when various symptoms were present.

This system of making the friends co-operate in the cure is one of the most important elements for success, the main use for the doctor often being that he introduces order and discipline into the patient's surroundings, and so allows his defensive forces successfully to combat the disease. The prestige of a public officer and a dignified institution do a great deal to get this done. Evolution has brought most of the important medical work of this country to the dignified institution, and do what we may, much of it must be done there to obtain the advantages of its varying resources. The experience gained at Shadwell certainly tended to show that the general hospital must form an important factor in the scheme of treating any section of the community. Tuberculosis dispensaries and School Clinics are excellent institutions, but, set up by themselves, they have either to divide the treatment of their cases with other institutions or reject many cases where their help is most needed. The general hospital, with its separate departments, is indispensable.

An attempt has been made in the paper to show that improved care for young children is absolutely necessary for the continued prosperity of the nation, and to suggest that much might be done by providing proper facilities for the admission of these children into institutions connected with the Elementary Schools in cases where the parents cannot care for them themselves, by supplying also practical training in the management of children for the future mothers in the schools, and by the setting up of institutions similar to that found to be so successful in Barking for the provision of medical assistance to those who may need it. The great underlying principle being that they should link together by a proper system of co-ordination under the public Authority all the various institutions which exist that are capable of providing assistance for the care and nurture of young children.

Discussion.

Dr. DAVID FORSYTH (City of Westminster Health Society) said they were all indebted to Dr. Boobbyer and Dr. Bygott for the trouble they had taken in preparing their papers. The problem, it seemed to him, was first to form some estimate, not merely of the death-rate, but of the number of physically defective children under school age, and then to find the best way of dealing with them. True, the death-rate was a rough guide to the amount of sickness, but it gave no indication of the damage done to the survivors. And yet the statistics of school medical inspection showed that an enormous number of school entrants suffered from preventible diseases. We did not know, however, at what age these entrants had become defective, or how

numerously the children in each of the first five years became affected. No doubt, as Dr. Bygott had said, it was not possible to bring together for examination all the children under school age. On the other hand, it was certainly practicable to examine representative samples of these children and, from the evidence thus obtained, to estimate the condition of the whole. His object in speaking that morning was to submit some results collected in this way at a Medical Inspection Centre for Children under School Age. This Centre, which was established in connection with the Westminster Health Society, aimed not only at securing treatment for children in need of it, but also at preventing defects by periodic inspections. Without any power of compulsion they were nevertheless able, in a friendly way, to induce the mothers of the neighbourhood to bring up their children to the Centre. Advice was given on the healthy upbringing of the children, all cases needing treatment were at once referred to a hospital or practitioner, and, for babies whose mothers were unable to obtain fresh milk, appropriate assistance was generally forthcoming. They might ask what was the physical condition of these under-school-age children. During the past six months he had examined some 200 children, average specimens of the children of the neighbourhood, and he would give some figures relating to their common defects. Take rickets, to begin with. Of the children under 1 year 18 per cent. were ricketty; under 2 years 27 per cent.; under 3 years 12 per cent.; under 4 years 10 per cent.; and, in the concluding year, 6 per cent. That was to say, rickets was a disease which had come, wrought its damage, and gone long before the school medical inspection could be of help. With regard to decaying teeth, tonsils, adenoids, and squint, the percentages were the following:—

Age	one	two	three	four	five years
	%	%	%	%	%
Decayed teeth	0	2	12	35	59
Tonsils	0	2	9	18	41
Adenoids	2	12	21	32	23
Squint	0	0	0	3·5	18
Normal children ...	79	46	37	18	6

Moreover, among these defects, the proportion urgently requiring medical treatment grew rapidly larger.

Proceeding, Dr. Forsyth discussed the relation between a Medical Inspection Centre and, on the one hand, the Education Authority, and, on the other, the Public Health Authority. In Westminster the Health Society, working on cordial terms with the Medical Officer of Health and helped by the notification of births and phthisis visiting, had gradually built up a valuable Central Health Index arranged street by street, and household by household; so that, at the present time, when a new case came in, they were probably already furnished with the full medical and social history of the family. This index enabled them, when the Education Authority undertook the medical inspection of school children, to put at the disposal of the school doctors and Care Committees the medical and family details relating to the children. Further, the index now included the "following-up" results of the Care Committees themselves. At the present time, therefore, this Central Index provided a common source of information for, and a common repository of information from, inspections under the Notification of Births Act, the Medical Inspection Centre for Children under School Age, the school medical inspection, the Care Committee work, and, finally, all phthisis work.

So as far as treatment of under-school-age children was concerned, he would only add that, in his opinion, this was even more important than the treatment of school children. For the latter they were moving in the direction of School Clinics. Could they logically or on grounds of practical utility exclude under-school-age children from the benefits of these Clinics? He inclined to the belief that a single treatment centre for all children, whatever their years, would prove the best and most economical course.

A Delegate said he would like to ask a question as to the children becoming abnormal after being normal. Was not that in very close relation with the poverty of the parents? Had Dr. Forsyth considered whether that very rapid increase of abnormality of which he had spoken was not directly and entirely confined to the very poor people? He, the speaker, was of opinion that it was a question of poverty much more than a question of medical reform. Low wages was at the root of it all.

Dr. Forsyth said he agreed that it was largely in the poorest households that the

hygienic conditions were worst and disease most prevalent. He had little doubt that, when they came down to bedrock, it was a question of domestic environment, housing, and so on.

Dr. ANNE L. KANN (Women's Labour League) said she wished to describe quite shortly the work done by a Baby Clinic with which she was connected, and to suggest that the establishment of similar centres would form an effective means of dealing with the difficulty of the medical treatment of children under school age. The institution to which she referred was started last November by the Women's Labour League to see how much the mothers would avail themselves of medical advice supplied to them under easier conditions than those available in the ordinary hospital out-patient department. The institution was a very humble one, in a very poor street in North Kensington, consisting of a waiting-room, consulting-room, and small dispensary. Two doctors attended one afternoon a week each, and there was also a resident nurse. The age of the children seen was from birth up to 5 years of age, and all types of illnesses were dealt with. The nurse attended every day and carried out directions as to treatment which had been given by the doctors on the visiting days. Detailed advice was given to the mother on the management and care of each child, and each child when brought up was thoroughly examined—the ears, eyes, chest, head, condition of the skin, and all other things were considered. Many of the children had been brought to them through Mothers' Welcomes and through the suggestion of various School Nurses. Once a month they had operations for tonsils and adenoids, or other small operations which might be necessary. To show how the mothers appreciated the work done by the Clinics, the average number of new cases since it started had been twenty a week, and the approximate number of attendances 1,500. The mothers had gained confidence in the nurse, because if their little ones went wrong during the week they could go to her for advice as to whether a doctor should be seen at once or the child should be taken to some hospital. Acute cases were not dealt with, being sent on to a hospital or attended to by a private doctor, in cases where that could be afforded. An ideal arrangement would be, if it were possible, to have a few beds where children suffering from acute wasting and rickets could be properly attended to, as it was very difficult to get such cases into the hospitals, and they did not get on at all well in the infirmaries. The scheme at present was a private one, but if some such scheme could be adopted by the Local Authority she felt confident a great deal could be done in looking after children properly up to school age.

Dr. LIONEL TAYLER (Charity Organisation Society) said his only object in speaking was to ask Dr. Boobbyer some questions on one point upon which he would be glad of information. He supposed all present were agreed about the serious lack of treatment that existed, but what he wanted to know, if Dr. Boobbyer would kindly tell him, was what the Medical Officers of Health felt with regard to the co-operation of the general practitioner. He (Dr. Tayler) was not in general practice himself, so it was not a question of personal feeling at all. One of Dr. Boobbyer's statements was that it was impracticable for the general practitioner to co-operate, but surely that could be obviated. The second difficulty urged was the busy practitioner having no time. What he (Dr. Tayler) would like to ask was, was that statement the result of a canvass of the general practitioners themselves? He did not know whether it was or not. He was only asking for information. The third question was with regard to the statement made that general practitioners were not in touch with ancillary agencies. Of course, they were not, but they would be if they were on a panel and working in co-operation with the Medical Officers of Health. The fourth question was with regard to the statement that the general practitioner stood isolated. To his (Dr. Tayler's) thinking that was a very serious evil in the community at the present day. (Hear, hear.) The general practitioner, if he were any good at all, ought surely to stand for something. What did he stand for? This surely was a matter for very serious consideration and ought not to be left undetermined. The general practitioner had a family knowledge of people, and therefore could have a special knowledge of hereditary conditions if he were adequately trained. Lastly, therefore, he would ask if this isolation ought not to be broken down. There ought to be some place for the general practitioner in this rearrangement of medical life. When he had examined Dr. Boobbyer's reasons, as stated in his paper, for the exclusion of the general practitioner, he had not the slightest doubt there must be others behind, as those mentioned were so little satisfying; and he would be very glad if Dr. Boobbyer would give the Congress the benefit of his experience in

this matter as to why the general practitioner did not combine, or was not able to combine, with the Medical Officers of Health.

Councillor J. H. Palin (Bradford County Borough Council) said he was sure the Section was very much indebted to Dr. Boobbyer and Dr. Bygott for the excellent papers they had given, and which, in addition to going to the heart of the matter, would provide excellent material for them to take home for use on future occasions. One did not need to be a medical man to know what they had been told was the truth, but he wanted them to realise that it was the truth, and they should take a step beyond that which Dr. Boobbyer and Dr. Bygott had told them was being taken in the places whence they came. As officials, it was not possible for them to state in definite terms what they thought ought to be done. They could only hint. The City of Bradford had already taken a step forward in the direction indicated. For many years they had been wrestling with the problem. Prior to the Notification of Births Act they did something with regard to the problem of infantile mortality. Since the Act came into force they had not only been able to follow the cases up, by means of Lady Health Visitors—who had gone into the homes, not as Corporation officials, but as Sisters of Mercy—but they had also had a voluntary Babies' Welcome, which, at the beginning of this year, came to the Corporation and told them quite frankly that the work was beyond their powers, both financially and in other ways. It was a work that needed something more than the spasmodic attention which ladies of leisure were able to give to it. Therefore, on the 1st of May, a lady with a medical degree, who had devoted her life, so far as her training and experience was concerned, to the diseases of infants, had been installed as the chief of that department, with two assistants who were trained nurses, and who assisted in the organisation. That, however, did not necessarily displace the voluntary work that had hitherto been done.

That day they were opening a tuberculosis dispensary, and whether the Local Government Board willed it or not the people of Bradford willed it, and these three departments were co-operating and would co-operate with the cognizance of all the parties that constituted the City Council of Bradford, and also the people outside; and he ventured to think that public opinion was stronger than the Local Government Board. All that was necessary was for those who had the power to form and mould public opinion to take the first step to that end. The difficulty that Dr. Boobbyer had mentioned with regard to punishment of neglectful parents was a very real one. One would think that in a city such as Bradford, where all possible steps had been taken with regard to School Clinics, etc., they would have no neglected children. Unfortunately, they had, and he was afraid, despite what Dr. Boobbyer said, the Children's Act would not help them as it ought to. It might be that the magistrates were a little afraid of applying the Act to the fullest extent, yet they had been able to take action in certain cases where parents had neglected to secure medical aid, and where they were well able to pay for it. But they had absolutely no power where they found a child was lacking either milk or food to compel the parent to accept the food and milk, and to reimburse the Corporation for supplying it. For many years past, they had been supplying humanised milk, but they were now considering the advisability of scrapping the whole of the business of sterilising and so forth, and going in for a pure milk supply. In some cases, they met with scamps of fathers who said the child did not need food and refused to pay. There ought to be some means of compelling the attendance of the child, or the acceptance of the food by the parent, and compelling the parent to pay for them. (Hear, hear.) Until that was done, they might possibly have administrators like himself (Mr. Palin) who felt that the child was of more importance than its rascally parent, and in spite of what might happen in the way of undermining parental responsibility, ought to get the milk or dinner, as the case may be. Therefore, in the main, he was convinced that the work that had been suggested by the papers read to them would not result in the long run in undermining parental responsibility, but rather in inculcating it and strengthening it. It was causing parents to take greater care of their children's health, and instead of proving a competitor with the private practitioner, increasing his practice. It was causing people to get medical aid where they had previously neglected it, and in the long run he believed the work suggested there on that day would very largely make the work of the School Clinic unnecessary in future, and that was a time they all looked forward to. (Hear, hear.)

Miss Beattie (Office of the Public Trustee) thought her predecessor had said practically all she had wished to say. However, she wished to endorse Dr.

Boobbyer's remarks as to enforcing Section 12 of the Children's Act. She then referred to a family of five boys, with whom the Public Trustee had been dealing for the past few years. The boys had been medically examined more than once, and found to be suffering from defective vision, adenoids, enlarged glands, and general mal-nutrition, all of which, if neglected, were likely to injure the boys permanently. The help the Public Trustee was able to give was very limited, and because of its limitation the mother refused to accept it. Thereupon, the Public Trustee pointed out to the London County Council that, without the necessary attention, the boys were likely to come to harm. He had also approached the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, but both bodies had replied that they could not summon the mother because they were afraid the magistrate would refuse to convict, on the ground that the sanctity of personal liberty would be involved. The result to the children was disastrous.

Dr. BOOBBYER, in reply to the discussion, said that, as he did not know the names of the ladies and gentlemen who had been good enough to discuss his paper, he would deal with their remarks and queries in the order in which they came, without reference to the names of the speakers. In the first place, he had to correct an impression that he was specially desirous of creating out-patient departments at the schools for mothers, or Mothers and Babies' Welcomes. What he wanted was to use them, in addition to their present function, as Inspection Clinics. The diseased and defective children being brought to the Welcome, the latter would serve as a sort of clearing-house and diagnosis centre on the lines of the "Tuberculosis Dispensary." The Welcome officials' first aim was to secure the attendance of the mother. Once they had obtained her confidence and intelligent interest in her children's health, they had got practically all that they wanted to ensure success. The rest was mere matter of detail. The next point was that he wished the School Clinic in most cases to provide the necessary treatment. He had the utmost confidence in the ultimate effectiveness of the School Clinics to serve as treatment centres for a large proportion of children's cases among the poor.

He must now address himself to a somewhat delicate and important question raised by one of the speakers. In his paper and his opening speech he had objected to the employment of general practitioners for dealing with most of the cases calling for treatment at School Clinics, cleansing stations, and other like establishments, simply because most of the cases, such, for example, as those of visual defects, adenoids, ringworm of the scalp, impetigo, chronic discharges from the nose and ears, required very careful, lengthy, and sometimes almost continuous attention for effective treatment, and a busy general practitioner could not possibly spare the time to attend to them satisfactorily. He wished particularly to emphasise this explanation, because although in his paper and in his opening remarks he had endeavoured to make his meaning clear, he had evidently not succeeded so far, at any rate, as some of his present audience were concerned, and it was certainly as foreign to his intention as it was to his duty to say anything generally disrespectful or derogatory of the function of that much tried but indispensable servant and friend of the public, the general medical practitioner.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Education Section.)

The Chair was occupied by the President of the Education Section, Mr. Cyril Jackson. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children in County Areas.*
By Professor A. BOSTOCK HILL, County Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire.

2.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children in Urban Areas: A Plea for Whole-time Service.*
By Dr. DUNCAN FORBES, Medical Officer of Health, Brighton.

3.—*The Medical Treatment of Children in Elementary Schools.*
By Sir WILLIAM CHANCE, Bart.

4.—*The Unnecessary Multiplication of Officials.*
By Miss A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.

The Medical Treatment of School Children in County Areas.

By PROFESSOR BOSTOCK HILL, M.SC., M.D., D.P.H.
(County Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire).

IT is now generally acknowledged that the medical inspection of school children is a work of far-reaching importance in the interests of health, and that already it has produced a great effect on the public mind. It must be obvious, however, that though the effects which have been obtained are of great scientific interest, they lead to no immediate practical result, unless suitable measures are taken to remedy the defects discovered. Parliament, in its wisdom, decreed that any action for remedying the defects found, should not, at all events in the first instance, be compulsory on Educational Authorities, and though in many instances grand work has been accomplished, still, in many cases, little or nothing has been attempted in this direction, except, perhaps, to call attention more or less publicly, in annual and other reports, to the defects found. As these conditions become better understood, it must be obvious that public sentiment will demand, alike on grounds of policy as well as of humanity, that steps be taken to complete the scheme now initiated, and that Educational Authorities shall see that the necessary

steps are taken, so that the fullest advantage of the cost of inspection may accrue to the individual and to the nation as a whole. The question, however, first to be settled is how can this best be done, and the answer to it is by no means easy, because so many factors enter into the problem. The three chief of these perhaps may be said to be:—

1. The Financial.
2. The Social or Socio-political.
3. Geographical.

Dealing with the financial question, it must be borne in mind that complaints of increased rates have become generally both loud and deep of late, and it must be admitted that these are not without reason, and in the counties at least, it must be equally admitted that such increases have been due to the increased expenditure necessitated by the work of Elementary Education. I suppose it may be taken for granted that only a certain sum is available in each locality from the rates, and now it is very necessary to convince the ratepayers that any new expenditure will yield a return which can be easily demonstrated. In connection with this, it is well to remember that the new grant promised by Government in connection with the general work of medical inspection, will be available in stimulating local efforts. Before, however, any new general scheme for treatment can be initiated, it is very necessary that the expenditure must be reasonable and well considered.

The second point, which I term "Social or Socio-political," is also of great importance. If regard be given only to the present interests of the children, it would follow naturally that the first idea would be to provide treatment for all defects found, regardless of other considerations, but I cannot bring myself to believe that this is a proper or reasonable point from which to start. This treatment is associated with education, and the effect of such treatment on children, on parents, and on national character must be taken into consideration. To provide gratuitous treatment by a series of School Clinics, to all who choose to apply, would seem to me to promise only national disaster, in that it would lower the sense of parental responsibility and lead to a want of appreciation of the benefits to be conferred. Gratuitous advice is little esteemed, and such a price would, in my opinion, be too high a one to pay, even for the great immediate value received by the children.

The last point to which I referred was the "Geographical," and this, perhaps, requires a little explanation. It is obvious that the establishment of Clinics in a town or city is a comparatively easy matter; the area is small, the population relatively large, getting about is easy, little time is lost in travelling, and large numbers can be collected at one spot at a particular time, so that even if in the end it be considered necessary or desirable to deal with treatment by means of Clinics, the problem is comparatively easily solved. As the tendency of populations is to become urbanised, we are also perhaps too ready to let our minds be dominated by the idea that the problem is one chiefly for the cities and towns. As a matter of fact, the work of County Councils is equally important, and the difficulties attendant upon it are greater, from the fact that the question of area rather than of population is the one which leads to difficulty. I do not for one moment want to suggest that the difficulties are insoluble, but they are undoubtedly very great, and, in many instances, could only be met by an expense which seems to be almost out of the question.

Those engaged in the work of education and of medical inspection have been deeply indebted to the statesman-like remarks in the Reports and Circulars issued

by Sir George Newman; and perhaps dealing with general principles, none have been more important than those in which he lays down, firstly, that the work should be dealt with on a Public Health basis, and, secondly, that the main idea should be the utilisation and co-ordination of existing means available for amelioration. I go so far personally as to say that a scheme based on any other method is likely—and, I think, deservedly—to fail.

Holding these views, then, I propose to take this opportunity to lay before you a scheme which has been adopted in the County of Warwick during the last three years, and to point out how at least a fair amount of success has been achieved at an expenditure which, I think, will be agreed upon by all as reasonable.

To make the scheme clear it will be necessary to shortly describe the origin of our system. It is now nearly ten years since the Warwickshire County Council, under its own auspices, began a system of health visiting. At first this was upon a very small scale, as although Health Visitors were well established in certain city areas, no County Council had previously endeavoured to utilise their services in rural areas. The result was seen to be an immediate success, and all those difficulties which had been prophesied—of friction with District Councils and other officers, and with the rural population—were shown to be imaginary. As a consequence, the staff rapidly increased in size. When the Midwives Act came into operation, I felt that here was a further opportunity of co-ordination in the work necessitated by the inspections of midwives required by the Act. My County Council, acting on my advice, trained their Health Visitors in midwifery and in the future appointed only those who possessed the certificate of the Central Midwives' Board. A few years later, when medical inspection was established, I laid a report before the County Council suggesting that the proper way of dealing with it would be by the appointment of Medical Officers, who should not only be School Inspectors, but be Assistant Medical Officers of Health as well, and that the staff of Health Visitors should be increased and that the areas supervised by each Health Visitor should be lessened and that she should add to her functions those of the School Nurse. My views were adopted, and the system has been in work practically as it was originated up to the present time. It is difficult in a short time to make clear a system which, of course, abounds in details, but the following is the way in which the work is carried out:

The county is divided first of all into three divisions, to each of which there is an Assistant Medical Officer of Health who is also Assistant School Medical Officer, the whole, of course, being under the supervision of the County Medical Officer of Health, who is School Medical Officer. In addition to this medical staff, there are ten Health Visitors and School Nurses—a Superintendent and nine others. Each supervises a definite portion of the county with the Assistant Medical Officer, and is with him at the medical inspections at the schools. A Health Visitor and School Nurse aids him in the examination, and with him interviews the parents and takes instructions from him as to all cases of defects discovered at inspection.

It will be seen that there are three Health Visitors and School Nurses to each Medical Officer, so that while one is engaged with the work of inspection, two others are free to carry out their other duties, including the looking up of defectives and stimulating of parents when necessary to obtain medical advice and help. In addition, however, to this, they point out to the parents what is required and how advice may be obtained. In the first instance, in the case of medical defect, the parents are advised to see a medical practitioner in the neighbourhood—the regular medical attendant if there be one—and in a large majority

of instances thus undertaking the necessary work of treatment, particularly in minor ailments. In the rural districts, however, in cases of defective vision and ear and throat trouble, parents are generally referred by the medical practitioners to a hospital, and if difficulty is found in obtaining the necessary notes, help is often accorded by the School Nurses or other officers of the Education Committee.

I do not wish it to be understood that matters always progress easily. In a considerable number of cases difficulty is encountered in getting the parents to understand the importance of obtaining treatment, and many visits are thereby necessitated. Other agencies, too, are often appealed to, such as the local Managers of schools, and in certain instances also the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In these cases the procedure is usually as follows: The School Nurse reports to me that certain children are not receiving treatment, and that the parents are recalcitrant; the School Attendance Officer of the district is informed of this, and the position of the parents is placed before them by this officer, who endeavours, like the Health Visitor, to persuade; but in cases of continued obstinacy or want of perception, finally states the law on the subject, and, as a last resort, informs them that legal action will be taken to compel treatment. It is wonderful in what a few cases this procedure is necessary. There have been a few prosecutions, and it has been found that they have had, in each particular district, a great power of stimulation.

The cases are kept under observation at frequent intervals by the School Nurse, and when it is reported on good authority, or they appear to have recovered, notice is sent to them to appear at a particular time at the school, to be seen by the Assistant Medical Officer, who, in cases of exclusions, reports whether or not they are fit to return.

Complete records are kept by the District Health Visitors, who transmit them periodically to the Superintendent Health Visitor, who reports to me as School Medical Officer daily in cases where special action is thought to be necessary.

The foregoing is only a bald outline of a scheme which has gradually been evolved during the past four years, and naturally the first question to be asked is, How far does it meet the necessities of the case? The best answer to this is the results which have been actually obtained. The latest figures available show that, excluding teeth, the percentage of cases receiving medical treatment, or amelioration, such as is necessitated by the forementioned conditions, is 72.5 per cent. This result, I believe, for an area of a county, would be considered extremely satisfactory, and compares well with any results obtained elsewhere, but it does not express the whole of the truth, because in many instances amelioration of defects found takes place after children have left school, the greater bulk of the defects being discovered in what, I think, are now termed "Leavers," and as some of these are only examined shortly before they leave, there is no time left in which the defects can be remedied while they remain on the school registers.

The balance also includes some who leave the district and go to other schools, while again only a comparatively few of those dealt with in the last few weeks of the year can be followed up with a view to obtaining treatment, so that the figure, satisfactory though it be, is an under-statement of the facts.

I daresay it will have been noted that in giving these percentages I said that they excluded teeth. Defects in teeth are the one particular point where practically little is done, and for this reason—in rural districts there are no dentists available, and it would seem as if it will be necessary in the future to develop something in the way of a travelling Dental Clinic, if defects in the

teeth are to receive proper treatment. The Medical Officer of Health for Derbyshire suggested the provision of a Provident Club, and it appears to me that some such system as this, possibly receiving aid from outside sources, is a reasonable solution of the difficulty.

The work in Warwickshire has in the past been carried out at a cost of a little over a farthing rate, including the salaries of all officers, with travelling and clerical expenses, but this result has only been achieved by the co-ordination of the Public Health and school work, and the paying of the workers jointly from the County and Education Rates in agreed proportions.

Critics may quite rightly urge that the Warwickshire system will in the future lead to difficulties with the medical profession, owing to the fact that hospital treatment is utilised for many of the defects; but even if this prove to be the case in the future, the difficulty can, I think, be met by the local practitioners organising a panel of those who are prepared to undertake the treatment of special cases, such as vision, adenoids, etc., who might be paid by the parents or guardians of the patients, perhaps through the Education Authority, the latter acting only as a clearing-house.

The main point I would urge in favour of our Warwickshire system is that, not only is good work done in the following up and amelioration of defects found in the school, but that the system allows a complete co-ordination of all those engaged in the Public Health work of the county, and thus leads to considerable efficiency in carrying out purely Public Health work, such as the supervision of midwives, the inspection of infants with a view to reduce infant mortality, and of late also the supervision of phthisical patients notified under the Regulations now in force.

It is obvious that many points, including the bulk of the details in working out the system, have been omitted from this paper, but I would invite all those interested in the matter to come, as many have already done, and see for themselves what we are doing, and the details connected with the carrying out of the work.

The Medical Treatment of School Children : A Plea for a Whole-time Service.

By Duncan Forbes, M.D.
(Medical Officer of Health, Brighton).

My views can best be conveyed by giving a short history of treatment in Brighton.

Brighton has some 18,000 school children. As early as 1907 a Clinic was established for the treatment of infectious skin diseases, conjunctivitis, etc. Routine medical inspection added to the work of this Skin Clinic, but also by the discovery of eye and throat defects it added greatly to the work of the honorary staffs of the various hospitals.

During 1910 the Brighton Education Committee proposed that, if possible, an arrangement should be come to with the various hospitals for the treatment of defects discovered by the School Doctor. The Boards of the various hospitals,

however, did not see their way to enter into any special arrangement for the treatment of school children.

As a consequence, during 1911 the Education Committee became ordinary subscribers to the hospitals, and thus obtained letters of recommendation. The hospitals agreed to continue treatment until the 31st December, 1911, but stated that "after that date the hospitals, except in special cases, will decline to treat school children attending the Primary Schools of the Brighton and Hove Education Authorities, and found, on medical inspection by the Medical Officers of the said Authorities, to be suffering from otorrhœa, enlarged tonsils, adenoids, errors of refraction, skin diseases, or defective teeth."

Seeing that they had failed in their endeavour to take advantage of the benefits of existing institutions, as recommended by the Board of Education, the Education Committee resolved to provide treatment by one of two schemes which were recommended to them (1) by the Local Practitioners, and (2) by the School Medical Officer.

(1) PART-TIME SCHEME.

	No. of Cases	Doctor.	Salary.
"Skin and Scalp Cases	150 per week ...	1 ...	£50
Ringworm Cases, X-ray treatment...	200 per annum ...	1 ...	£50
Defective Vision	350 per annum ...	1 ...	£50
Tonsils and Adenoids	300 per annum ...	1 ...	£50
Anæsthetist	... ...	1 ...	£50
			£250

An increase of these numbers to more than 15 per cent. to be paid for in proportion.

The medical profession will undertake to obtain applications for these posts from medical practitioners of acknowledged standing and special experience, and will undertake to nominate to the Educational Authority suitable candidates for each post, from amongst whom the Authority may directly appoint those whom they think most suitable. The appointments should be made for a period of one year, renewable or otherwise as the Authority may determine, fresh appointments to be made on the same principle.

The hours of work to be such as shall be appointed by the Education Authority, but should not exceed an average of two hours per week for each post."

Under the second scheme it was proposed to appoint two whole-time officers to undertake both the inspection and treatment of school children, and also to undertake special work for the Sanitary Committee.

(2) WHOLE-TIME SCHEME.

Cost to Education Committee for *Inspection* and Treatment.

Salary of Senior School Doctor	£400 rising to £500
Salary of Two-thirds time of Junior School Doctor...	£200
Salary of Surgeon for Tonsils and Adenoids... ...	£50
	£650 rising to £750

The advantages claimed under the part-time scheme were that the Education Committee would obtain at very low rates the services of experts in eye, throat, and X-ray work.

The whole-time scheme is, to my mind, more satisfactory than the part-time scheme proposed. Below are elaborated the reasons for my preference.

The General Practitioner and School Work. In the first place it should be mentioned that the general practitioners as a body do not suffer by the whole-time as compared with the part-time scheme. After careful consideration a Committee elected by general practitioners proposed the part-time scheme mentioned above. Under that scheme it was proposed that five doctors should be employed. Four of these required expert knowledge, and would probably have been appointed from the junior honorary staffs of the hospitals. The appointments were renewable annually. It is likely, therefore, that, so far as eye, throat, anæsthetists', and X-ray work were concerned, the work would have been done for years by the same men. It was not a case of sharing the work by appointing a fresh set of men at short intervals. After due consideration the General Practitioners' Committee evidently recognised the futility of attempting such an arrangement.

The treatment of infectious skin disease, on the other hand, could have been undertaken by any practitioner, as ringworm of the scalp and impetigo are the two diseases which affect the bulk of the patients. From the point of view of administration, however, it is very important that these diseases should be treated by the Medical Inspector. (*a*) The worst cases of impetigo arise from verminous conditions of the head. In such cases the Medical Inspector frequently knows the family, and can at once institute proceedings to attack the primary cause of the trouble; a part-time man could not have the same knowledge. From the point of view of attendance, it is important that these easily cured cases should be seen at the school offices every day and the simple remedies applied. (*b*) In ringworm of the scalp the principal work is not treatment by a doctor, but the epilation of diseased hairs by a nurse and the persuasion of the parents to use the simple remedies prescribed. Besides, so many cases are certified as free from infection before being really so that in Brighton the Education Committee have found it necessary to have all cases re-examined by the Medical Inspector before re-admission to school. Under such circumstances it is advisable to have the same person responsible for treatment and final inspection. So far, then, there is practically no question of depriving the general practitioners of work. In this connection it has to be remembered that, before the institution of medical inspection, errors of refraction and enlarged tonsils and adenoids were, in the majority of cases, undiscovered and therefore untreated. On the contrary, many children suffering from other diseases are being taken for treatment to general practitioners on the advice of the Medical Inspector.

The Medical Inspector should have experience in Treatment. The School Doctor has to give advice to the parents of children requiring treatment, and he has to re-inspect the children after treatment. It seems almost absurd to ask the question as to whether a doctor who personally treats a proportion of the children or a doctor who does no treatment at all is in the better position to advise the parents as to treatment and repetitions of treatment. To be an efficient inspector it is necessary to be expert in the diagnosis and treatment of common defects regarding which it is the duty of the inspector to report and advise.

Experts required. Many persons unacquainted with *medical inspection* believe that it can be done satisfactorily by a tyro. The contrary is really the case. Routine inspection, which provides the foundation for all the other branches of

the work, requires an expert. But even apart from routine inspection, this field of work requires years of patient study by any doctor who hopes to become thoroughly efficient. The problems in relation to Elementary School life connected with individual children belonging to the backward and mentally defective, the tuberculous, and deformed groups, can only be solved by an experienced worker.

Long Service Essential. For an efficient school medical service, what is required is the creation of a class of men prepared to devote their lives to this line of work. *Such a class of experts cannot be obtained under the present system.* The two essentials for this creation are (1) increased salaries, (2) relief from the strain of monotony.

(1) *Salary.* Up to the present, with few exceptions, the salaries paid to Medical Inspectors of school children have been so small that no medical man of average ability has been content to remain for any great length of time in the service. Very wrongly the service is by many regarded as a stepping-stone to public health appointments.

(2) *The Strain of Monotony.* Apart from monetary considerations, there is no hope of large numbers devoting themselves entirely to school work so long as they have to examine four or five thousand children annually at the routine medical examination. A routine examination of such a large number is too great a strain, because of its monotony. If, however, the service is put on a broad basis, there is no need for such a strain to be put upon Medical Inspectors.

If, instead of having the care of 18,000 school children, with a routine examination of four to five thousand, the whole-time inspector had 10,000 children, with a routine examination of 2,500, medical inspection would no longer be a drudgery, but fascinating work.

Unfortunately, the importance of retaining the services of Medical Inspectors over a long series of years is not fully recognised by the public because they do not recognise the importance of inspection, whilst, on the contrary, treatment bulks largely in the mind of the layman. It is, therefore, only by undertaking treatment that the Medical Inspector can increase his salary sufficiently to allow of his continuing in the school service, and, secondly, can have assistance in his work, thereby halving the monotonous routine inspection.

Advantageous as his undertaking of treatment is from the Medical Inspector's point of view, it is no less so from the standpoint of the parents and the Local Authority; for, with his salary increased and monotony gone, the Medical Inspector will be content for many years to perfect himself in this branch of work. Whilst doing so he will become more and more valuable to the Local Authority. Under such circumstances more efficient services can be established than by any system of part-time service.

Too Large a Field for any one Man. It has been urged that one individual cannot be an expert School Inspector, Public Health Worker, and Operator.

(1) *Public Health.* Although the public health and school services overlap to a considerable extent, that does not mean that the School Inspector has to have any knowledge of sanitary work as a whole.

The only questions likely to arise would relate to new buildings, structural alterations, heating, lighting, and ventilation, and, if difficulties arose, all those questions could be referred to the Medical Officer of Health. Infectious disease, apart from skin disease, should be controlled entirely from the Public Health Office.

(2) *Eye and Throat Work.* The School Doctor should be able to prescribe spectacles and have a working knowledge of the diagnosis and treatment of eye disease; he does not require to be able to perform operations upon the eye or its muscles. Similarly, although he should be able to remove tonsils and adenoids, the numerous operations performed by the throat specialist would be outside his sphere. With care he can supply X-rays safely in cases of ringworm, although not pretending to be a specialist in X-ray work. The scope of his work is no greater than the scope of work of a specialist in any one of the branches mentioned.

In short, there is no reason why, if a man devotes his life to the work, he should not obtain a thorough knowledge of everything required of him; of treatment he will start with a sufficient knowledge; in medical inspection he will become expert only after some years.

From what has already been said it must be evident that I hold strongly the opinion that, for the formation of an efficient school medical service, whole-time men are required not only for inspection but for treatment. I am convinced that inspection and treatment must be carried out by the same person in order that Local Authorities may have the best service and school children may obtain a maximum advantage from medical inspection and treatment.

The Medical Treatment of Children in the Elementary Schools.

By Sir William Chance, Bart., M.A.

(A member of the Surrey Education Committee and a Guardian of the Hambledon Union).

We are probably all agreed that it is for the good of the community that children should be so brought up as to render them healthy and sound members of it. Again, there is no doubt that the health of many children is at present so neglected in their childhood that they are prevented from taking up the trades and professions for which they have the most natural aptitudes. Still, we must always bear in mind that nothing must be done by outside action to lessen the responsibility of parents for the proper rearing of their children. The State may, by making the complete care of the children its own, lose even more than it may gain. It is little use to produce a more healthy race if "character" is lost and the independence of the individual affected. I therefore propose to place before you a method of public action in the matter of the medical treatment of children which seems to me to effect both objects.

To begin with, I cannot agree with those who consider that the medical treatment of children in the Elementary Schools, who are found to be suffering from any defects, can best be undertaken by the Education Authorities. This idea has arisen from the wording of Section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, which makes it the duty of the Local Education Authority to provide for the medical inspection of all the children in the Elementary Schools. If it is their duty to do this it is thought that they must also of necessity undertake

what is called the " following up "; that is, see that the defects found to exist in the child are remedied, and, if necessary, supply the treatment themselves. And as a matter of fact they are empowered by the same section " to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition " of the children. There is, however, an important proviso in the section, which runs as follows :—" Provided that in any exercise of powers under this section, the local Education Authority may encourage and assist the establishment or continuance of voluntary agencies and associate with itself representatives of voluntary associations for this purpose." While, therefore, the medical inspection is made compulsory under the Act, the medical treatment is left optional. Is it well that this option should be exercised? It seems to me that the Education Authorities would do well to limit themselves to what they are compelled to do, and to leave the actual work of relief—for the medical treatment must be considered as relief—to the existing relief agencies. These agencies are of course the Poor Law and Voluntary Organisations.

Now it is important to observe that the Poor Law has full powers to give medical treatment to necessitous children, and no new machinery need be set up. It may be said that Boards of Guardians can only give relief in cases of destitution. This is of course true; but what does destitution imply? In determining the question in any particular case coming before them, Boards of Guardians " have to remember that a person may be destitute in respect of the want of some particular necessity of life without being destitute in all respects; as, for instance, a person, who is not destitute in the sense that he is devoid of the means of subsistence, may be destitute in that he is unable to provide for himself the particular form of medical attendance or treatment of which he is in urgent need " (Circular of the Local Government Board, March 18th, 1910). It is clear, therefore, that a Board of Guardians can supply the medical treatment which a child is found to require when the parent is unable from poverty to do so. This being so, why should the taxpayers and ratepayers of the county be put to a very great additional expense by having to pay for the setting up of a new relief system in addition to the one which already exists? I think the only answer is that it is not well for the parent to be " pauperised." Even if he were " pauperised," I should not be convinced that my contention was not sound. But it is very doubtful whether he would be " pauperised "—*i.e.*, be liable to lose his vote—for " medical relief " does not entail that disability. This was definitely stated by the President of the Local Government Board in his reply to a question on the very point put to him by Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck in the House of Commons on March 7th last. I will quote the whole of the question and answer :—

> " Lord HENRY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK asked the President of the Local Government Board whether in cases where treatment of children was prescribed by School Medical Officers and the parent was unable, by reason of circumstances, to pay the cost of such treatment, the Board of Guardians was bound to provide such treatment for the child if it was not undertaken by the Education Authority, and whether he would, by circular or otherwise, call the attention of Boards of Guardians to their duties in this respect; and whether the cost, if defrayed, would be medical relief which did not disfranchise the parent?
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> " Mr. BURNS replied: It is the duty of Boards of Guardians to relieve destitution, and, as pointed out in the circular to Guardians on the administration of outdoor relief, a person may properly be regarded as destitute who is unable to provide for himself the particular form of medical attendance or

> treatment of which he is in urgent need. The principle would appear to me to apply in the case of children who need medical treatment which the parent is unable to provide. I realise that the relative position of the Boards of Guardians and the local Education Authorities in this matter is one of some difficulty, and I have already had the matter under consideration. *I may add that medical relief of the kind referred to afforded by Boards of Guardians would not involve disfranchisement of the parent.*"

Then the only remaining argument can be that it is a shame to drive the parent to the Poor Law for relief. In reply to this, I ask why should it be less shameful —if there is any shame at all—if he is forced to seek the help of the Poor Law rather than to accept it from an Education Authority. The relief comes out of the same purse—in both cases the community as a whole has to bear the expense. Surely what we ought all of us to try for is to preserve the independence of the individual in the community. I am afraid, however, that such a statement may come as a shock to a number of my hearers at this Conference, for there are so many people now whose one idea seems to be to make as many people as possible dependent on the community. Well, if Education Authorities do take up this relief work, this hope will be abundantly realised. Has not the experience of giving meals to school children been to show that they tend to become free sooner or later? Education Authorities may try to enforce payment from parents for the medical treatment of their children, but in the end it must become free to all, because the cost of recovery will be found to be greater than the amount received, and so the effort to recover will be abandoned. Thus in London a most elaborate and beautiful scheme was drawn up, with a sliding scale of payments according to the earning capacity of the family; but this has been already given up for the reason I have mentioned, and 1d. brought by the child is all that is required for it to receive the necessary medical treatment, when the parents have been ascertained to be necessitous, or when they have subscribed to Hospital Funds. In other cases a uniform charge of 1s. is made. We are not told, however, whether it is paid or recovered.

Directly one mentions the Poor Law nowadays the hairs of our "Sydney Smith" philanthropists stand on end with horror. But, really, Guardians of the poor are not all Bumbles. They are human beings with the ordinary warm hearts of Englishmen. They are quite as capable of providing for the wants of the necessitous as the members of an Education Authority. Indeed, many of them serve on both bodies.

I will now enumerate the three main advantages of leaving the medical treatment of school children to the ordinary agencies.

First, the overlapping of relief will be prevented. The fewer agencies in relief work, the better. From the necessity of the case the main work of the Education Authority will be in the poorest homes. But these are the very homes which most engage the attention of the Poor Law. A family may thus be receiving relief from two public authorities without the one knowing what the other is doing. Everyone who has had experience of relief work knows only too well how difficult it is to prevent the overlapping of Poor Law and Charity—not to speak of the overlapping of Charity and Charity.

Secondly, the number of cases asking for outside help will be kept within reasonable bounds. If the Education Authority steps in to supply medical treatment there will be no limit to the demands which will be made upon it. It is not likely that a parent, seeing free medical relief—because it must, as I have said, become practically free—being given at another home, will not be led to ask

for it in his own case, even although he has hitherto been accustomed to pay for his own children's treatment. Thus the number of children treated at the public expense will tend to increase, until finally the community will find itself saddled with the medical care of all the children. This is no doubt what the Socialist is anxious to see brought about, but we are not all Socialists as yet. On the other hand, the Poor Law can supply the necessary treatment quite efficiently, but at the same time can limit its assistance—indeed, is bound by law to do so—to those parents who, from poverty, really cannot provide the treatment for their children themselves. Other parents who have a healthy dislike to seeing the Relieving Officer inside their homes will be led to do their duty to their children without calling for his visit. Besides which, they well know that they can be called upon to pay, where their means are found to be sufficient for them to do so.

And thirdly, the work of voluntary agencies will still go on. An enormous amount of splendid work has already been done by these agencies in this particular matter, but it is bound to be killed by the competition of the Education Authority. I know that this fear is in the minds of many of these agencies at the present time.

What then, it will be asked, is an Education Authority to do? It finds many children coming to the schools with ailments which undoubtedly require attention. Is it to sit still and do nothing? By no means. When a child has been inspected in the school and is found to be suffering from some ailment or defect which requires treatment, the fact is brought to the notice of the parent, and he is told how the remedy can be applied. If, after a certain lapse of time, it is found that nothing has been done, the attention of the Care Committee, if there is one, or of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, or of the Relieving Officer, can be drawn to the case, and it should be left to them to deal with.

But, while I should prefer that the Poor Law should undertake the work of the treatment rather than the Education Authority, a third and better way can be found. What is really wanted is the co-operation of Local Care Committees or other local agencies, Guardians, and School Managers, in the matter; the relief work to be left entirely to the two former. What is being now done in Wiltshire illustrates my meaning.

There, the County Education Committee has occupied itself—wishing to avoid State aid (whether through the taxes or rates) as much as possible—in establishing Care Committees for schools or groups of schools all over the county, under the general control of a Central Care Committee. The main idea is to enforce the responsibilities of the parent instead of freeing him from them entirely. This Central Care Committee is appointed by the County Education Committee, and consists of fourteen members of that body and of five co-opted members. It has the general control of the medical treatment, and reports regularly to the Education Committee.

But the work of what is called "following up" is done by local Care Committees established in connection with individual schools, or groups of schools. The nucleus of these local Committees are the respective School Managers. It is left to the Managers to form these Committees, which consist of some of their members and of co-opted members, drawn from persons with experience of work in the homes of the poor, the head teachers in the schools, the district nurses, and the members of the District Councils and Boards of Guardians. The Wiltshire Nursing Association co-operates gladly in the work. The scheme was only started in July, 1911, but by April last 238 local Committees had been formed, embracing 282 schools, with 32,307 children. Only 54 schools, with 4,652 children, still remained to be dealt with. The cordial co-operation of some of the Boards of

Guardians has been secured, and it is hoped that all these Boards will gradually fall into line.

As this Conference is aware, the main difficulty connected with the medical treatment arises in connection with the teeth. But Boards of Guardians have the power to give the help necessary, when it cannot be obtained in any other way. The advantages of the scheme are well set out by the Rev. F. W. Macdonald, Vice-Chairman of the Wilts Education Committee and Chairman of the Salisbury Board of Guardians, in a paper read by him at Trowbridge in July last:—

> "For the help of the Local Care Committees," he says, "the Board of Education will be prepared to entertain proposals of the Local Education Authority for contributions to the funds of hospitals, dispensaries, and nursing associations on terms of adequate advantage, and, in cases where the provision of spectacles is necessary for the treatment of defective eyesight, for providing suitable and inexpensive spectacles free of charge.
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> "They will, however—and this is worthy of note—only sanction such an arrangement 'if they are *satisfied* that every endeavour will first be made to obtain the provision of the spectacles by the child's parents, or by any voluntary associations which exist for the purpose.'
>
> "Who could be better qualified than the members of these Local Care Committees to give the necessary satisfaction on this and other similar points?
>
> "Who better could decide from their local knowledge as to whether the "following up" of the School Medical Officer's directions in many cases could be best effected by the District Nurse, the amateur's first-aid, friendly persuasion, the power of the law, or the application of any existing charitable machinery? What method would be more likely 'to promote economy, harmony, and efficiency'? (Circular 576, 6). What better help could the Medical Officer have for the 'payment of that careful attention to considerations of expenditure and to the relative urgency of the reform he proposes to undertake' which is recommended by the Board of Education? (Circular 576, 8)."

What is the alternative to such a scheme? A multiplication of new officials, School Clinics all over the county, a very great expenditure, and, what is far the worst in my opinion, a gradual weakening in the sense of parental responsibility, the introduction of the official element into every home, eventual free medical treatment of the children, and the killing of voluntary effort altogether. In a Memorandum of the Board of Education on the Act of 1907 it is stated that the administration of the Act will depend in no small measure upon the good offices of School Managers many of whom have already done such good work in the matter, and to whose interests and sympathy the Board cordially commend the new work.

I venture to assert that the best chance of rousing their interest and sympathy is to diminish official and paid work as much as possible.

Unfortunately, the bribe of a Government grant has again been dangled before the eyes of our expectant Education Authorities to the tune of £60,000. The whole system of these grants from the National Exchequer was well criticised at last year's Conference, and their baneful effect has been pointed out by Mr. Edmond Wodehouse—a very high authority—in the admirable address which he delivered at the South-Eastern Poor Law Conference last month. This grant will result in the usual scramble of the authorities to get as much of it as each can, and "the devil take the hindmost."

If the Wiltshire Education Committee puts in its claim for a share of the £60,000, one cannot help feeling that it will be more entitled to it than those County Committees which have already drawn, or are preparing to draw, upon the rates very extensively for the cost of the medical treatment to be supplied directly by them.

Surely the Wiltshire people have set an example which other counties should be prepared to follow, if it is considered desirable to strengthen rather than destroy voluntary effort. We must always bear in mind that the poor are much more inclined to accept help from, and take advice from, those who are intimately known to them rather than from a stranger whom they do not know. They dislike the official inspection, the official interference with their homes and families, and small blame to them. As human beings and individuals we are all inspired by the same feelings. This is the great mistake that our Socialist friends make. They prepare most elaborate schemes for the amelioration of the lot of the poor, and although the poor may not like them, they have got to take them. They may think that they will get payment for all their efforts either in gratitude or cash. They are mistaken. They will get neither. Under the scheme of the London Education Committee already referred to a collector has been known to pay the 1d. payment himself after repeated visits to the home, climbing up to the top of the model dwelling, to save himself any further trouble. It would be interesting to know what the gross cost of the medical inspection has been, including salaries and offices, and the amount of the receipts from parents' payments. Contrast this with the action of a parish in Surrey. In this parish there has existed for some time an efficient parochial Committee, worked entirely on voluntary lines. This Committee has been able to undertake the whole work of the medical treatment of the children in its schools. The following description of how the system is worked and its cost will, I think, interest the Conference. It was written in 1910.

> "The system relies upon getting into touch with the parents and endeavouring to educate their interest in the children's health. It may be slow, but, we hope, will be effectual. It is considered that without the willing interest and co-operation of the parents the medical treatment of the children is largely waste of time and money.
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> "With regard to detail, the list of children recommended for treatment by the School Inspector is handed to one of the Managers who has been elected to act as a Health Visitor.
>
> "Each case is visited at a suitable period from the inspection to give plenty of time for the parents to have procured treatment on their own initiative, if possible. When the parents are seen it is simply a friendly visit to ask what has been done, and discuss the matter and find out their point of view.
>
> "When ignorance and indolence are responsible for lack of treatment it is hoped that influence and patience will one day prevail.
>
> "When cost is given as the reason, the parent is helped to apply to the Local Relief Committee, which is able to deal with the case from an all-round standpoint and not only as a medical case. On more than one occasion the local doctor, with his knowledge of history of the family, etc., has not been of the same opinion as the School Doctor.
>
> "The result so far has been: 47 cases visited, 26 received attention, 21 did not. Seven of the 21 have had further advice, and 4 are only waiting for the doctor to carry out the treatment when he considers it advisable.

Some others intend to have treatment. Three cases have received help towards payment of cost.

"With regard to the dental conservative treatment the Managers decided on the age of 8-9 to begin with, and arranged (with the help of the Dental Aid Society) with a local dentist to inspect, estimate for, and treat the cases.

"Before inspection, each home is visited to obtain the permission of the the parents and talk the matter over.

"The parents were far from apathetic in the matter, and all but five gratefully fell in with the arrangements.

"The children are taken to the dentist in small batches out of school hours, and a visit is paid to the mother as soon as possible after the inspection to arrange that either she or the Health Visitor should take the child and have the treatment carried out.

"It is a great help in visiting these cases to have been present at the inspection and to have an exact estimate as to cost.

"The result of the first inspection is as follows: 24 inspected, 3 satisfactory, 6 advised to wait; 15 need attention; 10 are in course of receiving it, 1 is uncertain. Three parents have at present refused treatment for their children, but it is not certain that they will remain obdurate. One case was helped towards the cost. In some cases the parents are paying in instalments through the kind co-operation of the School Savings Bank.

"(N.B.—The total cost to the charitable public per the Relief Committee and the Dental Aid Society for both medical and dental treatment had been 13s. 9d. during a few months of working.)"

It will be noticed that in this parish the dental treatment of the children is conducted by a Dental Aid Society. No less than 82 per cent. of the cost is contributed by the parents. For a whole year (April, 1910, to 1911) the amount paid out of the society funds ha samounted to £12 19s. 6d., of which £10 12s. 9d. was paid by the parents and £2 6s. 9d. by the society. No one has ventured to assert that the treatment, both medical and dental, given in this parish is not carried out equally efficiently as economically. The parish has been completely depauperised. But its independence will be threatened if medical treatment is to be paid for by the county ratepayers; whereas under a scheme such as that of Wiltshire such a parish would continue its good and beneficial work. And what can be said about this parish can be said of many other parishes in the kingdom. Is the destruction of such voluntary organisations really desired? I cannot think so.

The Unnecessary Multiplication of Officials.

By Miss Susan Lawrence.

The title of this paper is a phrase familiar to any social reformer. The formula is one almost invariably used when any extension of the powers either of local or central government is contemplated. It is, however, much more than an empty formula. We have, on the whole, but little supervision, but an imposing array of supervisors. Consider the number of persons who, as agents of the local

government alone, are in the habit of making domiciliary visits. We have the Relieving Officer, the School Attendance Officer, the Sanitary Inspector, the Health Visitor, the School Nurse, the representative of the Care Committee. A family in really poor circumstances may easily be in relation with all six of these—all concerned about much the same thing, about the bad family conditions—mostly working independently of each other—and in the case of those belonging to different Authorities only too probably in ignorance of each other's movements. The reason is, of course, historical. One by one fresh powers have been conferred on certain Authorities; and as each power was conferred some new official was appointed to carry out that particular duty, much indeed as if, whenever the scope of the criminal law was extended, specialised policemen had been created to deal with each new offence.

The writer believes that there are few more important questions in local government than the question of improving and of simplifying the machinery of inspection; that a considerable amount of co-ordination and simplification is a necessary preliminary to any scheme of unification of Authorities, and that to take this matter in hand effectively and seriously would make it possible for the present Authorities to undertake new powers, and would greatly facilitate their present work.

I propose, as a contribution to this subject, to take one instance in detail, the instance of London, as a kind of type of all urban problems; to examine the machinery by which the Local Authorities deal with matters affecting the houses of the people; how they obtain information and enforce their decrees; and to make various suggestions towards reform. I believe, without any extra cost, or any addition to the existing number of officers, it should be possible to obtain a far simpler, and an enormously more powerful machine than that which exists at present.

Consider first the outside inspectorate of the London County Council. As an Education Authority the L.C.C. employs a considerable number of visitors There were in London in March, 1910, 706,665 children between 5 and 14, and 170,604 between 3 and 5. The first duty—historically, at anyrate, the first duty—of the Education Authority is to get these children to school. For this purpose 332 School Attendance Officers are provided, each on an average with about 2,600 children under his care. His duty is to visit all the homes annually, and make a list of all children subject to the Education Acts, to pay special visits to all the habitually unpunctual, and to send forward for prosecution the names of the incorrigible. The qualifications are merely a suitable age and an ordinary education. Their salaries are £80 to £156. They are supervised by twelve District Officers with assistants.

It is further the duty of the Education Authority to see that none of these children is unable to profit by the education provided for it by reason of lack of food; that is to say, it is the duty of the Education Committee to feed necessitous children of a particular age during specified periods of the year. The officers who perform this duty, in connection with the Care Committees, are the organisers. There are thirty-six of these. The number of necessitous children varies very greatly with the time of year, but perhaps it is fairly accurate to say, on an average, that something like 40,000 are fed. It will be seen that the thirty-six organisers have each a gigantic district, and can have very little close acquaintance with the localities where they work. They are under the control of two superior officers and receive a salary of £100 (lower grades) and £100 to £200 (upper grades).

Again, under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, the Education Authority has the duty of medical inspection and the power of medical treatment. These purposes are carried out in London by a staff of Nurses. There will shortly be 121 of these. Their duties are not merely to assist the doctor in the medical examinations. Another part, and unfortunately a very large part, of their duty is to inspect in order to detect the verminous children, to follow up such cases, and to endeavour by persuasion and warning to get them cleaned, and finally to send up their names for prosecution if all else fails. They are under the control of one superintendent and receive a salary of £80 to £90.

In all the duties, thus outlined, of School Attendance Officer, Organiser, and Nurse, there is not one which cannot be discharged by any sensible woman of ordinary education who has had a Nurse's training. At the present time, also, the individuals dealt with by these various officials are very often the same. The underfed children, for instance, divide themselves into two classes—the child who is underfed merely from the poverty and not from the fault of its parents, and the child whose want of food is but one symptom of general neglect. The Care Committees deal easily enough with the first class; it is the second which really gives them trouble; and it is precisely the second which the other officers also find troublesome. The child of the drunken mother, for instance, is often underfed, often verminous, and, it is not too much to say, invariably unpunctual at school. I will give two instances, the first to show how much the Attendance Officers have to do with the underfed children; the second to show how, in a really bad home, visitor after visitor may succeed each other. I was the manager of a poor Elementary School some time back, where about a quarter of the children were underfed. In the girls' school there were fifty-one cases belonging to forty-one families. In the year 294 visits were paid by the Attendance Officers to the fifty-one girls and 133 visits in addition to other members of the family. The forty-one families had thus 427 visits for unpunctuality, while the Care Committee and their representative were also keeping the families most closely and industriously under supervision.

In the second case, my attention was drawn to a distressing case of a neglected child of about 8 years old. I looked into the past history of the case and made a sort of diary of the amount of public inspection that the home had been under for the previous fifteen months during 1910 and the earlier part of 1911. In January the story begins by the Care Committee seeing the mother, giving meals, and visiting the home. The meals ceased in March, began again in October, and continued till the end of the year. The Care Committee had the case under supervision during that time, and on one occasion had the mother before them. The child was exceedingly unpunctual and visited by the Attendance Officer. So bad was the attendance that twice during the year the Attendance Officers brought up the case before the Committee which authorises prosecutions. This is only done after repeated visits. The School Nurse also appears, quite independently, upon the scene, as the child was found to be verminous in the autumn, and the usual warnings having proved in vain, a formal notice of prosecution was given. This, again, is only done after a long process of persuasion and visiting. The child was then cleaned, but in a short time was as bad as before. The same process of examination, inquiry, persuasion, and warning was gone through, culminating in March in another notice of prosecution. During nearly all this time, from April, 1910, to April, 1911, the mother was in receipt of out-relief. The Guardians were apparently very uneasy about the case, as from October, 1910, relief, though continuous, was granted for short periods only, and the

Relieving Officer made, according to my information, "at least monthly visits," and reported to his Guardians on the dirty condition of the home. We had here four sets of persons all actively engaged: one in finding out why the child was unpunctual, another why she was dirty, another why she was underfed. I bring this case to show what actually does happen when we are dealing with the really neglected child, and how the experts jostle each other in the bad home. Looking at the case from the point of view of the economical administrator alone, it is hard to deny that it would have been better to put the matter into the hands of a single official.

Supposing now that the County Council, instead of employing 332 Attendance Officers, thirty-six Organisers, and 121 Nurses, were to appoint 489 women, and were to confide to them each in their own area all the powers of all three sets of officers. They would need merely the qualifications of a Nurse and ordinary education. They would each have under their charge not quite 1,800 children, say 900 families. In London 900 families do not occupy a very great area, and a person who had worked for five or six years in such an area, visiting to schedule every year, visiting whenever a child was late, or was hungry, or was dirty, or was ill, would have a very complete local knowledge of all that went on in the area. She would have, on an average, something like eighty necessitous children, perhaps forty necessitous families, and would have a real personal acquaintance with each of them. It is clear that much closer and more detailed local knowledge could be obtained without any increase of the numbers of the existing staff.

Passing to the other branches of the County Council's work, the Council exercises powers over children other than under the Education Acts. The chief of them are under the Children Act and the employment of young persons. Under Part I. of the Children Act it is the duty of the Council to keep under observation infants boarded out for hire. There are few duties so difficult or so important. It is extremely difficult to detect all such cases, it is extremely important to watch them closely in order that these unfortunate children may have some chance to live. The Council had under inspection last year 2,413 such cases. It has a staff of eight women inspectors who visit. Each of these women has to visit cases scattered over enormous districts represented by one-eighth of London. The writer has had the privilege of going on their rounds with some of these excellent women, and it is only too true that the greater part of their time is wasted in merely covering the ground. Suppose these eight were added to the staff of 489 nurses that we have already indicated. We should then have 497 such persons, each working in an area of about one five-hundredth of London. The work in connection with boarded-out infants could be done with far less waste of energy, and with the added efficiency which would come from local knowledge. By such a staff, too, parts of the Children Act, which are at present of little practical use, might be made really effective. It is possible that the powers of regulating the employment of young persons might be handed over to such a staff, but it would be better to wait for actual experience before hazarding an opinion on this point.

We have thus sketched out a system by which the powers which the London County Council exercises over the homes of the people should be exercised, in the first instance, by a staff of about 500 persons, each with the qualifications of a trained nurse, each in a small district, charged with the oversight of the children of that district, and that these officers should replace School Attendance Officers, School Nurses, organisers under the Provision of Meals Act, and Infant Life Protection Visitors. Neither in number nor in cost would such a staff exceed

the present. Each home would be visited by one and only one individual. I believe that such a plan would be far more simple and far more effective than the present.

Under such a scheme some consequential rearrangements would be necessary in the higher ranks of the service. Instead of each chief officer having his own inspectorate, it would no doubt be necessary to create a department for domestic inspection, under its own head, and with its own district officers. Here, again, however, the ratepayer has no cause for alarm. The equivalent of the existing twelve district heads and twelve district assistants for attendance work, of the two chief organisers, and of the chief School Nurse would be amply sufficient for what is necessary.

If we now look to the future we may hope for some unification of London Local Authorities; and it may be useful to examine how such a system would work if the London Central Authority acquired the powers which the Town Councils in the country exercise at present. There are two sets of Borough Council and Town Council Inspectors who habitually visit the homes of the poor—the Health Visitors and the Sanitary Inspectors. The Health Visitor is a comparatively new and most hopeful experiment. A trained woman is appointed who visits on the notification of a birth and advises the mother. It is admitted generally that most successful work has been done by this means both in London and in the country. It will be seen at once that the work done by the Borough Council Health Visitors in London very closely resembles the work done by the County Council's Infant Life Protection Visitors. Supposing that the health work of the Borough Councils were ever transferred to the London County Council, the whole of this visiting could be done in the day's work by the kind of staff of inspectors that I have suggested. The 500 L.C.C. Visitors would already be in touch with the homes for various purposes. They could each perfectly well look after the new babies in their district, provided that there was a certain increase in their number and consequential diminution of the size of their district. It is not possible to give accurate figures as to the number of persons who would be required or the size of their district, as health visiting in London is only very partially carried out. It is possible, however, to give some illustration of how such a scheme would work by taking a particular example. The Borough of Shoreditch, for instance, has done most useful work, and issued a very full report in 1911. It appears that one full-time Health Visitor was employed, that in the year there were 3,452 notifications of births, that it was not considered necessary to visit 887, that of the remainder 884 were visited and 1,982 visits were paid, that the remaining 1,641 were not visited because, as is explained in the report, the Medical Officer and the Visitor thought it better to visit a limited number thoroughly. The same Visitor dealt with 106 phthisis cases. It is clear, therefore, that three Health Visitors could deal with the whole of the Borough. There would be about fifteen County Council Visitors under the proposed scheme in the same area. Eighteen Visitors could therefore do the combined work—ten in Hoxton and eight in Haggerston. The tenth part of Hoxton is not a large area, and the Visitor would have every opportunity of knowing her work thoroughly.

Further, it sems perfectly feasible that a considerable part at anyrate of the Sanitary Inspector's work might be done by the same staff. The powers with regard to house-to-house inspection, of the inspection of tenement houses and houses let in lodgings, and of the notification of diseases are obvious examples, and probably it would be found in practice that other of the powers usually exercised by women Sanitary Inspectors may be added to these. It is perhaps interesting

to notice that the women Sanitary Inspectors themselves believe that they could easily undertake the health visiting. In a letter dated November 10th from the Women Sanitary Inspectors' Association to the President of the Local Government Board they urge with great force how desirable it is that one officer should "deal with the various conditions affecting home life," and make the very important point that the right of entry possessed by the Sanitary Inspector "is of untold value in cases where neglect, drunkenness, and domestic insanitation are the main features." If such a unification of duties ever took place the suitable qualification for the combined work would probably be two years' training as a Nurse and the certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors' Board. The reports of the Borough Councils do not give the material necessary for calculating how many officers would be required for such duties. However, it will be seen that at each step we have taken, powers have been added, the district has shrunk, until we arrive at one district visitor in a few streets, knowing each family individually and personally, and able to wield all the powers of the Local Authority. It is also clear that, from the point of view of the inspected, the visits of a single familiar person would be far less harassing than those of many independent inspectors.

Finally, the bearing of this upon the Poor Law is obvious. The proper inspection of the children whose parents receive out-relief has always presented great difficulties. There were, however, in January, 1910, only 14,298 in London, a number which might almost be dealt with off-hand by a unified County Council staff alone, particularly as the children in receipt of out-relief are probably in many cases familiar enough to one or other of the L.C.C. officers.

The time of a general simplification of local government may be distant enough. One thing is plain, that a real objection to further centralisation lies in the fact that each class of practical local administrators realise the complexity of their business and shrink from the idea of adding to their labours. A simplification of the machine of administration would remove many hindrances. If the L.C.C. and other Town Councils had a simple and elastic system of inspection—if they would adopt the principle that each home should be visited by one single inspector and no more—I believe there would not merely be a gain in efficiency and economy of labour, but that many of the difficulties in the way of unification would vanish. No doubt to replace the existing officials by a new type would be a work of some little time, but in London, or in any large town, the openings in the service are so many and so varied that the change might be carried out gradually without the slightest hardship. An experiment on such lines, at anyrate, would not seem to present any insuperable difficulties.

Discussion.

Dr. W. G. Savage (County Medical Officer of Health, Somerset) thought the subject had been dealt with from a good many points of view, and in five minutes one could not say very much in connection with it. Therefore, he would confine his remarks to just a few points made in one or two of the papers. He quite agreed with Sir William Chance as to the use of voluntary agencies, and he would like to agree with him as to the use of Boards of Guardians—(Laughter)—but Sir William had told them that Boards of Guardians might assist in the medical treatment of children, and he (Dr. Savage) rather gathered from Sir William's paper that he

implied that it was part of their duty to do so; but one found in practical experience that Boards of Guardians were exceedingly difficult bodies to induce to carry out the work. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Although Boards of Guardians, like other bodies, differed enormously, and some did very good work. When they had to deal with such controversial matters as the treatment of adenoids, where medical men might possibly differ with regard to an individual case, it offered a very wide loophole for Boards of Guardians, who might feel disinclined to take action, to let the thing slide, saying it was beyond their power. In his own county of Somerset they did most of their work in connection with voluntary agencies, and After-Care Committees, and on the whole the results were exceedingly satisfactory. The great difficulty in regard to treatment in country districts—it was difficult everywhere, but it was particularly difficult in country districts, as he was sure Dr. Bostock Hill would agree—was the question of the treatment of teeth defects, and they were now starting a scheme combining voluntary agencies and payment by the parents which, he thought, was going to be successful. He had worked it out that by means of a peripatetic dentist, visiting schools, it would cost about £2 a day for each dentist's work, and the Education Committee had sent a letter to all the managers of the schools informing them that if they would find £1, *i.e.*, one-half of it (the money to be raised in whichever way they liked, but part of it he hoped by contributions from parents), the County Committee would find the remainder. He was of opinion that care of the teeth was a serious matter, and it was important to go to the root of it—(Laughter)—which was to go in for dental inspection and examination of children when they were quite young. They proposed to examine all children from 6 to 7 years old, and in the main to treat those children only, and not elder children. By taking that line of action he thought they were taking a proper preventive line and bringing that enormous and difficult problem into a manageable compass. They proposed to examine, and if necessary treat those children, year by year, asking a contribution of 6d. per head from each parent. He was not able to give them any experience as to the success of the scheme, as it was only just being initiated, but from the gratifying promises received from various managers he thought it would be a success. In conclusion he wished to emphasise that in any question of dealing with teeth, it was most important to realise that the present condition of children's teeth was such a big problem that they really could not deal with existing defects, and that they ought to confine their attention to dealing with young children and examining their teeth year by year when there was really very little dental defect. In other words, they should aim at preventing decay or treating it in its initial stages rather than at dealing with advanced existing defects.

Councillor J. H. PALIN (Bradford County Borough Council) thought the Committee were to be congratulated on the selection of the papers they had heard that afternoon. No one could complain that both sides had not been adequately put, with regard to the method to be adopted for the medical treatment of school children. He, however, felt sorry for Sir William Chance, for, having had some years' experience as a member of a Board of Guardians, he quite agreed with Sir William as to the personal character and ability of the ladies and gentlemen who formed the Boards; but really the traditions of the Poor Law were all against their getting the confidence of the parent, and unless the confidence of the parent was obtained medical treatment was a failure. As a matter of fact, it would not be done at all; and he supposed that was what Sir William meant when he said the cases would be kept within reasonable bounds. Therefore, he was of opinion that anyone who really intended to do anything would not be inclined to do it on Sir William Chance's lines. Sir William had spoken about people getting free treatment. There was not a parent in the country who was going to get anything free. They had got to pay for it. (Hear, hear.) Landlords did not allow even poor people to live in their houses free. They turned them out, and they were admitted to the workhouse when they could no longer pay rent. A man with a pound a week paid more in proportion for local government and for the cost of treatment, and all the rest of it, than his employer with a much larger income. (Hear, hear.) A man with a pound a week—as those of them knew who had had any experience in a large city—would pay from 4s. to 5s. a week in rent, and when the rates went up 2d. in the £ he had known rent go up by 4d. or 6d. a week; but he had never known it go down to the same extent when the rates had been reduced. There was nothing free. All they got they did pay for. If the poor rate was levied in accordance with the ability to pay, if it were levied upon incomes instead of house-rent, then things would be fairer, and the poor would not be paying

more than their share, as they were to-day. However, that was another subject. It was very difficult to see why Socialism should have been dragged in. (Hear, hear.) It was the first time it had been introduced in these Conferences, and it was very difficult for him to imagine where the ideas of Socialism which had been given to them had come from. If Sir William would take it from him, instead of desiring to see every child treated, they desired to see fewer children treated; and when they got at the root of matters there would be less to be treated and they would be able to reduce the expenditure and also, he trusted, the number of officials. The one paper that had appealed to him (Mr. Palin) the most, and one which he thought demanded the most attention, was that given by Miss Lawrence. (Hear, hear.) They were killed by officialism simply because local legislators or administrators would not give the time to do their work properly. They left it to officials, and, as Miss Lawrence had pointed out, each new duty that was put upon the Local Authorities by the legislature meant a new group of officials. He remembered very distinctly that when the Provision of Meals Act was put into operation in Bradford they were told that all sorts of awful things would happen, unless they appointed a new staff of inspectors to make inquiries as to the means of the parents. They had refused to do it, and what had happened? Not the end of all things, as had been predicted, but, in fact, they had been able to reduce the proportion of School Attendance Officers. They had not only done the work, but when they began to probe into the matter they found that there were several other things that might be reorganised, and the work was now being done more efficiently than before with a lesser number of officials. If they took the trouble to inquire they would find that in the Education Offices and Poor Law Offices there were officials who had been appointed years ago for some special purpose, but whose occupation had gone, yet the official went on for ever. So it seemed to him that if they had their attention drawn to nothing else, their time would not be badly spent when they got home in pondering over what Miss Lawrence had said and giving it local application.

Mr. D. F. PENNANT (Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute for Nurses) said he proposed to occupy the few minutes he had at his disposal in dealing with only one subject that arose out of the papers, and that was the question of how that part of the medical treatment of school children which fell to the lot of a nurse or a health visitor ought to be carried on in country villages. That, of course, was not a new question. Since the Education Act of 1907 was passed that question had been one considerably thought about and discussed by those who had the practical management of it. But he was glad to say, from what he had heard in different parts of the country, that on the whole the education of the public mind on that question was ripening in the right direction. The problem really was this: they had in the village—and they might take one village as typical of all others—a certain amount of work to be done by a School Nurse for the children in that village. They might perhaps take one single village as an illustration just to show the sort of work that had to be done. It was the case of a village about which he had to inquire a little while ago. The cases that had to be dealt with at that moment were these: There was a case of one child attending school who, from some very bad form of rickets, had to wear an instrument, and it was necessary that the instrument should be looked at two or three times a week to see that it was kept properly in order. The second class of cases were those of two families, where in one case the mother had died of consumption, and in the other the father was hopelessly ill with consumption. In each family there were two or three children attending the school, and it was necessary that some one in the nature of a School Nurse should keep an eye upon them to see if they were showing any symptoms of developing consumption themselves, and to see that they would be properly looked after and live in such a way as would not encourage consumption to develop. The third case related to the throats of the children. Some little time before there had been an outbreak of diphtheria in the village, and after that the throats of the children at the school continued to be inspected for some time, and the doctor's orders were that, whenever a child's throat got bad, it was to be sprayed. Lastly, there were a number of cases of cuts and chilblains which required to be bound up and attended to in order to prevent serious wounds developing. Take that village as a typical example of the villages of the country generally, and consider what was necessarily the position of the nurse who was going to be able to look after those cases. It was obvious, he thought, that it was quite hopeless for any peripatetic nurse, employed as a whole-time nurse by an Education Authority, going round to visit each village once a month or once in two months, to attend to cases of that kind.

They could only be attended to by someone who was actually on the spot, and secondly, they could only be attended to by someone who had the confidence of the parents. He believed that public opinion in the country generally was ripening to the fact that the only way of dealing satisfactorily with the provision of nursing attendance upon the children in villages was by employing the services of someone who was actually on the spot. It was becoming apparent to everyone who had anything to do with the question of health in country districts that there was room in every village for a woman who combined the functions of district nurse, midwife, school nurse, health visitor, and, he supposed, when the Insurance Act came into force, tuberculosis visitor as well. Professor Bostock Hill in his paper had described the system that had been set up in Warwickshire. His (Mr. Pennant's) belief was that a system of that kind in the long run was bound to fail, because no Education Authority could put into all the villages of the country women who were always on the spot, ready to attend to the needs of the children as they arose, and able by constant intercourse to gain the sympathy and the permission of the parents to deal freely with the children. Even if they employed a sufficient number of nurses to do it, those nurses would not find sufficient work to occupy their time. The point he wanted to make was, that in regard to the attendance of nurses on school children in villages, it was only by employing nurses who were also at work in the other capacities he had mentioned that they could bring about the desired result.

Mrs. George Cadbury (Birmingham County Borough Council) said that the Birmingham Education Committee had just sanctioned a scheme for the medical treatment of school children, and she naturally disagreed with the paper of Sir William Chance. It was not, however, necessary to speak of the Guardians and their fitness for this particular work, as they had already been dealt with. Surely those of them who were connected with Education Authorities would feel that they were the right body to attend to the health of the children. They had the cultivation of the minds of the children committed to them; they were appointed to fit them for the work of life; and the minds and the bodies were so linked together that it was most suitable for the same authority to attend to both. The medical treatment of school children had been forced on the Education Authorities by the physical condition in which so many of the children entrusted to their care had been found. The problems in the country and the towns were very different. No doubt, in the country districts of Warwickshire, or Surrey, as had been said, children might be dealt with by other authorities or by voluntary agencies; but in the great provincial towns it was quite another matter. In greater Birmingham there were 150,000 school children, and a great number of these were found to be physically unfit for doing effective work. The question of the increase of rates on account of the cost of treatment had been spoken of, but it was possible that those who criticised hardly appreciated the amount that the Education Authorities lost annually in the way of grant from the non-attendance of the children on account of ill-health. She had not been able to get the figures for Birmingham, but in another great city, only a little smaller than Birmingham, they had lost £8,000 a year in the matter of grant owing to the non-attendance of children. That was a very much larger sum than the amounts it was at present proposed to spend on the treatment of children. They had been told that this action would weaken parental responsibility. She was of opinion that this scheme would, in the long run, tend to encourage parental responsibility. One wondered how much parental responsibility they would themselves be capable of exercising if they were trying to bring up six or seven children in a wretched house in a back street on, say, 20s. a week. They hoped to see the physique of the children of the present generation improved in order that the next generation would be fit to exercise their own parental responsibility. (Hear, hear.) Take the matter of teeth alone, which is one of the most important points in the School Clinics. How could a working man with 25s. a week have the teeth of his children properly attended to? Think how young children suffer through the impossibility of having sufficient or proper attention paid to their teeth. If one noticed the teeth of people of this class of from 20 to 30 years of age one would find there were few sound teeth in their heads. Dr. Forbes' paper mentioned the difficulty of co-operating with hospitals which are kept up by voluntary subscriptions. The Dental Hospital in Birmingham had met the Education Authority fairly and generously by letting their room and plant for four afternoons a week; the Authority was about to engage three dentists, who would give their time to the work; there no difficulty would arise, as they had heard might be the case if the hospital was subsidised. Speakers had referred to the possibility

of the treatment being carried out by voluntary agencies and paid for by hospital notes. In her opinion it was far more demoralising for the parents to tramp round to the back doors of wealthy subscribers begging for notes than to receive a little help from the State. She said only a *little* help, because they themselves contributed to the rates, and therefore were entitled to some consideration. In most towns there would be a fixed scale of charges for the parents that they might contribute towards the treatment received. The method of the treatment of skin troubles had also been alluded to; they had heard that children were in many cases obliged to be absent from school for as much as six months before they were cured. By the means of the treatment which it was hoped to start in Birmingham at the School Clinic and which was already in vogue in some places, the X-ray treatment, they hoped to cure such cases with three treatments. It was hoped that in time that obnoxious complaint would be entirely stamped out, as had been the case in Germany. In conclusion, she wished to point out that there was a much larger question involved in their discussion that day than that of the treatment of school children by one Authority or another. They had been warned to beware of socialistic schemes, but they, too, who were present surely had their dreams for the future, and were longing for and looking forward to the time when there would be better housing and better conditions for the parents, and brighter, healthier lives and better opportunities for the children with whom they were concerned to-day.

Dr. W. Hodgson (Cheshire County Council) said he thought it was a very fortunate thing they were able that day to listen calmly and quietly to the papers they had heard, which state of things would not have been possible, he thought, about one or two years ago. He could remember hearing such sentiments as had been uttered that day howled down most mercilessly. It was opportune at the present time to say one thing—in fact, it was high time it was said—that those who had got what they considered to be adequate machinery, most of it voluntary and the rest of it whole-time service, in counties such as Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and Cheshire, were able to point to a percentage of remedial results which he felt sure could not be equalled even at Brighton. (Laughter.) Those were figures which must be looked at and faced. Professor Bostock Hill had realised 72 per cent. of remedial results. Well, last year the Cheshire Authority reported at the Conference 90 per cent. Where would they find, even at Brighton, a better percentage of results? The counties he had mentioned were all doing a very fine work in this respect, and endeavouring to produce a sense of individual responsibility in the various communities. Take the nursing, which was alluded to by Mr. Palin. It was quite possible if they kept on doing it, to encompass a very large county with nurses everywhere. He knew some counties which were giving large sums of money to county nursing institutions to accomplish that very end. It was quite possible that such counties which were actually accomplishing the work would come off very badly and would get very little of the grant for treatment from the Board of Education unless they had School Clinics and heaven knows what else besides. They should keep in mind the real truth which they had had put before them that day, especially in Miss Lawrence's paper, that instead of the multiplication of machinery of which they were all more or less tired in local government they should go in for simplification; that, he (the speaker) hoped, would be the keynote that would go forth from the Conference. He pleaded for time to go ahead, and did not believe in all the clamour about the failure of Bumbledom. His belief was that the rapproachment that was going on between the County Councils and Boards of Guardians was resulting in magnificent work. He did not think it was right for any of them to cast any kind of ridicule upon others who were giving all their time in order to assist whatever voluntary local government work they might be engaged in. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. A. Day said he was very glad to follow the very good paper on individual responsibility read by Sir William Chance. Like him, he was a member of a County Education Committee, that of the Norfolk County Council, and also on a special Medical Sub-Committee. He (Mr. Day) had also been a member of a rural Board of Guardians, so that he and Sir William stood on fairly even terms so far. But when Sir William asked them to make the labourer independent by making him pay for the medical care of his children, it brought to his mind the old copy-book phrase, "Attempt not impossibilities." In Norfolk the labourers earned from week to week 13s. The last Government return in 1907 gave their total earnings as 15s. 4d., with all extras, overtime, harvest, and so on. Let them consider how they could spend it. Let them take the case of a hard-working man who went to work at 6 o'clock in the

morning and went home at 6 o'clock at night. How much would he have to live upon? Might he spend 2d. on three meals a day? If he spent that amount to support his nine and a half hours' work he would then spend 3s. 6d. a week. His wife would not want so much, therefore, he would allow her 5d. a day, and 4½d. for each of, say, three children. They would then get that man, wife, and children spending 14s. a week, yet the man was earning but 13s. Then, say, they allowed 6d. a week each for all kinds of clothing, including house linen, that would make 2s. 6d. Then another 1s. 6d. for fuel, light, and fire. That totalled to 18s. a week, but the man only got 13s. regularly coming in. "Attempt not impossibilities." Besides, there was nothing for rent. He wanted all the counties to which his hearers belonged to consider when they were trying to help the working people that they should be allowed 18s. for absolute necessities of life, and something added on to that for rent. In Norfolk they generally paid £5 for a decent house—about 2s. a week. That meant altogether £1 a week, yet the Government return was 15s. 4d. a week for an agricultural labourer. What he wanted Sir William Chance to consider was this: was it good policy when they felt it was a national need to have strong labourers, when it was a good thing for a farmer to have strong working men, and when it was a good thing for a landlord to have able men to cultivate his land, to take from the labourer's wages which were far under his requirements for absolute necessities, and make him pay for medical care in order to save the rates? In Norfolk the Agricultural Labourers' Union at their last two annual congresses petitioned Parliament for Wage Boards to say that when a man did an honest, straightforward day's work he should receive sufficient wages to enable him to maintain his wife and family. That was what they were working for. They did not want compulsory wages at the bidding of the farmer, but that the labourer should have a sufficient wage, and when he had got that, that he should have a cottage, under the District Council or anybody who would not turn him out. When that was done, the labourer would be able to call his soul his own, and his house his own, and be the only free-born English labourer on the land they had ever had.

Dr. C. S. Loch (Charity Organisation Society) thought the last speaker, and perhaps some of the others, had taken them rather wide of the mark. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No, no.") Everything in this world was connected with everything else—(laughter)—one generality would lead on to another. He would very much like to consult with his friend, Mr. Day, about Norfolk and his proposals there, but it would really take one rather far afield. Two most important questions had been raised, and he thought it was better on the whole to deal with them. They were all most anxious that the coming generations of Englishmen and Englishwomen should be better and stronger than themselves, and they had set on foot a great deal of legislative action with that object, and he firmly believed most earnest people were trying to make the best of the task assigned to them of raising the level of English life. In that process they naturally must differ in detail very often, but the trend of it was towards co-operation, in his view. If that were true, Sir William Chance had raised broadly this issue: Is it desirable that we should leave out of account the Poor Law system? He (Dr. Loch) was of opinion that it was not desirable they should leave that out of account. Sir William Chance and he had differed greatly in connection with the development of the Poor Law, but still that question came before both of them. Here they had a large national organisation for the administration of relief. People let it go on, though they said it did not serve its purpose, yet instead of their endeavouring to reform it, the question of reform was simply evaded. One point in favour of reform was this: that they should bring about a unification of relief services, which in the end would be much more effective than any separate administration that they had now. Whether they had the Wiltshire system or any other, a certain amount of relief was wanted in regard to particular families, and who was to provide that relief? They had heard it said that the Poor Law Guardians would not do anything; but, if that were so, surely they should not leave things as they were; because they must fully understand that the definition with which Sir William Chance began his paper was a definition which would allow of great, useful, and appropriate intervention on the part of Guardians. That was a very broad position indeed, and Dr. Loch could not understand why those who were not connected with education should set it aside. It might be said that the Guardians did not do what they should now. Well and good. That was his point. Why not so co-operate that they should do it? Then we should not have this obvious duplication which was going on under our eyes; and if the system of inquiry on the part of the

Education Committee or the Guardians were good, we should certainly put a great deal more force into our work. Our Authorities would know better what to do; and anyone who knew the state of many towns knew that what was wanted was increased force to get that done which the law has said should be done. He thought Miss Lawrence had made her case out completely, and, if what she had said was the case in London, he believed that, *mutatis mutandis,* it might be the case in any borough. We multiplied our efficiency by organisation, and the only way to multiply efficiency was by organisation. It had been shown to them how one person in a small district could do the work properly which many people could not do who had to run over a large area. In business affairs that would be recognised, if not in municipal affairs. There were so many departments, proud of themselves and disinclined to organisation, that the difficulty grew greater instead of less. He was interested in the voluntary movement. He had found that any well-organised expansion of civic or municipal arrangements usually led to the employment of a large number of volunteers who should be or should become efficient. That was to say, that one could not cover the whole ground by paid officers, and one must rely on the unpaid services of a large number of good citizens. If that were so, the organisation of any branch of public work in this field would make it more and more possible for those who were volunteers to do their share; and, on the other hand, if the organisation of municipal forces were not improved, the Authorities would find that the efficient volunteers whose services they desired would not be forthcoming. "It is very hard," it might be said, "to keep up the supply." It was very hard indeed, unless there were the greatest possible economy on both sides—on the part of the Local Authorities and on the part of voluntary agencies and workers—economy of labour and the economy of the best forms of effort by careful direction and organisation. More was being demanded of helpers, and Authorities might exhaust the stock of voluntary effort and so fail also in the use of their legal powers. Anyone who had lived for forty years would have seen many changes of opinion and would have recognised how natural it was for one generation to criticise the work of another. Therefore, taking a large view of the matter, he would strongly urge them, especially in school matters, to reconsider the question of the utilisation of municipal labour and the service of municipal officials, because upon the settlement of that question it would depend whether the movement, which was going on for the improvement of the condition of the people, would have real and lasting results—would be able to continue and make itself felt in the second and third generation; for, after all, it was from the second and third generation of thought that reactions were wont to arise, and they often found after a great outburst of enthusiasm a dearth of thought and a feebleness in experiment.

Mr. F. A. EDWARDS (Hammersmith Union) said a few weeks ago he had listened to Sir William Chance reading a paper on the very same subject and advocating the very same views in a very different atmosphere from what they had that day; it was a meeting of Poor Law Guardians, and there he (Mr. Edwards) stood practically alone in taking a different view from that taken by Sir William Chance; he ventured to think that to-day the view that would be taken as between the two would be very different. This was a Conference dealing with the specific subject of destitution. Whom would they expect to take the most prominent part in any conference on destitution? They had authorities that were formed by law for the purposes of dealing with destitution, and perhaps they would imagine that they would be in the very forefront in a work of this kind; but if they looked at the handbook of the Conference they would find a list of delegates appointed by the different bodies, and what did they see there? Forty-six Boards of Guardians were represented—he did not know the actual number of Boards in the country, but thought there were about twelve times as many. On the other hand, there were 212 delegates appointed by Municipal Authorities—County Councils, Borough Councils, and District Councils. That was to say, the Guardians were entirely in the background.

A DELEGATE: Is it fair to put it that way? Boards of Guardians could only nominate one member, whereas Town Councils could nominate three or four.

Mr. EDWARDS said he understood that two or three members of a Board of Guardians could come if they paid their own expenses, and there were a number of people representing other bodies present who had paid their own expenses. There was one essential reason in his mind why a duty of the kind they were discussing could not be given to the Boards of Guardians. The very essence of the Poor Law was that it must be deterrent. His Board had never encouraged people to come for

relief. They did not say to a man: "Because you are poor, or your children are starving, or your wife is consumptive, you must come to us"; they did the very reverse. If they could by any means drive them away they did so. (Cries of "No, no.") He would show them how they did it. (Hear, hear.) They had to do it; they were bound to do it. If they gave relief to out-of-works they put them to hard manual labour, and if they gave outdoor relief they gave it in small dribbling amounts with the intention of discouraging people from coming for relief. There was all the difference between deterrence and the medical treatment of children; the latter was a thing they wanted to encourage. It was a curious fact that whilst the Poor Law had been condemned root and branch both by the Majority and Minority Reports of the Commission, they found the Boards asking for increased powers in many directions, but he could not conceive that any Government would give increased power in that respect to Boards of Guardians. Sir William Chance's remarks on individual responsibility had been answered by Mrs. Cadbury. Because they had provision by law that children were to be fed at the public expense, did that mean that well-to-do people were to stand in the way of their own children having food? Individual responsibility would still have its chance of doing work even with regard to education. Although education was compulsory, did that prevent any well-to-do parent sending his children to a University to complete their education? He felt it his duty as a Guardian, taking the views he did as to the failure of the Poor Law system, to show that there were some Guardians who thought there was something outside the Poor Law. Instead of giving increased powers to the Boards of Guardians, he believed that other agencies were necessary in order to carry on work that had to be more universal than the work of the Boards of Guardians was.

Miss G. A. Looker endorsed Miss Lawrence's remarks on the multiplicity of officials. But in one respect she ventured to differ from Miss Lawrence—with regard to the mode of inspection. She did not think the multifarious duties enumerated by Miss Lawrence could be carried out by one officer. What should be aimed at was the appointment of both a nurse and an inspector. She thought the case would best be met by the appointment of a nurse, who need not necessarily have a certificate for health inspection and of health officers, who need not necessarily have the certificate of a nurse.

Mr. Fred Hughes (Birmingham N.C.P.D.) said there were one or two points arising out of Sir William Chance's paper with which he would like to deal. He did not know very much about rural areas, but had had a good deal of experience in large industrial centres, and he confessed he had never seen anything in any industrial town to encourage the idea of Sir William Chance that in some way the manly independence of the parent would be destroyed by dealing with his child's needs through the Education Authority, or increased by dealing with them through the Poor Law. On the contrary, he would say they ran a far greater risk of really sapping the parent's responsibility by sending the child to the Poor Law than they did by treating the child through the Education Authority and keeping him away altogether from association with the Poor Law. The only other thing upon which he wished to speak was this—they ought to bear in mind, dealing with the medical treatment of children, that they were trying to do something that was going to make the need for medical treatment less in future generations—(hear, hear)—and if they once could get that into their minds he was sure they would feel that the most important thing of all was that every child should be dealt with as promptly and as effectively as possible, whatever happened to the parents; then in future generations they would have far fewer parents in danger of losing their sense of parental responsibility. In conclusion, he wished to express his high appreciation of Miss Lawrence's paper. He thought she had probably lit a fire that afternoon that would blaze a great deal further than, perhaps, even she imagined.

Miss B. M. Broadwood (Cottage Benefit Nursing Association) said she spoke with a knowledge of social work not only in the rural parts of the South of England, but also in Scotland, and spoke not only from the parents' point of view, but from the democratic point of view. She had been listening to a great deal about inspection and compulsion that made the democratic blood in her veins boil. They must remember that people who lived in cottages had no more desire for or love of inspection than those who lived in castles. The best way of helping people really was to help them to help themselves. (Hear, hear.) It was far better to pay farm labourers better wages than to give them doles and blankets at Christmas time. In connection with the Cottage Benefit Nursing Association, which she had started in her

district, she had insisted upon the importance of the people attended to paying something for services rendered, even though it was but a small amount, thus enabling them to maintain their independence. Poor people in England were extremely indignant at the idea of the State or parish doing everything for them; they did not wish for free food or free treatment of the children, and to engender such a feeling in the minds of the people that they should look to the State for everything was not the proper democratic teaching.

Miss A. L. Henry (Women's Local Government Society) said as a member of all kinds of Local Authorities she did not agree with either Professor Bostock Hill or Sir William Chance in their papers. Both the papers wished to give over the medical treatment to School Managers, but the Managers were unable to undertake the work because they had not the money to do it. It had been suggested the money should be obtained from the parents, but after what they had heard as to the rates of wages of the ordinary labourer they would appreciate it was perfectly impossible for him to pay anything. She wished to urge that women doctors should be employed to examine the girls leaving school at 14 years of age. She did not object to what was already being done in that direction, but thought it would be much better if the "leavers" were examined by women practitioners.

Miss E. S. Kerrison (West Ham Union) thought the answer to Sir William Chance's paper as to the Guardians taking up the question of medical relief had been given in the utter failure of the Guardians to do the work. She had been a Guardian for sixteen years, but the condition of the children when admitted to the Poor Law schools had clearly proved that the Guardians had utterly failed to do the work or to touch the class of children who were in urgent need of medical treatment. She agreed with Sir William that the Boards of Guardians were average human beings, and that they meant very well, but they worked under a Poor Law which made it extremely difficult for them to do what they would like to do. Parents were very loath to go to the Poor Law. In fact, the Poor Law stunk in the nostrils of the ordinary working man, and it was utterly impossible to do away with that impression. Sir William Chance, she thought, was like King Canute standing in the way of the flowing tide. He was doing his best to resuscitate the Boards of Guardians, but she could tell him as a Guardian that he was far too late. They could not do away with the feeling of the ordinary working man that he would not go to the parish doctor when his children were sick if he could possibly avoid it.

Lady Meyer emphasised the fact that if they desired to get treatment for the children it was a hopeless thing to refer the parents to the Poor Law. In fact, it was with the greatest difficulty they got the tired mother to do anything at all. She was sunk under the weight of the difficulties of life. She agreed with Dr. Loch in what he said about lifting families into a position in which they would not need Poor Law help. If they left the matter to the Poor Law, in nine cases out of ten where medical assistance was required for children they would not get it.

Councillor C. A. Glyde (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) said he had read some of Sir William Chance's books on the Poor Law system, and if he wanted to be in the right he always took the opposite side to that which Sir William took. There were two forces at work in the country, one of which was out for the total abolition of the Poor Law system. He (the speaker) considered that the Boards of Guardians were not competent to deal with the medical inspection of children for the simple reason that the majority of the workers of the country preferred to starve or commit suicide rather than apply to the Guardians for assistance for themselves or their children. It might be prejudice or it might be sentiment, but there it was; and the only way to give the children a chance was to deal with them through the municipalities. Previous to 1870, when elementary education started, there were fossils, pre-historic, antiquated individuals, who maintained that free education would undermine parental responsibility, but nowadays there was no one in the country with any intelligence who would ask them to go back to charity in connection with education. The Bishop of Ripon had recently been lamenting the decreased birth-rate. What he (the speaker) was troubled about was to keep the children alive after they were born. The medical inspection of school children was the only systematised attempt that had been made in the country to look after not only the spiritual and educational welfare of the children, but their physical welfare as well, and it was because the Poor Law system had absolutely failed to deal with the problem that the Education Committees were taking it up. In Manchester, at the time of the South African War, only 1,000 men out of 11,000 who volunteered passed the doctor's

examination, and 9,000 of the 11,000 were not even eligible to be members of the Militia. Where could the Boards of Guardians have been? They must have been asleep. They had done absolutely nothing to deal with the physical welfare of the children of the country. In Bradford (where the speaker came from) Sir William Chance would find a shocking state of affairs—he would have to work overtime with regard to his views if he lived there. They had five lady inspectors, free municipal milk for the babies of the poor given by the Health Committee, a School Clinic, and medical inspection in the schools. In addition they spent three times more than any other municipality on free meals, and theirs was the first municipality in the United Kingdom to have a School Dentist. He considered that Sir William Chance was fighting a losing cause, and whether he (Sir William) stood in the way or not, the forces of progress were with them, and humanity was going to win. The spirit which had animated their President that morning would have fair play and eventually triumph over the out-of-date and antiquated methods Sir William Chance wanted them to apply in respect of the little children.

Sir WILLIAM CHANCE, in replying to the discussion, said he had had his say as to the Poor Law, and the speakers that afternoon had had theirs. He thought he could give a very good account of the work of the Poor Law Guardians in regard to dealing with the physical defects of children, but that would take far too long. He would just ask the last speaker to inquire a little as to what the Guardians had done in their Poor Law schools.

Councillor GLYDE: I am out to smash the Poor Law system.

Sir WILLIAM CHANCE: I thought so, Sir.

Proceeding Sir WILLIAM said that Mrs. Cadbury and other speakers expected that out of the medical treatment of the children they would obtain a much better class of citizen than their forefathers were. He did not know whether Roman matrons were allowed to ascend public platforms, but, anyhow, if a Roman Mrs. Cadbury ascended the platform in the Forum and addressed a meeting of the Roman citizens at the beginning of the first century, no doubt a certain well-known public man at that time would have been present to support her views. The younger Pliny said that the children were fed at the public expense in order to be a bulwark in time of war and an ornament in time of peace, and thus they thoroughly learned to love their country, not so much as being their native land, but as being their nourisher. It was not anticipated at that time that those children would ever themselves become a burden to the community. But they had only to read the history of Rome to see that that was exactly what they did become, and so were instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Roman Empire. (Cries of "Oh, oh.") They must bear in mind that, after all, history did repeat itself, and he wanted those who had talked about free medical treatment of the children as likely to create a stronger, healthier, and more self-reliant race, to look back to the history of the Roman people, and to ponder as to what possibly might be the result to our own Empire.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by the Mayor of Exeter, Dr. C. Vlieland. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF THE NON-INSURED SICK (*a*) IN URBAN, (*b*) IN RURAL DISTRICTS. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Medical Treatment of the Non-Insured in Urban Areas.*
By DR. J. C. T. NASH, County Medical Officer of Health, Norfolk.

2.—*The Medical Treatment of the Non-Insured in Rural Areas.*
By DR. HERBERT JONES, Medical Officer of Health, Hereford Combined Districts.

The Medical Treatment of the Non-Insured in Urban Areas.

By J. T. C. NASH, M.D., D.P.H.
(County Medical Officer for Norfolk).

THREE terms in the title of the subject for the discussion which I have the honour to open need defining at the outset—at any rate, so far as they affect this discussion :—

(*a*) What is covered by Medical Treatment?

(*b*) Who are the Non-Insured?

(*c*) Urban Areas. Are these to be restricted to cities, boroughs, and urban sanitary districts, or do they include the larger villages and small towns of rural districts?

(*a*) The National Insurance Act of 1911 defines now a State distinction between the prescribing and the dispensing of drugs, which introduces an evolutionary—almost a revolutionary—factor into the class of medical practice it is designed to cover. Hitherto the only class of practitioner actually debarred from dispensing medicines by virtue of his membership or fellowship has been the M.R.C.P. or F.R.C.P., who has therefore specially arrogated to himself the title of physician or consulting physician, in contradistinction to the ordinary practitioner who in most cases dispenses as well as prescribes.

Now, as far as the insured are concerned, wherever facilities exist for medicines to be dispensed by a chemist, the Act requires they shall be so dispensed. Inferentially, this will apply, or will gradually tend to apply, to the non-insured in urban areas. Medical treatment, of course, includes attendance of, and treatment by, a doctor; the provision of proper and sufficient medicines; and of such medical and surgical appliances as may be prescribed.

The above include what is ordinarily understood by medical treatment, and what is covered by the term " Medical Benefit " in the National Health Insurance Act, which does not, however, include any right to medical treatment or attendance in respect of a confinement, which is provided for under separate Maternity Benefit. Five minimum benefits are quoted in Section 1 of the Act, but there are certain additional benefits which include medical treatment and attendance for any persons dependent upon the labour of a member. This brings us to—

(*b*) Who are the Non-Insured?

At the first blush this might be thought an imbecile question, with an obvious reply; but when we remember that under the Act additional benefits may be extended to persons who are not actually contributory persons, it is clear that it is not sufficient to say that the non-insured are all the others who are not insured. The non-insured, of course, include several classes of persons, covering even persons of the wealth and dignity of the Governor of the Bank of England.

For the purposes of this discussion it may be better if we note who are the insured persons. These are divided into two classes—Employed Contributors and Voluntary Contributors. Employed Contributors include all persons of either sex, whether British subjects or not, of the age of 16 years and upwards, who are employed in the United Kingdom under any contract of service or apprenticeship, or under any such contract as master or member of the crew of any ship registered in the United Kingdom, or who are employed as outworkers (except where the outworker is wife of an insured person and is not wholly or mainly dependent on her earnings) or who are employed in plying for hire with vehicle or vessel under contract of bailment for payment, such as taxi-cab drivers.

But insured persons do not include those who are employed in naval or military service of the Crown. (Medical treatment is already arranged for these.) Nor those who are employed under the Crown or by any Local or other Public Authority or in the service of a statutory company or committee of companies, where the Insurance Commissioners certify that the terms of the employment are such as to secure provision in respect of sickness and disablement on the whole not less favourable than corresponding benefits under Part I. of the Act, nor teachers in public elementary schools to whom the Elementary School Teachers' Act, 1898, applies, nor an agent paid by commission, fees, or share in profits when he is mainly dependent for his livelihood on his earnings from some other occupation, nor those who are employed otherwise than by way of manual labour and at a rate of remuneration exceeding in value £160 a year, nor those in employment of a casual nature otherwise than, *e.g.*, a docker or a golf caddie. The Insurance Commissioners may, however, by special order, provide for including any of the excepted classes as Employed Contributors conditionally or unconditionally.

Voluntary Contributors include persons not Employed Contributors who are entitled to become insured persons, the main point being that the total income of a Voluntary Contributor from all sources must not exceed £160 a year unless he has been insured for five years or upwards.

Persons aged 65 and more at the commencement of the Act are also excepted.

Roughly, all persons not included in the above are non-insured persons, but we must not lose sight of the power given to the Insurance Commissioners to include, by a special order, persons engaged in any of the excepted employments.

Indeed, the power given to the Insurance Commissioners to modify the provisions of the Act render it impossible to definitely differentiate between those who will be insured persons and those who will not be. The difficulty will, of

course, be felt more in urban areas. It, therefore, would seem necessary for the medical profession to be prepared with a scheme for the treatment of the non-insured more particularly in urban areas.

(*c*) *What are Urban Areas?* For the purposes of this discussion I submit that urban areas more particularly mean large industrial towns, where are to be found the various employed persons who will be insured persons under the Act, as well as those employed in the excepted employments which may yet, by the power vested in the Insurance Commissioners, be arbitrarily included among insured persons.

As far as I am able to judge, the intricacy of the problems involved appears to point to a more or less speedy inauguration of a general State Medical Service on the lines sketched by Dr. Benjamin Moore in his " Dawn of the Health Age," but perhaps there are representatives of medical practice in our large industrial urban areas present who have schemes and solutions to put before this meeting which they deem superior, or at any rate deserving of full consideration. I am sure the most patient hearing will be given them.

It seems essential for the prevention of destitution by the prevention and cure of sickness in accordance with the principles of the Insurance Act that women and children of the working classes should be included in medical benefit. Some advocate a capitation payment, others payment of work done on a standard tariff as already exists for ordnance survey men and coastguards, and other ideas have been and no doubt will be put forward. Frankly, I have no scheme of my own to suggest, but, judging from the columns of the *British Medical Journal*, we shall not suffer from a lack of schemes for consideration, and in bringing the matter to this point I think I have played my part in introducing the discussion, which, I trust, will be fruitful and helpful.

The Medical Treatment of the Non-insured Sick in Rural Districts.

By Herbert Jones, D.P.H.

(Medical Officer of Health, Herefordshire Combined Sanitary District).

To the casual and uninterested onlooker who has given to the subject little or no thought or consideration, the question of providing medical attendance for the uninsured presents no difficulties. He would require that those who can afford to pay a doctor for attending them should do so, and that those who could not so afford should be attended by the Poor Law Medical Officer. But if this is to be considered a satisfactory conclusion as regards the uninsured there is no necessity to provide Medical Benefits even for the insured, for a like course could be followed with respect to them.

In this meeting, at any rate, it is safe to assume that you will not be satisfied with this apparently easy solution of what is to us a very serious and difficult problem, and one which I do not think we shall succeed in solving satisfactorily in the short time at our disposal.

The Poor Law Medical Service is for the destitute, and no one would be bold

enough to say that the mere fact of a person being uninsured and unable to pay a doctor's fee means of necessity that he is destitute. It does, however, mean that he may become destitute more readily than those who are insured. His nearness to destitution, therefore, ought to justify the use of every possible means to prevent him having recourse to a Destitution Authority. It is the first step that counts, and the first step to the workhouse is often taken across the threshold of the parish doctor's surgery.

In discussing the question we have to consider first who are the uninsured for whom we desire to provide medical attendance. Secondly, how such attendance may best be secured; and, lastly, from what source should payment for it be forthcoming.

Among those for whom medical treatment must be provided are the dependents of the insured; casual workers; persons over 65 years of age who were not, on December 16th, 1911, members of an approved society; and persons such as pensioners or annuitants with small incomes not obtained from employment. The number should be restricted to those whose income does not exceed the limit which may be fixed by the Insurance Committee under Section 15 (3) of the National Insurance Act, as that entitling insured persons to Medical Benefit.

The insured and the uninsured may be drawn from the same family. The father or the mother, or both, may be insured while the children or other dependents will be uninsured. The father or the mother will be entitled to select the doctor they wish to attend them, and it is desirable that some scheme should be devised whereby the same choice could be extended to the dependents. This is all the more to be desired because it is certain that the first extension of benefits made possible by Section 8 (9) of the National Insurance Act will be that which is placed first among the additional benefits specified in Part II. of the fourth Schedule, namely: "Medical treatment and attendance for any persons dependent upon the labour of a member of an approved society." When this extension takes place the alteration of procedure will be very much simplified if there is only one medical attendant for the whole household.

Persons over the age of 65 years who were members of approved societies on December 16th, 1911, or who on that date were subject to permanent disablement disqualifying them to become insured persons will be entitled to medical attendance and treatment on the same terms as those arranged for with respect to insured persons. With this exception persons over 65 years who are not insured must be included in the list of those with whom we are now dealing.

The casual workers will be those who do odd jobs, either men or women, at no definitely specified or periodical times. In this class may be included some who eke out a small income, not derived from their own labour, by an occasional day's work.

There is also a class of persons who should, I think, meet with our sympathy, who have an assured small independent income and who are not able to increase it by working, for many of them are women beyond the meridian of life. They have a pound or so a week derived, maybe, from the savings of former days, or possibly all that is left of a more affluent and prosperous life. They can live fairly comfortably in normal circumstances, but the anticipation of a heavy doctor's bill restrains them from sending for medical assistance when timely advice or treatment would have staved off or shortened a serious illness.

I would exclude from any scheme those persons who, though not compelled to be insured, may do so voluntarily, so that what we are really considering is not so much the medical treatment of the non-insured as of the non-insurable.

My proposal is that these non-insurable persons should pay voluntarily into the Post Office the cost of medical attendance prevailing within the district in which they reside plus a small additional sum for administration. This could be done by means of cards and stamps in a similar manner to that proposed to be adopted in the case of the completely insured, the card being marked " For Medical Benefit only." The procedure would then follow on the lines of that suggested for the insured class, except that it would be simplified if the doctor were paid on the basis of payment per attendance rather than on the contract principle, for there would then be no need to submit to the doctors on the panel the names of those desiring to be placed on a particular list, though it would be necessary to intimate to those persons included in the scheme the names of the doctors constituting the panel. At the end of each quarter the Post Office would credit the Insurance Committee in a separate account with the amount it had received. The total sum would be pooled and paid out to the doctors in proportion to the amount of their accounts for attendances, which would have to be submitted separately from accounts sent in having reference to the completely insured persons.

Such a scheme as I have indicated would apply successfully to those persons who were both able and willing to pay the weekly contributions. But there would still be left a certain number who either were able but unwilling to pay, or were unable to do so. Those who were able but unwilling would have to be excluded from consideration and left to make their own arrangements with a doctor as private patients. For those who were unable to pay, arrangements would have to be made for payment from public funds, and as a large number of this class would be migratory it would appear to be only just that the Imperial and not the Local Exchequer should be drawn upon.

At this stage it is clear that some method must be devised for ascertaining whether a person is really unable to make any contributions; in other words, for safeguarding the State funds from imposition. We are here sailing perilously near to the whirlpool of the existing Destitution Authority, the Board of Guardians and the Relieving Officer. At all hazards let us avoid being drawn into it. Our safety will be in steering for the Insurance Committee, and placing upon that body the duty of deciding, through one of its officers or otherwise, whether a particular person should have his contributions paid by the State or not.

It may be said that the difference between the Board of Guardians and the Relieving Officer on the one hand, and the Insurance Committee and its officer on the other, is only that of Tweedledum and Tweedledee. I do not think this is so. The business of the Board of Guardians is associated entirely with the destitute; it will have no dealings with those who can help themselves, however bravely they may be trying to do so. It is connected in the minds of the people with those who are beyond hope and almost beyond help, with the unhelpable, and with those who have gone or are rapidly going under.

The Insurance Committee, on the other hand, will come to be looked upon as a body dealing with the thrifty and the self-respecting; with those who are endeavouring by their own efforts to bear their own burdens and to lighten the anxieties of others. It must surely be that, while contact with the Destitution Authority tends to a feeling of hopelessness and despair, association with a body such as I have depicted the Insurance Committee to be, must inspire hope and give confidence and encouragement to those who have fallen by the way.

I set out with warning you that the question we are discussing is a difficult one, and no one can be more conscious than I am that I have done but little in suggesting a solution of the problems involved. With great diffidence I have

placed before you a framework during the construction of which I have, at each step, had my doubts as to which portion was the best adapted to fit accurately with its neighbour. It is a jig-saw puzzle which will bear much rearranging. I shall not complain if you think fit to throw all the pieces back into the box and start afresh, though I should like to think that here and there you may find I have placed two or more pieces in accurate juxtaposition.

In one of his classic reports to the Privy Council, referring more especially to preventable diseases, the late Sir John Simon said: "There is the fact that this terrible continuing tax on human life and welfare falls with such immense over proportion upon the most helpless classes of the community: upon the poor, the ignorant, the subordinate, the immature; upon classes which, in great part through want of knowledge and in great part because of their dependent position, cannot effectually remonstrate for themselves against the miseries brought upon them, and have in this circumstance the strongest of all claims on a legislature which can justly measure, and can abate, their sufferings."

It is largely on behalf of this class that our deliberations for the moment are concerned. Their very helplessness and impotency call to us appealingly to give them of our best.

Discussion.

Surgeon-General EVATT (National Temperance League) said that as he was a Medical Officer employed by the State, he wished to put before them a few points of view. The present Insurance Bill he regarded as the basis of the whole future of the medical profession. He felt positive from his army experience that the expense of sickness was so great, the dead weight of sick men was so enormous, that whatever the medical profession itself might wish the public would force on the question of the prevention of disease. (Hear, hear.) The story of the Army in that respect was a most encouraging story. The death-rate of the Guards in London was once worse than that of any class whatever of the community—they died worse than the prostitute and worse than the tramp—in wretched barracks, and their drunkenness injured greatly the efficiency of the Army. He (Surg.-General Evatt) was of opinion that they could have done nothing in making the soldier healthy had the Army Medical Officers not been an independent service. The officer under whom he himself served was Sir Evelyn Wood, a most progressive and sympathetic officer, but he was not his servant, holding as he did his commission from the King and the War Minister, and he was thus in a position to make any recommendation he deemed necessary. There was no story in the history of the State to-day better reading than the betterment of the soldier in his health, in his conduct, and in his sobriety. The whole question was a question of developing in some form or another the State Medical Service. He thought that would come. One-half of the County Medical Officer of Health's pay was paid by the State, but he was of opinion it should all be a State charge. And why? So that they could make the Medical Officers of Health independent of all local pressure. The whole principle that lay at the bottom of State service was the independence of the Medical Officer in making recommendations. A great need was the popularisation of sanitary knowledge. Last Sunday was Hospital Sunday all over England, but in how many of the pulpits of the churches did the Medical Officer preach the sermon? He himself had preached the sermon in a church, and he had often said to the churches that they had no business on Hospital Sundays to keep a doctor out of the pulpit. They had a Public Health Service and a Poor Law Service. They had the inspection of children month by month and year by year. New demands were made on the medical profession to take part in the service of the State, but it was not a co-ordinated service. They were waltzing about England, overlapping one another in every direction, and the whole

matter was waiting for a statesman who knew how to give unity to the medical profession, and he was certain that from the Insurance Bill, and from statesmen who realised the enormous cost of sickness, the change would be brought about. Last year was the healthiest year the Army had ever had, and the guardsmen who previously had died of consumption in greater numbers than any other class in England, were now of the healthiest. The chief reason for that was, particularly in the new barracks at Windsor, that every soldier was given extra cubic space, and in the New Barrack a cubicle for himself. They had become healthier and more sober by removing the causes which previously had broken them down. In the Army when a man was taken ill it was the practice for the medical man to seek out and report the causes of his illness, but in ordinary walks of life such information was not always sought. All that resulted was perhaps prescription, prescription, prescription, and nothing else in a truly preventive direction. Although to-day there was very little drunkenness in the Army, the reason for their drinking in the old days was because the soldiers lived in slum barracks. To-day women were drinking, and the reason was because they were sacrificed in the slum. It was the women who suffered the most. He did not know how far he was getting outside his subject, but he would like to say he believed most certainly that on the day when the sanitary service was made independent of the Local Authorities things would be immeasurably better. A man who was a Medical Officer of Health of a county should be able to rise up to a higher position if he were worth it. He maintained that a Minister of Health, sympathetic and believing in the value of the life of the child, would one day develop and be able to build up a service which would astonish the nation. They wanted a reporting officer so that the Medical Officer could point out the causes of patients being sick, and leave it to others to force on responsible people the changes which would in the end produce a healthier and stronger nation.

Dr. SIDNEY DAVIES (Medical Officer of Health, Woolwich) said he would like to ask one or two questions. He did not quite see why the Insurance Act was going to lead to a Public Health Service. Perhaps the author of the paper would show them the lines of his reasoning on that point. He (Dr. Davies) certainly hoped it might be so, but he was under the impression that certain distinguished persons connected with the Conference were strongly opposed to the Insurance Act because they thought it was establishing the general practitioner, whom they thought should rather be disestablished. Although he cordially agreed with what had been said as to the desirability of a National Medical Service, he would like to remind Surgeon-General Evatt that the difficulty was not simply that of getting the best and most independent medical advice given to the Local Authorities. In his (Dr. Davies's) own district, where most excellent advice was frequently given to the Local Authorities, that advice did not receive any attention. He would not say it had no effect whatever, but he supposed it was the experience of all Medical Officers of Health that they had been advising certain action to be taken for years and years, and yet nothing had been done. In the Army they had appreciated that the nation could not expect to have an Army which would be successful in war unless it were a healthy Army. Unfortunately, they had not succeeded as yet in convincing the public bodies, or even the public, that it would "pay" to improve the health of the people at large. The public looked upon public health as a nice little fad, but an expensive fad, and until they were convinced it meant saving money and making money, he was rather afraid they would not make the progress they desired. With regard to the treatment of those who would not be insured under the Insurance Act, the matter was very complicated and very difficult, but was it hopeless to expect more from the Poor Law Medical Service as long as it existed? The Local Government Board had repeatedly told Boards of Guardians that destitution in the medical sense was to be considered simply from the point of view as to whether the person could obtain efficient medical attendance, and that if anyone could not obtain efficient medical attendance he was destitute in that sense, and, therefore, might receive it from the Guardians. Yet, despite being told that over and over again, Boards of Guardians to a large extent had refused to act upon it. Could they not ask for a little more from Mr. John Burns, that he would bring it home to the Boards of Guardians that they must give medical attendance where it could not otherwise be obtained?

Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS (Auckland Rural District Council) said he was moved to send up his name to speak in order to say a word in vindication of the independence of Medical Officers of Health in rural districts. He had been surprised to hear that Medical Officers of Health as a rule were not independent and not free to make

recommendations to their respective authorities. A remark had been made that the County Medical Officers might be promoted to higher positions when they had done certain good work in their own districts. He (Mr. Adams) could not think of any higher position except it might be under the Government with, say, a salary of £2,000 a year. The same applied to the District Medical Officer of Health, who in his district was a whole-time officer and quite independent of the local council as regarded his tenure of office. The Durham County Medical Officer received a salary of £1,000 a year, and the Medical Officer of his rural district £500 a year. He thought it was not well that the impression should go abroad that Medical Officers of Health as a rule were not independent and free to make suggestions to their respective Local Authorities whenever they thought fit. There was one clause in the paper of Dr. Jones to which he would like to call attention. He was sorry he could not deal at length with the general question of the treatment of the sick in rural areas as affected by the Insurance Act, but there seemed to be an assumption running through the minds of many speakers and writers of papers at the Conference that Boards of Guardians were not capable of dealing with subjects such as this. It was said that the business of Boards of Guardians was entirely associated with the destitute, and that they could have no dealings with those who could in some measure help themselves, however bravely they might be trying to do so. He joined issue with such statements as that. The question depended, he thought, on the interpretation they put upon the word "destitute." Whatever a person had not got, which he needed, he was destitute of, and that the Board of Guardians could supply, and did so. Therefore, the statement in the bald form in which it was put forward was not true, namely, that the Boards of Guardians deal only with the destitute in the sense of being destitute of everything and having sunk down to the lowest possible depths. His own Board of Guardians had spent as much as £2 a week upon a single man because he needed special treatment and help, and that went on for twelve months, and what they did in one case they would do in 100 cases if the need arose. Therefore, he urged them not to go away with the idea that all Boards of Guardians were such as they had been described in Dr. Jones's paper.

Dr. C. S. Loch (Charity Organisation Society) thought the question they were discussing was most difficult and important, and they could not get to the bottom of it until they had seen the Insurance Act working for a short time, but meantime they must make the best hypothesis they could. When they considered those who, joining under the Insurance Act, had more than 1s. 6d. but less than 2s. a day wage, they touched a margin of insurance which was almost charity. But 1d. a week was paid by the contributor and the rest came from the employer and the State. With a wage less than 1s. 6d. a week the employed contributor paid nothing: all was paid by the employer and the State. There would thus be an insurance class that paid nothing. Yet push the Insurance as we might here (as, he believed, it was pushed in Germany) there would still be an outside group probably, who even on these terms would evade insurance. Most of those who cared about voluntary institutions were quite in doubt as to what line was to be taken with regard to them. It was a matter of fact that a very large number of those dealt with in hospitals would be returned as very poor. Analyses of the patients treated in the London Hospital showed that. The question was whether the very poor would turn out to be actually insured contributors; and whether they were or not, it would seem that they would undoubtedly go, as they had been accustomed to do hitherto, to the hospitals and dispensaries. Let them first consider the position of the dispensaries. Many of them were in the nature of provident clubs, and many were free. These dispensaries, which people in many towns habitually attended, were centres to which many persons would naturally continue to go under the new régime. Hence many who had been anxious as to the future of the dispensaries had made application to the Insurance Commissioners that the question should be considered whether the dispensaries should not be recognised in some way in relation to the new Act. That would come about, of course, in connection with the Insurance Committees, for, he presumed, all local arrangements would be in their hands. To disestablish the dispensaries would be a public loss. Take next the position of the hospitals. Undoubtedly the very poor went habitually to the hospitals. The hospitals were not institutions to be disregarded. The hospital system, from the out-patient point of view (speaking of London), was being greatly improved. At many of the hospitals there were almoners who were very careful to hear what the doctor had to say about each out-patient. Homes were visited and inquiries made, and much was done

outside the hospitals which the doctors in the hospitals fully recognised as being of great service to the patients. With this system at work it was quite clear they were really providing what was in the nature of a general health movement in connection with the hospitals. So with hospitals and dispensaries for phthisis. The Insurance Act should therefore be used so as to preserve the hospitals as voluntary institutions and not to destroy them. Turning to the question of the Guardians, he was very much surprised, not only at the hostility shown towards the Poor Law Guardians at the meeting the day before, but the entire ignorance shown as to their standpoint. He considered that to ignore the Poor Law would be perfectly fatal to the solution of the problem in hand. Reference had been made to the definition of "destitution." That had now been fully stated by the Local Government Board. It was hopeless to think of creating an insurance scheme that would neutralise the Poor Law or take its place. Continuing, Dr. Loch said he would lay stress on one other point. Would or would not the introduction of the Insurance Act bring about a change in many rural counties? Would there not be a new demand for hospital or infirmary treatment owing to the more thorough treatment which the doctors would desire to bring to bear on the patients? If that were so, how were they, with the necessary economy, going to provide additional accommodation in districts where Poor Law institutions already existed, unless they utilised the Poor Law buildings in some way, and adapted them to new purposes? In that case he thought they would have to revise the Poor Law position in the light of the Act. For the very poor, if practically they were outside the Act and more doctoring and care were demanded, the Poor Law must provide what was required. It was necessary to take a broad view of the question. What was proposed by the Act was to improve the whole health and physical condition of the nation. The Act had gone very far beyond the limits of pure insurance for the poorest classes. Merely 1d. a week would not bring anybody what the Act offered. The Act graded the insurance population. At the top were those earning £160, and below them would come class after class, the whole insurance population bowing down to submit to a great national scheme, but when they got to the lowest grades, was there any other possible scheme than that of well directed assistance provided by the hospitals and by the dispensaries and by the Guardians? If that were so, as before those who wished to help advised men to join good Friendly Societies, so now it would seem to be a good method to bring those who are outside insurance into insurance. (Hear, hear.) This might be done by voluntary influence. He looked upon voluntary work as a means of raising the level of the very poor. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. LIONEL TAYLER (Charity Organisation Society) said he wished to confirm Dr. Loch's point of view, but, at the same time, to take a supplementary outlook. Dr. Loch had suggested they should take a wide study of their problem with regard to the Act, and he (Dr. Tayler) would rather like to suggest some of the difficulties they would have to face when they considered the matter from a similar broad point of view with regard to the medical profession as a whole. He hoped no one would feel he was making his remarks in any way hostile to any aspect of the medical profession. He merely wished to point out some things they had to realise as scientific thinkers. Generally speaking, if they looked at the mass of general medical men as they existed to-day, they fell into four classes. First of all, there were the Medical Officers of Health and those who were connected with them, whose main function had hitherto been that of public health. They might wish to extend these functions, but he (Dr. Tayler) was not arguing that point. The second class of medical men, which was far older, was that of the general medical practitioner. Then, as a sort of supplement to the general medical practitioner (although a formidable one) there had grown up the consulting staff, with its hospitals, etc. The fourth was quite a new field which, whatever views they might take, ought to be recognised and would certainly have to be reckoned with—that was the eugenic medical factor. He thought that both medical men and the general public ought to have much clearer views about these matters than they had. The health of the community was one problem, and the health of the individual was another. Therefore they wanted the general practitioner, with the family point of view and with the individual point of view, to take the outlook of the individual himself. It was certainly wanted in science, because unless there was one central type of man studying the family and the home as a unit—and no one outside the general practitioner could do that—they would know next to nothing about heredity. As to the consultant, the Insurance Act meant that the whole scheme of medical practice would have to be reconsidered. Most men on the

staff of hospitals recognised that a definite evil of their work had been that they had taken away from the general practitioner cases that were naturally and rightly his own. The scientific sphere of a hospital and of a consultant was first of all to attend to rare diseases which the general practitioner seldom saw; and, secondly, to attend to cases which required extensive or complicated treatment. The hospitals had far exceeded their limit in that respect, and one of the reasons why the general practitioner had perhaps declined in his general outlook in some ways was because he had not been treated fairly. They must not think, proceeded Dr. Tayler, that modern work was going to elbow out the general practitioner; they must recognise that he was there as the man who looked after the family. Continuing, Dr. Tayler wished to say a word with regard to the question of eugenics. He was speaking as a scientific man, and wished his audience to clearly realise there was no animus about his remarks. He did not believe in the statistical methods of eugenics, but medical men were to blame for the way the eugenic movement had passed out of their hands. He was absolutely convinced the only sound method of considering the problem of destitution on its hereditary side was that they would have to follow the old medical tradition of diagnosis. One could not possibly form a judgment of what was really an unhealthy individual unless one made a diagnosis. That was the only safe method. Unless they could go direct to the person and study his surroundings some very serious blunders would take place, and they would be faced with practices that would be real tyrannies. His only reason for making his remarks on the whole new medical practice was that the Insurance Act was going to throw practically everything into the melting pot, and a wider view would be necessitated. It would throw various social and medical and biological problems into a very wide pool, out of which new circles of interest would come, and no one knew what they were going to be. He pleaded that on the scientific side they should keep their minds wide open and be very careful not to shut out any point of view, and clearly recognise that there were four aspects of medical practice—public health; the private health of the family; the point of view of the expert in the hospital and the consultant; and, lastly, the eugenist whose place it would be to consider primarily the problems of race and man's larger destiny.

Dr. A. Dennison (Leeds County Borough Council) said he had had absolutely no intention of speaking, but after listening to the previous speakers he had been particularly struck by the position they were gradually bringing themselves into. They were there with the idea of working out a most important item in the interests of the nation, and one in which it was necessary to sink all differences and to do their level best to find the right way out. He had taken great interest in what Dr. Tayler had said on account of his disinterestedness. He (Dr. Dennison) did not wish to appear to have any ill-feeling towards Medical Officers of Health. But it seemed to him that Medical Officers of Health were the predominating element in the Conference, and quite naturally so. He hoped and believed and trusted that preventive medicine was what they were going to have in the future, but, at the same time, they must go gradually. He did not think it was correct to suggest that Boards of Guardians did not know their work, or if they did, that they would not do it. From his own personal experience, all recommendations received by his Board had every consideration. He would like to add, however, that if Boards of Guardians had a little more power they would be able to do better work even than they now did. It had been said that the Health Committees of Councils did not attend to the recommendations of the Medical Officer of Health. His own experience was that the Medical Officer of Health kept them fully occupied with recommendations which, if they were all carried out, would, within three years, completely change the constitution of the City Council. But people were gradually coming to see that sanitary expense was only an insurance premium against sickness, although they had to be broken to it gently. He agreed that the Medical Officer of Health should be an independent individual; and if he (the Medical Officer of Health) were under the Government instead of the City Council, his position would be more comfortable. It was wrong to say, as had been said that morning, even if only by way of a joke, that the doctors of the present day were a mob and not an army. However, he did not think that was the general feeling of the community. The general practitioner was said not to look to the causes of disease. Speaking for himself, Dr. Dennison thought the contrary was the case. Again, they had been told yesterday that the general practitioner was not fit to take on the work of inspection and treatment under the Education Authority. He wondered what the

general practitioner was really good for. Nevertheless, he was of opinion he would never die out. Although it was the tendency nowadays to specialise, there would still always be a place for the general practitioner. If they were going to throw the old machinery and the general practitioners on one side, what were they going to fall back on? Were they going to fall back on what as yet no one could explain and what no one had seen in working? In conclusion, Dr. Dennison said that when he was out in Jamaica a little while ago he was told that there was a time there when they could not rear chickens, nor do anything in the poultry line, on account of the rats and snakes. To get rid of these they introduced the mongoose, and the mongoose increased and increased and destroyed all the rats and snakes. Now they could not catch the mongoose, but still they could not rear chickens. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Roger Green (Burton-upon-Trent Health Society) said she came to the meeting full of a desire to learn a great deal, especially as she had just been appointed on a local Insurance Committee. She had been waiting anxiously to hear about the non-insured, but the discussion seemed to have gone very wide of the subject; perhaps it was because the subject was so many-sided that they did not know where to start. She would suggest that local conferences on the question of the non-insured should be arranged, as it was important to weld the activities of a town into one general scheme. In Burton-on-Trent, realising how many organisations were at work, all with the highest ideals, they had formed an organisation in which they were all represented, and she was of opinion that when that idea had been at work a little longer they would be getting nearer a solution of their difficulties. She had always thought that if they could only get their localities properly managed, their national problem would be easier to deal with. There were many voluntary charities which, for the present, would have to deal with the non-insured, but the Insurance Act would take a great deal of work off their hands, and enable them to do the smaller amount very much more satisfactorily.

Dr. Bygott (Medical Officer of Health, Barking) said it had been asked who were the non-insured. The answer was that there would be a very large group of dependents on the insured—the wife and children, except so far as they were affected by the maternity benefit or the sanatorium benefit. There would, indeed, be a very curious anomaly; the father at the head of the family would be able to be provided with medical assistance, but if the same assistance were needed for his wife or children that would have to be received by them as paupers. The father would travel first class, and the wife and children third class. With regard to the use of the Poor Law for the uninsured, that matter had been discussed very fully the previous day, but with all deference and respect to Poor Law Guardians, there was just one point upon which he thought attention should be directed, and that was the provision of specialised treatment. Even in the large Poor Law Infirmaries in London, very delicate surgical work was either not done at all or was done by a general practitioner. The non-provision of specialised treatment was one of the great faults of the Poor Law. In future, directly the insurance work was properly organised, public opinion would require that to be provided. In some districts it was exceedingly difficult to get proper treatment on account of their distance from hospitals, and it should be the duty of the Public Health Authority to see that there was adequate provision of all kinds of medical assistance for all people resident there. With regard to the voluntary charities, he could not speak too highly of the excellent work they had done, especially during the last few years, when they had been co-operating to a greater extent with Public Health Departments. It should be perfectly easy for Local Authorities to do what his Council had done—make grants in order to assist such institutions. Considering the great difficulties under which charity organisations worked, they had done a noble and good work, but they had suffered from an emptiness of pocket. Certain questions had been raised with regard to the position of the general practitioner in these schemes. They could never abolish the general practitioner, although they might change the conditions under which he worked. Whatever extensions were made to the Insurance scheme, they would always have the general practitioner, and if they wished the general practitioner to occupy a dignified place in society, they must begin by respecting him and considering some of the difficulties under which he laboured. One of the difficulties the private practitioner had to deal with was that the public waited until they were completely broken down before they went to him, and then expected two things: first, to be told the name of the disease—and, by the way, they were seldom told the right name; and, secondly, to be given some form of drug treatment, which was their one idea of

treatment and which the doctor supplied because it was the popular idea. Whatever was done for the uninsured person, they must see that the doctors were properly looked after. They must see that the doctors received adequate remuneration and had reasonable hours of labour; and punctuality on the part of patients was to be insisted upon. By the introduction of method both doctors and patients might be made much more comfortable than they were. If they were going to adjourn the question of dealing with the non-insured for some time they would simply perpetuate the old and unfortunate slack system which prevailed at the present time and was very unpleasant for everyone.

A DELEGATE asked, with regard to the Boards of Guardians not being able to provide specialised treatment, whether Dr. Bygott was aware of the fact that they had full power, and exercised it where necessary, to provide specialised treatment in hospitals, either for X-ray treatment or whatever might be necessary. He understood Dr. Bygott to say the Boards of Guardians had not that power.

Dr. BYGOTT replied that the speaker had misunderstood him. The Guardians certainly had unlimited power with regard to the provision of treatment for the sick, but his experience, which was a large one, was that they did not exercise that power as they might.

The Rev. G. A. SUTTLE (West Ham Union) said he differed very much from the last speaker who, apparently, did not know much about Boards of Guardians—at any rate, in the more enlightened areas. It was never fair to take the worst case and set it up as a true example. One should be fair to the angels and to their opposites. (Laughter.) The Board with which he (Mr. Suttle) was connected was doing its utmost to help all sorts and conditions of people; in fact, if some of the peers from the West End came to his locality and asked for help he believed they would get it. He was extremely anxious to see something in the shape of a general State Medical Service. He daresay he would get into trouble over it, but he did not mind that because it was just the thing that was necessary to deal with the general population. They did not want to get rid of the general practitioner, but they did want a man on the spot to whom the people could appeal, and from whom they could receive service without any sign of degradation. His Board were not satisfied to have a part-time Medical Officer for its out-relief, and they had appealed to the LocalGovernment Board for a whole-time officer, and the Local Government Board had given them permission to try it in one district. If it proved satisfactory the scheme would be extended. Proceeding, Mr. Suttle said he wished to ask the medical gentlemen present what was going to happen to the poor people among the uninsured who were suffering from tuberculosis. There would always be a large number who must go to the Poor Law, and he wanted to know what was going to be done for them. His Board was spending a good deal of money on certain cases, and doing all they could for them in the way of shelters, etc. Were they simply to go on agitating and agitating until they got a grant like other people, or what was to be done? As things were, the position was most unsatisfactory, and he could see no way out of it except the establishment of something like a general State Medical Service. If they wanted a good, strong, healthy race they must be prepared to pay for it, and if people would only take the trouble to look three generations ahead they would not mind paying a little extra at the present time. They might say they would not be here in three generations' time; but they must remember they were not here three generations back. He was disgusted with the spirit that would only look just in front of its own particular nose (if a spirit could have a nose) and that could only see its own immediate time. He was extremely sorry to have heard the remarks made concerning the Boards of Guardians by certain speakers. He was not saying the Poor Law was an ideal organisation; but where was there an ideal organisation? The only perfect people in the world were those in that room at the present time. (Laughter.) Boards of Guardians were not self-appointed bodies, but elected by the people. London Boards of Guardians were far ahead of any of the country Boards, as he could say from his own experience. The people who had brought Boards of Guardians into disrepute were the miserable little bodies who thought in threepenny-bits and paid in farthings. (Laughter.) If they got rid of the Boards of Guardians who was going to take up the case of the poor people sweltering in the slums? A suggestion had been made that it should be done by voluntary effort. He (Mr. Suttle) was not keen on voluntary effort. His experience was that things done by voluntary effort were not done as they ought to be. They were there to say what they had seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears, and he was bound to say that voluntary

work had not been done satisfactorily. They had to take the matter up and deal with it on a very responsible basis, and that responsible basis was the public basis. (Hear, hear.)

A DELEGATE asked Mr. Suttle whether he was aware that a very common statement of the Clerks to Boards of Guardians was that the Boards of Guardians have nothing to do with the prevention of disease, and are confined to dealing with destitution.

Mr. SUTTLE replied that he could only speak of his own Board, and that, as far as they were concerned, they were actually engaged upon the prevention of disease and they found that the Local Government Auditor passed their accounts. (Laughter.)

Miss A. L. HENRY (Women's Local Government Society) wished to take exception to Dr. Bygott saying Boards of Guardians did not provide specialised treatment. As a member of her local Board of Guardians, she would say that in regard to the Workhouse Infirmaries Dr. Bygott was quite right—they did not provide specialised treatment for their patients, but what they did do was to subsidise large hospitals and pay the expenses to and from the hospitals of patients in the Infirmary. They sent their patients to all kinds of hospitals and institutions for specialised treatment. It would be impossible for Boards of Guardians, especially in country districts, to attempt to set up specialised treatment on their own account because of the enormous expense. She was of opinion that non-insured persons could not do better than come under the Poor Law, but at the same time she would like to see the Poor Law treatment of the sick become more general so that the outside poor should know they could obtain specialised treatment. She wished particularly to take exception to the remark that Relieving Officers were actuated by a desire to keep people off the Poor Law.

Dr. EUSTACE HILL (County Medical Officer of Health, Durham) said he laboured under the disadvantage of not having heard the previous day's discussion, nor had he heard the papers delivered that morning. All he wanted to say was that in his opinion it must inevitably come that in the future there must be some form of State Medical Service. (Hear, hear.) He thought that was obvious, and there was no other solution of the difficulty; but at the same time it must not be forgotten with regard to the dependents of insured persons that it was possible that some provision could be made for them by the workers themselves. Take the case of some of the mining districts—the district, for instance, from which he came in the county of Durham. At the present time the general payment was 9d. a fortnight for ordinary medical assistance for the worker and his family under the age of 21. In addition to that they paid a sum for midwifery and maternity benefit, and certain other extras. Under the Insurance Act, the insured person would pay 4d. a week, or 8d. a fortnight, and the maternity benefit was thrown in, so there was obviously a little margin—and he believed the workers would be prepared to pay a larger margin under certain circumstances—which might and should go towards the provision of medical assistance for the dependents. The previous speaker, continued Dr. Hill, had asked what was to be done with regard to the uninsured in respect to the prevention of tuberculosis, and had referred to the cases which came before the Guardians. If that gentleman had read the Memorandum of the Local Government Board on the matter, and the Report of the Departmental Committee, he would have seen that one of the essentials of any comprehensive scheme for dealing with tuberculosis was that *all* persons should be dealt with, and that, of course, applied to all persons who were not at present under the care of the Poor Law Authorities. In his own county the County Council had practically adopted a scheme by which they would provide treatment for all persons suffering from tuberculosis in accordance with the suggestions of the Departmental Committee. There was no doubt but that most of the cases of pulmonary consumption that came before the Poor Law Authorities for care were those of persons who had become paupers owing to phthisis, and, therefore, if they set on foot a comprehensive scheme for treating that particular disease, they would, if it were successful, practically be the means of relieving the Poor Law Authorities in the future from the necessity of dealing with phthisis at all. (Hear, hear.) As to the value of the medical and preventive work done by Boards of Guardians, he knew that in certain districts they had done much in that direction—in the county of Durham a good deal. In some Unions they had not only provided special treatment for certain affections such as defective eyesight, but they were the only authorities who had endeavoured to deal with cases of tuberculosis; and he thought that credit should be given to them where credit was due. As regards the relationship between general practitioners and the Medical Officer of Health, there

had been a tendency for the general medical practitioner to dissociate himself from, and look with suspicion upon, the whole-time Medical Officer engaged in the public services. Just why it was he did not know, but that tendency did exist, and he considered everything should be done to prevent it. No one recognised more than he did that in all schemes of medical benefit, and particularly in the prevention of pulmonary tuberculosis, if the scheme was to be a success they must have the whole-hearted co-operation of the general medical profession, and he was of opinion that that co-operation would be obtained if the doctors were properly treated. On the other hand, there was no doubt that the contract practice, which was so prevalent and which was the curse of the whole profession, had been the means of preventing able men from giving sufficient attention to the scientific side of medical practice; and, in the case of tuberculosis, he was afraid a large proportion of the medical profession did not at present realise that they were not sufficiently acquainted with it in all its aspects. He knew that in many districts the tendency was for the general practitioner only to notify tuberculosis after a diagnosis had been confirmed by a bacteriological diagnosis. They had got to get the medical profession to recognise that it was essential to have the earliest possible knowledge of the cases, and there, he believed, they would get the whole-hearted co-operation of the profession. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. J. T. C. NASH, in reply, said that the discussion had testified not only to the difficulty of the question but to the great interest which was taken in it. The scheme which he had outlined for a State Medical Service was really that advocated by Dr. Benjamin Moore. Dr. Moore's book, *The Dawn of the Health Age,* was written before the Insurance Act came in, but dealt with every problem in respect of it. Indeed, he thought he could best answer most of the points raised in the discussion by reading from that book, but he did not propose to do so. Surgeon-General Evatt had given most powerful support to the establishment of a National State Medical Service. Dr. Davies had asked how the Insurance Act was going to lead to a National Medical Service. On page 88 of Dr. Moore's book there would be found a paragraph dealing with that subject. As to Boards of Guardians, of course there were Boards and Boards. The difference often depended upon the officials of a particular Board. What was wanted with regard to them was more unification and co-ordination. Dr. Tayler had commented on the difference between the communal point of view and the individual point of view. That applied not only to health questions, but to all questions of social life. Very often the individual view had to be sacrificed for the sake of the community. The very law of the country was dependent on communal interest as against individual interest. He had been pleased to have an opportunity of hearing Dr. Dennison, because one wanted to hear the views of general practitioners, and officers of Boards of Guardians, expressed. With regard to charity organisations, although they should take full advantage of them, he felt there were almost too many of them working independently. They needed to be unified and organised, and that, he thought, would be best done by bringing them under a National Medical Service.

Dr. HERBERT JONES, in replying, said he would like to clear the ground at once by saying he did not agree with Dr. Nash as to a State Medical Service, if it meant that they were to do away with the general practitioner and appoint doctors at fixed salaries to whom anyone could go and get advice without paying for it. If that were the case, his opinion was they were going to do about the worst possible thing for the whole community. He agreed, however, that the State Medical Service of the Public Health Department should be enlarged, and he pointed out that the enormous improvement that had taken place in the health of the soldier, referred to by Surgeon-General Evatt, was largely due to improved surroundings. Give the people better and different houses, and then they would find there would be no demand for a State Medical Service. What was wanted was to begin at the beginning, and prevent as much as possible. Mr. Adams had rather animadverted upon some statements which had been made as to Medical Officers not being able to report as they would have liked because they were under the thumb of the Local Authorities. In passing, he might say that one reason why so much good work had been done in Mr. Adams' district was that both the District and the County Medical Officers of Health had security of tenure—they could not be dismissed without the consent of the Local Government Board. In provincial England and Wales hundreds of Medical Officers formerly had to come up for reappointment year after year—and some of them, even after long years of service, were not only dismissed, but were dismissed without

receiving information that their services had been dispensed with except through the local newspapers. Conditions of appointment such as that naturally precluded a man from reporting adversely if he could possibly help it. Although matters had been altered to a certain extent, Medical Officers of Health in the country districts of England could still be dismissed with three months' notice without any reason given, and, what was more, dismissed by those upon whose property they had to report. If that disability were removed, there would be little necessity for the Housing Act, or fresh regulations with regard to dairies, cowsheds, and so on. The line he himself adopted was to report and advise such things that he knew his Council would agree with him upon, and by that means he got a great deal of work done; but if he reported as he really ought he did not know what would happen to him. Such a condition of affairs should not be allowed to exist. Another thing that was wanted to be dealt with was to put the Medical Officers in a better position with regard to the question of superannuation under the State. There were some fifty or sixty whole-time Medical Officers of Health in the country—not in the large towns—who dealt with about ten million people altogether, and who had to administer the Acts of Parliament, which entailed an enormous amount of clerical work, yet most were unprovided with offices or clerical assistance. They had to pay for that out of their own salaries. Further, they had no means afforded them of getting about their own district except at their own expense. His own district was one of about 600 square miles. Those were pinpricks which caused much annoyance. If they wanted to get good work done by the Public Authorities, two things were wanted : first of all, assist the Medical Officers to get security of tenure; and the second, superannuation.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Unemployment and Industrial Regulation Section.)

The Chair was occupied by Sir Francis Champneys, President of the Public Health Section. The subject discussed was HEALTH CONDITIONS IN FACTORIES AND OTHER WORKPLACES. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Use of Underground Rooms as Workplaces.*
By Dr. F. J. ALLAN, Medical Officer of Health, Westminster.

2.—*The Workmen's Compensation Act in Relation to Industrial Disease.*
By Mr. A. D. STEEL-MAITLAND, M.P.

3.—*Health Conditions in Factories and other Workshops.*
By Dr. SIDNEY S. LAWRENCE, Medical Officer of Health, Edmonton.

The Use of Underground Rooms as Workplaces.

By FRANCIS J. ALLAN, M.D., D.P.H.
(Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; Medical Officer of Health for the City of Westminster).

IN opening the discussion on the use of underground rooms as workplaces, I may remind you that there is at present before Parliament a Bill which has for its object the improvement of the conditions under which such places are used. Except as regards bakehouses, there has been no direct legislation dealing with such places, although, as you are all aware, the use of underground rooms for habitation has been controlled to some extent since 1855 in London by Section 103 of the Metropolis Management Act of that year, and Section 62 of the 1862 Act, and subsequently by the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, Section 96; and in the country by Sections 71-74 of the Public Health Act of 1875.

It appears to have been considered that so long as a basement room was not used for both living and sleeping purposes, the general provisions of the Public Health Acts were sufficient to ensure that the conditions under which such rooms were used in the day were satisfactory.

It is desirable, therefore, to consider what these provisions are, and whether they are sufficient for the purpose, especially when the basement is to be used as a workplace. Before doing so, however, it may be well to inquire what are the objections to basement rooms.

In many instances underground rooms now being used as workplaces were not constructed to be used for this purpose. They were, in some instances, the

cellars or the kitchens of an ordinary dwelling-house; in others, the storage cellars of shops, to which, perhaps, the vaults under the pavement may have been added to give additional space and to obtain extra light through the glazed-over intervening area.

Under such circumstances it is often difficult to procure structural alterations which shall bring them up to a reasonable standard of healthiness, especially when these places have been constructed in accordance with the requirements of the Building Acts. The difficulties which are encountered relate to ventilation, warmth, lighting, dampness, entrance of impure air from ground contaminated by drains, coal-gas, etc., or from the direct connection of sanitary conveniences therewith.

The difficulty of ventilation is closely connected with that of warming. Basement rooms are frequently found without any fireplace, and thus resort is made to gas-stoves without flues or hot-water pipes, and by the absence of a fireplace a very important means of withdrawing used-up air is absent. The conditions are aggravated by the lowness of many rooms and by their being situated partially or entirely under the level of the surrounding ground, and in a number of instances adequate ventilation is practically impossible without creating a draught. If there is some means of exit for used-up air, a further difficulty is experienced as to the source of the air which is supplied to take its place—it may come from an undesirable source or bring with it street dust and dirt or smoke "smuts." It may even be drawn through from the ground adjoining, which often is contaminated by leakages from sewers and gas mains. Where the streets are paved with impermeable material none of the gases can escape into the open air.

Lighting.—With two notable exceptions there are no provisions requiring efficient lighting in the Factory and Workshop or Public Health Acts in relation to ordinary dwellings, workshops, and factories. The exceptions, it should be noted, are both in connection with underground rooms, Section 101 in the former dealing with bakehouses and Section 96 of the latter dealing with dwellings. In regard to dwellings, there is no doubt that daylight is demanded, as the size of the windows is specified, but with regard to bakehouses, it was left to each Local Authority to decide. The opinion of the Society of Medical Officers of Health was that an underground bakehouse should be lighted with daylight throughout, and should be such that an official copy of the Abstract from the Factory and Workshops Act could ordinarily be read in all parts of such bakehouse between the hours of 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., and this was agreed at a Conference at the Home Office, March 13th, 1903. It had been thought by some that as the work in bakehouses is usually carried out at night it was unnecessary to specify daylight; it was, however, eventually agreed that daylight was eminently desirable and preferable to any form of artificial lighting. In workrooms, in my opinion, it is most essential to have sufficient lighting. The terms "adequately" and "efficiently" do not convey a definite standard, and consequently their use in Acts of Parliament is not of great value. According to Mr. John Darch, F.S.I.,* "Holland is the only country that has framed an Act that properly stipulates the amount of light to be provided, thus, rooms where such as embroiderers, jewellers, and draughtsmen are employed are required to have a minimum of 15 bougie metres (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. candles), and all others 10 bougie metres. Definite legislation is urgently necessary, for there is still an

*Paper on "Illumination" read before the Society of Architects, January 11th, 1912.

overwhelming majority of workers under conditions that are ruinous to eyesight and health. In machine shops the majority of accidents are said to occur after 4 p.m., and no wonder, for brilliant points of light against a dark background must baffle the eyes and deceive as to distances. What is wanted is a well-diffused general light, aided by whitened and illumined ceilings and walls. Nothing is better for this purpose than indirect lighting. Screened local lighting should then be added to all points requiring the attention of operatives, and to benches, desks, etc."

Dampness must frequently be found in basement rooms in the older type of house. It may arise from the proximity of adjoining ground, to the absence of proper damp-courses in the walls, to the contact of the floor with the ground, or the absence of sufficient means of drainage.

It is scarcely necessary to emphasise that the want of proper ventilation and light, the presence of dampness or impure air, must be prejudicial to the health of persons who are forced to spend any time in places where any or all of such conditions exist. Especially detrimental it must be to young growing persons, and to those engaged in sedentary work.

The question now remains to consider if the law is sufficient to remove these conditions or if it requires strengthening in any special direction.

Section 6 of the Factory Act, 1901, requires a reasonable temperature to be maintained, but the measures taken must not interfere with the purity of the air, while Section 7 requires that adequate means shall be provided in every factory and workshop, and when structural alterations are required application may be made to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and the Court may apportion the expenses between the owner and the occupier of the premises, as appears to the Court to be just and equitable under the circumstances of the case, regard being had to the terms of any contract between the parties. The duty of enforcing Section 6 being with the Home Office, and of Section 7 with the Borough Councils.

Section 2 of the Factory Act requires every workshop or workplace to be kept in a cleanly state, properly ventilated, and not overcrowded, free from effluvia from drains and sanitary conveniences of any kind or other nuisance, but this Section is, as far as the Metropolis is concerned, replaced by Section 2 (1) (*g*) of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891. The latter enacts that—

> "Any factory, workshop, or workplace which is not a factory subject to the provisions of the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901, relating to cleanliness, ventilation, and overcrowding, and
>
> (1) is not kept in a cleanly state and free from effluvia arising from any drain, water-closet, urinal, or other nuisance, or
>
> (2) is not ventilated in such a manner as to render harmless as far as practicable any gases, vapours, dust, or other impurities generated in the course of the work carried on therein that are a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health, or
>
> (3) is so overcrowded while work is carried on as to be injurious or dangerous to the health of those employed therein,
>
> shall be nuisances liable to be dealt with summarily under this Act."

Sub-section (*a*) of Section 2 (1) of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, is, moreover, much wider in its application, and gives Metropolitan Boroughs power to deal with "any premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health," and although Section 157 of the Factory Act excludes men's workshops—*i.e.*, workshops where women, young persons, and children

are not employed—from the provisions of that Act relating to "temperature, means of ventilation, drainage of floors, and sanitary conveniences," these can be dealt with under Sections 2 and 38 of the Public Health (London) Act. Notwithstanding the existence of these powers, Parliament thought it desirable for various reasons to legislate specially for one class of business carried on underground, viz., bakehouses, and to require that no underground bakehouse should, after a certain date, be used unless certified by the District Council to be suitable as regards construction, light, ventilation, and in all other respects, thus bringing all underground bakehouses into line at once, and, I think, all will agree that this has produced beneficial results. The extension of the control to other underground workshops would undoubtedly be of even greater benefit, as in many instances such control is more required.

A Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1906 to extend the principle to all underground workshops, and I reported at the time that this would be useful, especially if extended to include workplaces, which would thus bring in many places where food is prepared; but no provision was made in that Bill or in the Factory Act for the withdrawal of such certificate if at any time the premises are found not to comply with the requirements. In the Bill now before Parliament a clause has been introduced giving a magistrate power to close an underground workshop on being shown that it was unsuitable for use.

It is a curious anomaly that Public Health Acts, and even the Housing and Town Planning Act, which condemn an underground place as unfit to be slept in, allowed it to be used all day and probably part of the evening as a workplace or office. Possibly the authors of these Acts may have had it in their minds that these places would be under supervision by Factory and Sanitary Inspectors, who would see that suitable conditions were enforced, but probably they thought such rooms would only be used as the kitchens of dwelling-houses.

The Bill now before Parliament deals with all these matters in a satisfactory and, I think, reasonable manner. It does not propose to prevent the use in the future of underground workplaces, as was the case of bakehouses. It merely requires that such places shall be made suitable for the purpose. The result would be that in the future architects in designing new buildings would take steps to see that basements were constructed in such a manner as would render them able to be used as workplaces.

It has been suggested that this matter is one affecting London only, but Medical Officers of Health have informed me that similar conditions exist in all parts of the kingdom, and the Society of these officers unanimously passed a resolution that legislation was required to deal with them in order to secure uniformity throughout the country.

The Workmen's Compensation Act in relation to Industrial Disease.

By A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.P.

My one extenuating circumstance in submitting this paper is to be found in Section I. of the Memorandum sent to me on the preparation of a paper. What

follows is an examination of two points which require amendment in the administration of the law with regard to compensation for industrial disease, preceded by a description of a case which I have investigated and which illustrates the need for amendment.

The case is that of Miss Emily Carnall. Emily Carnall, of 28, Buchanan Street, Pendlebury, was formerly employed as a majolica paintress in the well-known tile and pottery works of Messrs. Pilkington, at Clifton, near Manchester. After thirteen and a half years there she was dismissed in May, 1909. In September of the same year she was pronounced by her local doctor, Dr. Berry, to be suffering from lead-poisoning, having previously (1898) been certified as suffering from that complaint by the firm's own doctor, Dr. Herbert, while another private doctor, Dr. Somers, who attended her later, had expressed a confirmatory opinion. But she had never been definitely suspended, nor had she received compensation.

Dr. Berry now notified the case to the Home Office. Meanwhile the woman herself wrote to the managers of the firm asking whether they could do anything for her. In reply one of them came to see her, and gave her a small sum of money to tide over immediate needs, advising her to go to the North Stafford Infirmary. Following on this she received a visit from Dr. Holmes, the Certifying Surgeon for the district, who examined her briefly but did not give any opinion; and from a well-known specialist on lead-poisoning (Dr. Nixon Mann), who, while he did not give a written statement, appeared to think there was lead in her system.

As nothing further resulted, she instituted proceedings under the Workmen's Compensation Act, and obtained a certificate of disablement from the Certifying Surgeon of the district in which she lived. She was then informed that it should have been got from the Certifying Surgeon of the district in which the works were situated, who had previously seen her. He, however, refused to grant it, and in accordance with the provisions of the Compensation Act, a medical referee, Dr. Judson Bury, was appointed to decide the case (January, 1910). (It should be mentioned that before the case actually came into Court, the employers communicated with the solicitors, offering to pay Miss Carnall a lump sum of £15 in settlement, at the same time denying all liability for her injuries; this, however, she declined to accept.)

Under the Act, the medical men representing both sides have a right to be present at the examination. The woman's medical man, however, was not aware of this, and although he saw the doctor representing the employers only the day before it took place, the latter gave him no intimation of his right to appear.

On being admitted at the appointed time into the room at the Referee's house, where the examination was to take place, Miss Carnall found the employer's doctor in conversation with him. He made a merely cursory examination of her in the former's presence, and subsequently reported definitely but unfavourably to her claim.

This decision was referred back to the Referee on the grounds that that woman's own doctor had not been present. Meanwhile Miss Carnall was put through a technical test by her own and another doctor, the result of which went to support the evidence that she was suffering from lead poisoning; in addition she obtained certificates confirming this from two prominent local physicians. She then (March, 1910) underwent a second private and really thorough examination from the Referee, who subsequently applied to have her

under observation in the infirmary for a week. Finally he sent in a second detailed report in which, while he stated that the case was a difficult and doubtful one, he adhered to his original opinion that the condition of the patient was due to hysterical paralysis and had *probably* "arisen independently of lead." This report was again appealed against on the technical grounds that it was not on the prescribed form, but this was rectified, and the report duly sent in with no other alteration.

Under the Act his decision is final, and legally, therefore, no further steps can be taken. In default of any such redress the woman sent a personal appeal to the firm at the beginning of last year, but this merely elicited an absolute denial of any liability on their part.

At present, therefore, the circumstances are these: Emily Carnall is quite incapacitated from earning her living by acute neuritis in both arms, while she also suffers from occasional attacks of colic. She is never free from pain, and the doctors hold out no hope of her recovery. In fact, the disease is rather progressive in character.

She lives with another woman, who was formerly a majolica paintress also, and who is now getting 8s. 5d. a week compensation for lead poisoning (which she obtained on appeal from the *same* Certifying Surgeon to *another* Medical Referee). This, with the wages of a niece of this second woman, a tailoress, form the sole means of support of the three (apart from sporadic subscriptions which have been used to form a small fund, out of which Miss Carnall has been given a weekly payment of 5s.). The woman is thus entirely dependent on the charity, in the first instance of her companions, and in the second of outsiders.

It is submitted that the evidence goes to show that a grave miscarriage of justice has taken place. Five doctors, at least, on whose judgment no reflection can reasonably be cast, and one of whom was himself a Certifying Surgeon, have definitely pronounced the woman to have suffered from lead poisoning. Two more, one a specialist in that particular disease, and one the employers' own doctor, have verbally inclined to a similar opinion. The Certifying Surgeon whose judgment in another case was reversed on appeal, and the Medical Referee, who admittedly gave the case an inadequate examination on the first occasion and subsequently was unwilling to reverse his judgment, alone pronounced adversely. It may be admitted that the symptoms of the disease are such that, as soon as the sufferer is removed from contact with lead, they are difficult to identify with certainty, and that they are then liable to be confounded with those of other complaints not due to industrial causes. In this case these are considerations in favour of the worker. The statements for her contention came from medical men who saw her during or closely following her employment in lead processes—the adverse report from the Medical Referee who saw her some months afterwards. Yet there is no evidence that in the first instance he took into account previous examinations, while there *is* evidence that he consulted the employers' doctor before pronouncing on her claim, and that he hardly troubled to sift or confirm that opinion by a personal examination. On his report being questioned, indeed, he gave the case a thorough examination, and in so doing passed judgment on his previous action, for he said that "the diagnosis of the case presents unusual difficulties," and required "special investigation." This it certainly did not get in the first instance, when his opinion was really formed. Yet from a decision given under these circumstances the law, as it stands at present, affords no redress.

It is clear from this case that something is out of gear, either in the law or in its administration. On analysis it will be found that there are two points, not in the law, but in the administration of the law, in regard to which amendment is needed.

The first concerns the grant of a certificate stating that the sick person is disabled by a disease in respect of which compensation may be payable. As everyone is aware, the principle of compensation for certain industrial diseases, as distinct from accidents, was first recognised by Section 8 of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. It is payable where the Certifying Surgeon gives a certificate that the workman is disabled,* and the duties and fees of the Certifying Surgeons are regulated in accordance with the Act† by two Statutory Orders‡ issued by the Home Secretary.

The procedure under the Orders is clear. The workman has first to apply to the surgeon for a certificate of disablement, and he has to "pay the prescribed fee."‡ The Certifying Surgeon then examines him, and may or may not decide to grant a certificate of disablement. But though the procedure is clear to any educated reader, it is not clear to many of those affected, and hence it is unsatisfactory. Some of the dangerous processes belong to trades sufficiently well paid and highly organised. Others, however, are in just those occupations in which the workpeople are worst paid and most ignorant. In many instances they have no knowledge that they may be entitled to compensation at all. Again, even if they subsequently become aware of the fact, the delay may be prejudicial to them in the case of some of the diseases under the Act, *e.g.*, lead poisoning. Delay may make it much more difficult to diagnose the source of the complaint, and to refer it with certainty to its industrial origin. This, therefore, is the state of affairs that requires remedy.

As regards the proper steps to be taken, however, a distinction should be observed. In the case of certain specified diseases, lead poisoning, anthrax, mercurial poisoning, and arsenical poisoning, medical men are required by the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, to notify the Home Office of instances coming under their notice. The sick person is then, as a matter of course, visited by the Certifying Surgeon for the district. In such cases it would be reasonable that the Certifying Surgeon should be required to give gratis to the person whom he inspects a notice which should state in simple terms his *prima facie* right to compensation if he claims and obtained a certificate of disablement. Or else, which would be simpler still, that the certificate, together with a notice of the right to compensation, should be given him without further ceremony. It would then be left to the employer subsequently to apply for the further certificate that the disease was not contracted in his employ, or to appeal to the Medical Referee, as the case may be.

There are, however, a number of diseases for which compensation may be obtained under the Act of 1906, or the subsequent Orders extending the list, which yet find no place in the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901. Notice of cases of these, consequently, is not necessarily conveyed to the Home Office, and

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* Par. 8 (1) sub. (i). Par. 8. (3).

† 484 & 486 of 1907 applying to England and Scotland respectively.

‡ Order 484, Regulation 2. It is far from clear why he should have to "pay the prescribed" fee on *application*. The fee is described in Regulation 7 as a fee payable not for examination but "for any certificate under Regulation 3." It is evident, however, from Regulation 3, that after the prescribed fee has been paid the certificate may be refused. A shilling, which in most cases is the prescribed fee, is not large sum, but some of the types of employees affected are just those with whom shillings are not plentiful.

they are not, therefore, necessarily visited by the Certifying Surgeon. Under these circumstances, two courses appear possible. The first is that a notice of diseases which entitle to compensation should be hung in the consulting-room of every medical man. The second is to extend the Factory and Workshop Act by order of the Home Secretary to cover all illnesses scheduled in the Workmen's Compensation Act, which the Secretary of State may think it advisable so to include, bearing in mind the considerations mentioned above. Of the two choices, the latter course seems the most preferable.* The question of cost, of course, enters in, and from the very fact that no record at present exists of the number of cases, it is impossible to estimate what it will be. But having regard to the number of cases notified of those diseases which are at present included in the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, the additional expense cannot be very considerable.

The second question to which I would draw attention is that of Medical Referees in connection with the problem of industrial disease. The first point to bear in mind is the essential distinction between the procedure in cases of accident and of disease. It is, indeed, a failure to realise this distinction that has led, and may lead, to confusion.

In the treatment for compensation for accidents, Medical Referees may be used in two connections:—

(*a*) To determine whether a workman it fit to return to work (Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, Schedule I., Par. 15).

(*b*) To act as assessor to the County Court judge in cases of arbitration (Schedule II., Par. 5), or report on points submitted for his opinion (Par. 15).

By Section 8 of the Act of 1906, the right to compensation for disease is placed on the same footing as compensation for accident, subject to special modifications in the procedure. Hence the use of a Medical Referee to determine whether a man is fit to return to work applies equally to cases of disease as to accident. But as regards arbitration, a different course of procedure is substituted, and it is here that the hardship occurred in the case of Miss Carnall, and may easily recur in others.

The first step for the workman in obtaining compensation is to apply to the Certifying Surgeon for a certificate of disablement. This may be granted or refused. If granted, the presumption is held to follow that the disease certified was contracted in the employment of the last employer, and it is for the employer to apply for a further certificate negativing this presumption. At either stage it is open either to employer or to workman to enter an appeal, which lies from the Certifying Surgeon to the Medical Referee, whose decision on a question is at present final.

Under such circumstances the status and attainments of the Medical Referee are of the highest importance. It is essential, therefore, to note that the regulations contemplate that as a rule he should be appointed to act for a County Court Circuit (or in Scotland a sheriffdom), and inferentially, as his purview is over a given territory rather than a given subject matter, that he should be a general practitioner. The possibility, however, is contemplated that special appointments should be made for special classes of cases, or that special expert assistance should be called in as required. It is clear, therefore, that it is within the power

* This course would obviate another defect which at present exists. In the case of the diseases of which no information is at present required to be given to the Home Office, the workman is required to pay 5/- to the Certifying Surgeon to be examined. This is too heavy a charge.

of the administration to devise the principle of the appointment and that under the regulations, as they exist, there is a choice of two systems, general practitioners for given areas and specialists for given diseases.

For anyone not inside the Home Office, it is difficult to ascertain how far exactly one system or the other has been followed. But so far as I have been able to ascertain the facts, with less time at my command than I could have wished, there has been a tendency in Scotland to appoint specialists where the facts warranted the appointment, in addition to the industrial referees, but in England to rely on general practitioners for the territorial areas. Thus, in Scotland, Dr. Mackay, the ophthalmic specialist in Edinburgh, was appointed to take all ophthalmic cases, including miners' nystagmus in the Sheriffdoms of Stirling and Fife. Miss Carnall's case, on the other hand, was investigated by a general practitioner, though, as a case of lead poisoning, it probably required expert examination as much as, or more than, any disease under the Act.

At this point let me once again enter a caveat. That there is this distinction between Scottish and English practice is the impression which I have formed. It may, however, be inaccurate, because it is formed on data which are almost necessarily too scanty for decisive statement in the absence of information which it is difficult to collect in fulness otherwise than from the Home Office. It is, however, possible to speak with much more confidence on the principles which should be applied in practice. To preclude the possibility of the general recurrence of such a miscarriage of justice as, it is reasonable to say, happened in Miss Carnall's case, some people have suggested a further court of appeal. Such a solution, however, does not seem wise. In itself extended litigation, especially in cases of this kind, is not desirable, and, in addition, the unavoidable delay is a source of uncertainty, more especially in the particular disease that existed in the individual case under consideration. A better course is not hard to find. Of the diseases in the schedule some are comparatively simple of diagnosis, others present difficulties such as are peculiarly characteristic of lead poisoning. The procedure should differ accordingly. For the first, general practitioners appointed for a certain territorial area should be adequate, with the corollary that a fee of two guineas appears hardly adequate to enlist the services of a man of sufficient attainments that he should be called upon to serve in a judicial capacity, and this is especially true where the expenditure of time is considerable. On the other hand, a careful discrimination should be made of those diseases in which the services of an expert are obviously needed, and special appointments should be made accordingly, as in the case of Dr. Mackay. Moreover, such appointments are not incompatible with a general territorial system.

The only hesitation which need be felt in making such a suggestion is on the score of expense. Expense is a very real objection, and to make light of it, as is often done, is real short-sightedness. It would have been much more satisfactory, therefore, could an estimate have been produced analysing not only the schedule of diseases, but the localities in which the cases severally occurred, as these two factors combined would have determined the additional expense. It has not been possible to do so much, but at least this can be said. Where such diseases are scattered they occur for the most part in few instances. On the other hand, where numerous cases are encountered, they are largely grouped in districts—anthrax near Bradford or Liverpool; lead poisoning in London or the Potteries. At least, however, there is a *prima facie* case that diseases and localities should be sufficiently carefully analysed by the Home Office to determine whether a better adjustment of means to ends cannot be devised, and whether

such mistakes as occurred in Miss Carnall's case cannot be obviated for the future. "*De minimis non curat lex.*" But though the points discussed may be small as compared with the whole field of our factory system, yet they are of importance: they can be dealt with by the administration without need for legislation or the law's delay, and it is to be hoped that they will receive attention.

Health Conditions in Factories and other Workplaces.

By Sidney C. Lawrence
(Medical Officer of Health, Edmonton).

As this paper of mine has the purpose of initiating a discussion I think the best thing is for me to state in a condensed form what the present laws state *shall be* provided for the workers, and more particularly what the Local Authority, through its officers, *can do* to maintain the sanitary condition of the workshops.

The law regarding factories and workshops is mainly to be found in the Acts of 1901 and 1907; the former is the chief one, for it consists of ten parts and 163 sections, and consolidated all previous Acts.

Broadly speaking the Home Office deals with factories (*i.e.*, places where mechanical power is used); the Local Authority deals with workshops and workplaces. The chief duties of the Local Authority under these Acts relate to (1) Sanitation; (2) Sanitary conveniences; (3) Safety from fire (and in factories); (4) Homeworkers.

The sanitary condition of these places will depend on four factors:—(1) The legal powers of H.M. Inspectors and those of the Medical Officer of Health and Inspectors of the Local Authority; (2) the way these powers can be and are enforced; (3) the thought bestowed on the welfare of the employed by the employers; (4) The behaviour of the employed themselves.

Health Provisions in the Act of 1901.

According to Section 1, factories must be kept clean, free from effluvia from drains, w.c.'s, etc.; properly ventilated and free from overcrowding. The inside walls, etc., must be limewashed, or (if painted) washed with soap and water every fourteen months.

By Section 2, workshops and workplaces must also be kept clean and free from effluvia, and, if the Medical Officer of Health or Inspector of Nuisances consider it necessary, notice calling for limewashing and cleansing within a certain time may be sent.

Section 3.—Factories and workshops may be dealt with as overcrowded if less than 250 cubic feet of air space during the day and 400 during overtime are provided per head. In underground bakehouses during overtime the minimum is 500. In workshops or workplaces used for sleeping purposes at night, 400 cubic feet are required. Notices must be affixed in factories and workshops specifying the number of workers allowed in each room.

Section 6 states that means for ensuring a reasonable temperature without interfering with the purity of the air must be provided in factories and workshops; and, Section 7, sufficient means of ventilation must be introduced. Section 8: Adequate means of drainage of floors liable to get wet are required.

Provisions for Sanitary Conveniences.

Section 9 of the 1901 Act provides that every factory or workshop must be provided with a sufficient number of sanitary conveniences in proportion to the number of employees and attendants. Separate accommodation must be provided for persons of each sex. The Secretary of State at the Home Office is to determine (and has determined) what is a sufficient number.

This section is not generally applicable, localities which have adopted Section 22 of the P.H.A.A. Act, 1890, not being under it. The same applies in the case of London, where the question of conveniences in factories and workshops is dealt with under Section 38 of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891. Both these sections contain provisions very similar to those of Section 9 first quoted. Section 38 of the Public Health Act, 1875, also contains like provisions.

The only drawback to *not* working under Section 9 is that the benefits of the Order made by the Home Secretary in connection with sanitary accommodation —"The Sanitary Accommodation Order, 1903"—are lost. This Order provides that there shall be, in places where women are employed or in attendance, one w.c. to every twenty-five female employees, and, in certain circumstances, also one to every twenty-five males employed or in attendance. In certain cases, if urinals are provided, one w.c. to 40 males is sufficient. Sanitary conveniences must be kept clean, ventilated and lighted, and under cover. They must be easily accessible. In mixed workshops there must be separate means of access for males and females, and the entrances must be screened. Conveniences must not communicate with a workroom save through the open-air or an intervening ventilated space.

Safety from Fire.

The Local Authority must examine every factory built after 1892 and workshop built after 1896 in which more than forty persons are employed, to see that proper means of escape in case of fire are provided, and, if not provided, they must compel the owner to do so. A certificate must be obtained from the Local Authority that the factory or workshop is provided with means of escape.

Rooms in which more than ten persons are employed must either have sliding doors or doors opening outwards. Local Authorities are empowered to make by-laws providing for means of escape from fire in the case of factories and workshops, irrespective of the number employed.

Unhealthy Trades.

It is provided, Section 73, that notification is to be made by medical practitioners to the Home Office of every case of lead, phosphorus, arsenical or mercurial poisoning or anthrax occurring in *a factory* or workshop. Section 74: The factory inspector may require ventilation by means of fans in factories and workshops where grinding, glazing, or polishing on a wheel is carried on so as to cause dust.

Section 75.—Lavatories are to be provided in places where lead, arsenic, or other poisonous substances are used. No meals are to be taken in rooms where

these substances are used. Section 78 : There is a similar prohibition in the case of mixing rooms in glass works, lucifer match works, etc. Section 77 : Young persons, children and girls under 16, are not to be allowed to do certain work, *e.g.*, silvering mirrors by the mercurial process, melting or annealing glass, dry-grinding in the metal trade, dipping in the match trade, etc.

But Section 157 exempts men's workshops from the operation of Sections 74 to 79, both inclusive.

Bakehouses.

Apart from underground bakehouses, for which they seem to have entire responsibility, Local Authorities only deal with retail bakehouses which are not factories, *i.e.*, without machinery.

With regard to bakehouses it is provided, Section 97, that none shall be let or occupied unless the following conditions are complied with : (*a*) no w.c., privy, ashpit, etc., must be within or communicate with it ; (*b*) every cistern supplying water for use therein must be separate and distinct from a w.c. cistern ; (*c*) no drain or pipe for carrying fæcal or sewage matter must have an opening inside it. Section 98 : Penalties are imposed for contraventions. Section 99 : Inside walls are to be limewashed or (if painted) washed twice a year. If painted or varnished, renewal is necessary every seven years. Section 100 : Sleeping rooms must not be on the same level as bakehouses, unless they are separated by a partition extending to the ceiling and have windows of nine superficial feet in area, opening to half their extent.

With regard to underground bakehouses, it is forbidden to use these if they were not being so used when the Act passed.

Laundries.

Section 103 applies to all laundries carried on by way of trade and for purposes of gain, with certain exceptions. Laundries where no mechanical power is used are workshops, and therefore under Local Authorities.

The main object of the Act of 1907 is to amend the law in the 1901 Act relating to laundries and bring under the law laundries formerly exempt.

Amongst other matters this last Act provides that in laundries where mechanical power is used fans must be introduced ; stoves for heating irons must not be on an ironing table or in an ironing room ; gas irons emitting fumes must not be used, and the floors must be in a good condition and properly drained.

Homework.

Under the heading " Homework " (Sections 107-115) powers of controlling the conditions under which certain classes of work are carried on by outworkers are given. These classes are defined by the Homework Order of April 10th, 1911.

With regard to *unwholesome dwellings* it is provided that if a Local Authority considers the premises to which work is sent to be done are injurious or dangerous to health, they may prohibit the sender from giving it out to be done there. The power only applies to certain classes of work, which are prescribed by the Home Secretary, *e.g.*, in connection with wearing apparel, fur pulling, etc.

As to *infected dwellings* it is enacted that the Local Authority may forbid, for a fixed period, the sending of work to a house, any inmate of which is suffering from a notifiable infectious disease. Certain trades only are affected by this provision, *e.g.*, wearing apparel, curtain making, upholstery, etc.

Outworkers' Lists.—By means of these it was hoped that much valuable information with regard to outworkers would be obtained by Local Authorities. Lists of names are to be kept by persons sending out work, and sent twice a year on special forms to the Local Authority. The lists kept by the sender are open to inspection by the Local Authority, and those received by the latter are open to the Home Office Inspector.

Duties of the Medical Officer of Health.

Sections 122-133 deal with administration. Of these, Section 125, which gives the Local Authority and their officers the same powers of entry, inspection, etc., in the case of workshops as are given to Factory Inspectors in connection with factories, may be mentioned. By Section 127 it is provided that within one month of occupying a factory or workshop the occupier must send notice to the Home Office Inspector, giving the address, the kind of work to be done, etc. It is the duty of the Home Office Inspector to send notices as to workshops received by him to the Local Authority.

Section 129.—Registers containing particulars as to limewashing, children employed, etc., are to be kept in factories and workshops. Section 131: Registers of workshops are to be kept by Local Authorities.

Section 132.—The duties imposed upon the Medical Officer of Health are to report annually on the administration of the 1901 Act in workshops and workplaces, and send a copy to the Secretary of State; and Section 133 to give notice to the Home Office Inspector, whenever he discovers that a woman, young person, or child, is employed in a workshop in which no Abstract of the Act is fixed as required by Section 128.

Having brought to your minds, I hope, by this paper what an ideal factory or workshop should be, if conducted in accordance with the law of the land, I expect that some of those who are present will tell us of any habitual infringements of the law that have come under their notice—with suggestions for their ready detection. If you do not find in your particular area or business that the present legal powers are ample enough to protect the health of the workers, I trust that you will favour the meeting with hints as to what further legislation is required, either by Act of Parliament or by Order or Regulation of the Home Office.

Discussion.

Dr. G. Reid (County Medical Officer of Health, Staffordshire), said he wished to congratulate Dr. Lawrence on having strung together a sufficient number of suggestions to allow of the fullest discussion. He thought they might conclude from Dr. Lawrence's observations that he, at any rate, was a keen worker with regard to the administration of the Factory Acts from a public health point of view. If Medical Officers of Health throughout the country were equally keen, he (Dr. Reid) had no doubt that in time they would get amendments in the Acts, but he was afraid at the present time, especially in the smaller districts, there was not much keenness.

Dr. Lawrence had referred to cubic space as being an important element. Cubic space certainly was important, yet in fact it was insignificant compared with facilities for ventilation. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the terms used in the Factory Acts, such as "accommodation should be reasonable," "sufficient," etc., it would be rather difficult to fix for all purposes a minimum, but in the Orders the Home Office framed under the Factory Acts they did in the case of special trades fix a minimum which must be complied with. As regards the dual control question, they, of course, all agreed with Dr. Lawrence, but here again he (Dr. Reid) suggested that at the present time what control Local Authorities had was to a large extent not exercised. Therefore, there was not very much encouragement to the Government to increase the powers the authorities at present had. It was quite obvious that public health supervision under the Factory Acts could not be adequately exercised by the staff of the Home Office. That was brought out very clearly in connection with a Departmental Committee, of which he was a member, which inquired into the use of lead in potting. The Home Office did not profess to provide a sufficient number of Inspectors for police work, and if they did so it would require a very large army. What they had done, since that Report was presented, was to try an experiment by which the manufacturers should be held responsible for the administration of the Orders from the Home Office, and note in books, open to the inspection of the Home Office Inspectors, specific answers to specific questions, "Has this been done?" and so on; and he thought by a process of that kind they might, at any rate in the case of dangerous trades, be able to obtain a good deal of information.

In discussing Dr. Lawrence's paper no doubt those who had particular information regarding particular trades would deal chiefly with those trades, and that is what he himself proposed to do. The information the Departmental Committee referred to, obtained after a two years' sitting, was very valuable, not only in relation to the particular trade of potting, but, incidentally, to the whole question of factory health conditions; and it was quite astonishing, as the evidence was produced, to find how much one factor was of importance throughout all the factory health conditions, namely, clean air. If by one regulation they could effect that in the future workmen should work in a clean atmosphere, they would get rid of a vast amount not only of special trade diseases, but general diseases consequent upon factory working. He proposed to apply that to the question of the use of lead in potting. The Departmental Committee was constituted specially to inquire into the conditions under which the potters worked and the remedies to be employed not only with regard to lead but with regard to all the conditions incidental to the potting trade; and it came out that although the inquiry was instigated chiefly because of injury from lead, far greater injury was found to result from other than lead processes within the potter's trade. Just to give them a few figures: whereas the total deaths among potters in England from lead poisoning amounted to 4 per annum, the total deaths from lung diseases amounted to 148. That meant that the injury resulting to the lungs, irrespective altogether of lead, was responsible for 39 deaths for every 1 death occasioned by working in lead. Of course, there was not the same number of workpeople employed in lead work as were employed in the other processes, but even if that were taken into account and they compared the number of deaths per corresponding number of workers. Where one death occurred in 1,000 lead workers, nine deaths occurred in 1,000 non-lead workers, directly owing to their occupation; that is, deaths in excess of the normal artisan death-rate from lung diseases in that particular locality. Taking the total injury from the trade in the two classes of workers into account, it was one to thirty-nine. Having arrived at that conclusion, it was very satisfactory to find that the remedy in both instances was precisely the same. The injury from lead poisoning arose practically entirely from the inhalation of lead dust. The injury, of course, from the lung point of view, was nearly entirely the result of the inhalation of irritant dust. So that, although the chief reason for the existence of the Departmental Committee was lead, which caused four deaths, they found that something else caused 148 deaths; yet the remedy in both cases was the same, namely, clean air.

Before referring to the question as to how clean air was to be provided, he would mention incidentally that other injuries were traceable to the potter's trade—e.g., the miscarriage and still-birth rate was considerably greater amongst lead workers than among non-lead workers. Oddly enough, also, the miscarriage rate among women who had worked in lead before marriage, although they had given it up after

marriage, was greater than in non-lead working women; but it was far greater among women actually at the time engaged in lead. He did not give the figures with regard to that because they had not sufficient data to permit of being very dogmatic with regard to the facts; but there was no doubt whatever that, broadly, what he had stated was correct. The inquiry was conducted into 5,000 births which occurred in the pottery area during 1908, and extracting from the general artisan population the still-births and miscarriages among women working in lead and comparing the number with those among women not working in lead, that was the result arrived at. Then there was the general question of infantile mortality, which was always greater, other things being equal, when mothers left their homes to work in factories. That was found to be very material in the inquiry which the Committee conducted. He was quite aware that in some towns that was found not to be the case, and especially with regard to the figures published by Dr. Robertson, of Birmingham, which seemed to disprove the idea that the influence of factory labour was bad. But Dr. Robertson had explained that in this way: all the population in his special inquiry belonged to a very poor class, so that the fact of women among that class working in factories and getting a little more wages, enabled them, perhaps, to live under better conditions at home than the mothers in correspondingly poor families who had not that source of income; and Dr. Robertson thought that one counteracted the other, and equalised the result. In Staffordshire all the cases inquired into were among good artisan families earning good wages.

But to return to the question of the great injury which resulted in all factories from foul air. Apart from the general injury from foul air itself, there was a direct injury in many cases from dust. There were two remedies. In specially dangerous processes they must have direct removal from the worker, but in all cases they ought to have free ventilation, even if direct removal was not necessary. As factories were constructed, especially the older ones, free ventilation could not be obtained without mechanical means, bad though such an expedient might be. He wanted to show them to what extent and with what results mechanical ventilation was being employed at the present time, judging from experience obtained in the potteries. The manufacturer had been compelled, owing to the dangerous nature of the trade, to provide, under the rules of the Home Office, certain machinery in the way of ventilation. What did he do? He went to a firm who called themselves "heating and ventilating engineers," who sent in a tender for certain work. The manufacturer selected possibly the lowest tender, but, at the same time, he may have gone to firms of supposed repute. When the appliances were fixed, the firm, having succeeded in selling their apparatus and fixing it, they were done with, and the manufacturer thought he had provided everything necessary from the point of view of the Home Office, and there let the matter rest. But when one came to inquire into the efficiency of the apparatus, what did one find? There were a large number of tests applied, and, taking a mean possible output of air amounting to 6,797 cubic feet, the actual output was 1,981—that is to say, the machinery provided under contract for moving in a given time 6,797 cubic feet of air was actually moving only 1,981 cubic feet. In other words, the manufacturer paid for 100 per cent. efficiency and got only 29 per cent. Taking the mean of the highest efficiency, it amounted to 84 per cent., and the mean of the lowest efficiency amounted to 9 per cent. Included amongst those cases was one where the fan was actually fixed the reverse way, and so was blowing the dust into the workshop instead of out of it! All those things were going on, and no one found them out until a special inquiry took place. The result had been the framing of Orders as to the testing of fans, and the manufacturers had to record the results of such tests. All this was set forth in the Report of the Committee, and all the examples on which his figures were based were given in the form of diagrams in that Report.

He wished to say one word as to the actual condition of the air in the factories from the point of view of dust. In the forty-eight determinations, in which no fan was used, the millegrammes of dust amounted to 1,000 odd per 1,000 cubic feet, and where a fan was used 100 odd in 1,000 cubic feet; so that the fans, bad as they were, had reduced the dust to one-tenth; and if the efficiency rate were increased from 29 per cent. to 100 per cent. and properly applied, that would practically abolish all risk of injury from those trades with which he had been dealing. With regard to the structure of the various factories, it was found that, comparing factories which had practically no natural ventilation and no mechanical ventilation with others of the same type but

so constructed as to allow of natural ventilation, the dust in the latter was 60 per cent. less than in the former. In conclusion, having regard to the widespread injury which resulted from the want of ventilation, it was of supreme importance that every practicable measure should be adopted to obtain clean air, if necessary by artificial means, but this should not be necessary except in special cases if works were properly constructed. In the case of old works mechanical means would generally be found to be necessary on account of their bad construction.

Miss M. CAREY (Women's Industrial Council) said she had been asked to come on behalf of the Women's Industrial Council to deal with the subject of underground workshops, consequently she could not touch on the paper read by Dr. Sidney Lawrence, or the speech made by Dr. Reid, but would confine herself to the paper read by Dr. Allan. She thought it would interest them to know that the subject was brought before them first by a working girls' club in Soho. Many of the girls there worked in underground rooms, and they had consulted two lady Inspectors as to what could be done in regard to the existing conditions, and whether they could ask the public to take the matter up. On the advice of these inspectors they referred the whole subject to the Women's Industrial Council, and asked them to promote legislation if possible. A great deal of opposition had been anticipated, because there were many difficulties to be dealt with, and the Council had gone to work rather slowly in consequence, perhaps more slowly than they need have done. The construction of these rooms did not come under the Public Health Act, but was under the London County Council in connection with the London Building Act. Excellent clauses for the provision of ventilation had been found to exist in the Building Act, but there were special exceptions under which any room which was not going to be actually used as a domestic dwelling was exempt. Section 40 of the London Building Act provided that there should be an open space in the rear of a domestic building having habitable basements, but a clause just before it provided that buildings used as offices or counting houses, or of the warehouse type, were not to be considered as domestic buildings. Section 70 provided that a habitable room should have windows of a certain size, and in another section "habitable rooms" were defined. What it amounted to was that if a basement were to be used for business purposes of any sort there were no requirements in London for any light or ventilation. She wanted to make it clear that the London County Council was responsible, and not the Sanitary Authority. She knew it was a popular instinct, when they found insanitary conditions in workshops, first to shoot the employer, and then hang the Sanitary Inspector. But in this case the culprit was the London County Council and not the Sanitary Authority. Two ways of dealing with the matter were open: one by introducing a Bill into Parliament, and the other by inducing the London County Council to make some alterations in the Building Act. The London County Council had shown no special alacrity to fall in with the views suggested, correspondence having gone on for eighteen months, and a reply that the matter was receiving the attention of the Building Committee had only just been received. A deputation had been sent to the Home Office and the Local Government Board. They were apt to forget that the Local Government Board was the supervising Sanitary Authority in the country, and although it took not the slightest interest in sanitary administration, the Industrial Council had thought there would be no harm in inviting their attention to the subject. The deputation was received by Mr. Masterman, representing Mr. Churchill, and by Mr. Herbert Lewis, representing Mr. John Burns. Mr. Masterman said: "I can only promise that when the opportunity comes for dealing with the Factory Act and Workshop Act from a Government point of view this will certainly be taken into their favourable consideration; and I advise you, if you can, to formulate a Bill of your own. It can be in the hands of a private Member. If such a Bill is formulated, I promise to give it all the assistance possible in order that the subject may be ventilated." Mr. Lewis said: "You may absolutely rely on our entirely sympathetic co-operation with the Home Office in the matter that you have at heart." The next step was to draft a Bill, and that Bill had been read twice in the House of Lords. The Bill provided that in future underground premises should not be used as workshops unless certified by the District Council to be suitable. The great difficulty would be to decide the actual conditions on which a certificate should be granted, and it had been decided not to insert that in the Bill, as it would be an exceedingly controversial matter; and, further, public opinion might alter from year to year and certain matters they would like to see included they might get included later on,

more easily by extending a schedule than by amending an Act. The regulations as to light, drainage, ventilation, etc., had been left to the Secretary of State to draw up, but one special clause had been inserted, namely, that after a certain date, five years hence, no workroom should be certified as suitable unless it opened into an area, or, where no area existed, a stall board light (of specified dimensions) should be provided, and by that means a sufficient amount of natural ventilation maintained. In the schedule to the Bill sedentary occupations only had been dealt with. Typewriting had been included, by which means it was hoped to cover offices and counting houses, in addition to restaurant kitchens, and so on. A considerable amount of opposition was anticipated on the subject of offices. But they proposed to insert in the Bill a definition of "*workplace*" which would make the sanitary supervision of these places easier. In conclusion, she asked all those present who could assist the Women's Industrial Council to do everything they could to ventilate the subject, and she hoped they would not stop at ventilation. They were very anxious it should be thoroughly taken up with a view to getting the Bill passed and put into force within a very short time.

Councillor J. H. PALIN (Bradford County Borough Council), referring to the point raised by Dr. Lawrence as to providing lavatory basins for workmen, cited the case of the Municipal Workshops in Vienna, where the men invariably used the washing accommodation, also changed their clothes. In fact, anyone meeting these workmen in the streets of Vienna after work could not tell whether they were blacksmiths or clerks. Regarding the vague term in the Factory Acts, he was of opinion that the magistrates generally were very much more to blame than the Acts of Parliament, but this remark did not apply in the case of stipendiary magistrates. There were some things in the Act which required amendment, and Dr. Lawrence might do well in helping them still further in that direction. It was a strange thing to him, continued Mr. Palin, that half-timers who had come into contact with an infectious disease, such as scarlet fever or diphtheria, or who were suffering from measles, were prohibited from attending school, and yet were allowed to go to work in the mill, which, as a matter of fact, was an even worse place than the school from the point of view of spreading the disease. In Bradford there was little to complain about with regard to the co-operation of the Home Office with the Medical Officer of Health; the chief difficulty there was an insufficiency of Factory Inspectors. As a matter of fact, not only were there not enough Inspectors to visit every mill or factory once a year, even if they tried, but they never thought of visiting a mill or factory unless there was a complaint, or an accident had occurred. He considered that while it was necessary to have a very well-educated and highly skilled man as Factory Inspector, that Inspector should have a number of assistants, male and female, with practical experience, to make surprise visits to see that the regulations as to ventilation, and so on, were being carried out. One difficulty to be contended with was the fact that the Building Committees did not co-operate as they should with the Medical Officer of Health. Mr. Palin was of opinion that the Medical Officer of Health should sit with the Sub-Committee of the Building Committee on every Town Council when they were passing plans, not only for workshops, but for dwelling-houses. They could not expect surveyors to possess the requisite knowledge as to the proper amount of air space, and so on, required; and just as the co-operation of the Medical Officer with regard to the planning of schools had undoubtedly been a great benefit, so he thought the co-operation of the Medical Officer of Health in considering plans with regard to workshops and dwellings would be equally beneficial. He was particularly grateful to Mr. Steel-Maitland for his paper which dealt with an evil that had been crying out for remedy for a long, long time, and similar cases to those cited in that paper could be quoted by the score. In the West Riding it had been brought home to them that the medical referee should be independent of the employer and should have some special knowledge of the disease he was going to certify, but whether the Medical Officer of Health should be *ex-officio* Certifying Surgeon or not was a matter for consideration. At any rate, the Bradford Corporation were promoting a local Bill to deal with the difficulty of half-timers being allowed to go into a mill in an infectious state and other difficulties, and to provide that their medical staff should be *ex-officio* Certifying Surgeons under the Factory Acts. With regard to diseases of occupation, the Medical Officer of Health stood on a pedestal and was relied upon as being absolutely impartial, and while he might not be an absolute specialist in every disease.

he certainly, as regarded the diseases arising out of the industries carried on in his district, would have such a knowledge that he would be able to settle doubtful cases, and, moreover, would be easily approachable. He was of opinion, however, that Mr. Steel-Maitland's way was the better to deal with the difficulty; if they were all to pull together to bring pressure to bear on the Home Secretary, what otherwise might need an Act of Parliament could be effectually dealt with by such action as he had suggested. He hoped, not only in the interest of securing a better regulation of diseases with a view to their complete elimination, but also in the interests of poor people who were not able to defend themselves, they would give the matter serious consideration and do all they could to give effect to what Mr. Steel-Maitland had laid before them in his paper.

Councillor T. R. MARR (Manchester County Borough Council) said that although he had no special acquaintance with the actual difficulties dealt with by Mr. Steel-Maitland, he was sure they would all wish him the greatest success in his negotiations with the Home Office. He wished, however, to confine his remarks to the paper read earlier in the sitting. The Conference owed a debt of gratitude both to Dr. Lawrence and Dr. Allen for bringing before them the absurd difference in the powers of the Local Authority when dealing with houses and workplaces. Surely it was ridiculous that while the Local Authority had power to see that the houses in which the population lived were kept in a decently sanitary condition, they had only very limited powers when workplaces had to be dealt with. They should all wake up to the fact that it was just as important to obtain decent conditions in workshops as it was in homes, and unless they could get the Local Government Board to increase the powers of the Local Authorities in insisting on proper sanitary conditions in workshops which were under the control of the Local Authorities—and he would like to include the factories and larger places referred to by Dr. Reid—it would be quite impossible to obtain the vital statistics they were all anxious to see in connection with their towns. With regard to Manchester, their greatest difficulty arose with a comparatively small type of workshop. For many years the Manchester Corporation had been endeavouring to make that town a little more desirable as a place of residence. It was a stiff job, and would take a long time still, but within the last ten years two things had been accomplished. In the first place they had abolished all their cellar dwellings *quâ* dwellings, and had been able to close a considerable number of houses which in the opinion of the Health Authority were unfit for human habitation. He had not actual statistics available, but he believed between 30 and 40 per cent. of the small dwellings which had been closed as such were now in occupation as workplaces. They were closed because they were insanitary and had not a sufficient amount of light or air, yet they were being occupied day after day as workplaces by a considerable population, and they could not touch them. Many of these places were below the level of the street, but almost worse was the condition—because it was more difficult to deal with—of the above-ground structures, cottages which had been closed for the same reason as the underground dwellings, where the owner had promptly said, "All right, if you are going to close them as unfit for human habitation, I will let them at once for workshops, and in that way make myself secure of getting a certain amount of rent." Further power to deal with such conditions was absolutely necessary, and two lines of action were open. First, as far as the Local Authority was concerned, there should be further powers of insisting on decent sanitary conditions in the workshops which would enable them to prevent dwelling houses which had been closed as unfit for human habitation being opened as workshops. The second line of action, which, at any rate for the present, must be left entirely to private experiment, was one which he thought would help very largely in getting over the difficulty. They found a good many of these small workshops to which he had referred existed simply because small workshops were very difficult indeed to get in large towns, particularly for those who wished to start a small tailoring shop, or cap-making, or other small business. To remedy this, he suggested the building of a large block of buildings which could be let out, somewhat on the system of modern dwellings or flats, to people desirous of obtaining small workshops. This might be done by some private speculator building a sort of co-operative block of buildings on a very large scale.

Mr. H. H. ELVIN (National Union of Clerks) said he wished to refer to Dr. Allen's paper on underground workplaces. The point which interested him chiefly was the fact that typists were included in the Bill referred to by Miss Carey, but,

speaking from the National Union of Clerks' point of view, that provision did not go quite far enough, because there were many offices in the City of London which were underground and were used for clerical purposes other than typewriting. He felt sure that all those who knew the City would find abundant evidence of that; particularly in the case of large steamship companies, where they had turned wine cellars into offices. A case had recently been tried in the High Courts in connection with the Junior Army and Navy Stores, which was sued by one of their clerks who contended he had become consumptive through working in insanitary conditions. Unfortunately, such a case was not uncommon, and one could only hope that that action would have good results and that the Bill introduced by the Women's Industrial Council would pass through Parliament without opposition. Consumption had a tremendous hold upon clerks, and it was of the greatest importance that that class should be shielded from the bad conditions under which many of them at present worked. In passing, he might mention that out of every four clerks who died one died of consumption; out of every three clerks who died one died from some lung disease; and out of every two clerks who died, between the ages of 20 and 35, one death was due to phthisis. This country boasted of the position it held so far as social legislation was concerned, but, at any rate, with regard to offices, it was far behind other countries, as, for example, Austria and New Zealand. The National Union of Clerks was doing all it possibly could, not only to bring offices, but all other places in which clerks had to work, within the scope of the Factory Acts, and he hoped the Office Regulation Bill, which was promoted by the National Union, would meet with the same success as the Bill referred to by Miss Carey as now before Parliament. He had made his remarks with the idea of showing that although it was a common idea that clerks worked in ideal offices, the contrary was the case. In fact, the majority of them were really working in places far, far worse than the ordinary manual labourer, and clerks needed the protection of the law just as much as manual workers.

Mr. Ben Turner (West Riding County Council) said that one of the papers had mentioned something about the dual control between the Home Office and the local Health Authority, and he was of opinion that the author of that paper was quite right in saying it was better to have one authority. He (Mr. Turner) was strongly in favour of the Home Office as against the small local Health Authority, and for this reason only, that a local Medical Officer of Health, who might have a salary of £15, or £20, or £25 a year, together with a private practice, was often influenced (he did not mean improperly influenced, of course) by his surroundings, and therefore, did not do his full duty as he would were he a full-time officer, with direct authority from the Home Office. At present, many of the sanitary arrangements, especially in the matter of conveniences, laid down by the Home Office were totally inadequate. As to the fire arrangements, where more than forty persons were employed, some arrangement for escape from fire was essential, but it seemed to him that thirty-nine persons, or even thirty persons, working in a small factory with an old-fashioned staircase, were in greater danger when a fire occurred than 1,000 employees would be in an up-to-date, properly-equipped factory. Regarding underground workshops, Mr. Turner considered there ought to be in the Bill referred to a time limit, after which no existing underground workshop should be allowed to exist. He considered that underground places were for rabbits, and not for human beings. He believed it was, after all, a rent question, and therefore it might be overcome in due course by a time limit as in the case of public-houses, and so on. As to the Certifying Surgeon and the Medical Referee, he had no hesitation in saying that the doctors had been unsatisfactory in many places on the question of the compensation law. Many of them might be angels, but some certainly were not, and there had been cases under the Compensation Law where two doctors had sworn that something was perfectly white, and two others had sworn it was perfectly black, and people did not know where they were. It seemed to him that the soundest plan would be for the Medical School Inspector to be the Certifying Surgeon, with the Medical Officer of Health as a regular assistant, and there ought to be, for a certain area (say, for a Factory Inspector's area) an independent Medical Referee of high ability, who should be able to call in expert advice where required, and who should be free from private practice. Then they might get some satisfactory solution of the independent referee business in the County Courts. In conclusion, he wanted to support the contention of Mr. Palin that the

Medical Referee was unsatisfactory. He might be a clever scientific man, but scientific men were sometimes influenced by material welfare and material prospects, as they found with regard to the Insurance Bill.

Councillor W. A. BYRNE (Leeds County Borough Council) said he wished to emphasise the contentions of Miss Carey with regard to workshops and factories. There was enough legislation on the Statute Book to deal with that question if only the inspectors would do their duty. He also wished clerks to be included as well as typists. He knew of places where clerks were working which were totally unfit for human beings from a sanitary point of view, yet the inspectors would not go to such offices unless a complaint were received; and as to sending in a complaint, it was quite easy for the employer to get to know who had complained to the Medical Officer of Health, and the complainant would soon find himself in the street amongst the unemployed. With reference to Mr. Steel-Maitland's paper, he knew how difficult it was for people working in dangerous trades to obtain redress. Mr. Steel-Maitland had pointed out to them that the educated workmen would not work at those trades unless they were paid in proportion, and had admitted that it was the ignorant person, with no other source of income, who went to work at those dangerous trades. Mr. Steel-Maitland had deliberately said, while admitting the deplorable conditions, that it was not "business" to mete out justice to people who became diseased in a certain trade. He (Mr. Byrne) considered it would be his business to go amongst the pottery workers and ask them whether they wanted justice or business. These things could be carried out in a spirit of justice, and yet all they heard was business, business, business.

The Rev. G. A. SUTTLE (West Ham Union) said he wished to emphasise Mr. Elvin's statement as to the fearful conditions under which so many clerks lived. He had personally come into contact with many deplorable cases. If he were somewhere else he would say to all the clerks of the country, "Put your hands and your heads together and demand something as the other trades and professions are doing." (Hear, hear.) He wished to say a word with regard to what Councillor Marr had said as to the erection by some speculator of a set of model workshops. He did not believe in speculators, and considered the Public Authorities should take action in the matter as they had in the matter of modern dwellings.

Councillor MARR: I have no objection to that at all.

Continuing, Mr. SUTTLE said he wanted to know whether something could not be done with regard to the insurance companies who came along to the poor people who had been granted compensation at so much a week or so much a month and tried to persuade them to agree to accept a lump sum, in almost every case a most inadequate sum, behind the backs of those who had helped those poor people. Although the sum was most inadequate, it was very tempting to the eyes of the poor people, and they accepted it. In a short time it was spent, and then they had to come to the Guardians and ask for support. This support had to be given, and there was no redress against the insurance companies. Something ought to be done to compel those companies to take these poor people back and continue to pay their compensation. He would force them to give them double what they had agreed to in the first instance as a sort of punishment for the gross misrepresentations—for that was what it amounted to—which they had made to these poor folk. It was a disgrace to the country and a disgrace to the commercial life of the country, and until the public got some true information of what had been going on and what was going on in that respect, the thing would be allowed to continue, but as soon as ever they began to talk about it and demanded that some redress should be given, then, he thought, they would get somewhere near having the matter righted. He had come into contact with case after case of that type, and considered the public ought not to be fleeced as they were being fleeced, and the poor people ought not to be deceived as they were deceived, by people who called themselves gentlemen, and who sometimes posed as Christians. (Hear, hear.)

Miss M. CAREY, replying to the discussion, said she was extremely glad the question of the clerks had been raised. She could not quite account for typewriting only being put in the schedule, and was very glad that the public demand had been made at that meeting for the inclusion of offices and counting-houses. There was a difficulty about it, but they were meeting the difficulty to some extent by bringing in a definition of "workplaces." Once that had been done, it would be recognised

that offices came under the supervision of the Sanitary Authority. They were further trying to persuade the London County Council to amend the London Building Act, and in addition they would endeavour to get the schedule expanded to include all offices and counting-houses in basements. With regard to the remark which had been made by Councillor Byrne that if Medical Officers and Sanitary Officers would do their duty there would be no need for further legislation, she always said the same when she was addressing Sanitary Inspectors, but when she was addressing Councillors she reminded them that they were the Sanitary Authority and therefore responsible.

Third Day, Thursday, June 13th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Alderman T. B. P. Ford (West Riding County Council). The subject discussed was THE WORK OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITIES RELATIVE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF SANATORIUM BENEFIT." The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Work of Public Health Authorities relative to the Sanatorium Benefit.*
By Dr. J. R. KAYE, County Medical Officer of Health, West Riding.

2.—*Public Health Work and the Insurance Act: with special reference to Tuberculosis.*
By Dr. G. H. FOSBROKE, County Medical Officer of Health, Worcester.

3.—*The Work of Public Health Authorities relative to the Sanatorium Benefit.*
By Dr. W. NAYLOR BARLOW, Medical Officer of Health, Wallasey.

The Work of Public Health Authorities relative to the Sanatorium Benefit under the Insurance Act, 1911.

By JAS. ROBT. KAYE, M.B., D.P.H.
(County Medical Officer, West Riding County Council).

THE title of the discussion which has been allocated to me by the Secretary of the Section limits our consideration to the "Sanatorium Benefit," but it is my intention to deal broadly and somewhat superficially with this question, in a manner, I hope, suited to a Conference audience.

The introduction of the Insurance Act, 1911, constituted a new public body for the carrying out of measures of prevention and restriction, particularly in relation to tuberculosis, and these measures may be extended to other diseases like cancer and syphilis. It may be desirable to review very cursorily here the existing Authorities dealing with similar work.

(1) The Local Sanitary Authority, whose object should be to remove those sanitary conditions which have always formed an important factor in the production of disease, and, at the same time, to promote those conditions likely to prevent sickness; for example, improvement in housing and workshops, a better food supply, and a more rigorous supervision of regulated trades.

By General Order of the Local Government Board dated November, 1911, consumption was made a notifiable disease, and Sanitary Authorities are enabled

to offer sanatorium treatment and even utilise dispensaries and out-patient hospitals. Direct power is also given for dealing with pulmonary tuberculosis by appointment of officers, and the publication of literature.

(2) The Poor Law Authorities can provide for the necessitous poor through their Medical Officers and Workhouse Infirmaries, where some Guardians have provided open-air treatment, which, however, is specially excluded from use by the insured under the Insurance Act.

(3) The Education Authorities. By the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, a special effort has been made to link up the School Medical Inspector with the preventive work of Sanitary Authorities. The School Medical Inspector must report discovered cases of pulmonary tuberculosis within forty-eight hours, and the Medical Officer of Health is expected to acquaint the School Medical Officer with the names of children from houses in which pulmonary tuberculosis has been notified. Again, the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907 affords means, though indirect, of treatment, and in some districts School Clinics have been organised.

(4) County Councils have jurisdiction over health matters in their respective areas. They have power to provide hospitals for infectious diseases, including tuberculosis, and to establish bacteriological laboratories for the examination of sputum, etc. Under the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, their responsibility is extended to the appointment of Medical Officers for the County, and to a more detailed supervision of the sanitary condition of the County. Obviously, with so many small Sanitary Authorities, joint action is practically essential for success and efficiency.

(5) Now comes the Insurance Committee provided for by the National Insurance Act, 1911. These County Committees will be responsible for the administration of the sanatorium benefit, which is defined as "treatment in sanatoria or other institutions or otherwise when suffering from tuberculosis or such other disease as the Local Government Board, with the approval of the Treasury, may appoint" (Section 8). The treatment may be either in sanatoria or in tents or shelters, or may be through the medium of dispensaries or at home. Further, the field of action may be enlarged to fight the diseases of cancer, syphilis, and the like. It may be noted here that the right to sanatorium benefit does not cease at 70, but a person who is in arrear with his or her contribution to an amount greater than twenty-six contributions a year on the average since his entry into insurance is suspended as regards this benefit.

For this purpose certain funds are available, namely:—

(*a*) A capital sum of £1,500,000 provided by Parliament to be used in making grants for building sanatoria on condition that funds are also raised locally (Section 64).

(*b*) A maintenance grant of 1s. 3d. in respect of each insured person annually throughout life, payable out of the funds out of which benefit is paid under this Act.

(*c*) There is also an additional penny per member, which, however, may be retained for research purposes only.

The comprehensiveness and far-reaching nature of the sanatorium benefit is noticeable, and the Insurance Committees have extensive powers. They can make arrangements for institutional treatment of the insured persons suffering from tuberculosis and the other diseasres referred to, and in addition can provide other measures if approved of by the Local Government Board, which may include dispensary and home forms of treatment. The Committee may extend

such treatment to the dependents of the afflicted, and defray the whole or part of the cost of conveyance of insured persons to and from sanatoria, etc.

The Insurance Committee can also allocate the sick benefit of a person in a sanatorium for the use of the family at home, and can appoint nurses for home visiting and nursing. It should be noted here that the decision as to persons suitable and entitled to sanatorium benefit in its widest sense rests with the Insurance Committee of the area concerned.

It will be evident from the above summary that there is afforded amongst the various Authorities a wide latitude for overlapping likely to lead to confusion and inefficiency, so that the problem presented can only be solved by a complete organisation which should fit in with and practically form part of the general health administration. It must include, not only the stipulated personal benefits, but should also aim at national betterment, and for that purpose must be on a broad and uniform basis in order also to be comprehensive, efficient, and economical.

Now we have the publication, dated May, 1912, of the Interim Report of the Departmental Committee, which sets forth very clearly and reasonably the lines on which future administration should be established, so as to produce a system in which the uninsured as well as the insured will participate, and one to avoid as far as possible conflict of Authorities and unnecessary multiplication of officers and institutions.

Having discussed the Authorities concerned, let us review the measures which may be promoted and carried out with regard to the prevention and restriction of the spread of the diseases reviewed. These measures may be paraded in two classes: (1) General, (2) Special.

It is the direct, or special, measures which more closely concern us, and I propose referring to these now. They include the following:—

(1) Notification, which is now compulsory, and the value of which we have recognised in dealing with the ordinary infectious diseases. To attack the enemy we must know his haunts and habits. It has been said that by the notification of consumption we only get knowledge of the advanced cases, and for obvious reasons; but this might be overcome by a modified certificate, and in this way produce a more confidential connection between the patient and his medical attendant, and between the latter and the Public Health Authority. It is serious and undesirable to brand any person on indefinite symptoms with a blemish which may influence so unfavourably his or her future, and this undoubtedly emphasises the need for a really expert diagnostician for dispensary work. This brings us to—

(2) Tuberculosis Dispensaries or Clinics. The functions of this department would include the following:—

(*a*) Examination of patients by an expert.

(*b*) Selection of patients for various forms of treatment, whether at the sanatoria, at the dispensary, or home.

(*c*) Continued treatment of patients discharged from sanatoria.

(*d*) The use of tuberculin by an expert.

(*e*) Collection of local information and statistics.

(*f*) The provision of home visitation by the tuberculosis officer or by the nurses attached to the dispensaries.

The dispensary might form a very valuable agency for information as to local charities and hospitals, after-care work, and employment. No doubt the advice of the expert will be sought much earlier by those predisposed to the disease.

(3) Now comes the institutional treatment, which may be considered as relating to three classes of patients:—

(*a*) The early cases in which recovery may be expected.

(*b*) Those in which the disease is more advanced, but where the patient is able to continue at work, and in which the condition as a result of open-air treatment improves considerably.

(*c*) The advanced, needing attention and nursing and also isolation which cannot be provided at home, and for whom accommodation might be found in existing hospitals and infirmaries.

The sanatorium treatment is referred to by the Departmental Committee as the most satisfactory form, and that from which the best results may be expected, particularly in early cases. The obstacles in the way of patients going to sanatoria in the past has been remedied by the provision of maintenance for those left at home. The sanatorium, in addition to being utilised for cure and isolation, will attain its chief object in the education of the sufferer. In fact, this last function will be the commonest, because of the impracticability of giving full sanatorium treatment to all patients. The sanatorium, it is suggested, should not exceed 150 to 200 beds, and the site should be large enough to accommodate (*a*) the sanatorium, (*b*) shelters, (*c*) a working colony, (*d*) a temporary isolation hospital for advanced cases, (*e*) a summer camp.

(4) Then as to existing hospitals and infirmaries. These could be utilised, when in the neighbourhood of dispensaries, for cases requiring observation, before definitely settling their ultimate place of detention or treatment. As regard isolation hospitals, there is a growing disposition to utilise these, particularly the seldom used small-pox hospital; but it must be remembered that the insured pay, and will demand the best forms of treatment, so that the isolation hospital can only be used to overcome the antipathy of many to go some ten to thirty miles away from home to a sanatorium. They might, however, be used for advanced cases from the neighbourhood.

(5) Shelters have been referred to as capable of provision by Sanitary Authorities, but in my opinion they are largely useless without a previous educational course. They may be used for advanced cases, however, which, if allowed to sleep in the house, would be particularly dangerous to the other occupants. They might also be utilised for some cases suitable for home treatment, or those after discharge from a sanatorium, and for those awaiting institutional treatment.

(6) Home treatment. It is important that the "Sanatorium Benefit" under the Act should be interpreted as widely as possible. The term should admit of a person receiving sanatorium benefit at home, as, for example, by (*a*) loaning a portable shelter for outdoor rest near home, (*b*) attendance at dispensary or clinic, (*c*) services of health visitor in supervising home treatment, (*d*) removal of children or other occupants of the sufferer's bedroom or house and provision of temporary accommodation for them elsewhere. Disinfection of houses and clothing would be carried out by the local Sanitary Authorities. Untouched by the Act, there would remain scope for philanthropic energies by voluntary associations and Care Committees.

The above summary represents the main special measures in our crusade against tuberculosis, and the question remains, having regard to the previous remarks, what Authority can most reasonably evolve and administer a complete and comprehensive scheme in which all other Authorities can harmoniously co-operate and render our attack successful against this White Man's Plague, and to ensure

that the money grants for the arrangements and provisions of our defence shall be spent to the best possible advantage.

The Act, I think, supplies the reply, and provides that County Councils and County Boroughs may, with the approval of the Local Government Board, provide and maintain sanatoria and similar institutions, while the Insurance Committees with the assent of the Insurance Commissioners, may enter into agreement for providing such treatment. Of course, local circumstances must in all cases be taken into account, as general principles invariably require modification. It is estimated in the Act that Medical Officers specially trained in the work should be appointed to each dispensary centre as well as to the sanatorium, and, of course, all such officers should be in constant touch with the Medical Officer of Health of the respective areas in order that co-operation and harmonious action throughout the Health Service may be ensured. The same remarks should apply in relation to the general practitioner.

With regard to general measures, the possibilities here include much that is or ought to be already the ordinary work of the Sanitary Authority, as, for example, the systematic inspection of dwellings with a view to securing better conditions of ventilation and light, the prevention of overcrowding, removal of insanitary conditions arising from dirt, dampness, and defects of structure or of drainage. Amongst the other general measures may be mentioned the supervision of milk and meat supplies, the enforcement of bye-laws preventing spitting in enclosed places of public resort, and the periodical disinfection of all such places. In short, the work of a Sanitary Authority may be tabulated as follows:—

(*a*) Visit of inquiry as to the environment at home and at work.

(*b*) Giving of advice against spread, and the distribution of appropriate literature to householders, teachers, employers, etc.

(*c*) Periodical disinfection of apartments, bedding, clothing, etc.

(*d*) Prevention of overcrowding.

(*e*) Enforcement of ventilation.

(*f*) Removal of insanitary conditions generally.

(*g*) Continued oversight of case so as to secure disinfection of apartments after removal or death.

(*h*) Provision of spittoons, paper handkerchiefs, rags, disinfectants.

(*i*) Institution of local Care Committees.

(*k*) Encouragement of frequent disinfection and cleansing of enclosed places of public resort, public vehicles, etc., and the adoption of a bye-law against spitting.

In these ways means will be forthcoming to enable the linking up of the school, the house, and the workshop in our crusade against infectious ailments.

One word with regard to the "Maternity Benefit." It is to be hoped that the Local Supervising Authority will be kept in touch with the doings under the Maternity Benefit of the Insurance Act, which would bring the pregnant woman under greater attention, who, under proper advice, might in many cases save her offspring from beginning life in a handicapped condition. The Maternity Benefit should undoubtedly exert an influence on midwifery practice, and amongst other things help to minimise or even annihilate the risk of such calamities as avoidable blindness in infants.

For those who desire to study the relation of Public Health Authorities in relation to the Sanatorium Benefit in more detail I would refer them to the Memorandum issued by the Local Government Board, dated February, 1909, on "Administrative Measures against Tuberculosis."

Public Health Work and the Insurance Act, with Special Reference to Tuberculosis.

By G. H. FOSBROKE, D.P.H., CAMB.
(County Medical Officer for Worcestershire).

WITHOUT doubt the National Insurance Act will take a prominent place in public health administration, and although Sanitary Authorities have been—apparently deliberately—left out of the Act, it is greatly to be hoped that they, as well as County Councils and Education Committees, will co-operate with the newly constituted bodies.

Medical Officers of Health will naturally welcome the measure, as it tends to improve the health of the nation, and it is not conceivable that they, being Sanitary Officials, will take part in the agitation against the Act.

In short, it is most desirable, now that the National Insurance Act is the law of the land, and is to come in force on July 15th next, that the whole of the community should pull together and do their utmost to get the greatest possible good out of it.

Such a far-reaching Statute will certainly be found to have defects, as much of it necessarily had to be based on suppositions rather than on facts; but such a thing can often be said of Acts of Parliament. Let us, therefore, all of us work the Act to the best of our ability, note any amendments we deem desirable, and bring them to the notice of the Government Department which has charge of the Act.

It is quite out of the question to quote the whole of its public health provisions on an occasion like this, but a few such details must be mentioned.

SCOPE OF THE ACT.

The objects of the Act are to provide for "Insurance against loss of Health, and for the prevention and cure of sickness. . . ."

It embraces workers between the ages of 16 and 70 years, who will be included in two classes of insurance:—

(*a*) Compulsory Insurance;
(*b*) Voluntary Insurance.

It provides compulsory insurance (*a*) with certain exceptions for workers of either sex, whether British subjects or not, whose wages (in the case of those not engaged in manual labour) do not amount to more than £160 per annum; (*b*) for workers engaged in manual labour, even though they earn more than £160 a year; (*c*) for "other persons," but in no case must their income from all sources exceed £160 per annum.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Special rates of contribution are to be made, but those in respect of employed contributors cease on their attaining the age of 70. If an employer fails to pay any contributions defined by the Act, he is liable to a fine not exceeding £10; and where the offence is failure to make such contributions, he will have to hand to the Insurance Committee a sum equal to the amount of the contributions which he failed to pay.

Benefits.

In return for these contributions insured persons will receive many "benefits," and among them are:—

(*a*) Medical attendance, including the provision of drugs, surgical appliances, etc.;

(*b*) Treatment in sanatoria, or *other institutions or otherwise*, when suffering from tuberculosis *or such other disease* as the Local Government Board may appoint;

(*c*) Periodical payments whilst rendered incapable of work by disease or by bodily mental disablement;

(*d*) In the case of disease continuing after the determination of sickness benefit, periodical payments so long as rendered incapable of work;

Maternity.

(*e*) Payment in the case of the confinement of the wife, or where the child is a posthumous child, of the widow of the insured person, or any other woman who is an insured person, of the sum of 30s.;

(*f*) Certain *additional* benefits (too numerous to mention), among which should be named treatment of "dependants" of members, the building and leasing of Convalescent Homes, etc.

If a member of an "Approved Society" is an inmate of a hospital, asylum, sanatorium, convalescent homes, etc. [Sect. 12 (2) (*c*)] and has *no dependants*, the amount of the benefit is, on agreement, to be paid to the respective Managing Committee; but if he has dependants it is to be paid to or applied for their benefit. This will be of service, and to some extent relieve managers of General Hospitals and Local Authorities who have provided Isolation Hospitals.

Administration of Benefits.

Sickness, maternity, and disablement benefits are to be administered in the case of insured persons who are members of an Approved Society (Friendly Society) by the Society, and in any other case by a new Authority to be constituted by the Act known as an "Insurance Committee." Medical and sanatorium benefits are in all cases to be administered by "Insurance Committees." Sickness or disablement benefits may be suspended on the ground of the disablement or disease being caused by misconduct of the person claiming the benefit.

New Authorities.

The Authorities to be constituted under the Act are:—

(*a*) Insurance Commissioners;

(*b*) Advisory Committees;

(*c*) Insurance Committees;

(*d*) District Committees;

(*e*) Approved Societies.

The "Insurance Commissioners," as a Government Department, are empowered to make regulations, settle disputes, and exercise general control.

An "Insurance Committee" must be constituted for every Administrative County and County Borough, and consist of such number as the Insurance Commissioners determine, but in no case to be less than forty or more than eighty.

Their constitution is to be as under:—

Appointed by:	No. of members.		
Societies - - - - - -	24	36	48
County Councils - - - - -	8 (*a*)	12 (*a*)	16 (*a*)
Insurance Commissioners - - - -	5 (*b*)	8 (*b*)	11 (*b*)
Representatives of Doctors - - -	2	2	2
Doctor appointed by County Council - -	1	2	3
Totals - - -	40	60	80

(*a*) Two at least are to be women.
(*b*) „ „ and one doctor.

NOTE.—This constitution is dependent on the County Council not making itself liable for any medical or sanatorium benefits. Should it do so, the number of County Council members may be increased and the number of Society members diminished.

From this it will be seen that various bodies will be represented; and no doubt it will not escape notice that County Councils, as well as doctors and ladies (which most probably will include representatives of Nursing Associations), are included.

The "Insurance Committees" will be called upon to administer the medical benefit for at least 14,000,000 insured persons, and their income will probably be about £880,000 per annum. They will control the sanatorium funds and arrange for the admission of insured persons to institutions. These Committees will not themselves provide sanatoria, but merely make arrangements with persons or Local Authorities (other than Poor-law) having the management of sanatoria or other *institutions* (which includes hospitals, dispensaries, convalescent homes, etc.).

Among other duties the Insurance Committee will have to make such reports and statistical returns as to the health of insured persons within the County as the Commissioners prescribe. They will also have to make such suggestions as they think fit. These reports will be of service in many ways, and will for the first time provide for the collection of the age-incidence of disease during its currency, and on a large scale. The Commissioners are required to forward copies of the reports to the Councils of Counties, County Boroughs, and Urban and Rural Districts affected, to make provision for the giving of lectures on hygiene, the publication of information on questions relating to health, etc.

Sufficient has been said to make it clear that the Act has imposed enormous responsibilities as regards public health and treatment of disease upon the Authorities it has constituted.

A point I wish to emphasise is that the Act includes a comprehensive scheme for combating not only tuberculosis in *all* its forms, but deals with any "other diseases" the Local Government Board may schedule.

For the present, however, there is little doubt that pulmonary tuberculosis will receive most attention, because it is so fatal (the average annual number of deaths during the years 1901-10 in England and Wales was 39,689) and causes untold misery and suffering.

At the outset of this address I expressed a hope that Sanitary Authorities, as well as County Councils and the Education Authorities, would heartily co-operate with the newly-constituted Authorities. One of my reasons for doing so was that many Local Authorities, and the public generally, do not realise that years before the National Insurance Act became law these Authorities possessed large statutory powers for the prevention and cure of pulmonary tuberculosis—powers which have remained in abeyance far too long.

To prove this assertion it may be well to state what these statutory powers are:—

(*a*) Powers of Sanitary Authorities.

Under the "Public Health Act, 1875," Borough and District Councils *may*:—

(1) Either themselves provide sanatoria or shelters, or may contract for the use of such institutions.

(2) Provide, or contract for, the use of dispensaries or out-patient hospitals, including supervision, instruction or treatment of patients in their own homes (Sec. 131).

(3) Supply such medical assistance, facilities, and articles as may be necessary for detecting pulmonary tuberculosis, for preventing the spread of infection, and for removing conditions favourable to infection, such as bad housing, overcrowding, insanitary conditions generally, tuberculous milk, etc.

(4) Appoint any necessary additional officers, including nurses (Public Health (Tuberculosis) Regulations, 1911, and Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1907; Sect. 67).

(*b*) Powers of County Councils.

As is well known, County Councils have power, under the Isolation Hospitals Acts, to constitute the whole or part of their area into a Hospital District and to appoint a Hospital Committee for the purpose of providing a hospital for "infectious diseases"; and it is, of course, common knowledge that pulmonary tuberculosis is now included in that category. The provisions of the Acts enable County Councils to erect or to purchase sanatoria or to contribute to the maintenance of patients in such institutions. So far, however, this power has been little utilised.

Under the Insurance Act [Sec. 64 (1) (2)] if any County Council decides to erect sanatoria the Local Government Board may make them grants towards the cost, and any expenses not defrayed out of the grants shall be defrayed out of the County rate. Unless County Councils elect to build sanatoria they are not at present under any legal obligation to do so.

But if they do build, they are entitled to a substantial grant under the Finance Act, 1911, which allocated £1,500,000 towards the erection of sanatoria, and which sum is to be apportioned between England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland in proportion to their respective populations according to the Census, 1911.

If the moneys paid to an Insurance Committee for the administration of "sanatorium (or medical) benefit" are insufficient to meet the estimated expenditure, the Committee may transmit to the Treasury and the County Council an account of the amount so payable and of the estimated expenditure, and if the Treasury and the County Council sanction such expenditure each of them is liable for one-half of the excess expenditure [Sec. 15 (7) and (8)].

If any sums are available for grants in aid of sanatoria and other institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis or "such other diseases" as the Local Government Board may appoint, and any such grant is made to a County Council, the Local Government Board may authorise them to erect and maintain such institutions.

County Councils can greatly facilitate the detection of pulmonary tuberculosis by providing bacteriological laboratories for "research," and as grants will probably be made for that purpose (1d. for each insured person is set aside out of moneys provided by Parliament) County Councils can greatly assist.

The Worcestershire County Council, whom I have had the honour to advise on public health questions for the past twenty-two years, have for long past provided a complete laboratory and a skilled bacteriologist, where investigations may be carried out without charge.

Sufficient has now been said to prove my assertion that long before the Insurance Act came into force, Sanitary Authorities could, if they desired, provide sanatoria, tuberculosis dispensaries, supply medical assistance, facilities, and any articles such as sputum flasks, paper handkerchiefs) necessary for preventing the spread of pulmonary tuberculosis, and for removing home conditions favourable to the disease.

Measures Suggested for Dealing with Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

I now pass to the discussion of the measures I suggest for the prevention of and cure of patients suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis.

The views I am about to express were laid before the Worcestershire County Council in a "Memorandum" I presented in December, 1911. I commend them to your consideration to-day with less diffidence than I should have done in December last, because the Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis did me the honour to ask for copies of my "Memorandum," and their "Interim Report" endorses the advice I gave to my County Council.

The following are the proposals published in my "Memorandum":—

(*a*) Establishment of Tuberculosis Dispensaries.

(*b*) Provision of sanatorium treatment where necessary.

(*c*) Provision of Shelters.

(*d*) Establishment of Health Missioners.

(*e*) Provision of sputum bottles and paper handkerchiefs.

(*f*) Disinfection of houses occupied by persons having pulmonary tuberculosis.

(*g*) The abolition of insanitary conditions.

(*h*) Teaching and practice of hygiene in Elementary Schools and provision of "Open-air" Schools.

(*a*) Establishment of Tuberculosis Dispensaries.

One of the objects of Tuberculosis Dispensaries is to seek out patients who, by undergoing proper treatment, will most probably be restored to health. The possibilities which these institutions will afford for the early detection of pulmonary tuberculosis are immense. The work of a Tuberculosis Dispensary includes:—

(*a*) The examination and treatment (tuberculin, etc.) of patients at the dispensary by a medical man having special experience in the disease.

(*b*) Visitation of the home of the patient by a Nurse or Health Visitor attached to the dispensary.

(*c*) Visitation of the Medical Officer of the dispensary at the homes to examine, not only the patients, but also other persons living in the same house, with a view to securing their treatment before the disease becomes too advanced.

(*d*) The selection of suitable cases for sanatorium treatment, and to decide whether they are (*a*) early cases, (*b*) intermediate cases, or (*c*) advanced cases.

(*e*) The collection of samples of sputum for bacteriological examination.

(*f*) Supervision of cases after discharge from a sanatorium in order that the habits of life initiated at the sanatorium are maintained.

(*g*) Obtaining assistance for suitable cases by working in co-operation with local Charitable Associations.

(*h*) To act as a centre for educating patients and other persons in methods for preventing and curing the disease.

Patients should, if possible, attend at the dispensary periodically—at first twice a week, and later on as directed by the Dispensary Doctor. Weights and temperatures (which are symptoms of much importance) should be systematically taken by the patients themselves, and records of progress be kept.

The attendance could often advantageously be made during evenings in order to prevent unnecessary interference with the avocations of the sufferers.

A course of tuberculin treatment generally lasts six months or so. The actual cost of the tuberculin itself is about £1 per course.

The dispensary buildings need be nothing more than small, simply furnished houses; those capable of providing a waiting-room, dressing-room, and a consulting-room are amply sufficient. "Cottage Hospitals" answer the purpose well.

In order that it may be practicable for patients to attend regularly, the dispensaries must necessarily be placed in readily accessible places.

The "Departmental Committee" advise that the cost of adapting and equipping a dispensary should not exceed £250 and that often it might cost much less; and that with a view of encouraging the early equipment of Tuberculosis Dispensaries, Capital Grants should be made up to four-fifths of the amount required, provided this sum should generally not exceed £1 per 750 population, or an average of £240 per dispensary.

Chief Tuberculosis Officer.

The Committee also say it should be borne in mind that the one essential is a skilled Tuberculosis Officer with capacity for organisation, who should be independent of control by any other medical man so far as his clinical duties are concerned, and who should be responsible for the management of the dispensaries. He should also be in intimate relationship not only with the Medical Officer of Health, but also with general practitioners in the district, and the Medical Officers of sanatoria, hospitals, etc. He should decide as to the suitability of patients for the sanatorium, in consultation with the Superintendent of the institution, and also as to the hospital for advanced cases.

The Chief Tuberculosis Officer should devote his whole time to his duties, and in order to attract the right sort of man it will usually be necessary to offer a salary of not less than £500 a year, with a house and with prospects of increase.

Sanatorium Benefit.

The following statements in the "Interim Report" are of special interest, so I give them at length:—

"'Sanatorium benefit' in the Act means treatment in sanatoria or other institutions or otherwise. The expression is not used in the restricted sense of a course of treatment carried out in an institution called a sanatorium. Similarly, the expression 'sanatorium treatment' has an equally wide significance. . . . The advantages of this form of treatment can in many instances be given to patients who are living in their own homes, or in shelters. Under suitable conditions, especially if the treatment is being carried out under the advice of a medical man with special knowledge of modern methods, home treatment may be in all essentials sanatorium treatment. The belief that any considerable proportion of con-

sumptives may safely depend on any one factor of the treatment to the exclusion of the others, such, for instance, as satisfactory housing, adequate nutrition, the sanatorium, or tuberculin, is a mistake, and if acted upon, is likely to diminish the value which may be expected to accrue from each and all of them when used in proper conjunction. . . . Without prejudging the question as to whether sanatorium treatment should be carried out at the patient's home, in a hospital, or in a sanatorium, it may be said that under existing conditions most patients suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis would be given their best chance by a period of treatment in a sanatorium. . . . The Committee are of opinion that the unit of area should generally be that of the County, County Borough, or, in some cases, a group of Counties and County Boroughs, and that the organisation of schemes would best be carried out if undertaken by the County or County Borough Councils. . . . While the County Council or Joint Committee should be the body legally responsible for the provision and maintenance of the institution required, the Committee consider that in formulating a complete scheme for an area, they should consult in reference thereto the other Sanitary Authorities and also the Insurance Committees which are interested. . . . It will generally be desirable that the County Council should be responsible for the provision and maintenance of institutions, including tuberculosis dispensaries, and that any accommodation which is provided by other Authorities, and which is utilised as part of the County scheme, should be under the responsibility and direction of the County Council. . . . As far as possible existing voluntary institutions should, as sanatoria, etc., be utilised."

It is strongly recommended that an individual sanatorium should contain not less than 100 beds, and that there should be one Resident Medical Officer with high and varied qualifications. It is advisable to provide in the immediate future one bed per 5,000 of the population.

The capital cost of sanatoria should not, as a rule, exceed £150 a bed inclusive of site and equipment. The cost of maintenance per bed will probably be from 25s. to 30s. per week.

The Committee recommend that for the provision of the additional sanatorium beds for adults required at the outset, capital grants should be made up to three-fifths of the cost per bed, provided that the total does not exceed £90 per bed.

Under the Act the right to "sanatorium benefit" does not cease at 70 years of age, and this "benefit" may be extended to dependants of insured persons. "Dependants" mean persons ascertained by an Approved Society or Insurance Committee to be wholly or in part dependent upon the earnings of the insured person. No person is entitled to sanatorium benefit as a matter of right, but only when recommended by an Insurance Committee.

The funds available for "sanatorium benefit" are derived as follows [Sec. 16 (2)], viz.:—

(*a*) 1s. 3d. in respect of each insured person annually throughout life, payable out of the funds out of which benefits are paid under this Act.

(*b*) A capital sum of £1,500,000 provided by Parliament to be used in making Grants for building sanatoria, on condition that funds are raised locally (Sec. 64).

(*c*) An additional yearly grant of 1d. per member to the Sanatorium Fund from moneys provided by Parliament, making the total income 1s. 4d. per head annually; there is, however, this reservation, that the Commissioners may retain the whole or part of the proceeds of this 1d. grant for purposes of research.

Before any institutional treatment is commenced it is all important that persons having pulmonary tuberculosis should be "sorted" at the Tuberculosis Dispensaries or elsewhere as (*a*) early cases, (*b*) intermediate cases, and (*c*) advanced cases.

(*a*) *Early Cases.* Probably many of these cases will be treated in their own homes under the direction of private medical practitioners, but the weighty words of the Departmental Committee should not be forgotten, viz., "Most patients suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis would be given their best chance by a period of treatment in a sanatorium." It is my personal opinion that *all early* cases should undergo a full course of sanatorium treatment in order that they may have the best chance of cure. I have been closely connected with the management of the Worcestershire Sanatorium for the past ten years, and the results of treating *early* cases are most satisfactory.

(*b*) *Intermediate Cases.* These are persons who are neither in an early nor in an advanced stage of the disease, but who could advantageously be sent to some institution in order to be educated in open-air methods which, if conscientiously persevered with, would benefit themselves and prevent its extension to those with whom they come in contact. After staying there a month or six weeks they could return home, live in shelters (if necessary provided by Sanitary Authorities or the Insurance Committee), and follow their usual avocations. If this course were pursued the objection some consumptives have to being removed for long periods from their families would be removed.

Another objection that consumptive persons working for their living often raise is, that they cannot undertake sanatorium treatment because they can make no provision for their families while doing so. The Insurance Act will, to some extent, remove this obstacle as far as insured persons are concerned.

As provision will undoubtedly have to be made in the near future for the institutional treatment of "intermediate cases," adaptation of fever and smallpox hospitals seems an effective way of doing so. This is no new idea, as many Sanitary Authorities are using their hospitals for this purpose.

Some possibly may think that if this proposal were assented to, there would be risk that the tuberculous or other patients might infect each other, so it should be definitely stated that if ordinary precautionary measures are carried out, such fear would be groundless.

(*c*) *Advanced Cases.* These are hopeless, as well as a serious danger to those with whom they come in contact, unless they are subject to proper treatment. Their number will, it is believed, decrease when early cases are more generally recognised.

For some years they will occur; consequently institutional treatment will have to be provided for those persons whose homes do not provide suitable accommodation for segregation and nursing. This treatment is not only necessary for the advanced cases, but in the interest of other people, and would be of immense service in eradicating the disease.

Existing infirmaries and hospitals have met with this want to some extent, but by no means fully.

Special institutions for "advanced" cases are *not desirable*, firstly, because they would be expensive, and secondly, because it would be undesirable to send patients to places which would soon become merely "Homes for the Dying."

In localities where there are no infirmaries (other than Poor Law) or general hospitals which could be used for the purpose, it is suggested that the isolation

hospitals might also be made use of. Separate ward pavilions for "advanced" cases would have to be built, and distinct sets of nurses employed.

Here, again, the cost of administration would be much less than it would be if separate infirmaries were provided, and it would be unnecessary to remove such dying persons far from their homes and friends.

(*c*) *Provision of Shelters.* "Shelters" for the home treatment of patients are of great value for consumptives, and should be utilised to the fullest extent practicable; they can be provided and lent or hired by a Sanitary Authority or an Insurance Committee. The majority of working men's premises have a garden or yard attached in which they could be placed.

But it cannot be too clearly understood that sleeping in the open air is not the only requisite for promoting recovery. Constant medical supervision to regulate rest and exercise is an essential of the treatment; since a patient's condition often varies from day to day, or even from hour to hour; and unless he is frequently seen by his doctor, he does not get the best chance of recovery.

There are many varieties of "Shelters," all of which aim at "open-air treatment," so arranged as to protect those who use them from rain and wind.

(*d*) *Establishment of "Health Visitors."* Without doubt many persons suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, either in the "early," "intermediate," or "advanced" stages, would remain at home, and in such instances the services of "Health Visitors" (if trained nurses) would be of great value, as personal explanations are more likely to be attended to than instructions given in "leaflets."

By Section 21 of the Act, Insurance Committees or Approved Societies may subscribe, not only to hospitals, dispensaries, and other charitable institutions, but also for the support of District Nurses, and to appoint nurses for the purpose of visiting and nursing insured persons.

The duties "Health Visitors" could undertake would be

(1) To visit, re-visit, and advise patients and persons in contact with them as to requisite "precautions," and the hygienic management of their houses, and to encourage them to carry them out.

(2) To see that sputum flasks and paper handkerchiefs are used (subject to the doctor's advice), and if necessary to provide them at the cost of the Local Sanitary Authority.

3. To teach patients to take temperatures, as suitable treatment is intimately connected with such records.

(4) To watch "contacts" (persons closely associated with consumptive patients), and if necessary to urge them to attend at Tuberculosis Dispensaries, or to consult their own doctor.

(5) To report insanitary conditions, bad housing, overcrowding, etc., to the District Medical Officer of Health.

(6) To act as "School Nurses," attend medical inspections at Elementary Schools, and to "follow up" children reported by the School Inspectors to have defects.

(7) When necessary to nurse "insured persons" or others who require nursing and are not in a position to provide it.

(8) In sparsely populated localities where there is a scarcity of midwives to attend maternity cases.

(9) To give lectures and generally educate people in hygiene.

Health Visitors, with such multifarious duties as those enumerated, must not have too large districts consigned to them; otherwise it would be impossible for

them to do their work properly. With this proviso, however, there would be no practical difficulty in the proposed combination.

As Health Visitors with the duties suggested would be acting for Insurance, Sanitary, and Educational Authorities, these Authorities should pay their salaries in proportionate shares. When considering such remuneration Sanitary Authorities should realise that their Sanitary Inspectors, with their ever-increasing duties (especially those imposed by the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909), could not, even if qualified, satisfactorily do the whole of the work connected with the prevention of pulmonary tuberculosis, which it is suggested that the Health Visitors should undertake.

It is proposed that the control of the " Health Visitors " should be placed in the hands of a Committee, representative of the bodies for whom they work; if the " District Committees " under the Insurance Act fulfilled this requirement, probably the Health Visitors could be controlled by them.

Once a controlling Authority is elected, a comparatively easy way to obtain suitable Health Visitors would be to make arrangements with Nursing Associations, which are now to be found in almost every county, and with respect to which, Worcestershire is exceptionally fortunate.

(*e*) *Provision of Sputum Bottles and Paper Handkerchiefs.* Sputum bottles and paper handkerchiefs for the use of phthisical patients are, of course, essential for proper disposal of expectoration. Where the patients cannot provide them themselves, such things should be provided gratuitously by Sanitary Authorities or Insurance Committees, and the Health Visitors should instruct the patients how to use them. Glass sputum-flasks should be sterilised daily by boiling; but paper handkerchiefs, which should always be placed over the tuberculous person's mouth when coughing, should be burnt after use. Flasks are supplied at £1 for four dozen, and the paper handkerchiefs at 7s. 9d. per thousand.

(*f*) *Disinfection of Houses occupied by persons having Pulmonary Tuberculosis.* When a patient removes from house to house, goes to a sanatorium, or dies, the rooms and articles he has used should be properly disinfected by the Sanitary Inspector at the cost of the Local Authority. It is also desirable to carry it out now and again, when the patient remains at the same house for any length of time.

(*g*) *The Abolition of Insanitary Conditions.* A strong crusade should be made against insanitary conditions, especially bad housing, overcrowding, etc.

(*h*) *Teaching of Hygiene in Elementary Schools and Provision of " Open-air " Schools.* It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the importance of teaching hygiene in school life as an aid in the fight against tuberculosis. Hygiene, particularly the open-air habit, should be properly taught and practised in Elementary Schools, and the classes might with advantage, especially during the summer, be more generally held out of doors or in open sheds in the playground, than is now the case. The provision of residential " open-air " schools where debilitated children could be sent for two months or so would be of the greatest value. School Medical Inspectors are now required to notify Medical Officers of Health as soon as they become aware of any case of pulmonary tuberculosis among Elementary School children. As the Public Health (Tuberculosis) Regulations, 1911, authorise such Inspectors to examine the registers of pulmonary tuberculosis cases kept by local Medical Officers of Health, they should, in view of the great importance of carefully watching " contact " cases, examine these registers periodically, and systematically examine any child in an Elementary School, living in a house where a person suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis resides,

in order that, should a child develop the disease, it may be detected in the earliest stages.

Sanitary reforms, particularly as regards housing, will greatly assist in the prevention of pulmonary tuberculosis; but in my opinion will not eradicate pulmonary tuberculosis unless they go hand in hand with the measures I have just recited.

Before concluding my discursive remarks, attention should be specially called to the powers placed in the hands of Insurance Committees and Approved Societies, which will enable them to "stir up" Sanitary Authorities, owners of property, or employers of labour and mulct them in severe penalties, should they fail to carry out their liabilities.

Section 63 of the Insurance Act reads:—

"Where it is alleged by the Insurance Commissioners or by any *Approved Society or Insurance Committee* that there has been 'excessive sickness'—to be calculated in accordance with tables prepared by the Commissioners, Sec. 63 (4)—among their members and that this is *due to*

(1) The nature of employment.

(2) Bad housing or insanitary conditions.

(3) Insufficient or contaminated water supply.

(4) Neglect on the part of any person or Authority to observe and enforce any Act relating to factories, workshops, mines, quarries, or other industries, or relating to public health, or the housing of the working classes, or to enforce public health precautions, the Commissioners or Society or Committee may send to the person or Authority alleged to be in default *a claim* for extra expenditure incurred. If an agreement is not come to, application may be made to the Secretary of State or Local Government Board to appoint a competent person to hold an inquiry.

"If it is proved that there has been excess of the average expectation of sickness by more than 10 per cent., and that it was due to any of the above causes, the person holding the inquiry may order the Authority or person in default to make it good, subject to specified provisions."

There is no appeal from the decision given by the "person holding the inquiry."

These powers were granted after considerable debate in the House of Commons, as it was believed that many Sanitary Authorities were not as energetic as they ought to be; and with that opinion I agree.

The Work of Public Health Authorities relative to the Administration of Sanatorium Benefit.

By T. W. Naylor Barlow, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., Barrister-at-Law
(Medical Officer of Health for the County Borough of Wallasey).

Two documents of extreme importance have lately been issued from Government Departments dealing with the question of the detection and prevention of tuberculosis. The first of these is the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider the question, and the second, the Circular Letter of the

Local Government Board, which expresses its substantial agreement with the recommendations of that Committee, and throws upon Local Authorities the duty of formulating a scheme for their own districts. It is interesting to note that the recommendations of the Committee follow on the lines which have been prepared for them by those progressive municipalities which have dealt with this important question of the prevention of tuberculosis, for in several towns dispensaries are at present working, laboratories have been established, nurses have been appointed for home visitation and educative purposes, while several have provided beds in special Sanatoria, and others are using wards in their Isolation Hospitals for that purpose.

Shortly, the main recommendations of the Committee are:—

The formation of Dispensaries.

The provision of Sanatoria and Open-air Schools, etc., and further opportunities for research.

The rôle of the Dispensary set out in the Report is as follows: To act as—

1. Receiving House and Centre of Diagnosis.
2. Clearing House and Centre for Observation.
3. Centre for Curative Treatment.
4. Centre for Examination of Contacts.
5. Centre for After-care.
6. Information Bureau and Educational Centre.

If any hostile criticism can be levelled against the recommendations of the Committee it is that there is a distinct tendency to over-elaborate the curative measures at the expense of the preventive. There can be no doubt whatever that phthisis will never be stamped out by means of Sanatoria or the establishment of Dispensaries, while breeding-places in the shape of unhealthy homes and working places exist. Phthisis is a social disease, and will only be eradicated when the people are sober, well clothed, housed, and fed. It is largely a disease of poverty and all that that connotes. The Right Hon. John Burns, in speaking at a meeting on infantile mortality last week, mentioned the fact that it cost £400 to train a blind child to be able to do useful work, which expenditure, he said, could be easily prevented by the expenditure of a few shillings at the time of birth. So with phthisis. The over-elaboration of the curative point of view is, to my mind, starting at the wrong end, and while, no doubt, much good will be accomplished by the establishment of Dispensaries and the searching out of very early cases, I am convinced that the main line of attack should be by those means which have been found so successful in the past; and we must never forget that the decline in the phthisis death-rate has fallen more than 50 per cent. in the last forty years, and that this decline has *not* been hastened by the establishment of Sanatoria and what is commonly termed "the chase after the bacillus."

It is important to note the extra powers recently given to Local Authorities for dealing with tuberculosis. Under Article 9 of the Tuberculosis Regulations a Local Authority, on the advice of their Medical Officer of Health, may "supply all such medical or other assistance and all such facilities and articles as may reasonably be required for the detection of pulmonary tuberculosis and for preventing the spread of infection and for removing conditions favourable to infection." These powers are very wide, and practically give to Local Authorities a free hand. Very great use may be made of them in three directions immediately, viz.: (1) Provision of beds where, owing to the lack of accommodation, a consumptive patient has to sleep with a healthy person; (2) providing and loaning of outdoor shelters; (3) supplying additional food in suitable cases, especially when the

wage-earner is in a Sanatorium. Ten shillings a week, the allowance under the Insurance Act for insured persons, will not go very far in providing food and house rent for the wife and family, and it is especially essential that the resisting power of these individuals be kept up, otherwise they will be readier victims to the infection when the phthisis patient returns to their midst.

Other speakers have elaborated the functions of the Dispensary. I will not deal further with that, but an important question in connection therewith has not been touched upon, namely, who are to form the medical staff? The Advisory Committee recommend a whole-time Chief Tuberculosis Officer, and lays stress on the importance of gaining the active co-operation of medical practitioners, especially in view of the after-care of patients returned from Sanatoria. Having regard to this, it is essential that all medical men make themselves, shall I say, *more* conversant with the modern methods of treating phthisis. Now it is perfectly obvious that there will not be a sufficient number of the kind of expert described in the Interim Report to fill all the whole-time appointments shortly to be thrown open; and I further suggest that an additional whole-time officer such as described is not necessary in a large number of instances. We must remember that many Medical Officers of Health have already run dispensaries, either alone or in conjunction with their assistants, for some time, and have themselves become expert in the diagnosis of early cases and in modern methods of treatment. Why, then, should not Medical Officers of Health be the chief tuberculosis officers, especially in the smaller towns? In very large towns, and in counties, the question is of an entirely different nature, but in towns with from 50,000 to 120,000 inhabitants I suggest there are many potent reasons—economical and administrative—why the Medical Officer of Health should hold that office. Let us mention a few:—

(1) He has, as has just been said, in many instances made himself an expert.

(2) He is the Medical Adviser of Local Authorities, organising the scheme to manage the institutions.

(3) He is the Superintendent of Isolation Hospitals, many of which will take a place in the scheme, either as Clearing Houses, Hospitals for advanced cases, or as temporary curative Sanatoria until others are built.

(4) The Nurse making inquiries, and engaged in home visitation, is already a member of his staff.

(5) All sanitary and housing defects must be remedied by his agency.

(6) His office is already the centre of all information.

(7) It is absolutely necessary that he be in touch with all sides of the question.

(8) He is nearly always the School Medical Officer.

It is absolutely essential that he be the administrative head and he can be assisted either by an officer specially appointed for the purpose to perform the actual clinical work, acting under his supervision, and who would very soon become an expert in the same way as has arisen a class of young medical men who, commencing without any special knowledge of school medical inspection, have become experts in the work. Having regard, however, to the importance laid upon After-care, and the necessity for the co-operation of the profession, I would point out that there would be some advantages in his being assisted by medical men practising in the district chosen each year from a rota. By this means, provided suitable men with a knowledge of bacteriology were available,

you would be gradually training a body of practitioners in the town who would be quite *au fait* with every aspect of the disease and its treatment.

Of course, curative Sanatoria will have to be provided, either by amalgamation between County Boroughs, or by the County, or by amalgamation between a County Borough and a County. I suggest, therefore, for discussion, that a satisfactory scheme for a town, say, from 50,000 to 150,000 inhabitants would be the establishment (or development, as the case may be) of a Dispensary, with the Medical Officer of Health as Chief Tuberculosis Officer, with the aid either of a whole-time assistant, or of selected practitioners to hold office for one year, and paid, of course, an adequate salary, together with a nurse for home visitation, and a clerk for statistical and other purposes. If not already provided, a Laboratory is essential. The existing accommodation at the Isolation Hospital should, if necessary, be increased for the purposes at first of sanatorium treatment, afterwards for use as a Clearing House, by the provision of shelters and temporary wards. Curative Sanatoria to be established as above. Open-air Schools will, of course, be provided by Education Committees, while for advanced cases provision should be made in General Hospitals, in the Isolation Hospitals, and in Poor Law Hospitals; the latter at any rate temporarily.

Discussion.

Dr. S. DAVIES (Medical Officer of Health, Woolwich) said the whole ground of that very important and intricate subject had been very well covered so far, and he did not intend to detain the Conference long by referring to each matter in detail, but only to a few particular points which had come under his own special observation. With regard to the treatment in sanatoria, as Dr. Barlow had said, many of them had been at work on that for several years. The point was, what difference would the Insurance Bill and the Government Grant make to them in their sanatorium treatment. In Woolwich they had practically confined themselves to educational sanatorium treatment, and most of the patients had not stayed more than two months and none more than six months. He thought, although he quite agreed with what Dr. Barlow had said as to the danger of laying too much emphasis on sanatoria, and although it was quite true that the benefit of sanatoria treatment was not absolutely proved, still they had seen such good effects from it in Woolwich that they would certainly like to do more in that direction by having rather more prolonged treatment, and he intended to recommend his authority to go in for that longer treatment, even to extend it in some instances to twelve months. He thought that they would now be in a position to do more with respect to the after-care of patients. That hitherto had been a weak point in their sanatorium treatment. A patient went to the sanatorium and did excellently well as long as he was there, and went back home very fit; but he knew from his own experience that, in many cases, within a few months the patient lapsed into the old condition. Something should be done to prevent that by after-care, and perhaps tuberculosis dispensary treatment would do a great deal in that direction. Dr. Kaye had referred to the provision in the Insurance Act by which the owners of any works which were found to cause excessive illness on account of their negligence would be penalised. He (Dr. Davies) only hoped they would succeed in penalising some of the defaulting Sanitary Authorities in Yorkshire, but he did not think there was so much chance of doing anything in that direction as with those employers to whom he had just referred. They knew tuberculosis had

diminished very greatly in the country in recent years, and far more so with regard to women than men. That pointed to the fact that one important factor in regard to tuberculosis was the workshop. The workshop had not been improved as much as it should have been. (Hear, hear.) And he thought by means of the Insurance Act they might succeed in bringing home to the workshop the cause of very much consumption. Another important fact was the public-house. Unfortunately, that was not provided for in the Insurance Act. If only they could penalise the liquor trade by bringing home to the public-house the amount of consumption they caused, he was of opinion they would do away with half of it. He wished specially to refer to the public-houses in connection with the sanatorium benefit. It was very important in sending patients to the sanatoria to choose those who would get the most benefit from it. It was no use sending those who were topers, because they could not expect to succeed in re-establishing the health of such. Although he had been most particular in trying to find out the habits of those he was sending to sanatoria, he had by no means taken the pharisaical attitude that because a man visited a public-house he should not go to the sanatorium; but he dealt with it from the point of view that if the man were a drunkard he would not recover from his disease.

With regard to the tuberculosis dispensary, the important question would come up, especially in London, as to whether they were going on with the tuberculosis dispensary on the voluntary system as established by the Central Fund, or whether those dispensaries should be municipal. The Central Fund had done most excellent work in establishing voluntary dispensaries in several parts of London, but for them to be absolutely satisfactory it would be necessary for them to be on a municipal basis. Although they did get co-operation with those dispensaries, co-operation was not the same as co-ordination, and there was bound to be some waste of effort if they had the tuberculosis dispensary under a voluntary authority and not a municipal authority which was carrying out the rest of the sanatorium benefit. He agreed with Dr. Barlow as to the position of the Medical Officer of the dispensary. In fact, he thought it absolutely followed, if a dispensary were a municipal dispensary, that the Medical Officer of the dispensary must be under the Medical Officer of Health. He would, of course, be absolutely independent from the clinical and professional point of view, but he would be in the same position as the principal Medical Officer of a garrison to the commanding officer. He wished to say a word or two about shelters. He cordially recommended to those members of Sanitary Authorities present that they should make all possible use of shelters for home treatment of consumption. (Hear, hear.) They would find that shelters were the most economical way of treating consumption, and especially useful for people who had already been to sanatoria. Whereas sanatorium treatment cost a great deal of money, garden shelters need hardly cost anything at all, because people who used the shelters could in most cases pay a small weekly contribution for them. In Woolwich the usual charge was from 6d. to 1s. 6d. a week, and the average payment about 1s. A shilling a week would pay 5 per cent. on the shelter, so the treatment would cost practically nothing. While speaking of shelters, he would like to make an appeal to the medical men present, especially if there were any Medical Officers of tuberculosis dispensaries, not to over emphasise the infectious part of the tuberculosis question. (Hear, hear.) One great difficulty they had in getting people to use shelters was that people were so much afraid of the possibility of infection that if a shelter were erected next door they made a fuss about it. That was ridiculous, but if they magnified the danger of infection of tuberculosis that would be the natural result. They knew it was an infectious disease, but there were all sorts of infectious diseases to be dealt with, and there was all the difference in the world between the infection of consumption and the infection of smallpox, and they should avoid letting the public get the idea that consumption was as infectious as smallpox. As regarded advanced cases, he quite agreed with what had been said by Dr. Kaye as to not calling the places to which they sent advanced cases "Homes for the Dying." Indeed, there always was hope for a man who was condemned to die from consumption. He knew a man who was once sent to a "Home for the Dying" who was still alive and well; in fact, he had been at work for two years past. In London they wanted the Metropolitan Asylums Board to provide for those advanced cases, and he hoped that that meeting would be of opinion that the Asylums Board ought to move in that matter. They had been asked to do so time after time, but so far had done nothing.

Dr. FOSBROKE : I should just like to ask Dr. Davies a question. He said that he charged consumptive cases an average of 1s. a week for the open-air shelters. In cases of poverty do you, on the contrary, make a grant towards sufficient feeding?

Dr. DAVIES : No. I quite agree we ought to do so, but I do not think my council would agree to do it. (Laughter.)

Dr. T. D. LISTER (National Sanatorium Association) said he felt great hesitation in intervening because he was not a Public Health Officer, but merely a medical practitioner. He would excuse himself by saying that for six years he had been engaged in the central medical administration of an industrial voluntary insurance scheme for sanatorium benefit. Their business there that morning was to discuss the prevention of destitution. The prevention of destitution so far as tuberculosis was concerned seemed to him to be largely a matter of the education of the population and of the early diagnosis of the disease. Those were the two difficulties they had encountered for the last six years in the National Sanatorium Association in administering voluntary insurance. The education of the affiliated societies had been carried on by the usual propagandist methods, but they found that the working classes were full of all kinds of prejudices and preconceived notions, of traditional theories, and of a touching faith in the columns of their newspapers and the advertisements those columns contained. It was rather remarkable, considering the enormous confidence that intelligent voters had in the advertising specialists, that those who appointed the National Tuberculosis Committee did not give a single one a place on it. Another great difficulty arose in regard to early diagnosis. The recognition of a state of ill-health must depend primarily on the patient himself, but the diagnosis of its nature must depend on the doctor. He said with a feeling of responsibility that the present state of medical education was apathetic with regard to the teaching of common diseases. Tuberculosis, the most fatal to the community of all diseases, was not taught as it should be in the medical schools. (Hear, hear.) Advanced cases of tuberculosis were the only ones recognised in the out-patient's department. In fact, one great teacher of medicine had told him only a few weeks ago, that he never saw an early case of phthisis in the hospital, as the patients were not admitted to the wards until they were moribund. The explanation for that was perhaps the great interest taken in rare diseases, and the great complexity of modern medical education. Both the readers of the papers had asked for the appointment of tuberculosis experts. They simply did not exist in this country in the numbers required under the Insurance Act. As far as he could estimate, from 500 to 1,000 tuberculosis experts at least would be required to start sanatorium benefit, and sufficient did not exist even to staff the tuberculosis dispensaries which were to be only the beginning of the administration of the tuberculosis clauses of the Act. Dr. Barlow, who was an optimist, had referred to the necessity of providing a tuberculosis officer who, he said, could be created in a few weeks. He (Dr. Lister) thought, when he heard this statement, that tuberculosis officers must be like poets—born, not made—and Dr. Barlow must have been very fortunate in finding one of those born tuberculosis officers. He wished to put in a plea that those who were going to administer the Act should make arrangements for the immediate training of assistant tuberculosis officers. There were chest hospitals in existence and also tuberculosis dispensaries, in which a man who was willing to volunteer might be supported by the Public Health Authority while undergoing a course of training for three months to learn the rudiments of tuberculosis; but it would take some years of work before such men were fit to take on the responsible position of one of the chief tuberculosis officerships to which reference had been made. Prevention was the chief thing, no doubt, but in talking about the closing of insanitary houses, the further inspection of insanitary workshops, and the regulation of insanitary offices, they must not be blind to the needs of those who were already suffering from the disease. With regard to the actual care of those suffering from the disease, if one considered the history of the last twenty years, they had seen a gradual change from a multiplicity of medicines to a multiplicity of measures. Everyone seemed to think he had a panacea for the treatment of phthisis if only his method were adopted by everyone else, and there might be no greater progress under a mixture of methods than a mixture of drugs. In conclusion, he wished to emphasise once more the necessity of medical training in the common diseases. Of late years the medical schools had encouraged too great an attention to rare diseases.

Mrs. RACKHAM (Cambridge Charity Organisation Society) said she wished to draw attention to one of the great difficulties in dealing with consumptives, namely, the finding of suitable work for them after they returned home from the sanatoria. What was needed for them was light work in the open air, and this was very difficult to find in cities. One of the most satisfactory cases she remembered was where the patient had obtained work as a groundsman on a golf course, but that kind of employment was, of course, sometimes impossible to get. The same thing applied to girls, as having returned from sanatoria it would be difficult for them to obtain positions as domestic servants. She was glad attention had been drawn to the danger of spreading too widely the view that consumption was an infectious disease like smallpox. Another difficulty they had to contend with was the extreme confusion of authorities which seemed to exist at the present time with regard to consumption. Let them take an imaginary case, say, in Cambridge, which was typical of every town. Imagine a child discovered at school by the Medical Officer in the early stages of phthisis. She supposed it would be reported to the Care Committee, and the Care Committee might, in co-operation with the Charity Organisation Society, arrange for the child to be sent away by voluntary effort. If the child was on outdoor relief, then it would fall to the Board of Guardians to send it away to a sanatorium, or if they had shelters it might quite adequately be treated in the infirmary. Then, again, it might go to the Voluntary Hospital, where they had the balcony treatment for consumptives. Then there was the Borough Sanatorium treatment, to which consumptives were taken when there was room. Then after the Insurance Act came into force it was possible such a child might receive sanatorium treatment as one of the dependents of an insured person. Mrs. Rackham felt sure they would appreciate the danger of such confusion of authorities; there was no guarantee that the case would be properly dealt with. They had heard that no toper was ever yet cured of consumption, and she believed it was also a saying that no fool was ever cured of consumption. There was no disease in which the confidence and the co-operation of the patient was so absolutely essential to proper treatment as with consumption, and that was where she felt the dispensaries might do a valuable educational work, especially with regard to treatment in the home.

Mr. D. F. PENNANT (Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute for Nurses) said he represented a rather different point of view to that of previous speakers. He represented the point of view of the district nurses of the country, and although he regarded the question from that point of view, he thought he could agree generally with what had been said. Yet it might be useful to try and add a little. The previous speakers, he thought, had not sufficiently recognised the importance of the difficulty which arose in connection with the money being provided in the shape of a benefit to insured persons under the Insurance Act. They had got, as a matter of fact, two totally different points of view to deal with. They had got to deal with the point of view of the insured person whose contributions were going to be devoted, with the contributions of their employers and some help from the State, towards supplying sanatorium benefit. From that point of view the duty of those who administered the spending of that money would be to give to those insured persons, and possibly also to their dependants, the best possible advantage, and he thought there undoubtedly existed in the country at the present time an idea among those who would become insured under the Act that the money was to be used so as to confer a benefit upon them. He thought the idea generally was that if a person had tuberculosis he or she could be taken to, and supported in, some institution free of expense. The other point of view was that the money should be used for the purpose of trying to lessen or possibly stamp out consumption in the country. These two points of view were really entirely contradictory, and the most important thing to those who were going to administer the Act would be to get some clear and definite decision as to the principle upon which the money was going to be used. He believed —he was only expressing his own opinion, of course—that it was a great mistake that that money was provided in the shape of a benefit under the Insurance Act at all. If the money had been provided at the expense of the State as a whole, it could have been taken and used without any difficulty in a campaign to prevent and stamp out consumption. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Interim Report of the Tuberculosis Committee, district nurses had for a long time been coming into contact with cases of consumption, and from their point of view there was no doubt the Interim Report was an enormous advance on what was supposed to be going to be done under the

Act when it was brought in. What the Government appeared to have in their minds then was some system, the central feature of which was the provision of sanatoria. The central point of the Committee's recommendation was the provision of dispensaries. That was a very great advance, and he thought it was an advance quite as great as one could hope for in the time that it took to prepare the Report; but after all one had to remember that it was only an Interim Report, and one might look forward with some little hope that when the Committee came to make its Final Report it would again have shifted its point of view further on and come to see that the central position was the home of the consumptive person and not the dispensary. After all, both sanatoria and dispensaries were adjuncts, and ought only to be used as adjuncts to the work to be done in the homes of the people who had got or who were threatened with consumption. Then the Report stated the work would be found easier in towns than in country districts. He considered that a complete illusion. He thought the very contrary would prove to be the case, owing to overcrowding in towns, and the constant shifting of the population. In conclusion, it was extremely interesting to find in the Interim Report that in regard to Wales there was a distinct recommendation that all district nurses engaged in the work should receive some special training. Why that was limited to Wales no one had been able to explain. As a matter of fact, the cost of providing the very small amount of special training that was necessary for a trained nurse was so comparatively trifling, compared with all the rest of the machinery of the Act, that there was no doubt that that recommendation ought to be extended to the country as a whole.

Mr. ROBERT LAMBIE (Lanarkshire County Council) said he would like first of all to ask a question: Was there in England compulsory notification of consumption?

Dr. BYGOTT: There is, sir.

Mr. Lambie said his reason for asking that was that he had asked the same question a year ago, and was astonished to find that such was not the case. Certain it was that if they were to deal adequately with the White Plague it must be on compulsory lines. The Local Government Board in Scotland, in dealing with consumption, had given power to the Local Authorities to put consumptive persons in the Isolation Hospitals which had been erected for other diseases, and he was glad to say the other diseases had greatly diminished in number. He certainly agreed that the proper authority to have full command of dealing with infectious diseases was the Medical Officer of Health. He believed that better housing had far more to do with the prevention of destitution than many of them probably realised, but even if they got better houses they had to teach the people how to live in them. He believed the treatment of consumption would be one of the best paying speculations the public had ever undertaken, because, if they could keep men and women away from poor relief by keeping them in better health, the community as a whole would greatly benefit.

Dr. J. T. C. NASH (County Medical Officer of Health, Norfolk) said there could be no doubt that by the National Health Insurance Act and the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis they now had means of dealing with tuberculosis which they had long been waiting for. He thought they should not lose sight of the pioneers of the movement. In England they had had the scheme adopted which had been outlined by the Committee, but they must not forget that the scheme had been working in Scotland, where it was adopted by the Local Government Board in 1906 consequent upon the work performed by Dr. Phillip, of Edinburgh. In 1887 Dr. Phillip commenced his work, and it had gradually evolved until at last the scheme had attained to that now advised by the Committee, and the fact that it was adopted by the Scotch Local Government Board in 1906 was positive proof of its value. Of course, in connection with a disease like phthisis, they must not confine their attention to one form of cure. That had hitherto been the bane of Sanatoria. So many people had thought that to send a patient to a Sanatorium was to effect his cure, and all sorts of people were sent to Sanatoria suffering from advanced disease, and the consequence was so many of them died that Sanatoria began to fall into disrepute. The place a Sanatorium ought to fill was not the first place. Tuberculosis Dispensaries, he thought, would prove to be the effective method of dealing with consumption. At the Dispensaries the tuberculosis officer would not only deal with the patient there and then, but would follow up other members of the family, and by prevailing upon those who showed the least signs of lowered health to submit themselves to examination he would come upon other cases in the very

early stages. At the present time there were lots of early cases which did not receive medical treatment. They just felt a little poorly, but did not think they were ill, and neglected to call in the doctor. In future those people would be found before they even knew they were ill. When they considered the great advantage of getting such early hold of each individual patient as a very strong preventative measure, the value of the Tuberculosis Dispensaries would be obvious. He might mention the case of a female patient whom he had come across in a Tuberculin Dispensary. The family history showed that several had died from consumption, the last being a sister three years previously. That particular patient had been feeling poorly for some months, yet had not consulted a doctor, but having heard of the dispensary she had come there from the other end of London. On examination both her lungs were found to be distinctly affected, but when she was asked to come regularly for treatment she stated her inability to do so until July, because the present was her busy season. Such cases showed obviously the necessity of Tuberculosis Dispensaries in order to teach affected people how to take care of themselves. With regard to public-houses, the chief cause of the prevalence of phthisis amongst public-house servants had been the indiscriminate expectoration on the floors, followed by dry sweeping the next morning. No doubt indulgence in alcohol increased the tendency of the patient to take that disease as well as any other disease, but he thought they ought always to approach the chief causes rather than spoil a good cause by trying to attribute too much to it. Through the Tuberculosis Dispensaries he considered they would achieve the two main points Dr. Lister had referred to in his remarks—the education of the people, and early diagnosis. It was true there was not a sufficient number of experts of the standard of their highest experts, but they could not all expect to reach the highest standard. The Dispensaries, however, would in time give them more experts, and in every case the general practitioner should be encouraged to attend the Dispensaries as much as possible so that in time he could take over the handling of the cases. If they got a Public Health Service, no doubt they would have all the doctors sufficiently expert in diagnosis. Then, of course, the establishment of County Laboratories was a very important point. With regard to girls discharged from a Sanatorium, Dr. Nash considered they might safely enter a household as housemaids provided the work was light, the food good, and the hours not too long, but he would prefer they had nothing to do with children, as no person who was consumptive should be in close contact with young children. But it was a *sine qua non* that if employed in any capacity in domestic service, they should assiduously practice the ritual of hygiene they had been taught in the Sanatorium.

Miss A. L. Henry (Women's Local Government Society) said she wished to ask Dr. Fosbroke whether the cost of a bed, namely, 30s., included the cost of administration and sinking fund, or only the absolute cost of food and nursing. She belonged to a Sanitary Authority which managed an Isolation Hospital, and she had also been appointed on the County Insurance Committee, so that Dr. Fosbroke's statistics had been of great interest to her. The present cost per head at their Isolation Hospital for zymotic diseases was between 25s. and 26s. a week. In addition the Council had provided shelters for consumptives, as had also the Council in the adjoining district. As far as she knew, the cases admitted had not been picked cases, yet neither of the two Councils had had a death in their shelters. They had had deaths of phthisis patients in the workhouse, but not amongst those in the shelters. The County Medical Officer of Health and Mr. Francis Bate, a County Councillor, had spent their Sunday afternoons and evenings in designing the shelters. They had even gone so far as to analyse the air and in every way make the shelters the best possible. She would like to know whether the Sanatoria they were going to build would be available for other persons than insured people. People with incomes between £150 and £300 a year could not afford to provide Sanatorium treatment costing about £5 5s. a week. As to the question of nurses, she hoped the status of the Health Visitors would be raised and that all would have the qualifications of sanitary officers. In conclusion, she wished to refer to the enormous amount of dust caused in her district by the passing of motor-cars. As a matter of fact, it was so bad that even vegetation would not grow near the roads, so they could imagine the deleterious effect it had upon people liable to consumption.

The Chairman (Alderman Ford): As regards the uninsured people, the Government grant for the erection of Sanatoria is only three-fifths of the cost, and the other two-fifths will have to come from the County Councils in order that they may bear

their share for the people not in these lists. For the Dispensaries also three-fifths will come from the Government and two-fifths from the county, so that the class of whom Miss Henry spoke could be treated in these institutions.

Dr. W. G. SAVAGE (County Medical Officer of Health, Somerset) said that Dr. Lister had stated that several of the earlier speakers had gone beyond the subject for discussion, but he would remind Dr. Lister that the title of the subject for discussion that morning was "The Work of the Public Health Authorities relative to the Administration of Sanatorium Benefit." They were distinctly discussing the question of the administration of Sanatorium benefit. The broad outline had been dealt with very ably and comprehensively by Dr. Kaye and Dr. Fosbroke, so that he only proposed to deal very briefly with a few special points which he thought might be of general interest and which did not seem to have been adequately discussed that morning. He thought Dr. Barlow might have given an inaccurate impression when he remarked that the financial difficulty was overcome now they had the Insurance benefit. Those who had looked into the matter financially must agree that the money coming from the Sanatorium Benefit was not going to pay in any satisfactory way at all for a comprehensive scheme or even a modified scheme for dealing with phthisical and tuberculosis patients. He thought they must agree that any scheme must take in the dependants as well as the insured persons. (Hear, hear.) As Public Health Officers and as Public Health Authorities, they could not be satisfied with less than that, and if they were going to deal with those the sums of money they might be able to get from Insurance Committees would not cover the cost. In his own county he had framed what he thought was a very moderate scheme, a minimum scheme, that would cost at least £12,000 to £13,000 a year. As to the Sanatorium benefit, the money coming in in Somerset, even if they received the additional penny, would amount to £8,000, leaving roughly a balance of £4,000 to £5,000 to be made up, half by the County Council, half by the Treasury, if they acquiesced in the expenditure. For the benefits they hoped to get he was quite prepared to advocate to his Aurthority a farthing rate, which these sums would mean, and it would be very well spent indeed. Another point that had been touched upon was the question of the position of the Medical Officer of Health in the scheme, and Dr. Savage agreed that the Medical Officer of Health, whether he was a District Medical Officer of Health or a County Medical Officer of Health, must be the administrative head of whatever scheme was adopted. The problem was the same as they had encountered in connection with the medical inspection of school children. They could not have a lot of officers all separate and independent. That was costly and wasteful. As a matter of fact, in Somerset they had gone further than merely to talk about the matter. The Public Health Committee had actually recommended, if suitable arrangements could be made with the Insurance Committee, the appointment of a tuberculosis officer who would be on his staff and who would receive a salary of £500 a year. A third point raised had been the question of the preventive *versus* the curative side. The insured person expected to get curative treatment, and was entitled to get it, but it was necessary to get as much preventive work as possible done at the same time. A point not touched upon had been the position of the general practitioner in regard to this question of treating tuberculosis cases. It seemed to him that two distinct positions might be taken up. On the one hand the Authority might treat tuberculosis entirely, or as far as possible, through their own officers. There was a good deal to be said for that attitude perhaps in large towns, but dealing with rural areas he did not think that was at all a practicable way, nor a satisfactory way, and he did not see why they should want to take away the treatment of this one disease from the general practitioner. In his scheme they hoped to bring the general practitioner in; they hoped to take the second position and regard the tuberculosis officers to be appointed rather as experts and co-ordinating agents working the Dispensaries and leaving the great bulk of the cases (not in Sanatoria) to be actually treated by the general practitioners. The Insurance Act gave power, and the Interim Report implied, that special sums of money would be paid to the general practitioners in regard to the treatment of those cases. A further point was the question of Health Visitors and the actual nursing of the cases. There, again, several attitudes might be taken up. He thought they must distinguish in country districts (and he was more particularly dealing with those) between the actual nursing of the cases left at home and the supervision of those cases, and he thought highly trained, skilled women, possessed of common sense and tact (which was a very important qualifica-

tion) should be appointed as Health Visitors or Health Missioners, who would not do actual nursing but would give advice while the actual nursing of the cases would be done by the district nurses in the villages and supervised, as he hoped it would be, by those Health Visitors, who would each have their own district. There was a definite distinction of work, and each nurse should have her own sphere of action. The only other point he would mention was that of the site for the different institutions, and he agreed with those who said it was highly advisable that all sanatoria and homes for the advanced cases should be on one site as far as possible.

Dr. SOPHIA JEVONS (Women's Local Government Society, Marylebone) endorsed Mrs. Rackham's remarks about the difficulty of treating After-Care cases. It was very difficult to obtain suitable employment for a person who had been in a Sanatorium. She cordially agreed with the idea that in the case of men they should be employed on the golf course as caddies, and so on. If that were the means of keeping the usual type of caddy out of a blind alley employment, and at the same time of doing a good thing for the consumptive, it would be a fine thing all round. She suggested that to overcome the difficulty of finding suitable places for shelters in towns, disused churchyards should be utilised, or in the suburbs the parks.

The Rev. G. A. SUTTLE (West Ham Union) said he wished to emphasise the necessity of sufficient support being given to the families of people suffering from consumption. His earliest recollection of the disease was seeing the body of his own father put in the grave when he was a mere child. He was very anxious indeed that the children at home should be properly cared for. With regard to private Sanatoria, he thought they should be done away with. He had visited one of these and found a state of affairs which ought not to be tolerated. In fact, although the Sanatorium was presided over by a medical man, the only certificate the lady superintendent possessed was a certificate in lunacy. He was anxious that all Sanatoria should be under some public authority who would be responsible to the people. He did not believe in allowing that sort of thing to be done under private auspices at all. He agreed with Mrs. Rackham as to the pity of having the multiplicity of authorities to deal with cases. What had hitherto kept so many people from obtaining the benefits of Sanatoria in the past had been the cost of such institutions, and that, he urged, was a further reason why the Local Authorities should undertake to provide such places for the treatment of all cases.

Dr. A. DENNISON (Leeds County Borough Council) said he did not wish to cover any ground that had been touched on before. He spoke as a representative of the Sanitary Committee of the City of Leeds and also as a member of the Association for the Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis. Therefore, whatever was done in the future under the Act, whether it was carried out by the Sanitary Authority or by the Tuberculosis Association, he expected to have a hand in it. The Association in Leeds had been carried on for some years on voluntary lines, and they were spending close on £6,000 a year. They had a dispensary which was dealing with a matter of between 600 or 700 patients a year. They also had a visiting nurse to look after the cases in their own homes. They had 113 beds, but were not satisfied, and wanted more than a proportion of one for every 5,000 of the population. To do absolute justice to the position in the City of Leeds they ought to have at least another 100 beds. He took it it was the recommendation of the Inter-departmental Committee that where possible voluntary institutions should be supported by the Bill, provided they were satisfactory to the authorities. He had no hesitation in believing that their voluntary institutions in Leeds would be approved, but he would like to know what chance there was and at what date of getting some share in that splendid grant they had heard about—£1,500,000. Another point was the matter mentioned by Mr. Suttle, the consideration for those left behind at home when the father or the mother was removed to the Sanatorium. In Leeds they had taken a particular interest in the children of tubercular parents. In the case of children of tubercular parents they had set aside provision for giving them three months in the country in order to enable them to pick up their vitality and fit them for the fight with the scourge with which they were threatened. That treatment had been beneficial in every case so far. Dr. Dennison said he would like to know if anything was being done in other parts of the country on the same lines—treating children in the Sanatoria who had not been actually diagnosed as tubercular.

Miss SCHUSTER (Stepney and Mile End Charity Organisation Society) said that the Edinburgh system, to which reference had been made, was already established

in London. Eight dispensaries, on the plan devised by Dr. Philip, were now working, and three more would be opened early in July. These dispensaries were all voluntary. Ten were assisted by "The Central Fund for the Promotion of the Dispensary System for the Prevention of Consumption in London" and one had been entirely supported locally. In each borough the Medical Officer of Health was either the Chairman or a member of the Committee, and the dispensaries worked in close touch with the local general practitioners. The dispensaries should, however, not be isolated units, but parts of a whole system, as in Edinburgh. We needed Open-Air Schools for consumptive children, of which so far only two existed, though five more were being planned. Homes for advanced cases, as near as possible to the homes of the patients, and Farm Colonies. At the Stepney Dispensary there had been over 7,000 attendances during the first year, and the homes of the patients had been visited by the doctor and nurse for the discovery of contacts and the improvement of home conditions.

The Rev. C. HARRISON (Basford Union) said he hoped they would not be too severe on private institutions, as they had been doing what they could in the best way possible. As to dispensaries, it was all very well to talk about dispensaries in towns, but what were they to do in the country districts? As to shelters, he supposed they were intended to aid them in the After-Care of tuberculosis cases. He would like to ask what authority might provide those shelters. That information he had been unable to glean from anything so far said. Would the District Council or the Board of Guardians be permitted to hire out the shelters at a certain price? He agreed that care should be taken of those at home when the parents were in the Sanatoria. Anxiety about those left at home no doubt prevented the patients from getting well as quickly as they might. Perhaps the Boards of Guardians would be allowed to extend their relief in such cases. As to providing the appropriate work for the patients after their return from the Sanatoria, that presented great difficulties. All districts had not golf courses. Until they succeeded in making the home the Sanatorium and the man or the woman the Medical Officer, able to look after themselves and their families, they would not have reached anything like finality for overtaking, preventing, or curing tuberculosis.

Mr. HORNER paid a further tribute to Dr. Philip's Edinburgh scheme. He thought that contaminated houses and contaminated areas were points which would have to be taken up by the Local Authorities, and he wished to point out the importance of dealing with insanitary contagious houses in the prevention of early cases. Where one case was notified there were thirty others undiscovered, and in that he saw a plea for extensive examination.

Dr. KAYE, in replying to the discussion, said he thought they had had ample demonstration that they were absolutely wrong in their ordinary way of living, and that the man who said a house ought to be a shelter and not a place for living in was correct. As to the 30s. a week for the maintenance of the people at home, well, half a loaf was better than none; but they ought not to forget the existing voluntary agencies, and they should be encouraged and supported in the future. In the West Riding they had eighty committees which would be admirably adapted to take up some of that class of work. With regard to the after-care of patients, of course, a great deal had been made out that morning in favour of home treatment. But after all there was something to be got in Sanatoria that could not be got at home. With regard to early diagnosis, they had been doing their best to get that into working order already in the West Riding. The County Council had provided a huge laboratory and were doing 14,000 specimens a year, and this work was done free of cost. As to the Sanatoria being available only for the insured, that was not the case. They were available for all. The uninsured had as much right to a part of the £1,500,000 as the insured. As to dispensaries in villages, of course, it was absolutely impossible, and that was why the minimum in the West Riding county had been fixed at about thirty dispensaries. These dispensaries would not all be stationary, some branches might wandar about by means of a caravan. Again, cottage hospitals or police offices would be utilised, or a disused part of a school. It was purely a question of £ s. d. If there were a person to be treated fifteen or sixteen miles away, they would not go to him but would pay his fare to enable him to come to the dispensary.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 14th.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Housing Section.)

The Chair was occupied by the President of the Public Health Section, Sir Francis Champneys. The subject discussed was THE HEALTH VALUE OF GOOD HOUSING. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Housing Problems in Agricultural Areas.*
By Dr. C. E. Tangye, Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire Combined Districts.

2.—*Slum Environment and the Public Health.*
By Mr. E. E. Hayward.

3.—*The Causal Relation between Housing and Health.*
By Mr. F. E. Fremantle. County Medical Officer of Health, Hertfordshire.

Housing Problems in Agricultural Areas.

By C. E. TANGYE, B.A., M.D. LOND., D.P.H.
(Medical Officer of Health for the Mid-Warwickshire Combined District).

THE part of the subject under consideration to which my few remarks are confined is that concerned with rural conditions pure and simple, more especially as found in the five rural districts of the Mid-Warwickshire Combination, apart altogether from the urban districts of that Combination. These five rural districts form approximately half of the County of Warwick, stretching from the Shakespeare country on the west to the George Eliot country on the east, and from Birmingham on the north to the Edge Hill range on the south.

Deeply interesting as this tract of country is from a picturesque and historic standpoint, it is scarcely less interesting as an example of a large rural area presenting all the problems of a growing population, mainly agricultural, and consequently earning a low wage, for whom, under present conditions, house accommodation is not keeping pace with demand, either in quantity or quality.

The health value of good housing is perhaps best illustrated by the converse, and of all the diseases which are known to be associated with insanitary housing conditions at the present time, phthisis is naturally attracting most attention. Reviewing the history of this rural community of some 71,000 with respect to this disease, and with due regard to the increase of population, it is noteworthy that for the past twenty years the death-rate has remained, with, of course, slight

annual variations, almost stationary. During the same period the rate for England and Wales generally has decreased by some 30 per cent.

The unsatisfactory feature of the phthisis death-rate in this area is thus its constancy; the actual annual rate, which has averaged 7.2 per 10,000 during the past decade, not perhaps being excessive as compared with similar districts elsewhere. Thus the agricultural labourer, whose vocation should put him high in the scale of immunity from phthisis, stands to-day in these districts almost the same chance of disablement and death from this disease as did his father, and this in spite of the general advance in sanitation which has taken place during the past twenty years in rural districts as well as urban, although unfortunately the advance has not been so appreciable in the former.

There appear, then, to be certain constant factors which have been capable of counteracting the general hygienic conditions of occupation and daily surroundings which undoubtedly should exist in the country, factors which have been practically uninfluenced by rural sanitary administration. The most important of these factors predisposing to the development of phthisis is, I think, undoubtedly the defective, and in many instances deteriorating, condition of the only housing available for the agricultural labourer.

The compulsory notification of phthisis now in force affords an opportunity for inquiry into the relationship of housing conditions with this disease. Such an inquiry is one of much difficulty, inasmuch as the majority of consumptives so far notified in these rural districts are by no means in the earliest stages, and many have changed houses since the disease was contracted, so that the original conditions under which the illness began are not always easy to discover.

The majority of phthisis cases visited have been found to be housed under conditions of dampness, bad ventilation, or overcrowding, which undoubtedly have predisposed to infection. A proportion of such houses have been occupied by a series of cases of phthisis terminating fatally, and the obvious directness of personal infection in these instances tends to overshadow the predisposing conditions of the family surroundings; for the cottage must be exceptionally clean and well ventilated, the accommodation ample, and the attendance intelligent, where a hopeless case of phthisis can be nursed with absolute impunity to the rest of the family.

Force of circumstances often results in the invalid being brought downstairs into the living-room, so that he can be attended to amongst other household cares, without constant running upstairs. This room is used by the family generally for taking meals and as a sitting-room, and the risk of infection for them is greatly enhanced by the persistence with which the slightest "draught" is excluded by closing windows and doors. Such are the common surroundings in the labourer's cottage of the dying consumptive, and it is obvious that the disinfection and cleansing which follow the death of the patient can do little to prevent the spread of an infection which has already by that time been sown in other members of the family.

It is only under exceptional circumstances that even the best of cottages can be regarded as suitable homes for incurable cases of phthisis, but where, as is often the case, the cottage is full to overcrowding, the ventilation bad, the floors broken and incapable of proper cleansing, and other defects exist, the presence of such cases cannot but lead to spread of the disease. To digress from the main subject for a moment, it seems to me of at least equal importance to provide sanatoria for incurable cases of phthisis whose powers of dissemination of the disease are

so terrible, as to provide such accommodation for early and curable cases, many of which are only occasionally, if at all, capable of infecting others.

The important question of adequate ventilation is one which depends not only on the structural conditions for which the landlord is responsible, but also on the tenant's habits, which are unfortunately less amenable to compulsion. It is a remarkable fact that the large majority of cottagers regard the night air as injurious, and the bedroom window is only opened for a short time by day, and sometimes, indeed, not then. It is, of course, a matter of routine to require that windows shall be made to open, but it must be confessed that in many instances this is a work of supererogation, since it is too much to hope that the tenant will avail himself of the chance of adequate ventilation, for the doctrine of the open window makes but slow progress in the country.

It is in such matters as ventilation and cleanliness that so much useful work is being done by Health Visitors through personal instruction and advice to the cottager. Indeed, the education of the tenant to make the best of his cottage, poor though it may be, is a very valuable aid to housing reform, for house inspection brings out clearly the frequent responsibility of the occupier for many of the insanitary conditions of his own cottage.

The Mid-Warwickshire Districts have been fortunate in their comparative freedom from typhoid fever, but a recent outbreak of this disease in a small village has exemplified not only its connection with polluted wells, but also its selective affinity for the more dirty, overcrowded, and ill-ventilated cottages. In almost every case, besides the condition of the well water, serious sanitary deficiencies were discovered of the types mentioned in relation to the house affected.

Many other diseases might be cited as the outcome, directly or indirectly, of bad housing conditions, for rural districts are in some ways peculiarly suitable for the study of the effects of the environment of the individual, because outside influences can frequently be more or less eliminated. In general terms it may be said that the relationship of disease to defective housing is daily becoming more manifest.

Recent legislation, and more especially the Housing (Inspection of District) Regulations of 1910, has led to a more or less serious attempt on the part of rural Sanitary Authorities to undertake the systematic inspection of cottage property, and already a considerable amount of work has been done in this direction. But, whilst the object in view is of the highest importance and urgency, there can be no doubt that adequate machinery for thorough inspection does not exist in rural districts. In one of the districts under consideration, whose population only just falls short of 10,000, and whose area is over eighty-two square miles, the appointment of one man to hold the joint office of Road Surveyor and Sanitary Inspector, including the office of Inspector under the Regulations mentioned, has recently been made. In this district the number of houses whose rental is under £16 per annum is probably not much less than 2,000, and considering the limited amount of the official's time which is available for the whole of the sanitary work of the district, it is probable that, under present conditions, it would take him some twenty years to complete the inspection of the cottage property therein. This, of course, is the natural result of the continuance on the same lines up to the present day of the appointment first made in the 'seventies.

The work of house inspection in rural districts is a most laborious one, since the actual first inspection is only a small part of the work required. Communications and meetings with the owner, reports to the District Council, issue of

notices, and often re-inspection, are usually necessary before repairs are completed, or in many cases even begun.

This work can only be properly carried out when an adequate sanitary staff is provided, and the continuous enlargement of the scope of the duties of sanitary officials, without corresponding increase of facilities for performing them, serves only to throw into greater relief the somnolence of rural districts in matters of public health.

Without such adequate staff only the fringe of the problem of Rural Housing can be touched, and in the area under consideration it has been so far only possible to inspect an extremely small percentage of cottage property. A fair amount of improvement has been secured in those houses inspected which have been capable of repairs without actual closing. But where the cottage has been found so dilapidated as to necessitate closure, either with a view to thorough repair or with the object of eventual demolition, the greatest difficulties have been encountered. The onus of making a closing order is not one that rural Sanitary Authorities are anxious to assume, and in those cases where closing orders have been made, the necessary subsequent proceedings for the ejectment of the tenants are sometimes allowed to remain in abeyance, so that the closing order, as such, loses its effect. Thus, whilst it is comparatively easy to secure improvements in houses which are not of the worst type, it is a matter of much greater perplexity to attempt to deal with absolutely unfit houses.

The reason for this state of things is that houses of the lowest rental are at a premium, for in each of these rural districts the population has increased since the census of 1901, in some cases very greatly, whilst the building of cottages at a sufficiently low rental has been at a standstill. In many villages no cottages of the required type have been built for a very long period, whilst those in existence are naturally becoming year by year less habitable.

The average wage of the agricultural labourer does not generally exceed fourteen or fifteen shillings a week, and in proportion to such an income a rent of 1s. 6d., or at most 2s., is the highest that can be expected. It cannot be wondered at that the building of cottages to meet such a demand, under present conditions, by private enterprise has ceased, but it is a matter of regret that great landowners do not more realise their responsibilities in rural housing.

Building bye-laws have been quoted as contributing to the difficulty of meeting this demand, but in that part of the Mid-Warwickshire Joint District, where the demand is most urgent, no building bye-laws have been in force until quite recently.

With the probability of forcing the tenants to wander from the village, in which their lives have been spent, in search of employment and house accommodation elsewhere, it is obvious that closure of old cottage property is not a measure, under present circumstances, to be lightly undertaken without a reasonable chance of prompt repairs. It is a comparatively easy matter to foresee when a closing order will not result in the property being put into satisfactory repair, as, for instance, in the case of cottages built on the waste, whose owners are often among the poorest in the village; but it is impossible to be sure that even if the owner has the means, he will prefer to spend money on repairs rather than submit to the demolition, which is the less expensive alternative.

Under the conditions mentioned, where no building has been undertaken by any of the various Sanitary Authorities, closing orders have proved most unsatisfactory remedies, as might be expected. Cottage building by rural Sanitary Authorities must be rate-supported if the agricultural labourer is to receive any

benefit from such building, but even so this appears to be the only solution of a problem which is rapidly becoming more pressing, especially as systematic inspection is being more thoroughly carried out.

The great needs of Rural Housing at the present time, as far as my experience goes, are first, a sufficient staff of inspectors to ensure the thorough inspection of all cottage property at reasonable intervals, and secondly, the provision of new cottages at a low rental to replace those which should be closed and demolished.

On neither head does it appear that we are to obtain much immediate satisfaction, yet surely it is an anomaly to expect the same sanitary staff that was required in 1875 to carry out the ever-extending duties of to-day, or to hope that private enterprise can cope with the problem of efficient housing at low rentals in rural areas.

Slum Environment and the Public Health.

By EDWARD E. HAYWARD, M.A.

(British Institute of Social Service).

SINCE the great revival in biological research of the middle of last century, the word "environment" has been a sadly overworked term. It has been abused perhaps as much as it has been used, which is saying a great deal. But this fact need not blind us to its real importance. "What surrounds" is sure to be of tremendous significance, whether the organism be the tiny amœba or that highly specialised organism, the citizen of the modern State. Every environment, therefore, of the citizen must be of consequence to the State—but the environment which surrounds the citizen from birth in his *home* is of first importance to the community. This is where the vital importance of the Housing problem is seen. The Housing question is a *homing* question, and as such is perhaps the fundamental question of that intricate series which we call the "social problem." I need not pause to show that the reason for this vital importance is two-fold—firstly, the home mostly affects the women, the mothers of the race; and secondly, the children, who are the prospective citizens of the State. The mass of the women pass the majority of their time at home (though of course we do not forget the increasing numbers of industrial women who do their work away from home), whilst practically all our children spend the most impressionable years of their life at home. Even our male workers, when most absent from the house, are inmates, if unconscious inmates, of their homes at least one-third of each twenty-four hours.

Particular phases of this important question have been, or will be, dealt with by other speakers at this Conference. How vital the *rural* aspect of this problem is at the present time in our land will be pointed out by authorities in this branch of the subject; what has been done and may be done under present legislation to cleanse and to remove our worst slum areas will also be dealt with; finally, ideal solutions of this difficult problem will be indicated by the speakers who will address you on Town Planning, Garden Cities, Villages, and Suburbs. My

special task is to point out to you the intimate connection between the whole problem and that of the Public Health, to indicate some of the baleful consequences of this connection, and to suggest how we may hope to check and lessen these evils. I would begin by observing that we are not to think of slum environment as to be found only in our towns and cities. Unfortunately, many of the rural districts, and especially our mining villages, possess slums as real as any to be found in the cities. It is true that country-side conditions tend somewhat to mitigate the evil effects of such environment in the rural districts, but the problem is all of a piece with that of the urban slums. But with a passing remark on this aspect of the question we must confine ourselves to the problem as it affects our towns and cities only. The alarming house famine in large numbers of our rural districts to-day (a house famine of which it is no part of my present duty to give you proofs, though but few are needed) is having the very serious consequence that the Public Health Acts are practically in abeyance as far as Housing is concerned in many villages. The occupiers of the cottages are aware that if they complain of insanitary conditions they will be ejected because these conditions are, in the majority of cases, inevitable. But they are content to suffer in silence because they know that if ejected from the insanitary cottages they now inhabit, they will have literally nowhere else to go except the workhouse. I need not point out to you the enormous mischief that such practical abeyance of the Public Health Acts must mean to the village population. It is an evil which is working untold harm to the rising generation upon the land. This is certainly not the way to lessen a cognate evil of which we hear so much to-day, the steady migration from the country-side into the towns! The point to be made is just this. By some means or other we must have more cottages if we are to have less disease and death in our villages. Not till then shall we lessen some of the evil consequences of slum environment in our villages.

To deal now with the urban slums, I would point out three ways in which such environment adversely affects the health of the people. (1) There are those evils which directly result from the *overcrowding* of the population; (2) Evils directly due to *over-housing;* and (3) Evils indirectly due to slum environment.

(1) *Overcrowding.*—Sir William Lever has estimated that no less than 200,000 deaths every year in our land are due to overcrowding. But strange to say we have not yet got a legal definition of overcrowding. It is surely time that we had. But in practice the Census Commissioners agree to regard all tenements as overcrowded in which there are, on the average, more than two persons living and sleeping in one room. This, obviously, is a very faulty definition, for nothing is said as to the *size* of the room! Even according to this definition we find by the last Census Report that no less than 392,414 tenements were returned as overcrowded, and in these tenements there were living 2,667,506 people. The Hon. Chas. Booth, in his well-known work on the poor of the Metropolis, proceeds on rather different lines in his reckoning of the proportion of what he calls the "crowded" amongst the population, and the figures he arrived at were very startling. As will be known to all, he found that no less than 31.5 per cent. of the whole population of London was living in "crowded" conditions.

Figures tell the same tale of many other of our great cities. There are 21.747 *families* actually living in one-room tenements in Dublin; that is to say, more than one-third of the whole population of the Irish capital is living in grossly overcrowded conditions. In Glasgow and Edinburgh more than half the population live in homes of one or two rooms only. Most of our large centres have substan-

tially the same record to give. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. Rather let us ask what are the effects of so overcrowded an environment upon the people who have to endure it? First, let us take the children. It is unnecessary to enumerate in detail the various ways in which, manifestly, overcrowding must affect the young life reared in it; the breathing of the vicious atmosphere, the want of room for proper movement, the lack of sufficient sunlight and of proper ventilation. But it is instructive to mark the results of growth under such conditions as indicated by the cold calculation of figures. Dr. Arkle, of Liverpool, recently made an examination of a large number of boys attending (*a*) the higher grade schools; and (*b*) the poorest Council Schools in the City. Here, at a glance, is the startling result of this examination as regards the average height and weight of the boys at various ages:—

	Height.—Inches.		Weight.—Lbs.	
7 years,	A.47 ; B.44—difference	3	A 49.3 ; B.43 —difference	6.3
11 „	„ 55·5 ; „ 49·7 „	5.8	„ 70 ; „ 55·5 „	14·5
14 „	„ 61.7 ; „ 52.2 „	9·5	„ 94·5 ; „ 71.1 „	23·4

And, as has since been pointed out, the boys reared in the model village of Port Sunlight, near Liverpool, measure higher and weigh more than do the boys of even this Class A in Liverpool. The intimate connection between housing and growth is even more clearly seen by a glance at the following table constructed in Glasgow after the examination of more than 70,000 school children, from the ages of 5 to 18:—

	Height.—Inches.	Weight.—Lbs.
Boys living in One-Room Homes ..	46.6 ..	52.6
„ „ „ Two- „ „ ..	48.1 ..	56.1
„ „ „ Three- „ „ ..	50.0 ..	60.6
„ „ „ Four- „ „ ..	51.3 ..	64.3

Nothing, apparently, could be more plainly established than this connection, a connection which can be summarised in the statement that the average boy of a one-room home loses at least four inches in growth, and at least 11 lbs. in weight, by comparison with the average boy reared in a home of four rooms! If we take height and weight as indicative of the whole development of the child, as surely we may, we see here only too clearly the terrible effect of slum environment upon the child-life in cities.

Exactly the same story is told by the figures recording disease and death in our overcrowded towns. I need not burden my hearers with a long list of figures to prove this statement. Let me give one example out of a great number which might be given, an example which is only too typical. The death-rate, during the half-decade 1905-9, of a well-known slum district in Bermondsey (Grotto Place area) was actually as high as 39.1 per thousand, whilst that of the whole Borough of Bermondsey was, during this same period of five years, 18.9 per thousand.

The general death-rate of the Metropolis during this half decade was 14.5. If we take 13 per thousand as a fair ideal death-rate, even in large cities, we see that slum environment, at its worst, actually trebles the number of deaths which should occur in towns. I will only add to this significant fact the figures for the disease which is peculiarly caused by overcrowding, viz., phthisis. In the slum area, of which we have just made mention, the phthisis death-rate actually rose to 6.10 per thousand, the rate in the Borough being only 1.87, and in London at large 1.44. But it might be objected that these figures only prove the connection between death-rates and slum environment generally, rather than between death-

rates and overcrowding in particular. The latter is, however, as easily proved as the former.

Sir George Newman, when Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury, proved that death-rates in block dwellings vary in inverse ratio to the number of rooms in the tenement. Thus (in 1906) the death-rate in one-room tenements in the Borough was actually as high as 39 per 1,000, that of occupants of two-room tenements 32.5, of three-room tenements only 14.8, the general death-rate of the Borough being 20.7. The rates for particular diseases prove just the same thing.

Death-rate. Per 1,000 Phthisis.	(1906).	Respiratory Diseases (excluding Phthisis).
3.4	One-room Tenements..	8.3
2.3	Two-room „ ..	4.8
1.4	Three-room „ ..	2.9

(2) But we must hasten on to mention those evils which are directly due to over-housing; that is, to the crowding together and multiplication of houses upon urban areas so that very little room is left on the land for open spaces, parks, playgrounds, etc. This is quite as serious an evil as is that of overcrowding. It has been computed that 26 millions of our population live on about $\frac{1}{160}$ of the entire land of England and Wales. This fact shows that over-housing cannot be because there is not enough room to spare, but because our urban areas are over-housed and over-crowded. The City Council of Manchester, realising this danger, has recently adopted an amended code of bye-laws. Under its old code forty-eight houses were allowed to the acre, but under the present code only thirty-two within a mile and a half radius of the centre of the city, and only twenty-four outside that radius. Mr. T. C. Horsfall has pointed out the direct connection between over-housing and the death-rate in the districts of Manchester. "In Cheetham, with only 44 persons to the acre, the death-rate was 12 per 1,000; in Ancoats, with 110 to the acre, it was 25 per 1,000; and in the Ancoats Corporation Dwellings, with 278 to the acre, it rose to 29 per 1,000." It has been reckoned by competent authorities that no more than 25 persons should live to the acre even in cities. I need not remind you how such an ideal standard would condemn almost every city and town in our land. We find that in York there is an average population of only 20.5 persons to the acre, but 42 and 41 for Manchester and Birmingham respectively. But we have to remember that these figures are reckoned for the whole amount of land which the city and their suburbs cover. In all cities the population, of course, is very unevenly distributed over the whole amount of ground covered by the town, so that we are not surprised to learn from Mr. Rowntree's book on York that some of the districts in that city have no less than 249 persons, 246 persons, and 237 persons to the acre, and I need not remind you that in our own Metropolis such Boroughs as Shoreditch and Paddington have 180 and 106 persons respectively to the acre. In the latter Borough there exists, indeed, the well-known "Clarendon Street area," with a population of not less than 480 persons per acre, the highest number per acre that I, at any rate, have yet met with in any slum area. While we have such a state of affairs as these few figures indicate, we cannot expect to have low death-rates, or, in fact, anything like satisfactory public health in many districts of our towns and cities. Now that the "Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act," of 1909, has given Local Authorities power to limit the number of houses per acre, a great step in advance is possible. But that brings us to the whole question of Town Planning. To this subject I shall have to return before I have finished this paper, so

that I will leave, for the present, the question of over-housing by pointing out one more additional fact. It is not only in the lack of sufficient open spaces where exercise may be taken and fresh air breathed outside the houses, but in cases where ventilation is restricted, by the very structure of the houses, that the immediate connection between wrong housing and public health is seen. A very careful investigation has quite recently been made, by the Local Government Board, in thirteen industrial town in the West Riding of Yorkshire in respect to back-to-back houses. Out of a great mass of figures carefully collected and carefully fully sifted, the following table has been drawn up:—

	Corrected death-rate from all causes.	Comparative mortality figures.
Through houses	15.51 ..	1,000
Back-to-back houses *with side ventilation*	15.69 ..	1,012
Back-to-back houses without side ventilation ..	17.94 ..	1,157

	Through houses.	Back-to-back houses.	Back-to-back houses, excluding those having side ventilation.
(*a*) Pulmonary diseases, excluding phthisis	3.6 (100)	4.26 (135)	4.44 (141)
(*b*) Infectious diseases	1.35 (100)	1.49 (110)	1.60 (119)
(*c*) Phthisis	1.15 (100)	1.15 (100)	1.29 (112)

The fact that the evil of these back-to-back houses is one rather of over-housing than of bad structure, can be deduced from figures in the first table I have quoted. It will be noticed that in the back-to-back houses of the most approved type, *i.e.*, those built in blocks of four, by which currents of air can pass to the side as well as to the front of every block of two houses, the death-rate is only a little higher than in the through houses in the same districts. It is when back-to-backs are built in long rows, or in other words, too many to the acre, that the death-rates are seen to rise immediately.

(3) But I have yet to remind you of those many effects of slum environment, which, though indirect, are none the less prejudicial to the public health. There is the general dinginess and dirtiness of the slums which steadily reacts upon the hopes and habits of the people who live in them, inducing that lassitude of mind which reacts again upon the health of the body. The "tired sort of feeling," so well known to all those who work amongst the poor in the worst districts of our large towns, is largely the result of this depressing environment. The Royal Commission which sat to inquire into labour conditions asserted that "upon the lowest average every workman or workwoman lost about twenty days in the year from simple exhaustion." How much of this waste of physical energy is due to slum environment? It would be impossible to express the matter, of course, in figures. But those of us who know the slums realise how large a factor such environment must be in the, generally, low standard of health amongst the urban population. This low standard of health plays directly into the hands of immortality, intemperance, gambling, thriftlessness, and the other vices rampant in our slum areas. The general squalor everywhere apparent, both inside and outside the home of the slum-dweller, breaks down resistance to these evils. Indulgence in them only causes more and more of the squalor! Thus the vicious

circle, with which we are all getting so familiar in the social problem, goes on its evil round. That people living under such conditions, particularly children *reared* in them, are predisposed to vice and disease, surely needs no argument. Personal and house cleanliness, which form so important a factor in bodily health, hopefulness and cheerfulness, which are equally important factors in mental health, are largely impossible in such an environment.

For these, and many other reasons which we might elaborate had we the time, we may be certain that the standard of public health in our large centres of population will be directly dependent upon the Housing conditions which exist therein.

In bringing this paper to a close I would offer a few practical suggestions as to the ways in which, as it seems to the writer, we may continue and hasten reform of these conditions.

In the first place let me say that our towns need to use the legislation which has already been placed upon the statute books rather than to press for new Acts of Parliament. Administrative rather than legislative reform is the immediate need. Though many of the large cities have been doing a really great work in coming to grips with the problem, and have, thereby, of course, immensely improved the health of their inhabitants, yet, taking the municipalities as a whole, a strange lethargy has been apparent in dealing with this question.

Many of the Town Councils do not yet seem to realise the gravity of the question, nor the huge menace evil housing conditions constitute to the health of the community. So that what we chiefly need in our towns and cities is an enlightened public opinion on this matter. Nothing, in the last resort, will be done unless the citizens of a town are determined that reform must at all costs be set on foot. It is not to the immediate interest of the Town Council, in many instances, to take any action, for an increase of the rates must often be the result of such action. What is not realised is that such increase will eventually lessen public expenditure in other directions. We need, therefore, in all our towns, societies of reformers, Citizens' Guilds, Housing Associations, which shall compel the Authorities to adopt measures of reform.

In this connection, surely, it is time that there was some one Department in the Government to concern itself solely with Housing matters! Is it too much to ask that a special Department of one of the great Government Offices should be set apart to deal with a matter that so vitally concerns the public health?

In the Bill now before Parliament (the Housing of the Working Classes Bill), there is a clause for the formation of a special Department of the Local Government Board for this purpose, and one cannot but heartily welcome it. Housing matters will not receive the attention they need if there be not a particular Department of the Government whose business it is to deal with them. There is difference of opinion amongst Housing reformers as to whether such a Department should appoint Commissioners, whose chief duty it would be to investigate cases in which the Local Authorities should be taking action, but are failing to do so. This, after all, is a matter of administrative detail, the merits of which could probably be better decided when the Housing Department was formed.

Closely connected with this last point is the important one of raising loans. It must still be made easier for Local Authorities to receive sufficient sums on loan from the Government for Housing schemes. The extension of time up to the full time now allowed, and at the lowest interest securable, would have made a vast difference for many of the Local Authorities that have raised loans in the past. It has often been this burden which has just turned the scale between

financial success and financial failure. It would be the duty of the Housing Department to urge Local Authorities to take up loans more than they are doing, pointing out to them how the best advantage could be taken of terms offered by the Government. It is to be hoped, too, that these terms might be further reduced as the result of better administration.

Also connected with the question of a Housing Department is the question of a grant from the Treasury in aid of Housing in the poorest urban localities as well as in the rural districts. The writer fully recognises the force of the argument, from an economic point of view, which can be brought against this proposal, viz., that such grants would be in the nature of a subsidy to the owners of small property, whether urban or rural. But the proper housing of the very poor, both in our cities and in the rural districts, seems practically impossible except some public burden be borne. It is really only a question as to whether this burden shall be borne locally or nationally. If that be the case, as the writer has reluctantly come to believe, a system of grants from the Treasury—of course, most wisely administered—seems to be the only one to adopt. For there can be no question that the reason why so little is being done towards housing these classes, which need help the most, is the fact that, rightly or wrongly, Local Authorities will not add further burdens to the rates by initiating Housing Schemes. It is not an ideal solution of our problem, it is true, but it is a proposal which, as it seems to the writer, must be carried out in the immediate future if we are to get the question effectively dealt with where it presses most.

Another practical solution to which I would refer is the using of Part II. of the " Housing of the Working Classes Act " a great deal more than has yet been done. So many of our urban Authorities seem to think that expensive clearance schemes are the only solution of their Housing problem. They know that they have not the funds to embark on these large schemes, and, therefore, little or nothing is done. But under Part II. of the Act I have named, the slum *house* can be dealt with as distinct from the slum *area*. By patient dealing with individual slum houses under this part of the Act, a great deal of good, if more gradual, work could be done. Birmingham, pre-eminently, is a city which has successfully tackled the problem along this line.

Mr. J. S. Nettlefold, the Chairman of the Housing Committee in Birmingham for many years, gives his testimony as to the useful way in which this method of dealing with the question has worked in his city. " By dealing with individual houses in this gradual manner only bad property is repaired or demolished, whilst what is sound is left standing, thereby avoiding one of the causes of great waste under Part I., and also all danger of creating a house famine. . . . My experience is that Part II., administered with vigour and discretion, is capable of doing what is required without putting any serious burden on the ratepayers, and it should be much more freely used."

Mr. Nettlefold estimates that under Part I., where the large schemes have been carried out, " the cost of rehousing averages £77 15s. per head all over the country, while under Part II. the cost of replacing hovels with good, cheap houses, works out in Liverpool at £7 per house, or £1 8s. per head." This patient, careful rooting out of the insanitary houses is, of course, a much less heroic—and, therefore, it is to be feared, less popular—form of grappling with the evil, but it certainly is an effective method, and one which the writer would like to see much more used than it is.

Another practical suggestion, dealing with a special part of this problem, I should like to make. It is the urgent reform that is necessary in housing the

vagrant population. A great and growing evil must be dealt with in all our large cities in this direction. The Common Lodging-house, and perhaps still more the "Furnished room" problem, demands immediate attention in our towns. The writer has had a good deal of experience in this matter in the last few years, and is fully persuaded that the public little realises the importance of this complex question. It is surely unnecessary to point out its special connection with the public health. Everyone knows how infectious diseases of all sorts centre in the Common Lodging-house and the Furnished room; the moral problem is even more fraught with danger to the community, and is largely a Public Health question as well. This is a large subject, and it is obviously impossible to do more than to refer to it here. What we must have is more rigid inspection of these places, especially of the furnished rooms in our large towns. The Local Authorities must be brought to realise that codes of bye-laws which did well enough forty or fifty years ago to regulate houses of this sort, are worse than useless, in many cases, to-day. Every city should have a system of annually licensing its Common Lodging-houses and in some way of registering its Furnished rooms. There should be women Inspectors of the Common Lodging-houses for women only, many of which are truly fearful places, and need the constant supervision (*at night*) of women Inspectors. The Public Health question comes in here, as all who know this problem realise, in a terribly insistent form. The difficulty of finding decent lodging accommodation is itself a real menace to sections of this population. Perhaps nowhere in the whole social problem is the maxim truer that "prevention is better than cure."

The last suggestion I have to make, or rather series of suggestions, is also preventive. I refer to that reform movement, as yet in its infancy, which we know as Town Planning. We shall never effectively deal with our Housing question—and so with that of Public Health—until all our towns press boldly forward a policy which will make slums impossible in the future. Only within the last few decades, in many of our cities, we have been spending enormous sums of money on clearing slum areas in the centre, whilst at the same time we have been allowing slums to be formed in the suburbs. Districts like Willesden and West Ham in London, and many others which could be named in other towns, have been growing up with great rapidity on the outskirts of the city. These districts have already degenerated into slums as bad, if not worse, than those in the centre of the cities. It is little good now protesting that all this could have been stopped a generation or less ago. What we must do is to use all our endeavours to prevent such terrible mistakes—mistakes which have affected so vitally the health of our people—being repeated in the future. Fortunately, in the "Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act," we now have what promises to be a true Magna Charta in Housing legislation. It is not, of course, perfect, but it lays the basis of future reform on this, the most important foundation, namely prevention. There will be many difficulties to be faced by any town which sets out to draw up an effective Town Planning scheme, but a resolute and reasonable policy will make its way through these difficulties. Such a scheme, if properly carried out, will at least secure the future city against the evils of slum environment in its suburbs.

The most important provision of the Town Planning section of this Act, however, from the point of view of the Public Health, is that which allows to the Local Authority restrictions over the height, character, *and number* of the houses to be built upon any planned-out area. If these wide powers be wisely used by our Urban Authorities, enormous improvement may soon be secured in

the health of our towns. The power of limiting the number of houses to the acre is particularly rich in its possibilities in this direction.

But Town Planning on a really comprehensive and effective scale will never realise the hopes it has raised until Urban Authorities are able to secure much larger quantities of land than they at present control. Municipal land purchase has been the secret of the notable success of Town Planning in Germany, and we must have a great deal more of it in England if we would experience similar success. This brings us to the Land problem generally, which is the heart of the Housing question. Until we have solved this difficult and radical problem, not only municipally, but *nationally*, we shall never have finally settled the Housing question. How direct is the connection between this question and that of the Public Health I have tried to show.

The Causal Relation between Housing and Health.

By F. E. Fremantle

(County Medical Officer of Health, Hertfordshire).

All serious workers in the field of Public Health have realised from the outset of their experience the close relation of health to housing. It is evident that, if surroundings influence health, the home surroundings, that environ women and children for most of the twenty-four hours, and men during a third or half of their existence at least, must affect their health.

The material part of these intimate surroundings we group together for convenience sake in the single phrase "housing." But it is manifest that under this composite term is concealed a multitude of factors, differing in quantity, in quality, in purity, in influence. Bad housing and good housing are terms about as definite as slums and palaces, and refer to conditions about as complex and varied as good and bad health. The relation of health to housing is a complicated affair.

It is one of the modern misfortunes of belonging to a scientific profession that every consideration must be reduced to statistical form, or at least be served up with a generous allowance of figures and diagrams, to convey the idea of precise thought and studious research; to provide a screen behind which to deploy one's forces or to escape unobserved from the field; to hypnotise an audience, or, at best, to persuade them to follow some train of argument that will land them in the terminus to which it is felt they should attain.

Statistics, it is well said, prove everything; and the proof depends not on the figures themselves, but on their interpretation. A hasty collection of figures, adduced to prove any one proposition, will seldom stand investigation; it will then have to be replaced by an infinite series of compilations and calculations, each in turn to be again challenged; and men of action will meanwhile have acted or

declined to act on the facts as presented to them in the far simpler and easier guise of words.

These thoughts are suggested by a perusal afresh of the available literature on the subject of this paper. The results are the same as in a kindred controversy of the last thirty years, in which the natural conclusion* was reached, by logic and not by figures, that statistics are inapplicable and that isolation hospitals are of value alike for prevention, comfort, convenience, and cure. Statistics are of extreme value; but only when the issues are clear and limited and when the constituents are full and comparable and cover the whole ground of any one point. False statistics are so much wreckage which imperil navigation. Crude statistics may not be false; but they should be used only for illustration or legitimate persuasion, and not for scientific argument. Let us first, then, clear the water-way of wreckage; for there is abundance of it in connection with housing.

The crudest and simplest form of figures used for presenting the case against insanitary housing is that of comparing the mortality from all causes, in both sexes and at all ages, or any section of that mortality, in the different localities in question.

In the introduction to a book on Town Planning† one may find it stated :— "The average death-rate of the United Kingdom is about 16 per 1,000, varying from 9 in suburban districts to 40 in congested slums, and the average birth-rate is about 26 per 1,000. At Port Sunlight the figures for the past five years are : Death-rate, 8·6 ; birth-rate, 43·7. From Bournville come similar figures, which are set side by side with those of Birmingham :—

	Bournville.	Birmingham.
Death-rate for six years	7·5	17·9
Infant mortality	78·8	170 "

So also the Borough Aldermen of Finsbury, Bermondsey, or Shoreditch may pay more attention to some housing recommendation when reminded that they have a higher general death-rate or infant mortality than other London boroughs; while Hampstead's position at the other end of the list inevitably reminds one of the Heath and the Garden Suburb as the most obvious factors. But the greater part of this difference in death-rate depends not on the housing, but on the conditions and circumstances, the care and intelligence, of those who inhabit the houses. Turn the residents of Hampstead into the houses of Bermondsey, and who shall say what their death-rate will be? They will at once confuse the comparison by improving their housing; but apart from that, it is evident that they live easier lives and will have a lower death-rate than their predecessors; they will have a lower birth-rate, too, so that they will in proportion have fewer infants to swell the death-rate. We can, with the help of the Census, correct such comparative death-rates for differences due to different proportions of age and sex. But we can never correct them for differences due to individual intelligence, leisure, and care. It is the individual far more than his housing or circumstance, and it is his life and the rate of his death.

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* "The Value of Isolation Hospitals" by F. E. Fremantle, Public Health, Oct., 1906.

†Town Planning in Theory and Practice, published by the Garden City Association, 1s. ne .

Anthropometric Method.—Another version of this crude comparison consists in the contrasts of heights and weights of school children living in two areas, known to differ in their general housing accommodation. Thus—

> "The height of the average Bournville schoolboy is four inches above that of the Birmingham boy, and his chest measurement three inches greater."

So Dr. Arkle, at Liverpool, reported to the Education Committee that the difference of physique between the children in the higher grade and the poorer Council Schools was alarming, was independent of medical considerations, and could to some extent be checked by care and attention. To prove, or illustrate, the virtues of Port Sunlight the following contrast is therefore given, the parents of the enlightened area being of the labouring classes, in constant employment, and so generally comparable in all respects except housing with those of the Liverpool Council Schools (*b*):—

	Boys aged 7.		Boys aged 11.		Boys aged 14.	
	Height. ins.	Weight. lbs.	Height. ins.	Weight. lbs.	Height. ins.	Weight. lbs.
Liverpool Schools (b)	44·3	43·0	51·8	59·0	56·2	75·8
Port Sunlight Schools	47·0	50·5	57·0	79·5	62·2	108·0
Difference	2·7	7·5	5·2	20·5	6·0	33·8

We are intended from this comparison to infer the value of Town Planning. But Messrs. Lever Bros. do not confine the provision they make for their workmen to their houses and roads and open spaces. They provide means of recreation and culture; their factories and conditions of work are exceptional, and Port Sunlight attracts a more enlightened set of workpeople, who incidentally will give more care to their homes and families. The figures suggest only the value of a combination of features in the life of Port Sunlight, of which housing is not the least important.

Density of Population on Surface.—In a statistical study of housing the first advance is made when the housing conditions compared are limited to one measurable feature. The simplest such feature is that of density per square mile, square kilometre, or acre. Thus we are told that in such and such a year Norway, with a density of six persons to the kilometre, had a death-rate of 16 per 1,000; France, with a density of seventy-two, a rate of 22; Germany, with a density of eighty-six, a rate of 26; Italy, with a density of 105, a rate of 28.

Dr. Farr grouped the districts of England and Wales according to their death-rates, and found that the mortality of these groups varied nearly in proportion to the eighth root of their respective densities. But Dr. Farr's successors in the Registrar-General's Office have each in turn shown the limited value and truth of any such formula. And a comparison of death-rates of occupied males respectively in agricultural and in industrial districts is clearly no valid indication of the respective housing conditions.

Dr. Sykes, in his Milroy Lectures of 1901,* collates many interesting figures, comparing slum areas with districts or cities of which they form part, in regard

*"Public Health and Housing." P. S. King and Son, 5/-.

to their infant mortality or their death-rate from various causes. Thus in Bethnal Green the Boundary Street area had a density of 373 persons per acre; the whole district of 168; London of 58. The respective death-rates for the years given were 39, 22, 18.

Density in Cubic Space of Housing; Overcrowding.—But the density per acre obviously depends to a large extent on the width of roads and the size of parks and open spaces. It obviously depends, too, on whether the housing is in flats or separate houses. Bad as the condition of tenements and the once-called "model dwellings" may be, they are not so bad as if their inhabitants were all congested on the same area in one or two floors instead of six. Rather, therefore, than compare districts by density on area, it is better to compare the death-rates of districts according to the proportion of persons living in each room. The Census supplies information as to the number of persons in each area living in tenements respectively of one, two, three, four, or more rooms each; a proportion of over two to a room is held to constitute overcrowding.

Dr. Chalmers, for instance, in 1903 read a paper to the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow on "The Death-rate in One-apartment Houses," and showed that the death-rate from all causes, from the principal zymotic diseases, from phthisis, and from other respiratory diseases was greater in each case in houses of four tenements than in those of three, in those of three than in those of two, in those of two than in those of one. Newman* obtained the same results in Finsbury; so have others elsewhere. But in the houses of one apartment as compared with all other houses the percentage of uncertified deaths in Glasgow was 5.8 as against 3.6; and 10.1 per cent. of the deaths were those of illegitimate children as against 7.5. This is obviously no question of housing: it is a question of the inhabitant. If, then, the inhabitant differs for the worse, as regards care, means, and morality, the figures representing the different birth and death-rates in tenements of one, two, three, or four rooms cannot entirely, and probably do not mainly, depend on or properly illustrate the relative housing conditions.

Many attempts have been made to get over these limitations; and the practical purpose of the Medical Officer of Health and social reformer is usually attained if he can show the coincidence of overcrowding with high mortality. This it is easy to do. But it does not show any causal relation between the health and the housing; at most it only suggests the influence of quantity, not quality, of housing on the conditions of health. Moreover no returns can tell how the occupants are distributed in the different rooms of any one house.

Comparison of Old and New.—At Glasgow an attempt was made to contrast the death-rates in single-apartment houses, old and new; in the districts in which most of the new had been erected the death-rate in all one-apartment houses was 33 instead of 36 in the others. Many comparisons have been made between the death-rates of "model dwellings," such as those of the Peabody Trust, and the surrounding population. In the ten years 1890-99 the death-rates of infants, of children under 5, and of all ages, were, in proportion to 1,000 of the same description, 130, 51, and 17 in the buildings of St. Giles as compared with 160, 66, and 10 respectively for the whole of London.

In certain cities where slums have been cleared away and replaced by great housing schemes the death-rate before and after shows a great difference—in

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*"Hygiene and Public Health," Whitelegge and Newman, 12th Ed., p. 197.

Glasgow, for instance, from 43.7 to 26 in eleven years; in Liverpool from 60 to 25. Dr. Hope believes that 70 per cent. of their slum population in certain areas have been thus rehoused, with a reduction of general death-rate which he gives more modestly as from 45 to 28; and of death-rate from phthisis from 4 per 1,000 to 1.9. The result, he writes to me, is a remarkable improvement in the habits and customs of the people, with less drunkenness, implying more attention to the household. But the mere fact that the Head Constable reports a reduction of offences against the law from 202 to 84 in ten years suggests that the 30 per cent. who were *not* rehoused but were scattered in the change, may have included a majority of the ne'er-do-weels.

So also the death-rates given every year in the reports of the Medical Officer of Health for London show the improved health conditions of tenants in the County Council's dwellings. The following figures from the Annual Reports for 1904 and 1909 refer to 15,667 and 28,195 persons respectively as compared with the 4,648,950 and 4,833,938 of the County of London:—

Causes of Death.	Death-Rate per 1,000 living.			
	1904.		1909.	
	C. C. dwellings.	London.	C. C. dwellings.	London.
All causes, all ages	14.0	16.1	10.7	14.0
„ „ ages 0-5	45.8	54.2	24.3	37.8
„ „ „ 5-20	2.4	2.6	1.6	2.3
„ „ „ 20-	10.6	15.7	11.8	15.4
Diarrhœa	1.53	1.02	0.3	0.3
Other Chief Epidemic Diseases	1.81	1.12	0.8	1.0
Phthisis	1.15	1.62	1.3	1.3
Other Tuberculous Diseases	0.64	0.54	0.3	0.4
Bronchitis	1.15	1.37	1.0	1.3
Pneumonia	1.02	1.43	1.1	1.5

N.B.—The rate for all causes has been corrected for age and sex distribution.

The superiority in health of the Council's tenants is remarkable; but it is strange to find that mortality from diarrhœa and other chief epidemic diseases, from phthisis and from other tuberculous diseases, was higher in the Council's dwellings in 1904, and in 1909 was nearly or quite as high, as that for the whole of London. With the doubling of the Council's dwellings this difference to their discredit has been wiped out. And in bronchitis and pneumonia and in the rates of death from all causes, the difference is considerable at each age. We shall find similar discrimination in connection with back-to-back houses.

But it must not be forgotten that in these buildings, at least so long as they are new, the tenants are select lives in that they are themselves selected by the attractions of the buildings, besides being selected from a long list of applicants

at the manager's discretion. There is, as Dr. Sykes has found, a fundamental change in the class of the population. Moreover, they are kept under strict supervision, and their comparative healthiness is due as much to supervision of usage as to methods of construction. The difficulty of our study is the difficulty of getting comparable populations in comparable houses under comparable conditions on a sufficiently large scale.

Back-to-back Houses.—No one has so nearly attained these essential requirements as Dr. Darra Mair when recently inquiring into the relative mortality of through and back-to-back houses in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His concise report of 50 pages to the Local Government Board* was presented in 1910, and, summing up, as it does, previous investigations of the same kind, it will well repay study.

Back-to-back houses present one definite difference from through houses in that they are open to ventilation only in front, or in front and at one side. Other things being equal, here should be a direct test of the effect of ventilation or lack of ventilation on the mortality. A previous inquiry in 1887 by Dr. Barry and Mr. Gordon Smith on behalf of the Board had already supplied much information, although incomplete. Drs. Tatham in Salford, 1879-82; Niven in Manchester, 1891-94; Herbert Jones in Shipley, 1887-92; Arnold Evans in Bradford, and Sykes in St. Pancras, both in 1890-92, had all made and published the results of investigations on this point. All these previous investigations, however, were open to criticism. In most of them no correction had been made for age and sex distribution, and the period covered was too short; but Dr. Niven, at Manchester, had shown that the excess of mortality in back-to-back houses was largely limited to the early and advanced years of life; and he had not found "that marked preponderance of phthisis (in back-to-back houses) which we should expect from previous investigations." The general results of these several inquiries had shown an excess of mortality in back-to-back houses varying from 17 to 40 per cent. Dr. Jones's figures for Shipley alone had been gathered from houses of either sort similar in rental as well as in the general qualities and station of their occupants; and here the excess of mortality from certain causes of death in back-to-back houses ranged up to 57 per cent.

Dr. Darra Mair's Inquiry.—Dr. Mair stipulated in his own investigation for—

(1) As large a population as possible;

(2) The figures to be drawn from a number of towns;

(3) The conditions affecting the inhabitants to be comparable;

(4) No exceptional influences prejudicial to health;

(5) Correction of data for distribution of age and sex;

(6) A period of ten years.

He only dealt with houses of a good type, over ten years old, and in fairly constant occupation; and he obtained particulars of rental. His summary of results may be given in full:—

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*Report on Back-to-back houses by L. D. Darra Mair, [Cd. 5314.] Price 3d.

Causes of Death.	Through houses.	Back-to-back houses.	
		(1) With means of side ventilation (blocks of four only).	(2) Without means of side ventilation (rows only).
Small-pox, measles, scarlet fever, whooping-cough, diphtheria, and enteric fever.	·93	·83	·97
Diarrhœa - - - - - -	·67	·98	1·06
Pneumonia (all forms) - - - -	1·06	1·71	1·45
Bronchitis and other diseases of the chest (except phthisis).	1·18	1·32	2·06
Phthisis - - - - - -	1·18	·83	1·36
Other tubercular diseases - - -	·58	·59	·39
Malignant diseases - - - -	·90	·44	·65
Diseases of the Heart - - - -	1·38	1·03	·71
„ „ Blood vessels - - -	·99	·88	·71
„ „ Nervous system - -	·61	·64	·68
„ „ Digestive system - -	·67	·64	·77
Premature birth, congenital defects, convulsions, teething, atrophy, debility, and "marasmus."	1·18	1·51	2·65
Old age - - - - - -	·67	·29	·55
Violence - - - - - -	·22	·19	·32
Other Causes - - - - -	1·50	1·71	1·58
Crude death-rate from all causes - -	13·72	13·59	15·91
Factors for correcting variations of sex and age constitution.	1.1305	1·1542	1·1277
Corrected death-rate - - -	**15·51**	**15·69**	**17·94**
Comparative mortality - - - -	1,000	1,012	1,15 7

N.B—The death-rates from different causes are crude rates and not accurately comparable.

It is noticeable that the back-to-back houses with side ventilation have a mortality little higher than the through houses, and a mortality from infectious diseases, phthisis, and certain other causes actually lower; but their rates are, with a few exceptions of minor importance, lower also than those for back-to-back houses with only front ventilation. The low rates from malignant diseases, old age, and certain other non-infectious causes are doubtless due to those causes operating mainly in old age, to which a smaller proportion of the population attain in unhealthy circumstances.

It appears, then, that houses ventilated in front and on one side are little less

healthy than through houses; but that the back-to-back houses in continuous rows show conditions considerably less healthy.

It must be noted, however, that the invariable reason given for the erection of back-to-back houses is their economy in space and outside wall, thus allowing them to be let at a lower rent. And in this inquiry the average rent for through houses was 5s. 6d., that for back-to-backs 4s. 6d.—4s. 10d. with side ventilation, 4s. 4d. without it. This surely nullifies the comparison. A shilling difference in rent is sufficient to strain off all the less thrifty, cleanly, capable, and steady members of the working class into the houses of cheaper rent. It is difficult to escape from the conviction that the results depend mainly, not on the houses, but on the housed.

Mortality and Poverty.—The difference in mortality rates, purely according to rental, is indeed shown very clearly in a recent report by Dr. Robertson on the infant mortality in two of the poor wards of Birmingham. The report is dated February 12th, 1912, and refers to all children born in 1910 and visited up to their death or to the end of 1911. The mortality per 1,000 born was as follows:—

	Rent under 5/-.	Rent 5/- and over.
Infants of mothers employed ...	169	79
Infants of mothers not employed ...	173	135
Infants of all mothers ...	171	111

So also is it clearly shown in relation to fathers' wages that breast-fed babies had a mortality of 69 when the wages were over £1, 112 when they were under; and bottle-fed babies a mortality in the one case of 125, in the other of 194. Here the adverse factors are not only those directly due to poverty—defective feeding, clothing, warmth, and housing—but also those due to the qualities which account for the poverty—inferior thrift, ability and care. The factors composing the circumstance of each life are complex and innumerable.

Army Records.—Perhaps the most comparable figures are those of the British or Indian Army. The Report of the Royal Commission after the Crimea showed that the mortality from lung diseases in the ten years 1837-46 was under six per 1,000 in the cavalry, over six in the household cavalry, eight in the infantry, twelve in the foot guards. Twenty years later, in the seven years 1864-70, the corresponding mortality was 1.4, 3.8, 2.1, and 2.3 respectively. The only decided difference between the various arms and between the two dates was that of overcrowding. A similar prevalence of lung diseases was found in most European armies, especially in large cities. When I was in India eight years ago I remember a Gurkha regiment succeeding in certain barracks a regiment in which there had been several cases of tubercle. The Gurkhas became riddled with it. The barracks were opened up, extended, scoured out, and tubercle died out.

The Common-sense View.—A better article on Housing was never written than that by Dr. Shadwell, covering thirteen pages, in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. After a passing allusion to the statistical evidence, he says:—

> "It is not necessary to quote any of these figures, which have been produced in great abundance. They broadly establish a connection between density and mortality, but many other factors ought to be taken

into account, such as the age-distribution of the population, the birth-rate, the occupations, means, characters and habits of the people, the geographical situation, the number of public institutions, hospitals, workhouses, asylums, and so forth. The fallacious use of vital statistics for the purpose of proving some particular point has become so common that it is necessary to enter a warning against them ; the subject of housing is a popular field for the exercise of the art, though there is no need of it."

But there *is* need of it. House-owners and torpid District Councillors are only too ready to emphasise the view that a little whitewash and patchwork will meet the case, since, as two of my correspondents have independently expressed it, the conditions depend on the pig, not the stye. It is a fundamental axiom—too seldom recognised in housing questions—that the worst houses allowed to remain occupied will always be occupied for the very reason that they are the worst, and therefore the cheapest; and their occupants will be the poorest and, collectively, the most dirty and careless. Builders cannot possibly build new and wholesome houses for such as these at their price. Moreover, it must be admitted that a pig will make the cleanest and newest stye filthy in a very short time; and conversely that a wise, careful, cleanly family will live healthily in almost any house.

But this is not the whole story. I am not convinced that Professor Karl Pearson would not be able to work out the correlations in such a way as to prove the true relation between health, carefulness, and housing. No attempt in this direction of sound statistical research appears to have been made; and I would commend the need of it to the Laboratory of Eugenics. Meanwhile we have to meet the objections; and on the grounds of general reasons we are bound to maintain, despite the inadequacy of all the statistical evidence yet produced, that bad housing has a considerable effect on the health and indirectly on the habits of the ordinary occupant.

Plain Statement of Unhealthy Features in Housing.—The following, then, are the housing conditions that affect the health of the occupants :—

(*a*) *Quantity.*—Dr. Shadwell reminds us that it is the quantity as well as the quality of the housing that is to blame; for defective supply gives rise to high rents and overcrowding; high rents limit expenditure on other necessaries; overcrowding fouls the air and promotes the spread of infection.

(*b*) *Quality.*—(i) *Air Supply* is the most evident factor, differentiating through from back-to-back houses. The proved value of good air and hurtfulness of foul air are admitted. Without need of citing physiological proof available, we all know the result of stuffy trains or crowded courts or bedrooms with closed windows; we most of us know the exhilarating effect of an open-air life. Condense, then, our experience of a few hours or days into the congested life year by year of our poorer fellow-citizens; and what we want, to bring them as near to the open-air life as possible, is free access to pure air, the policy of the open window, and the habits of free and frequent exchange of air. A sash window opens only half as wide as a casement and shuts far more closely; the casement is the healthier. But a single window does not change the air in a room without through ventilation. There must be a door or a fireplace opposite to draw the air from the window across the room. The fireplace must not be closed, even when apparently not in use. But a single window causes drafts; two small windows are better than one large one, and the larger the better. Air, too, comes through brick walls, but is kept out by plaster and paper; so the modern

house has all the more need of the open window. The surroundings, also, must admit of the free play of air around as well as in the house.

(ii) *Warmth*, however, is essential; it is for lack of it that poor people keep their windows shut. Warmth is an expensive commodity; it depends either on food and exercise, or on artificial fuel for its production; it depends on clothes, on the person, and on the bed for its retention. But all should learn that money is well spent on light, warm bed-clothes and underclothes, in order to make the most use of fresh air round the house; and it is a fireplace, not a stove, that is required in every room; for a fireplace ventilates and a stove does not.

(iii) *Dryness* is another demonstrable requirement of health. The basement must, therefore, be secured from damp; the walls must be guarded by a damp-course and coated by stucco, cement, or plaster, within or without—for bricks soak up their own weight of water in heavy rain. The roof and walls must not leak; the backyard and surrounding soil should dry quickly after rain.

(iv) *Light* is of hardly less importance. It kills the bacteria and it gladdens the eye, bringing good cheer, the most certain of Nature's remedies. Every window of every house should, therefore, look out on half a right angle of open sky. Windows should be wide and many, and exposed to all sides rather than the north. Heavy curtains and all manner of darkness should be avoided; and the outlook should be free and open.

(v) *Cleanliness* is no less obviously essential to health. Filth of all kinds harbours the germs of disease; accumulated in the house, it gets by dust and air into the lungs; by hand and by clothes on to the food, and so into the mouth. A good house has, therefore, proper arrangements for immediate removal of sewage and slops and for the covering over and early removal of household refuse. A good housewife sweeps daily with the windows open, scrubs the floors and walls now and again, and washes everything and everybody. The house should, therefore, have a proper water supply laid on; must be well-constructed and in good repair, so as to be easily cleaned in every part; and should have the minimum of cornices, crevices, and corners. The availability and free use of all these facilities are of prime importance. Cleanliness and tidiness have a moral as well as a material influence; and baths are, therefore, now a necessity in every house.

Conclusion.—These five elements, applied to every part of the house, within and without, with its backyard and its surroundings, constitute the requirements of a healthy house—one in which there is encouragement to all to live healthily and to make the most of their abilities and circumstances in life. Those five elements constitute the minimum conditions in which anyone should now in this country be allowed to live. It is the duty of those concerned in housing, from Parliament down, to see them secured in every house, even if it involves a State subvention and fiscal protection to secure them. Most houses can be made habitable by repair; and time may thus be gained during which public opinion will grow to demand a proper supply of new houses from time to time. Obviously old houses should seldom be demolished until there is room for the housing of those displaced without having recourse to overcrowding or migration. But the value of a good thing depends on its proper use. Owners and their agents, health visitors and all officials of Local Authorities, must conspire to train a perverted generation in the more healthy way of living. And it is to the parents and teachers of the young that we must look so to bring up their charges in habits of healthy living that a future generation may be able to dispense with all laws and lectures and congresses on health and may live by instinct—developed by circumstance—as they were by Nature intended.

Discussion.

Colonel TWEMLOW, D.S.O. (Staffordshire County Council) said he wished to confine himself strictly to a small corner of the question, and that was the housing of the agricultural labourer, and he would try to summarise as concisely as possible what appeared to be the upshot of all the papers which had been read to the Conference upon that subject, and then, if they would bear with him so far he would like to make a practical suggestion. The papers seemed to show that more £5 cottages were required, good cottages with a garden to be let at a rent of not more than £5 a year. The papers further recognised that under existing conditions property owners could not be expected to supply them because they could only do so at a very great financial loss. It was agreed that the District Councils, who had the power to build cottages, would not do so. Mr. Willis Bund considered that the County Councils, though they would not build isolated cottages on farms, might perhaps take up a comprehensive scheme of forming farm colonies. Colonel Twemlow did not want to set up his opinion against Mr. Bund's, but he had been a member of the Council of a large County for more than twenty years, and at the present time held the position of Chairman of the Small Holdings Committee, and his experience would lead him to suppose that the chances of a County Council taking action in that direction were very remote indeed. It was far too much afraid of the ratepayer and what he would say. There was the greatest possible difficulty in getting anything carried through if it would mean an increase in the County rate. So far as he had been able to observe, none of the papers had offered any suggestions as to how they were to get out of this blind alley. The houses were wanted, but the private owner could not provide them, the District Council would not provide them, and the County Council could not, and probably would not if it had the power. He was of opinion that they should go to Parliament, because after all it was a national matter. It was a matter of the public health and public welfare, and of the highest national importance. Again, in his humble opinion, a further reason was that Parliament was to a great extent responsible for the present difficulty. The Finance Act of 1853, which was brought in by Mr. Gladstone, recognised that there was a difference between landed property and other property, that the burdens on landed property were greater than those upon personal property, and gave landowners certain advantages. Succession duty was calculated on the life interest of the possessor. In 1894 that was considered to be showing undue favour, and it was decided that land was to bear the same burdens as other property. The result of that upon housing very soon became apparent. When an old Squire died his house was either shut up or let by his successor. The agent was instructed to do necessary repairs only on the estate, and building was reduced to a minimum. The tenant of the mansion was not concerned with, and did not know the people in the cottages. When the Squire was living on his property, as a rule he made it his business to go into the cottages and find out what was wanted, and took a personal interest in having everything in good order. An impecunious, absentee owner knew and cared much less about such matters; and the want of the master's eye was soon apparent. The last Finance Act of 1909 had merely intensified the trouble, because it had piled on the duties, with the result that either an estate was beggared by reason of its having recently had to find a large sum of money, or else, if the present owner was getting on in years, it was looking forward to the time when the money would have to be found. Retrenchment was the order of the day, and premiums on life insurances had to be paid if the whole thing were not to become bankrupt. Any margin the owner might formerly have had for renewing cottages was mopped up by the Exchequer in one way or another. A day or two ago he had remarked to a lady who was taking an active part in the Conference that nowadays the landowner had very little margin. Her reply was, "You have no right to have a margin; other people have no margin, why should you have one?" (Applause.) It was some time before he quite took in the full meaning of that remark. It appeared that it was now a crime against society for a man to live within his income, and it also meant that the ratepayer and the taxpayer were to be abolished and that they were to become a nation of bankrupts and paupers. (Laughter.) Where was the money going to be found in the future for making railways, building steamships, docks, telegraph cables, building land, new farms, and new houses if no one were

allowed to live within his income? Who was going to find money for the Government when the big war came in the future? He would not labour the point because he hoped the people who took that view were few and far between, and Englishmen would long continue to maintain their reputation for commonsense. He had tried to make it clear that the landowner was unable to a great extent to spend the money that ought to be spent on housing. He was also reluctant to do so, even if he had the money, because he felt that he could not altogether trust that Parliament would deal fairly with him in the future. He did not want to trench on political grounds—(cries of "You are.")—but it was a fiscal question. He was not a strong party man one way or the other; he liked to look at the thing from a strict business point of view. With regard to the valuation that was going on at the present time, the landowner did not know what to make of it. Continuing, Colonel Twemlow said he would suggest that heavy death duties were really at the bottom of much of the trouble; it should be provided that supposing a landowner built model cottages and obtained a certificate from a district valuer that the cottages were suitable and the cost was reasonable, and the rent did not exceed a certain amount, say £5 or £8, that in that case he should receive a certificate, and when death duties next became payable on that property an allowance should be made on the outlay. He considered it would have to be a substantial percentage, perhaps 50 per cent., because it was calculated that no one could erect good cottages in the country and provide water and suitable drainage and so on, and get a return of more than 1½ per cent. on the money. He thought, therefore, looking also to the fact that the money would not come back to the man who spent it, but to his successor, and that the payment might sometimes be long deferred, that it would not be unreasonable for the State to allow 50 per cent. of the cost, with proper safeguards. Some former concessions to landowners had proved very illusory. For instance, Section 69 of the Finance Act of 1909 provided that when a landlord could show he had spent a certain amount of money on farms and cottages he should get a return on his income tax. It was estimated that this would cost the Exchequer half a million a year, but the first year it cost only £5,122, and the second year £23,236. The concession really was very small, and he would tell them how it worked out in the case of an estate he knew. The rental was between £2,000 and £3,000 a year. The landowner had for some years past spent a large amount on farms and cottages and was able to claim the maximum relief allowed by the Act; and it came to between £16 and £17 a year. It would be necessary to make a more substantial concession than that if they wanted to get landowners to build cottages at a loss for the good of the working classes. He put that forward as a business proposal and not with any heat. In his view, friction was bad all round, and they had had far too much of it over this land question, and he for one would be glad to see the hatchet buried. Action such as he had indicated would do much to restore confidence, and to induce owners of land to do what the public interest so greatly needed; and he hoped that the suggestion would be put on record.

Dr. SIDNEY LAWRENCE (Medical Officer of Health, Edmonton) said he would not say much for one good reason—that he did not know he was going to be called upon to speak so early. Therefore he had not marshalled any remarks together, and what he had to say might possibly appear to be rather disjointed. The remarks on rural housing (and the proceedings that morning seem to have been mainly in that direction) might seem scarcely in his line, as it was some years since he had had anything to do with a rural district. For the last six or seven years he had been concerned with a district which was a working-class suburb of London. Consequently they might perhaps think it impertinent of him to say that from his experience of rural housing (which was somewhat of a reminiscence) he thought one of the obvious remedies of getting better and more houses in the rural districts was to take steps to increase the miserable wages of the rural labourer. (Hear, hear.) Some gentlemen present, in their papers, and he believed the last speaker, seemed to think that 1s. a week was a liberal rent. He (Dr. Lawrence) was not very good at arithmetic, but he was told years ago that you were getting along all right if you paid a sixth of your income away in rent, rates, and taxes. Even for a labourer who is only getting 15s. a week, it did not seem to him that he was contributing a sixth of his income if he was only to pay 1s. a week for rent.

Colonel TWEMLOW: I said 2s. a week—£5 a year—as was proposed in one of the papers.

Dr. LAWRENCE replied that even that was not a sixth of 15s. Speaking for a moment strictly as a Medical Officer of Health, he wanted these philanthropists and other lay people who were apt to find fault with what was done, and more particularly with what was *not* done in rural or urban areas, to remember that a Medical Officer of Health, who was the head of the Public Health Department, did what he did do at the peril of his official life—(hear, hear.)—and that was a most important fact. Indeed, it was the main reason why a Medical Officer of Health—unless he was, like himself, a bachelor, and did not care much whether he had an income or whether he had not—(laughter)—could not afford to carry out his duties as he should do, so long as he was at the mercy of Councillors whose worldly interests were in any way disturbed by his official action. The day when all Medical Officers would be rendered secure in the tenure of their office, subject to good behaviour, would be a red-letter day in the annals of public health. (Applause.) He would like to deal for a minute or two with Dr. Fremantle's paper. Dr. Fremantle had spoken to them that morning in his usual charming way which had very often almost converted him (Dr. Lawrence), but not quite, to some of his (Dr. Fremantle's) views, and he must candidly say he was not with Dr. Fremantle in his opinion that vital statistics were worthless. Viewing them merely as a practical man of affairs, he thought they were most invaluable to fire at one's Councillors when one wanted them to do something they were not inclined to do,—(laughter)—and for that reason alone he (Dr. Lawrence) never intended to abandon the work of presenting vital statistics that were favourable to his purpose. Yesterday he was one of a small but enthusiastic band who had resisted Sir John Brunner's garden party and paid instead a visit to the " Garden Suburb " at Hampstead, and while there he received information which led him to doubt whether Dr. Fremantle was right when, in his paper, he suggested that Hampstead's favourable position in London's vital statistics was largely due to the presence of a garden suburb. For the garden suburb happened to be, not in the Borough of Hampstead, but in the urban district of Hendon.

Dr. FREMANTLE : I said " the favourable position of Hampstead in London makes one think of the nearness of the garden suburb."

Dr. LAWRENCE said he thought the inference Mr. Fremantle wished to make was that the favourable statistics that Hampstead had were partly, if not wholly, due to the garden suburb being in Hampstead Borough. If he (Dr. Lawrence) was wrong, he accepted the correction. Further on towards the end of the same interesting and charming paper, Dr. Fremantle said : " It is a fireplace, not a stove, that is required in every room, for a fire ventilates and a stove does not." He (Dr. Lawrence) was not a maker of stoves. He wished he were, as it would be far more lucrative than his present occupation. But he could not agree with Dr. Fremantle that a stove did not ventilate a room. There were stoves and stoves, and he thought his friend, Dr. Fremantle, when he wrote as above, had in his mind those awful abominations, oil-stoves; but a properly constructed stove with an exit funnel ventilated the room certainly as well as, if not better than, a fireplace with the same amount of internal surface. He spoke perhaps from an unusual experience of stoves, because when he was in the Arctic regions for over three years he had to keep company with one, and jolly warm and good company it was. In fact, it had this advantage over a fireplace, that the best of fireplaces only warmed one side of one at a time, but a stove (if it were where it should be) right in the centre of the room, warmed the whole of the room and not one side of it, and when one was in a climate the temperature of which was frequently fifty degrees below zero, it would be very unfortunate if one half of one's body were down to that point whilst the other half got toasted. (Laughter.)

Mr. EWART G. CULPIN (Garden Cities' Association) said that Dr. Fremantle had occupied a good deal of time in sitting on statistics he (Mr. Culpin) had collected from time to time, and as Dr. Fremantle's paper had only been circulated that morning one had not had an opportunity of going into it and performing a similar function for Dr. Fremantle. However, he did think Dr. Fremantle had been unnecessarily severe on the statistics which had been used from time to time. As a matter of fact, Dr. Fremantle himself had produced statistics that morning from Dr. Darra Mair's Report, from the Local Government Report, and other reports, and it happened that practically all the figures that had ever been employed in housing campaigns had been derived from Local Government Reports and those of the Medical Officers of Health for the different districts. If they could not rely on

the Medical Officers of Health to guide them in such matters there was no more to be said. All he could say was the reports of the Medical Officers for the various districts had been carefully followed, and that was the only guide they as laymen could have on the subject. Dr. Fremantle had contended it was not fair to say this and that about Letchworth, Bournville, Port Sunlight, and so on, as against Birmingham, Liverpool, London, and elsewhere, but they were facts. (Hear, hear.) If Dr. Fremantle could show that the result of Dr. Arkle's investigation at Liverpool and those carried on at Port Sunlight did not prove the fact that the Port Sunlight boy at 13 years of age was thirty-seven pounds heavier and seven inches taller than the Liverpool slum child—if he could prove that to be wrong, then he had a reason to complain of their statistics. He (Mr. Culpin) contended they were justified in using those figures, and hoped they would continue to do so. It was, of course, a very bold thing for a layman to come and speak among professional men who had made a study of the subject, but even professional secretaries sometimes took care to get correct figures, particularly as they often got more heckled on their platforms than a Medical Officer of Health was in his council room. In lecturing up and down the country they had to be pretty careful to prove the case they put before the people. There was no doubt whatever that those figures had had a wonderfully good effect in stirring the imagination of the people who would not be stirred by any other method. (Hear, hear.) In point of fact, Letchworth was not the highly select and highly respectable place, with the highly-paid population that Mr. Fremantle might lead them to think. Letchworth had a mixed population. It had a population with its poor and with a lot of work for its Guild of Help to attend to. It was a normal population in many respects, and there were old people there as well as young people, and those things combined gave them more reason to go on the figures there than in some places where it was an entirely selected population. Colonel Twemlow had referred to the necessity of the Squire's wife going into the village cottages. He (Mr. Culpin) did not think that the best remedy for rural housing. One did not always find the Squire's wife the best judge of proper housing; also he thought that the Squire's wife, and others who came round to the cottages with the best intentions, had not always the best of tact or were not always too careful of the feelings of those to whose homes they went. There were a great many things in Colonel Twemlow's speech which he might deal with, but in his opinion it trenched too far on the political to make it safe for one to follow closely into it. With regard to what Dr. Lawrence had said as to the sixth part of a man's income being devoted to rent, he would suggest they had not yet to consider what proportion a man should pay of what he received; they had to consider what he had got left when that sixth was taken off.

Mrs. HASLAM (Irish Women's Local Government Association) said she had been a worker educationally and socially since the time of the famine in 1864. She remembered at that time paying the wages for her father, which amounted to 5s. a week for the men and 2s. for the women. The food of the labourers was practically always potatoes and buttermilk, except at Christmas time, when they might have a bit of bacon. The rent of the cottages, she believed, was about 1s. a week. Recently, at Roscrae, she had seen a whole street of new cottages which had been erected for labourers, two storeys high, consisting of four rooms, and the rent was 1s. 7d. a week. Recently some dwellings for the very poor had been erected in Dublin, the rent of which commenced at about 2s. a week for a single room. She had been astonished to find in London that the rents of some of the London County Council's dwellings ran from 7s. 6d. to 10s. a week. She had asked what the County Council was doing for the poor women who could only earn 5s. a week, and her answer had been a shrug of the shoulders.

The Rev. C. HARRISON (Basford Union) said he represented not only a Board of Guardians but a Rural District Council, and in that dual capacity had had considerable experience in housing and sanitary matters. His experience had been that all difficulties were not necessarily occasioned by the large landowners. In fact, their chief difficulties in his district had been in connection with the smaller property owners. However, they needed to exercise the greatest possible consideration for the small property owners, because their living depended upon the rents of their small properties. They had recently ordered the demolition of a very large and commodious farmhouse because it had been discovered to be in a most insanitary condition. The dairy was insanitary, and had been supplying infected milk to the neighbourhood,

which for some time they had been unable to trace. The owner of that place was a man of great influence in the county. Two more sanitary inspectors had been appointed in the district, and were doing their work very thoroughly. In fact, his own house had been inspected. He (Mr. Harrison) advocated the placing of a fire-place in every room, and in the matter of light urged the working classes not to cover up their windows with thick dark curtains, as was their wont. Again, it was a great mistake for such people to crowd their front rooms and block up the front windows with a lot of huge plants. They had heard that morning that it was the more intelligent class of person who had a strong appreciation of fresh air who gravitated to garden cities. That was the sort of intelligence it was necessary to encourage.

Alderman T. B. P. FORD (West Riding County Council) said that a point which he wished to emphasise was that the County Councils should have more powers given them in order to enforce better housing regulations. The Housing Act, lately passed, was, as regards the rural areas, little more than a dead letter. Local Authorities might do something, but they were too much influenced by the local feeling of those who did not wish to have money spent. A considerable number of houses were being run up in his neighbourhood. Some of these were, in one instance, begun in November, inhabited in January, and condemned as unfit for human habitation by the local Medical Officer in the following May. He considered that the Local Authority should have powers to prevent such places being built at all. His opinion of the large landowners was that, as a rule, they were very anxious to do their duty. That was not so, of course, in all cases. In fact, he knew of a landowner of great wealth who owned houses which they could not induce him to put into habitable order for the want of proper powers. They dared not close the houses, because the people had nowhere else to live. In conclusion, he wanted to insist on the point that if they required better housing for the people there should be a radical revision of the last Housing Act in order to give power to the larger Authority, which was removed further away from the local jealousies by which the smaller Authorities were influenced.

Councillor J. W. CROWTHER (Sheffield County Borough Council) said what he wished specially to touch upon were the remedies for the various evils with which they were all acquainted, and the putting in force of powers which they already possessed. They found in many cities that they had powers which practically, for various reasons, were never put into operation, and he thought that pending new legislation, which under present circumstances they could not expect for some years. they ought to consider the best method of putting into force those Acts which were already in existence. For many years he had had to do with the housing of the people in a fairly large city, which he thought had the biggest area of land of any provincial city in the country excepting Glasgow. In 1866 Sheffield had passed a by-law that no more back-to-back houses should be erected. So it was forty-six years since such a house had been built in Sheffield, but even now the evil was great, because there still existed about 15,000 back-to-back houses in that city. That was practically the only type of house built up to 1866. The remedies he would suggest were that first of all they should look after the health of the children who were compelled to live in insanitary or overcrowded districts. In Sheffield they had no less than five doctors who gave up their whole time looking after the health of the children, and in addition there were two others engaged part time in the same work. Sixteen Lady Sanitary Inspectors were also employed whose duty it was, under the superintendence of the Medical Officer of Health, to pay visits in every case to homes where children were born. Under the Notification of Births Act, within forty-eight hours of receiving the notice a visit was paid to the house. By this means the infant mortality in Sheffield during the last five years had been reduced from 164 per 1,000 to 108 per 1,000. Slum children were by no means always physically imperfect during the early part of their careers, and if they were properly looked after they would grow into strong adults. The chief causes of their deterioration were poor food and a hard life, and the deterioration became very rapid when they reached the ages of 12, 13, or 14 years. A plea had been put in for the small owner, but surely women and children should not be allowed to live in insanitary conditions in order that the small owner might be protected. It was said there were only two things to do in that connection. If the small owner was not to suffer he must be compensated or the tenants must be allowed to continue living in such houses. When a

man sold diseased food he was either fined or sent to prison, but when a man dealt in diseased houses they were asked to compensate him. The greatest trouble with small property owners was that they could not at a particular moment find the whole of the money necessary for repairing the property, but if powers were given to Local Authorities whereby they could distribute the cost over, say, fourteen or twenty-one years, in a great many instances those small owners would be willing to meet them and do the best they could. In conclusion, he wished to point out that as a rule they found that the people in the slums were the victims of cheap labour—(hear, hear)—and thus the slums became the recruiting ground of the sweater; and it was, therefore, for the benefit of the working class people and, indeed, for that of the whole community, that they should remove such conditions and make it possible for these men and women to lead healthier lives.

Dr. BYGOTT (Medical Officer of Health, Barking) said that with regard to what the last speaker had said as to dealing with small property owners, there were powers in the Housing and Town Planning Act which enabled Councils to do the work themselves and charge the owner, and, of course, they could allow him time to pay. As to the question of compensation, it had been most instructive in his district to find, when the Council had been trying to buy some old slum property rather than condemn it, the fearful price which had been asked for the rubbishy property. There ought to be more adequate powers to enable Local Authorities to get hold of such property. Another question was that of repairs. There ought to be means by which some people who repaired property and swindled the owner could be brought to book. The great lesson he hoped they would all take home was that there was a great need for improvement in housing conditions, but he wished to utter one word of warning. They must not go on too fast, because they did not know at present how to build low-rented houses properly; but it was their duty to find out as soon as possible. He thought legislation might be directed, at the moment, into two channels. First of all, there ought to be power for Urban Authorities to compel a landlord, at any rate, to put water in a house. At present they could get sinks and drains, but they could not always get a water-tap. Secondly, all public officers, such as Medical Officers or Surveyors, ought to be compelled, under a penalty, to report to their authority all cases of breaches of the law, and the Council should then decide whether a prosecution should follow or not; and it should be stated in the report whether the person in question were a Councillor or related to or connected with a Councillor. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If that were done, he did not think they would have to take any further step towards making Local Authorities do their duty. Those two things he had mentioned would go a long way to solving the housing problem.

Mr. J. E. NEVILLE (Islington Union) said he hoped those who had gone to Hampstead the day before had been satisfied with what they saw, but he would like to say with reference to those houses that, though they looked well, they were built for sale and to sell as quickly as possible. They could gather their own conclusions from that. What he wished, however, more particularly to speak on was a point which appeared to have escaped the notice of every speaker during the last four days, and considering the value and importance of the matter he had been surprised it had not been touched upon. As one of the Guardians of Islington he had great opportunities of observing the drift of the well-to-do, the comparatively well-to-do, and the middle classes down to the lowest stages of poverty and degradation, and he had had one fact staring him in the face nearly every month of the year, that if the tenants or inhabitants of houses could only claim perpetual ownership, many of the difficulties of the Poor Law would be solved. That was to say, if the leasehold laws that governed the possession of houses could be done away with, and instead of the houses going to the land the land went to the houses, many people would have a fair lookout in the future and would do a great deal to their property and make the houses worth living in. He had asked many owners of property why they did not make their houses more clean, habitable, and serviceable, and, if possible, extend them, and the answer he invariably got was that if they could look into the future and see that their sons would possess it and hand it in turn to their children, they would do something. He would instance the case of an aged couple who came to the Guardians for relief some time ago, both between 70 and 80 years of age. They had been the owners of two houses in one of the best squares in the parish. One they lived in and the other they let. The time came when the agent paid them a

visit and said he wanted at least £150 to £200 spent in the repair of the houses. It was utterly impossible for them to find the money, and the result was that in less than a month they were seeking Poor Law assistance. That state of affairs could be remedied if it were understood, and no one should be allowed to gravitate to such a depth as that if it could be prevented. The people had paid by means of ground rents far more than the cost of repairs. If they went into the workhouses and closely questioned some of the inhabitants, they would find they had been people who had occupied independent positions in life, but through the cruel leasehold law had been brought down to a level detrimental to the best interests of society and a disgrace to the community.

Mrs. TOWNSEND said she had come in touch with the question of housing as a member of Care Committees in Fulham. It had been her experience that whenever they discovered obstinate cases of verminous children or blight, they came from a particular slum area. The difficulty was that if they got rid of that slum district, where would the people go? Should they really do away with those wretched cases or merely change their position? Should they succeed in driving them out of Fulham or should they do away with them altogether? If anyone could throw any light on that question she would be glad.

Dr. HERBERT JONES (Medical Officer of Health, Hereford Combined Districts) said he would like to refer to Dr. Fremantle's criticism on the observations made as to back-to-back houses. The one criticism Dr. Fremantle had not made was as to the great difficulty of finding out what the exact population of the district was in which the inquiry was made. Against the inquiries which he (Dr. Jones) had made many years ago in Yorkshire that criticism could not be brought to bear. The two districts he had compared were lying side by side. They were comparable in every respect. The houses were built at the same period of time, of the same material, they were occupied by the same class of people, working at the same industries, and the sanitary arrangements were the same, the aspect of the houses the same, and the height above the sea level was the same, and, lastly, the houses were occupied during the whole time his inquiries were going on. One group of houses, that of the through houses, was the mill town of Saltaire, where none of the houses could ever be unoccupied, because it was one of the conditions of employment at the mill that the mill workers should live in them. Therefore the only difference between the houses he had compared was that in one case they were through houses and in the other back-to-back houses.

Dr. FREMANTLE: Did you correct for age and sex distribution?

Dr. JONES replied that since they were the same class of people and working at the same employment there was no need to correct for age and sex distribution. He would like to refer to the tendency in the Conference to assume that all the difficulties in housing in rural districts would be got over if they transferred the administration of the Housing Acts from the District Councils to the County Councils. Well, the County Councils had not such a very good record. (Hear, hear.) At the British Medical Association they had more trouble with the County Councils than with all the District Councils put together. There were at that moment at least three, four, or five County Councils who had the greatest difficulty in getting an official at all because the salaries and conditions of service that they offered were such that the Association had had to warn every Medical Officer of Health or anyone who desired to take the appointments, not to take them. He was sorry the discussion had not gone more on the points of Dr. Tangye's paper dealing with the conditions in rural districts, but Dr. Tangye had put before them so many good points that it seemed hardly necessary to say very much more than endorse what he had said. However, he (Dr. Jones) would like to emphasise one point, which County Councils seemed to forget, that the Medical Officers of Health in very many of the rural districts were not men engaged in private practice. It did not seem to be generally known that there were at least fifty Medical Officers of Health who were whole-time officers and who had to deal with populations varying from 50,000 to 100,000, and they were executive officers. In the early days a Medical Officer of Health was merely an advisory officer and was still so in many cases. The position those fifty men were placed in made their difficulties very great indeed. The Medical Officer of Health in a town with a population of from 60,000 to 70,000 people had his office provided and clerks provided for him, together with means of locomotion, and many other amenities which those in the rural districts did not enjoy. The latter found their

work immensely hampered because of the great disadvantage at which they were placed.

Mr. RICHARD DAVIES (Pontypridd Union) said he had been very interested in the discussion, especially as to the rates of wages paid to agricultural labourers in the English counties. Compared with the wages paid in Glamorganshire they were very low. He himself employed agricultural labourers and was paying them 22s. per week, with a free house, and several other privileges. The average rate in the County of Glamorgan was £1 a week with a free house. It had been his experience that the better they treated that class of people the better results they got from them. They could not expect to get good results from people unless they were given favourable conditions of life. With the rate of wages paid to agricultural labourers in England it was obvious there was bound to be a certain amount of destitution, and he now understood why it was so many of these men were coming to South Wales. (Laughter.)

The Hon. MAUD PAUNCEFOTE said that what had been mainly discussed was what had already been done, but there remained a great deal to be accomplished in the future. With regard to the housing question, would it not be a good thing if a meeting were asked for between the Society for the Prevention of Destitution and all the great ground landlords of London to explain to those landlords personally—not their representatives—the conditions that existed. She was of opinion that if the landlords were approached personally they would surely remedy many evils which existed.

Miss B. M. BROADWOOD (Cottage Benefit Nursing Association) said that in her experience she had found there were a vast number of cottages in England where there were only two bedrooms and a large number where there were only three bedrooms and two fireplaces, and she would suggest to the Conference that instead of having such enormous sums of money spent on inspection and regulations which made people's lives in rural districts exceedingly disagreeable, there should be a few rules passed by the County Council, such as, "We will allow you to build what houses you like, but if the houses, when built, have not three bedrooms and two living rooms, and if in two of those bedrooms there is not a fireplace, we shall impose a fine." The worst houses in the kingdom were owned by the small owner, but that person was in a difficult position. When he got the rent he generally had to pay more than half of it away to someone who had lent him the money on mortgage to buy it, and he should be dealt with very tenderly. Could not the County Councils and Authorities give a loan to all small owners of house property who would undertake to put them, in the course of a few years, into habitable order? In Surrey they were held back by absurd and ridiculous by-laws—they must not have a lean-to for their washing-houses, they must not have this and they must not have that. It was all absurd. Rural districts should not be treated as urban districts, and the by-laws in a large measure should be swept away.

The Rev. G. A. SUTTLE (West Ham Union) said he wanted to say a word in connection with Medical Officers of Health. Dr. Fremantle had insinuated that they cooked their statistics and that their figures ought not to be accepted, but he thought that Dr. Fremantle had no right to say such a thing of such a fine body of men. He himself had been Chairman of the Housing Committee of St. Pancras, and worked on the Health Committee with Dr. Sykes, and he ventured to say that no man could have been more particular than Dr. Sykes in getting together his statistics and in presenting them to the public, and no man could have worked more bravely than had Dr. Sykes in overcoming difficulties in connection with housing in that Metropolitan borough. He thought Dr. Fremantle should take an opportunity of removing such an impression from the minds of those who had to do with Medical Officers of Health, especially those who gave the whole of their time to the subject. With regard to what Colonel Twemlow had said, in his opinion they did not want £5 houses in the country. They wanted the conditions which their Welsh friend had told them about, namely, that the people should have sufficient wages to pay a proper rent for a proper house. (Applause.) Also they did not want an individual here and there to write, as Miss Pauncefote had suggested, to the great landowners about some particular thing that happened to have struck them as they passed through the neighbourhood.

Miss PAUNCEFOTE: Why not?

Mr. SUTTLE: I will tell you why not. We want the great landowners to know their own property; we want them to go amongst their own people who are tenanting their houses.

Miss PAUNCEFOTE: They do.

Mr. SUTTLE: But they do not, and that is the whole difficulty. They leave it to their agents. Ask the shopkeepers and ask the poor cottagers, and they will tell you they do not do it. They leave it to their agents. Continuing, Mr. Suttle said he had enough faith left in human nature to believe that if the great landowners in the country were personally acquainted with the condition of their property they would do their very best in connection with it, but they generally went fishing, globe-trotting, and "Continenting," and left their property to go—nowhere. While that condition of affairs remained, only bitterness could be expected, and he hoped that the word that would go forth from that Conference would stir some of them up to look after their own property. In his own district there were 130,000 people, chiefly of the working classes. The land was owned principally by one member of the aristocracy. He had not been near the place for years. He took his ground rents and left them to get on as best they could. That was not the type of men they wanted; and that was where the difficulty lay.

Mr. ST. JOHN HANCOCK said that he thought that if everyone adopted Mr. Davies's methods, they could soon solve this problem of housing. He wished to support one of Dr. Fremantle's points where he referred to the wrong use of statistics. All one had to do was to publish a few figures with an appearance of authority, no matter what the circumstances were. They were then quoted and used in another connection, and a wrong one, as had been done in the instances referred to. They had only to look at the comparison, on page 2 of Dr. Fremantle's paper, between Port Sunlight and Liverpool. They could not fairly compare the height and weight of children in Liverpool with those in Port Sunlight. The people living in Port Sunlight, to begin with, picked themselves, and then the employers repicked them, and in Port Sunlight they had nothing but picked lives of the best character. He was speaking generally, and there must be other explanations of a racial nature. He also wanted to refer to the question of the general death-rate. He had examined some of the conditions in Wales, and had also made himself acquainted with the Report of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association. The circumstances under which those reports were made were delusive and misleading in many respects. He wanted to take one particular case, that of Swansea. There were 18,700 children in average attendance at school in Swansea, and those measured all round three inches shorter and three and a half pounds lighter than the "British standard." Juding from that, one would think Swansea was going down the hill very fast indeed, but he thought that view was entirely deceptive. What he would like to emphasise was that if they wanted comparative figures they must compare, say, two districts in the same town —(hear, hear)—and from the average of the whole town, that of a well housed district and that of a bad district, they would then have something worth relying upon. Let them take Swansea and Cardiff. In Swansea there were, in 1910, 700 children in the receipt of 150,000 free meals. In Cardiff, out of 29,000 children at school, there were only 80,000 free meals (dinners) given. What was the difference? In Cardiff they had a breakfast given them at home, but in Swansea 76,000 breakfasts were served at school. He had been to the houses where those Swansea children lived, and the conditions clearly showed that destitution and housing were closely connected, and the difference in height and weight of the children was clearly indicated by the conditions of their homes. Sir James Benjamin Ward Richardson had stated that it would be possible to reduce the general death-rate to 9 per 1,000. The London County Council and the Letchworth Garden City were giving figures which were fallacious for comparative purposes. The London County Council were giving 8.9 as the death-rate in some of their tenement dwellings. Letchworth was declaring its general death-rate to be 5.8. He could only say that to overstate their case by using such figures as those for comparison was doing a great deal of harm by the discouragement it gave others in endeavouring to get at the real truth.

Mr. GREENHALGH said that he wished to make an explanation. Mr. Neville, who said he had been at Hampstead the day before, had evidently come away with an entirely erroneous impression as to the houses being built for sale. There were a

few houses on the Garden Suburb built by private persons which were for sale. There were over 800 houses built by the Co-partnership Societies at Hampstead, and of those there were only five to let, and, in accordance with Co-partnership principles, none for sale.

Dr. TANGYE, in replying to the discussion, expressed his thanks for the consideration given to his paper, dealing, as it did, with a few very dry and commonplace aspects of country sanitation. He was aware that they were now in a transition stage, and that it was necessary to go slowly, but at the same time the more one saw of rural housing, rural water, rural drainage, and rural sanitation generally, the more urgent did reform appear to be needed. Just one point in connection with approaching landowners directly. As a matter of fact, a landowner was usually represented by his agent, who acted as a kind of pro-Consul in the neighbourhood; and for a public official to pass over his head and go directly to his honourable master would mean upsetting friendly relations thenceforward and would be greatly to the detriment of housing reform. That method might be useful occasionally, but was impossible for routine.

Mr. F. E. FREMANTLE, in replying to the discussion on his paper, repeated his definite statement that vital statistics might justifiably be used for illustration of the difference between the health conditions, in the mass, of one district and another. This Conference was a body of workers, not of the general public, and its object was not only to hear new methods of attacking the common problem, but also to make sure of their present methods. It was important that they as workers should recognise that the ultimate scientific argument in favour of housing rested not on statistics but on obvious medical facts, perfectly capable of scientific statement and proof. If they used statistics they must be prepared for criticism, especially as to age and sex distribution, and as to difference of status or means. No figures, moreover, could distinguish between the material structure and the use of that structure; and in preaching and promoting the need for housing they must lay emphasis on the right use and appreciation of the provision made; and that education, both of parents and children, in knowledge, habits, and discipline, both in school and at home, by health visitors and nurses as well as by teachers, doctors, and clergy, was one of the most essential factors in housing reform.

EDUCATION SECTION.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Presidential Address.

By Mr. Cyril Jackson, L.C.C.

After the eloquent and very stimulating address we have listened to from the President of the Conference downstairs, it seems to me to be very difficult for the President of a Section to say anything useful of a general character. On the other hand, a President of a Section is not expected to forestall the experts who will read papers on the special subjects which they have studied. I think, therefore, that the task of your President, especially as I have been allotted the whole of the rest of the morning with no papers or speeches afterwards, is a specially difficult one. We who are engaged in the administrative work of education, who sit on Committees from early morning to dewy eve, have not much time for thinking out the real educational problems, and it is all the more difficult for an administrator like myself to say anything to you who know so much about the actual work of teaching and the needs of the schools. Therefore I shall venture only to say a few words on general questions, and I hope I shall not forestall the expert speakers who come after me.

Now, the fact that our Conference is on the Prevention of Destitution indicates that we are intended not so much to deal with the ordinary problems of education as with how education fits the child for his work in life so that he may be able to stand up against its accidents and be guarded against falling into unemployment and poverty by reason of incapacity. I do not propose to touch on secondary education or University education, although something might be said about the incapacity of many of those who come both from secondary schools and Universities for earning their living. (Hear, hear.) Still they generally have other means which prevent them from falling into destitution, and we are not, I think, expected o deal with them here.

There is a part of the work of our section which I think this morning I must leave out. There is no doubt that the child's physical fitness is one of the most important things we can possibly consider, but at the same time, quite rightly, the rulers of this Conference have placed the discussion of the medical question under the Public Health Section in conjunction with ours. Personally I look upon it as the business rather of the Public Health Authorities to combat disease and provide proper nutriment, and I believe it is not the education rate which should bear the expense of supplying either food or medical

treatment. It may be true that if the children are collected in school they can be dealt with more easily, but education authorities have a vast amount of education work to do, and that requires a different training from that wanted for public health work. I do not, therefore, propose to deal with this question. There is, of course, a form of physical development which is distinctly educational which we are bound to consider, and which is of the greatest importance. It is essential that our children should grow up sound, strong and healthy, and the exercises, the drill and the open-air work which we can give them in the course of their education, including their games, must be thought out so as to be of the greatest value as training for their future life. To leave that out would, of course, be wrong, but there is really not much to be said about it. Everyone is agreed, everyone is in favour of it, and although there have been, in the past, little differences of opinion as to methods which you should adopt for the training of the body of the child, on the whole we agree as to what should be done.

Of course, in the early days of general education, it was supposed that the elementary schools were about to usher in the millennium very shortly—elementary schools were going to put us all right—and any critics were put down as reactionaries—as people who desired to keep the working classes in their place. It is only of late years that there has been much heart searching as to whether education was in fact fitting the nation for its work. Our President this morning himself voiced that general feeling. We are asking such questions as—" Is our education on right lines ? "—" Does it leave a lasting result ? "—" Are the adults of the first quarter of the twentieth century better than those of the last quarter of the nineteenth ? "—" Has universal education tended to improve the earning power of all sections of the nation and diminished incapacity and poverty ? " —and " Has it made the life of individuals more full of content, more whole, and more satisfying of individuality ? " Now the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in their report unhesitatingly accepted education as a necessity for all and a means of reducing destitution. The Majority (p. 630) said that they regarded with favour proposals that boys should be kept at school until the age of 15 ; that exemption below this age should be granted only for boys leaving to learn a skilled trade ; and that there should be a school supervision till 16, and replacement in school of boys not properly employed. But they went on to say that " there seems to be outside the circle of the teaching profession a very strong general feeling that the education of our children in elementary schools is not of the kind which is helpful to them in after life. Education is the accepted antidote to unemployment and pauperism. The cost of elementary education in this country in 1905-6 was 20 million sterling. This is an almost entirely new national charge since 1870." Then they added, " The unanimity of opinion that our school curriculum does not supply the right class of instruction and training for industrial purposes cannot lightly be put on one side."

Now, when we are told to make our education more practical we want to know exactly where it fails. The employers who write to the *Times* at intervals generally complain that the boys are unfitted for office work because they cannot do some simple counting-house sum or write a clerkly hand. But the ordinary general opinion is that we are turning them all into clerks and unfitting them for honest manual labour. There is probably a substratum of truth in both these complaints. The tendency of the school curriculum has no doubt, in the past, been too bookish. The reason, no doubt, largely, is the training

given to the teachers. The training of the teacher has been almost entirely literary and that is bound to react upon the schools, and at the same time the school has not really been a good vehicle for the actual instruction of the clerk. Still, we have long been alive to this tendency to too much bookishness, and as an antidote manual training for example, has been growing in favour during the last twenty years, and our science teaching is becoming more practical and less theoretical. Yet old habits die hard, and the type of teacher has remained largely unaltered—the manual instructor being a kind of exotic addendum and not really part of the staff—and the old and the new have not yet been really blended, and we have not achieved a complete and practical scheme of education. No blame attaches to the teachers; they have been trained in colleges on purely literary lines; they have passed examinations; they have been taught the tricks of passing on book knowledge called "method" and then when they come into our schools they are hampered first of all by large classes which can only be taught mechanically, and, secondly, by the remnants of the old system of payment by results. (Hear, hear.) Though that has actually been abolished for some time past it has left its mark in an unelastic system of standards. The mere word standard seems to me to point out the great fault of our schools. There are the annual examinations and annual promotions just as before, and there is the tradition that every child must be taught to a certain level—not always up to it, sometimes down to it—to the standard—and the class therefore is put through a certain course of instruction and every child in the class is supposed to come to the same point of saturation in that course. Certainly these bad school traditions are being gradually ameliorated, but they have not disappeared, and, unfortunately, the teachers' training still remains of the old type.

Again, when we want to discover how to make our education more practical, we are faced by the great changes which are taking place in the economic and industrial conditions outside. In the old days the best education for life, of course, was apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is, however, practically gone, and, I think, cannot be revived, because the manual work found in the skilled trades no longer means really making things by hand work; it means minding machines that make them. We could never have contemplated in our schools over-early specialisation for different trades, but now, increasingly industrial conditions are tending to dispense with a high degree of skill in any operative and in our modern industry manual employment largely means manipulating machinery, and handicraft in the old sense is gradually disappearing from large branches of manufacture. What we see in the industrial world is a mass of low skilled work, and in what are called the skilled trades themselves the skill is becoming less because machinery does more. Boot-makers no longer make boots—the boot factory has a score of machines each doing its own little bit, and the operatives are those who manipulate the machines. In the wood work and metal trades there is increasingly less hand work and more machine work. In fact, to train for skilled work is to train a skilful machinist. I was at a conference of trade union leaders not long ago, and I endeavoured to find out from them whether manual work of any kind could certainly be counted on for demanding individuality. A pattern maker who was present said, "At any rate, in our place we are keeping free from machinery"; but the rest all fell on him with the remark, "You know patterns are being *standardised* like everything else." Then, again, the vast output of machinery compared with handwork has shifted the proportion of producers and dis-

tributors, and consequently there is an ever-increasing number of people of very little or no manipulative skill in industry who are engaged purely in distributing in various ways the machine-made articles. Now, of course, the result of this change in the industrial conditions should be, and partly is, that a man has shorter hours for putting out a larger amount of work. He produces more in a shorter time, and should have, and sometimes has, more leisure for living his life. That means that we have to shift the object of our education, to some extent, so as to fit him not only for his work but for life outside his work. Still, for our training for life, as well as for earning a livelihood, I think we have to train certain qualities and aim at developing a certain character. In both skilled and unskilled trades the same qualities have always been necessary for the workmen—quickness of eye and hand, accuracy and care, readiness to adapt oneself to new forms of manipulation, intelligence to see possible new developments and variations, and above all perseverance and steadiness of character. All these have been, and must always be needed for the workmen. Indeed, with what seems a levelling down of special skill, our task would seem to be easier, for there is less temptation to early specialisation. But we must certainly try to develop the whole man and not be content with a low level of education, just because there seems to be, in the industrial world, a lower level of manipulative skill. If we desire to make our education more practical we shall try to do so by the development of qualities.

We have for years past endeavoured to escape from books alone to things; to aim at education rather than teaching; at encouraging self-expression rather than merely making children receive information.

We have to consider not only "what to teach," but "how to teach," and the actual subjects of a curriculum may become less important than the way in which they are assimilated and made part of the scholar's mental equipment for life. I think the bane of our schools—partly due no doubt to the large classes—is the lecture by the teacher who still too often thinks he is not teaching unless he is talking and imparting information. (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that one of the greatest defects of our elementary schools has been that there was too much "teaching," and that the imparting of knowledge by the teacher led to mere passive receptivity on the part of the children. What a child needs is to be alive and energetic; to be working for itself. I think the schools are still sometimes—often in fact—open to the criticisms of Dickens in *Hard Times*, and there are even to-day, in too many of them on the desks in front of the teacher, "inclined planes of little vessels arranged in order to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they are full to the brim." Perhaps the reason why our public shools do still turn out some intelligent, active minds, may be because the masters are not trained, and the boys are not taught too much. (Laughter and applause.) They can learn if they like, and a certain number do like, and those who do like possibly find better self-expression and character arising from their learning than they would from "teaching." One of my most able working man friends, a treasurer of his Trade Union for a time, who takes a great interest in many questions, literary and social, always attributes the fact that he is better educated than some of his mates to his schoolmaster, having been addicted to taking rather too much beer at his mid-day dinner and invariably going to sleep in the afternoon and letting the boys forage in the school library. (Laughter.) I do not know whether all the boys in that school got on to the same extent as my friend, perhaps they were not all equal to getting proper sustenance from the library, but I gather that the

discipline of the school was admirable, and that the boys had to do something which would not wake the master, and took to reading because there was nothing else.

What we must have then, in the future, is more learning and less teaching, more lessons which aim at self-expression and self-development, and less attempt to drill a group of dissimilar children into a certain uniformity of knowledge and, with that in view, more manual work on the one hand and more freedom for the children for individual research, whether by using a library for themselves or by working out mathematical problems or scientific experiments. Of course it will be said that the children are young, but the smallest child can be taught to do many things for itself. Miss Johnson started arithmetic, she tells us, by the children playing shop. That seems a very practical method, and certainly had good results. There was a London school I was visiting not long ago where the children were making admirable progress by the measurement of their playground, of the rooms and the windows, cupboards and doors, by drawing scale plans and elevations, and working out actual problems around them. They were far keener on that than on the ordinary mathematical work they would have been called upon to do.

You will hear many very able papers by greater experts in teaching than I am, and I do not want to stand between you and them, and deal with the details of educational method. In our limited time there must, of course, be many omissions, and I do not see that we are to have papers on some of the latest attempts to get at the root of the matter. Psychology, for example, is advancing and we have had of late many very interesting experiments to show us how best in the short years of school life to ensure the growth of a real intelligence which will go on developing by itself when the school teaching is withdrawn and the classroom atmosphere is replaced by the actualities of the factory or workshop which may, in themselves, have a very deadening effect. We are learning much as to mental development, and we are beginning to feel that our old ideas of mental drill may have been all wrong or, at any rate, overdone. We are told, for example, that to memorise one set of facts may not help us to memorise others. The mind does not seem to carry over into other subjects or other parts of the same subject skill acquired by mere practice in a particular set of problems. You know, all of you, of the careful and interesting experiments made with regard to measurements. For example, we are told that you can train children to estimate the length of a pen holder by the eye with perfect accuracy after practice, but place before them a six foot rod and they seem to lose any sense of relative length and to revert to mere guessing. The power of reasoning from one thing to another, and of seizing similarity and analogy, develops slowly.

Now I am always anxious to learn and I had hoped to find among our papers something on these lines and perhaps some account of the latest attempt to get from books to things. I wanted to hear something about the so-called Montessori system, which seems to be a kind of Latin Froebelism, an Italian development of a German model. The system seems to be a new way of training the senses but, as far as I can gather, in the new kindergarten there is some of the danger which lurks in the apparatus of the old. It is going to rely to some extent on apparatus, and when you get teaching relying on a form of apparatus there is a danger of its becoming mechanical and losing its strength. The truth that education lies in individual self-expression is always coming up and always being smothered with the mechanical aids of a system. Perhaps however, in a conference on the Prevention of Destitution, we are not intended

to go into these root methods of teaching, but rather to consider what is to be taught and what is to be the equipment for life with which the child is turned out from our schools. We cannot, however, really get away from method in considering the equipment we desire the child to have, and this equipment for a child of 13, 14, or 15, is not so much a store of knowledge as a character and an intelligence which is ripe to begin to learn the facts of life for itself. If we want, therefore, to meet the charge that our children are unsuited for their work we must aim chiefly at giving them a mind ready to assimilate more and quick to learn—not the mind which leads a person who has taken a certificate to say, "I have done chemistry." I think there is no doubt that the actual teaching in our schools and the subjects taught have tended to a certain academic aloofness from life. The child who leaves school and steps into the very different world of work is too apt to place aside all his school work as past, and to store what little remains in his memory in a separate shelf, seeing no connection between his school lessons and the work he is plunged into.

The Bishop of Oxford this morning told us the great problem of the moment is rural education. Being myself a Londoner, and having dealt mostly with London education, I do not feel particularly competent to follow up that line; but when I was in Australia I found the same difficulty in the rural schools, in their want of practicality, as there is in any town school. The wisdom of Parliament had, in my Colony, decreed that as we were intended to become an agricultural state, every child should learn agriculture. Learning agriculture meant that there was a text-book of the very driest and dullest description, giving, for example, values of soils and manures, and various curious formula which were learnt by heart by the children in the upper standards of the schools. Well, we abolished this form of learning agriculture shortly after my arrival, but it was extraordinarily difficult, knowing, as one did, that in the country districts the children were going to be farmers, and that it was of the utmost importance to them that they should know something of those matters, to find instead of that agricultural text-book teaching of a practical kind for the rural school. We started at once in the training college trying to give our teachers some idea of nature study, and made them do a considerable amount of gardening themselves, and in our country schools, and in our town schools as well, the children's gardens did become a feature of the state. (Applause.) Indeed in some districts the schoolmaster was looked upon by the farmer as an agricultural expert (Laughter.) I do not think he always was, but he did manage after the good teaching he received from the agricultural department to produce some marvellous crops in the school playground worked up by the children. However, it is no longer my business to deal with rural education. In London we are trying a new experiment which I hope is promising. We have recently arranged for some sixty central schools to which the children are to be drafted from the surrounding elementary schools, and where they will remain until 15 years of age. In these schools we are to try to give a kind of practical bias as far as we can—in some an industrial bias and in some a commercial bias. It is difficult here, as elsewhere, to get teachers who have themselves what you may call an industrial bias; I think we must have an infusion into these schools of teachers of the Polytechnic type so that we can get a real amalgam, and I sincerely hope we shall get more attention paid to this side of the teachers' work. I have here two time-tables, one of an industrial and one of a commercial bias school. In the former, out of 27½ hours a week, from 11½ to 12 hours are devoted to practical work. Of this about five hours are spent on handicraft, over two hours

on drawing and clay modelling, and over 4½ hours on practical science and practical mathematics for the boys, while some 5½ hours are given to needlework and domestic work for girls. I hope these subjects will be taught in a way which will escape Professor Findlay's just criticisms in his coming paper, in which he condemns merely formal drill in manual work and domestic teaching, and I hope that the boys will learn not merely to do exercises but to make something, and the girls will not learn cookery, but to cook something. (Applause.) In a large commercial city like London, to train the clerk is as important as to train the manual worker, and we have also commercial bias schools. In the curriculum of these the practical side will take the form of instruction in a modern language, and in the third and fourth years of the course in shorthand, bookkeeping and typewriting. The time devoted to these subjects is much less than to those in the industrial bias school. I feel that the experiment is one from which we may hope something. It is too early yet to say what will be achieved, but it should do something towards solving the difficulty of getting the school and the work more into touch with each other. Of course, I do not want to confine practicality to these sixty schools out of 900. We want it in all the schools, and we have for some time past been trying to bring in more manual work for all the children. I hope that we may at any rate arrive at the feeling that the children learn more by doing than by being taught. It is difficult to invent new forms of manual work which are effective and not too bulky and costly, and which are suitable for young and growing children. Hence we have other attempts at inculcating reality. We have had lately Mr. Edmond Holmes's book, in which he has spoken a great deal about the methods followed by Miss Johnson—who is going to read us a paper—by *dramatic* teaching, and by freeing her children from the ordinary school restraints. I have always felt, however, that it is very difficult to take one very admirable teacher and say that her methods can be copied. (Hear, hear.) The value in Miss Johnson's work was largely due to her great gift of becoming one of the children. Her school, which I have myself visited, was as charming as a George Junior Republic, because, under the guidance of a strong personality, the children were encouraged to learn by self-expression. Yet one did not feel that the system under many of the teachers that one knew would have the same results. There was no doubt about the extraordinary interest of the children in their work in that school, and I think it impressed upon one, by contrast, the truth that self help and resourcefulness are the things which are least learned in most of our elementary schools as conducted at present with too good methods of teaching and perhaps too elaborate apparatus. It is a very good thing if apparatus is not provided sometimes, and the children are taught to make their own for themselves.

After discussing a more practical curriculum we shall turn to the result, and one of the subjects of our papers is the actual placing of the children in work after they leave school, and a continuation of their education in the following years. I think it is clear to all of us that the elementary child of 12, 13, or 14, who leaves school at that age, leaves just at the time when his intelligence might be expected to be sufficiently awakened to enable him to really begin to learn, yet unfortunately there is, in too many instances, no really good chance of his going on learning after he has left school. The errand boy, shop boy, office boy, and van boy, all work too long hours, and often too late to enable them to attend evening classes with real regularity, and they are often too tired to profit much by them if they do attend. In the country, too, the children live

at considerable distances from school, and the country lanes are not good places to walk through in the dark nights of winter. It is very difficult to arrange, either in town or country, for regular attendance at evening schools. Many educationalists are clamouring for better facilities for further education. Munich is always being quoted at us for its perfect system of compulsory continuation classes. In Munich, I understand, it has been decreed that no continuation classes may be held after 7 p.m., and the employers must let off all the scholars in time for attendance for several nights in the week. That may do very well in Munich, but it is extremely difficult to see how we are going to get it in London. The conditions are almost mediæval in Munich, for there apprenticeship is still nominally, at any rate, in full vigour, but when the children are forced into factories and there are no longer apprentices, one feels that they will have the same difficulties in Munich, although not perhaps in the same degree as in London. In London it is extraordinarily difficult to see how industry is going to adapt itself so as to enable the children to leave work for any particular period on certain afternoons in the week. We are trying an experiment in connection with the County Council's warehouses to release the boys on two half-days of the week to attend classes. I was there three days ago, and was told by the head of the stores department that he was seriously afraid that the thing would break down because it made the work of the stores and the warehouses so extremely difficult, and perhaps it would be better for us to make another kind of experiment which was more likely to be followed outside. Personally I believe much more in raising the age for whole time attendance than in getting compulsory continuation classes. If it is true that between 14 and 21 a large number of boys are out of work between jobs for a number of months, often amounting in the aggregate to two years, if it is true that even a year is lost in a very large number of cases, it is clear that industry does not really require all these young boys, and that they would be much better kept at school up to 15 at any rate and given something like a real training before they go into life. We might have half-time in trade schools for apprentices from 14 to 16, and whole time for all other boys to 15. I leave out of account the country for the moment. I am aware that there the conditions are really different, and that in the country they are required possibly for their own interest to start somewhat earlier at work than in the towns, and certainly, on the whole, their occupations are healthier and less monotonous and soul-destroying than in the towns. It is evident that with another year an immense amount could be done to fit boys more thoroughly for their work. Without undue specialisation a practical bias could be given on the lines of the central school experiment, but besides this that year from 14 to 15 would enable discipline to be confirmed, for the boys would be becoming sensible enough to understand it, and the habit would become a rationalised one; we could do much to establish character in the year of dawning adolescence; we could ensure, by careful physical exercise, a better body development than can be counted on in employments which are sometimes in unhealthy rooms, sometimes for undue hours, and sometimes involving too heavy exertion just at the moment of growth; and we could really develop the boys' hands and eyes, and still more their constructive intelligence. Now there is some truth in the belief that as our schools are at present constituted boys and girls would gain very little by an extra year. A boy who, in his last year, is merely taught the lessons of the previous year over again with the boys who have been promoted, may be said to be merely marking time, and this has been too often largely the case. It must be altered, and it is being gradually

understood. The faulty organisation which gives rise to it is due to the conservatism and unadaptibility of the older teachers. They will persist in keeping a yearly syllabus of work on the lines of the old examination standards, and in the promotion *en bloc* of the class so that when you get to the age of 13 the inevitable shrinkage in the class in which you began (when you started in Standard 1), owing to deaths, removals, and other causes, has left so small a class at the top of the school that the teacher combines it with the one immediately below, and then teaches them together and goes all over the work again. Then generally he gives the same kind of lecture lesson *en masse* as before, instead of letting each group work separately for themselves and taking each in turn for oral lessons. That is still too often the case, but it will be mended. The terminal syllabus, the more frequent promotions of individuals, above all the greater amount of silent reading and private work, will remove the old reproach that the top of the school mark time. The raising of the age would, of course, force into immediate prominence the need for more careful teaching at the top of the school.

The school authorities are now taking thought more definitely than ever before as to the after career of the pupils, and everywhere there are being established advisory committees in connection with the Labour Exchanges to place the children after they leave the schools. From them, we may hope for a healthy reaction on the schools themselves, and they should help us to solve the great question of how to make education lead up to work. The committees will endeavour to guide the children as they leave into their occupations, and give them some supervision for the first few years after leaving school. From the education standpoint they will urge attendance at trade classes or continuation schools, and will endeavour to bring personal influence to bear on the young workers. The Committees consisting, as they do, very largely of the people in touch with the children in the schools, and containing teachers, members of Care Committees and others must bring into the school a breath of the actuality of life, and apart from the actual placing of the children, I hope from these Committees we shall get help in the schools and learn how best we can train in the future for the more practical end of the school life. Ladies and gentlemen, I have kept you too long. This is, I am afraid, a very imperfect address of a very general and wide character, and I can only say that you will, from the papers which are to be read, get very much more expert detailed and valuable information than you can expect from a half-hour address delivered in general terms. I do sincerely congratulate the writers of the papers on the interesting matter they are putting before us. I trust that we may be able by criticism, by that clash of mind which the Bishop spoke of just now, to go away having a general agreement on the fundamentals, and having shown by our criticism of each other how little difficulties can be got over. As President of the Section, I sincerely hope that our meetings will be of use to education. We are all united in desiring to see that ideal—the education which fits every child for the work he is going to do and for his future life—brought to fruition, and I hope that this Conference will send us back to our different places prepared to go on even in our dullest work with a sense of something wider than we knew before.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.*)

The Chair was occupied by the President of the Education Section, Mr. Cyril Jackson. The subject discussed was THE MEDICAL TREATMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children in County Areas.*

BY PROFESSOR A. BOSTOCK HILL, County Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire.

2.—*The Medical Treatment of School Children in Urban Areas: A Plea for whole-time Service.*

BY DR. DUNCAN FORBES, Medical Officer of Health, Brighton.

3.—*The Medical Treatment of Children in Elementary Schools.*

BY SIR WILLIAM CHANCE, Bart.

4.—*The Unnecessary Multiplication of Officials.*

BY MISS A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.

(*The papers taken at the above Joint Session together with the discussion which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Public Health Section on pp.* 32-60.)

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Cyril Jackson, President of the Section. The subject discussed was The General Curriculum of the Elementary School as a Preparation for After-life, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.*
By Professor R. A. Gregory.

2.—*Geography and History.*
By Miss R. R. Reid.

3.—*Manual and Industrial Training.*
By Mr. J. Arrowsmith.

4.—*Nature Study and Drawing.*
By Miss M. Simpson.

The Curriculum of the Elementary School : Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.

By Prof. R. A. Gregory.

The child—what is to become of it? A generation ago the answer was suggested by a familiar advertisement of a "Popular Educator," which depicted on one line the upward progress of the student from childhood to comfortable and dignified old age, while on another were represented the antithetic stages of the downward path to misery and crime caused by neglect of knowledge. Those were the days when people believed in book-learning; but the result of forty years of compulsory elementary education has apparently done little to justify that faith. From many sides we are assured that the education in our Elementary Schools is of no use as a preparation for life, and that the sooner a child is sent to work in the factory or the field, the better it will be for him and the community. We are told that the present methods of education are making a nation of clerks, and Sir William Anson, formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, recently objected to a measure which would keep all children at school until the tender age of thirteen years, on the ground that "an employment which arouses the intelligence of a child, brings out his character, and enables him to contribute something to the maintenance of the home, may be of greater educational value than more routine instruction." Apparently, the remedy for the defects of primary education is not to be the reform of the Curriculum, but the promotion of facilities for juvenile wage-earning employments.

Nearly five million children are under instruction in the Public Elementary Schools of England, and about half a million leave the schools annually. A few continue their education in secondary or other schools, and may eventually secure satisfactory positions for themselves; some drift gradually into the stream of criminal life, and for many the end is poverty; but the great majority form the intelligent and respectable working-class of which the country has reason to be proud. There are thus several points from which the subject of the Curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life may be viewed, especially at a National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution. Considerations of time and space limit us, however, to the Curriculum and its direct products, and will not permit the examination of the relation (if any) between compulsory Elementary Education and crime or pauperism.

The Elementary School Curriculum

A survey of the Curriculum of Public Elementary Schools from 1833 to the present day is given in the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1910-1911, and it provides a statement of fact which is both authoritative and informative. This section of the Report might, indeed, constitute very appropriately a contribution to the present Conference; for it shows what the Curriculum is and has been, and points out how the changes which have taken place in the last eight or ten years are in the direction of preparation in school for after life. For a part of what immediately follows we are indebted to that Report, but we concern ourselves chiefly with the portions relating to Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, as other subjects of the Curriculum are being dealt with in separate papers.

Long before elementary education became compulsory, there were Public Elementary Schools in which a very creditable level of attainment was reached. In 1854 an Inspector reported that a boy of fair average attainments, at the age of 12, after attending an Elementary School, was able among other matters to (1) read fluently and with intelligence any simple work of general information, (2) write very neatly and correctly from dictation and from memory, (3) work elementary rules of arithmetic. At that time, however, little more than one-half the children of school age were receiving any instruction whatever, and in not one-quarter of the Elementary Schools under supervision was what would be called a good education being given to pupils of average ability.

Direct central control of the School Curriculum was established in 1862, when the Education Department set out a Code of work in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, which every school was expected to take in the six stages or Standards of school life. These subjects, with plain needlework for girls, were compulsory, and they represent the minimum requirements of an Elementary School education. Attention to higher branches of instruction was then discouraged, but the result was not satisfactory, and a few years later the school had to teach at least one such "specific" subject as Grammar, History, or Geography, in addition to Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.

When School Boards were created by the Education Act of 1870, the standards of attainment in the three obligatory subjects were raised, and a number of "specific" subjects from which a choice could be made were added to the Curriculum. Various other changes were introduced from time to time, but they were all rendered nugatory by the demoralising system of payment by results. In those years a part of the teacher's salary depended upon the grant earned; so

the tendency was to select those subjects which paid best to teach rather than those demanded by a truly educational system. The child was merely a grant-earning machine whose efficiency was judged by an annual inspection, upon the result of which the teacher's income and position depended. The method might be suitable for the cultivation of cabbages, but from the point of view of education it was the worst that could have been devised. No juggling with the Curriculum could produce the best results educationally under such conditions, and whatever deficiencies there have been in Elementary Education are due to the originators of the pernicious system which formerly existed.

The Curriculum of the Elementary School was controlled by men of the public school and university type—men of culture often, and men of honour always, but with no real knowledge or experience of the lives of the children they inspected or the spirit of the teachers whose "payments by results" they determined. To the classically trained official and inspector, and to their shop-keeping plan of what amounted to a bonus on educational sales, must be ascribed the failure of Elementary Schools to produce the national effect anticipated. Thanks largely to the teachers themselves, a new spirit has been introduced into our Elementary School system, and freedom and vitality prevail where formerly were red-tape and stagnation. It is too early yet to estimate the results of the improvement of the Curriculum which has taken place since the stupid system which dominated it for many years was abolished, but we are confident that in this case wisdom will be justified of her children. A generation or more was lost because the Curriculum of Elementary Schools was conceived and administered by people who knew nothing of the needs of the children upon whom it was inflicted. There is still too much book-learning in the work of these schools, but the dead-hand of educational priggishness is not so heavy, and we may reasonably hope that existing conditions will lead to results vastly superior to those of an epoch best forgotten.

The new era of Elementary Education opened in 1900 when a "block grant" was introduced in place of the elaborate system of grants payable for different parts of the Curriculum. This marked, in the words of the Board of Education, "the end of the system in force since 1862, by which the choice of subjects in the Curriculum in the school had been controlled mainly by monetary considerations. Within reasonable limits, managers and teachers were now free to choose what they should teach and how they should teach it without regard to the probable effect of their choice upon examination results and the financial stability of the schools."

There is every reason to believe that the results of the new system will be vastly superior to those hitherto obtained. In any case, the responsibility of adapting the Curriculum to the needs of the pupils now rests with the Local Education Authorities, School Managers, and teachers, for the Board of Education is ready to encourage any variations of the ordinary course which is of educational benefit. The spirit of the Board is represented in the Introduction which has appeared in the Code for Public Elementary Schools since 1904, and of which the first paragraph states that the purpose is "to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life."

As much misconception seems to exist with regard to what is actually taught in Public Elementary Schools, a useful purpose may be served by giving the follow-

ing tables to show the time devoted to each subject in typical schools in London and in a rural district, namely, West Sussex. Under "English" are included such subjects as Reading, Writing, Spelling, Dictation, and Composition; and it will be noticed that these branches of instruction, which with Arithmetic constitute the three R's, occupy more than one-third of the total school time of the children weekly.

BOYS' SCHOOL (LONDON).

Subject.	Time per week. H. M.	Subject.	Time per week. H. M.
1. English ..	8.15	8. Physical Exercises ..	1. 0
2. Arithmetic ..	4. 0	9. Singing ..	1. 0
3. Drawing ..	2. 0	10. Scripture ..	2.30
4. Geography ..	1. 0	11. Recreation ..	2. 5
5. Handicraft ..	2.30	12. Registration ..	0.50
6. History ..	1.10		
7. Nature Study	1.10	Total	27.30

GIRLS' SCHOOL (LONDON).

Subject.	Time per week. H. M.	Subject.	Time per week. H. M.
1. English ..	6.40	8. Nature Study	1. 0
2. Arithmetic ..	3.30	9. Physical Exercises ..	1. 0
3. Domestic Economy..	2.30	10. Singing ..	1.10
4. Drawing ..	1.40	11. Scripture ..	2.30
5. Geography ..	1. 0	12. Recreation ..	2.10
6. History ..	1. 0	13. Registration ..	0.50
7. Needlework ..	2.30		
		Total	27.30

MIXED RURAL SCHOOL (WEST SUSSEX).

Subject.	Time per week. H. M.	Subject.	Time per week. H. M.
1. English ..	7. 0	7. Nature Study	1. 0
2. Arithmetic ..	3.45	8. Physical Exercises ..	1. 0
3. Drawing ..	2. 0	9. Singing ..	1.10
4. Geography ..	1.10	10. Scripture ..	1.40
5. Handicraft ..	1. 0	11. Recreation ..	2. 5
6. History ..	1. 0	12. Registration ..	H. M. 0.50
	Girls only	13. Needlework ..	3. 0
		14. Cookery ..	2.15
		Total	23.40

Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.

Of the three subjects—Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic—with which the present paper is particularly concerned, hand-writing is the one which so far has benefited least by the new system. All the Board asks is that it shall be taught so as to secure speed as well as legibility. Good penmanship can only be acquired by careful training combined with the writing of many exercises, and more attention was given to such mechanical work in earlier days than is now devoted to it. The use of the slate and slate-pencil by young children is often responsible for bad penmanship later. The slate-pencil has to be held firmly and some pressure used in order to produce a mark. The habit thus formed is rarely lost, and the pupil grasps the pen tightly as he did the slate-pencil, instead of holding it lightly. Brush-work or writing with soft lead-pencils give far better control of the hand than slate-pencils, which are now abolished from most schools.

As to Reading and Arithmetic, decided improvements have taken place in the teaching of these subjects. During the past few years there has certainly been a steady advance in the standard of reading-books used in schools, both as regards the literature they contain and the artistic beauty of the illustrations. Books of miscellaneous extracts and snippets of information are fast being superseded by collections of stories from folk-lore, mythology, and romance, inspiring narratives of noble deeds, and abridged editions of the works of standard authors. Literature of this kind is of the highest value in stimulating fine thought in children and in making them aspire to what is highest and best in life; its influence in forming character cannot be over-estimated, and its place in the Curriculum cannot be filled by any other branch of study.

The taste for good literature which is now being fostered in many schools by the adoption of suitable reading-books is reflected in the list of books selected for prizes by children of Elementary Schools in London. There are about 1,500 books and other articles on the prize list of the London County Council Education Committee, and of these the most popular are "Æsop's Fables," "Alice in Wonderland," "Andersen's Fairy Tales," "Robinson Crusoe," "Tom Brown's Schooldays," "David Copperfield," "Little Women," "Tanglewood Tales," "Grimm's Fairy Tales," "Gulliver's Travels," "Tales from Shakespeare (Lamb)," "Old Curiosity Shop," "The Little Duke," "Westward, Ho!" "Water Babies," "Coral Island," Kingsley's "Heroes," "John Halifax, Gentleman," "Pilgrim's Progress," and "Ivanhoe."

The fact is that, while the Elementary Schools are doing their best to guide the reading habit in desirable directions, the same cannot be said of the chief part of the periodical press which, during childhood and in later life, exerts an influence of an opposite kind. Whatever interest exists in good literature among children of Elementary Schools is due to the teachers; and the Philistines fighting against them are the proprietors and editors of the host of periodicals in which "snap" is of more importance than literary merit, sensation is of greater value than truth, and competitions which appeal to the gambling instinct without coming within the law are the best means of securing meretricious success.

Arithmetic in Elementary Schools was formerly considered as a collection of "rules," which were taught one by one in a largely conventional sequence. The multiplication tables and the tables of weight, length, and capacity were first learned by heart, and afterwards "applied" as occasion arose. The principal aim of the teaching was to produce accuracy, and in this it has a large measure of success. In the teaching of Arithmetic to-day more intelligent effort is called for from the children, less purely mechanical work is done, and the subject is

often brought into closer relation with the facts of everyday life. Arithmetic is, in fact, becoming a practical subject in the Curriculum, and it is better taught in our Elementary Schools than in any schools in the kingdom, though there is still great room for improvement in the direction of concentration upon fundamental operations.

Whatever subjects of the Curriculum are abandoned, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, and the mother-tongue, must remain. All these, however, can be made to have some relation to the environments of the schools in which they are taught, while the whole spirit of the teaching can be made less literary and more practical. There should be no attempt at specialised technical training in Primary Schools, by teaching such subjects as Stocks and Shares in city schools, and Agricultural Science in rural schools. All that should be expected of children leaving such schools at 13 or 14 years of age is an intelligent interest in the things around them, a certain amount of manual dexterity, and sufficient grasp of what they have been taught to be able to use their knowledge when required in the life which they enter after school.

Effects of Elementary Education.

We will now pass from the pedagogic aspects of the subject to the consideration of views as to the effects of the Elementary School Curriculum upon those who have been submitted to it in town and country. The Report of the Education Officer of the London County Council, for the year 1908-9, contains valuable memoranda on educational progress since 1870 drawn up by teachers of long service, and bearing upon the question of what forty years of Public Elementary Education has done for the country. Among the subjects upon which opinions were expressed are: (1) Attainments of pupils; (2) Fitness for their future lives; (3) General behaviour, and the condition and good order of the streets, especially as regards youths and girls under 20. It is convenient to combine a summary of some of the chief statements made under each head with our own views upon the criticisms often levelled against the products of the Elementary Schools.

(1) *Educational Attainments.*—There has been great advance in the attainments of pupils during the last thirty years, but for natural intelligence the children of to-day can scarcely be called superior to those of the earlier years of Elementary Education. The higher attainments are due chiefly to improved conditions of work of teacher and pupil; and if the humane methods of the present day had existed in the 'seventies of last century they would certainly have produced a beneficial effect upon the present generation. More attention is now given to the cultivation of intelligence than to the performance of feats of skill in working complicated sums in arithmetic, spelling unusual words, or going through other tricks of mental gymnastics.

But while the cultivation of intelligence and adaptability is of supreme importance, the need for a reasonable amount of accuracy is equally essential. In some cases the result of the new methods seems to be the conjunction of superficial intelligence with habitual inaccuracy; and a boy who possesses these characteristics can scarcely be called well equipped for any career. Spelling is a subject which demands steady and monotonous work as well as intelligence; and the neglect of it handicaps a boy in his after-life. The schools do not probably turn out better readers, better arithmeticians, better spellers, or better writers than formerly; but in matters pertaining to expression, vocabulary, observation, and thought, great progress has been made.

The complaint that boys leave school unable to spell and "cipher" is no new

one; it has been heard during various phases of our educational system for the last fifty years, and it is usually an unreasonable and hasty generalisation. It is unreasonable to expect a child of 14 to spell a large number of words correctly, and it is unfair to condemn the Elementary School for any deficiency it may show in this respect, considering that many of the youths who leave Secondary Schools, and even a large number of adults who have had the benefit of higher education, are deplorably weak in the same subject.

(2) *Fitness for Life after School.*—The great difficulty here is to know what the life after school is to be. More than 40 per cent. of the boys leaving London schools go into irregular employment. What fitness can there be for that? It is not the province of the Elementary School to prepare for any particular occupation, but so far as possible to guide the child to appreciate what is best in life, to train his hand and eye to work together, and to make him trustworthy, alert, and adaptable in whatever calling he may be placed. By all means let there be more practical work in schools, but its aims and methods should be educational and not technical. To attempt specialisation in an ordinary school, from which the boys leave to enter fifty or more different occupations, would lead to hopeless confusion. Manual dexterity can be trained in schools at an age when it is most easily acquired without attempting to teach the processes of particular occupations. The effect of giving more time and attention to work of this practical nature would perhaps be to increase the dignity of manual labour, and to lead ambition into industrial rather than clerical directions.

The Curriculum of to-day produces pupils who can compete successfully with those of a higher social grade for positions in the Civil Service, banks or merchants' offices, where an open field and no favour exist; but the pupils who secure such positions, or obtain scholarships to places of higher education, are few in comparison with the great number taught, and it is for these rather than for the precocious or brilliant child that the Curriculum should be designed.

It is deplorable that the after-life in store for many pupils of the labouring class—whether in town or country—will be of a sordid and struggling character; and while such conditions exist it seems almost cruel to suggest that the Curriculum should fit children for them. Success in industrial and commercial life is often obtained by attributes which are the reverse of what should be encouraged in any Curriculum: selfishness, meanness, arrogance, and insensibility to the feelings of others have often proved more powerful factors of worldly success than higher altruistic qualities. If by fitness of the Elementary School Curriculum as preparation for after-life is meant fitness to prepare for fighting others in a money-making world, then the Curriculum fails of its purpose; for as often as not the people who come out of the fight victorious are those who took the least heed of the instruction, and abandoned whatever ethical principles it contained.

If, also, a Curriculum is desired which will make men and women content with a wretched existence, the Elementary Schools do not provide it; and we hope they never will. At the present time, when the Curriculum can be adapted to any reasonable needs, changes will be made in proportion to the opportunities offered to Elementary School pupils to obtain a place in the sunlight of life. The question now is not so much the fitness of the Curriculum for after-life as the fitness of this life to the noble ideals of the work of Elementary Schools. You can make the Curriculum more practical or introduce any other changes you like, but if it is expected that by doing so there will be more intelligent labourers content to pass a precarious existence the result must be disappointing.

(3) *General Behaviour.*—There has been a marked improvement in the general

behaviour of both children and adults in towns since the Education Act of 1870 was introduced. "Were it not for its four hundred schools," said the late Mr. Sharpe, the head of the Education Department, some years ago, "London would be overrun with a horde of young savages." The behaviour of crowds is very much gentler than it was, and the respect for regularly constituted authority is markedly greater than it was. The street holiganism which was common in London a few years ago has largely disappeared; and the sense of order in public meetings has much improved. There is, perhaps, a tendency to show scant courtesy to elders, but the Elementary School child is not exceptional in this respect. There is probably some truth in the statement that the Education Act saved London from ultimate anarchy. The manners of the people needed the strong discipline of school; and this influence has certainly been a national advantage.

Elementary Education in Rural Districts.

The most severe critics of the Elementary School training are in the country rather than the town, with which the foregoing estimates are mostly concerned. To test how far the present system meets with the approval of those who carry a large part of the financial burden of rural education, Mr. K. J. J. Mackenzie, of the School of Agriculture, Cambridge, recently sent a letter containing a series of questions to one or two agriculturists in almost every county in England and Wales, so far as possible people actually engaged in farming being selected; and the results are described in the latest number of the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*. Though the answers received are scarcely numerous enough to enable one to arrive at really definite recommendations, it is quite clear that the majority of Mr. Mackenzie's correspondents are not satisfied with the education provided from the point of view of its usefulness to the children, and they urge that little appears to be done in the schools to enable the children to realise the advantage of country life. The improvements suggested, however, cannot be said to offer much new light on a vexed problem. A large proportion were unable to suggest any improvements, and four correspondents gave it as their opinion that in Elementary Schools only the three R's should be taught.

The Advisory Committee of the Chichester and West Sussex Education Authority has also made a valuable inquiry of employers of labour as to the suitability or otherwise of the education given to Elementary School pupils in the county. In this case, replies were received from 235 employers of labour, and of this number one-half expressed the opinion that the education given in the public Elementary Schools affords a sound and satisfactory basis on which training for future employment or trade can be built, while seventy-five held the reverse view. That is to say, a considerable majority of those who replied were on the whole satisfied with the present education provided by the schools; yet, when the individual replies were analysed, those which represented the best opinion were decidedly opposed to the existing system. Farmers especially were of this class, and were mostly of the opinion that the education given is too prolonged and tends to unfit boys for work on the farm. Builders said that too many subjects are taught and therefore none thoroughly, while tradesmen found fault with slowness and inaccuracy in Arithmetic, Writing, and Spelling, and there was a general consensus of opinion as to a decline of manners and the sense of discipline, and a tendency to idleness.

It is not clear why the Elementary School should be held responsible for the alleged ill-manners of country children, particularly as the discipline and civilising

influence of school cannot be denied by the most severe critic of Elementary Education. There was a time when a son of the middle or upper class always addressed his father as "Sir," but now the more usual designation is "Old Man," which is probably more affectionate though less dignified. The fact is there has been a very decided change of manners, and the servile respect which some people desire has gone from both town and country. The spirit of the time is represented by "I'm as good as you are and a darned sight better," and though the Elementary School may do something to give young people the sense of individual duty for the common good, the child will find little of this moral principle in the world in which he has to struggle for a living after school.

But the deficiencies of children from Elementary Schools in the fundamental subjects of Arithmetic, Reading, and Writing, cannot be excused; and they demand improvement. Few children leave school with any intelligent comprehension of the arithmetical operations they use or with the power to apply them to the simplest problems of everyday life. It is common to find children capable of working complicated money sums upon paper and yet unable to tell mentally what amount would be left if 2½d. were taken from 1s. A great increase of mental work in arithmetic, and persistent practice in fundamental operations, with plenty of exercises on everyday calculations, and simple accounts, would be of far greater value to the majority of Elementary School pupils than rapid progress from one rule to another which shows well on paper but is useless as mental training or for practical life. There is reason to believe that in Elementary Schools in rural districts the three R.'s—in which an efficient grounding is essential in any education—are not so thoroughly taught to the pupils now as they were formerly, and while this is the case criticism of the Curriculum must be expected.

It is commonly urged that the scheme of education in rural districts should be decidedly rural and designed to fit the pupil for life on the land. We are all agreed that the education of the country boy is too bookish, and too slightly related to the needs of his life after leaving school, but while the pay of agricultural labourers is so low, and the conditions of agricultural housing leave so much to be desired, little enthusiasm can be expected for the movement to keep people on the land. In many districts the agricultural labourer lives under conditions approaching to serfdom. He has to occupy a cottage belonging to the farmer for whom he works; and if he is dismissed or leaves his employer he has to leave the house as well, and usually cannot get another cottage to live in until he is engaged by another farmer. It is no wonder that the younger and more enterprising men leave the country for places where freer labour conditions exist, and where their homes cannot be broken up at the will of their employers. Boys may certainly be made more handy by giving them more manual work in schools, and by making their work in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic bear closer relation to rural occupations than it does at present, but it is futile to suppose that these improvements of the Curriculum of country schools will reduce the exodus from rural areas unless they are accompanied by improved conditions of agricultural labour.

In rural districts the difficulty in making the Curriculum less bookish is the teacher, who frequently has no special aptitude for the work, and has rarely received a special training. So long as there is no inducement for teachers to qualify themselves for work in rural schools, no improvement can be anticipated. At present the rate of pay is lower than in town schools and the opportunities of advancement are fewer; so that young teachers naturally object to become ear-

marked for country schools. Exceptional qualifications are demanded without any inducement being offered to teachers to obtain them. The teacher in a rural school is expected to have the spirit of a naturalist, the manual dexterity of an artisan, the experience of a horticulturist, and the culture of a County Councillor, and for these admirable qualities he will receive the pay of a clerk. It is unreasonable to expect that many men and women possessing such attributes will have no higher ambition than that of teaching in country schools.

Conclusion.

The conclusion of the whole matter may be stated in a few words. People expect too much from the teachers and the pupils of Elementary Schools, and father upon the schools faults which are characteristic of the age, forgetting that the few hours of educational instruction and discipline are often counteracted by slackness or other demoralising influence in the home life. Matthew Arnold once said that he regarded an Elementary School "not as a place for enabling the maximum number of children to write and spell and do a given number of sums without mistake, but rather as a centre of civilising and refining influences." As to the reality of these influences there can be no question, and there is no reason why they should not be combined with the more directly useful subjects of the Curriculum. Under the conditions now existing, the importance of ensuring that the education given in Elementary Schools should be of a kind which will best fit the pupils to perform the duties of later life is being widely appreciated, and we are justified in believing that the promise of Elementary Education at the present time is more satisfactory than it has ever been in the past.

The Value of History and Geography in Elementary Education.

By Rachel R. Reid, D.Lit., F.R.Hist.S.
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The most searching question that can be addressed to a man is the question "Why?" It is so much easier to testify to the faith that is in one than to make clear to another the grounds for it. "What is the value of Geography and History in Elementary Education?" At once we are brought face to face with other questions, all of which must be answered before we can make clear the educational value of these subjects: What do we mean by Geography and History? Why do we teach them? Why do we teach anything at all? And of these questions, the last is first.

Probably most people, if asked what things they wish to have themselves or their children taught, would answer, "Things that are practically useful." They look only to the needs of the individual, and they require only such teaching as helps the individual, as such, to what he wants to do. Above all, they require such

teaching as will enable a man to earn his livelihood with credit to himself. Teaching of this kind there always has been and always must be; and it is well that the need for it should receive the widest recognition, and that the fullest provision should be made for giving it.

There are, however, very few practically useful subjects which are of equal, or nearly equal, utility to all, and so worthy of a place in a scheme of elementary education intended to meet the needs of all. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is practically useful to every child; but the same cannot be said of even such a practically useful thing as carpentry. Of course, the teaching of carpentry in elementary schools can be, and is, defended as giving manual dexterity; but such a defence implies that education is not only, nor even mainly, the learning of practically useful things, but is chiefly, if not altogether, a training of the mind in power and in knowledge.

Evidently, there is a radical difference between education of this kind, and the education which consists in learning practically useful things. The one is education from the private and personal point of view; the other is education from the point of view of society. Those who have been able to look beyond the individual as such, seeing in the child the member of society, the representative of the race—and among them must be counted the great body of teachers—have always insisted that the education intended to fit a man to do things that concern everybody is also the education that will best fit him to do things for himself. But even less than a generation ago the man or woman who maintained that the end of education is to enable men to do things, what things not particularly mattering, since it is the power to do that matters, would have been as one crying in the wilderness, so far as the general public was concerned. Now, however, it is being generally recognised that in an era of rapidly changing economic conditions, when applied science is daily creating new industrial activities, and rendering obsolete newly-perfected mechanical processes, there is no place for the man who can do only *one* thing properly; and that an education which produces "a sort of industrial bee instead of a rational being" has little practical value. So we find the so-called "practical man" of to-day joining with the educational enthusiast in asking that the children in our elementary schools should receive an education having as its end, not the acquisition of skill in one or more practically useful arts or crafts, but the training of the mind and the imparting of knowledge.

So, when asking ourselves, as we must do, What do we want our schools to do for the children intellectually? we are entitled to put the question more widely and ask, What do we want our schools to do for the race and for humanity? At once an answer occurs which is satisfactory alike to the practical man and to the educationalist. We want our schools to train the minds of the next generation with a view to sound thinking.

Far from being an easy thing to do, sound thinking is really very difficult. The first step must be to stimulate the mind to the exertion of thinking at all. Suddenly aroused curiosity will induce even a lazy mind to think about something new and unfamiliar, but the inertia bred by familiarity is the deadliest enemy not only of sound thinking but of any thinking at all. How many millions of persons have lived and died since, as before, Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravity, without wondering why an apple falls to the ground, let alone trying to think out a reason why? Even when curiosity, wonder, have been aroused, much work remains to be done before sound thinking can be achieved. Every individual has a mental atmosphere of his own determined by his environment, the opinions and the mental habits of the people surrounding him; and the intelligence has to

be freed from presumptions and prejudices, and from all conventional modes of thought, as such. But emancipation from habit and early associations is not enough. Freedom of the intellect involves honesty. I do not mean moral honesty, although it is certain that the intellectually honest man cannot be dishonest in his dealings with other men without knowing it. But sound thinking demands that difficulties shall be faced, not glossed over; that ignorance shall not call itself knowledge. No link in the chain of reasoning must be omitted, no detail in the sum of evidence. Yet more is required: the reasoning powers must be detached from the emotions, and from all that is merely personal. The mind must be trained to approach all questions as if they had no personal bearing, whether they have such bearing or not.

Along with the freeing of the intelligence from the bonds of habit, prejudice, and passion, will go other things: a sense of the interdependence of all knowledge, of the complexity of every question. There must be developed a habit of suspending judgment, of observing carefully and accurately, of collecting and sifting evidence, of seeking remote connections and underlying principles, of regarding all conclusions as provisional and as more or less probable rather than as true or untrue. Only as each and all of these habits are acquired can our thinking even approach accuracy, and accurate thinking is the indispensable condition not only of scientific and technical progress, but of all political and social advance.

The freeing of the intelligence, the training of the mind to accurate thinking, although the most important part of education, are not the whole of it. Second only to the intellectual training is the imparting of knowledge; for it is easier to make bricks without straw than to think without food for thought. What, then, is that knowledge which every man and woman now requires as a foundation for sound thinking? The human race has now been on this planet for some considerable time, and has accumulated a good deal of information about it and about the conditions of life on it, besides arriving at certain conclusions about what it calls Nature and the universe and its own relation to them. It has taken a long time to arrive at the point we have now reached, and it is rather important that the next generation should not waste time in going over the same ground and making the same mistakes that we and our forefathers did.

There can, of course, be no question of teaching all that men have learnt, but only of teaching what man as an intellectual and as a social being requires to know. Some knowledge of the laws controlling natural phenomena, a clear notion of the surface of the earth and the working of wind, rain, and tide, and the control exerted by them on human activities, some idea of man's social and political evolution: these are essential. To impart a fair knowledge of these things, with a definite notion, not only of the current conclusions, but of the manner in which they have been reached, and in the imparting to train the intelligence into freedom and right method, is not only within the scope of elementary education, but should be its true end.

We are now in a position to consider the place and value of Geography and History in Elementary Education, a place and value which must in some measure depend on the definition of Geography and of History that we adopt. Let us deal with each of these separately.

There are few subjects suitable for a school curriculum of which the conception has changed so much in recent years as Geography. As the conception has changed, so has the definition. Of all those now current, I think the most satisfactory is that adopted by the Conference on the Teaching of Geography in London Elementary Schools in their Report presented to the London County

Council two years ago. "Geography," they say, "has to estimate the value for man of local conditions and place relations. It is concerned, therefore, with the earth's surface and the physical condition of its various parts; it takes note of the climates, products, and varieties of life which exist; it especially observes the human activities as determined by the physical conditions; and it applies general considerations to all the mass of detail thus gathered together." They add: "It is hardly necessary to point out that all this subject matter has been accumulated only as a result of direct and careful observation."

It is obvious that we have in Geography, as thus conceived, a subject of very high educational value. Even for the sake of its information its value is great. Why has Portsmouth always been the naval, and London the commercial, centre of England? Is it easier to send fish to London by rail from Hull or from Grimsby? Why must the English potato grower send to Scotland for his seed? Why did the exploration of Africa proceed down, instead of up the rivers, as in the case of Australia and America? For the answers to these and a hundred other questions of the great practical importance we must go to Geography. But great as is its value on the side of knowledge, it is even greater on the side of mental discipline.

It has already been pointed out that the subject matter of Geography has been accumulated only as a result of direct and careful observation. Its method is, by investigation of particular facts in a circumscribed area, to arrive at general facts of wider application, of which the particular effects are only consequences and illustrations. Its aim, therefore, is to discover leading general facts or principles, and then to work out the consequences of these principles when operating in a new environment. In short, Geography is both a science and an art. Concerned throughout as it is with physical realities, its study must be based on direct observation, and thus "one side of the work will train the [mind] in observation, classification and generalisation, and will impress the importance of going to the actual object for our conceptions." A general introduction to scientific procedure will thus be given. Judgment, accuracy, balance, reliance on the senses, will be developed. Mere observation, however, has definite limitations, as a source of knowledge, and the Geography of direct observation is only the indispensable basis for an organised and detailed system of earth knowledge. If the child is to have a true conception of the great world in all its variety and interest, his own observation must be supplemented by the observations of others whose results are recorded in books and maps. If the records are to be read aright, the imagination must at every turn be called into play; ordered and accurate mental pictures must be constructed. And the whole body of knowledge thus gained must be organised and integrated by constant comparison and by application of new knowledge in the familiar environment and of familiar knowledge in a new environment. The runnels in the road on a wet day are basis enough for the conception of the river system of a great continent, and the law of Archimedes explains the movement of the rubbish carried by the water running down the gutter, as well as that of heavy boulders swept on by a mountain torrent.

It is thus evident that the study of Geography calls for the constant use of the very power which distinguishes the man who can do things from the man who cannot, and is an instrument of the highest value for the training of the mind.

Further, it should be noted that Geography stands in peculiar and important relation with other school subjects. Levying toll, as it does, on many subjects—Physics, Chemistry, Geology, etc.—whose results it uses to explain the phenomena with which it deals, it forms, with regard to a child's study of the world of nature,

a meeting point of all branches of investigation. So, in offering abundant scope for the immediate application of newly-acquired information, it calls forth that sense of the interdependence of all knowledge, and of the complexity of the simplest-seeming problem, which must accompany the freeing of the intelligence.

Geography, however, cannot afford all the training required for sound thinking. On the one hand, its data are all concrete, and its conclusions can be tested by experiment; on the other, its interest, although human, is seldom, if ever, personal, and there is little need to fear that emotional disturbances will divert the mind from sound thinking on geographical facts. Far otherwise is it with History.

"History," says Lecky, "is closely concerned with the kind of probability on which the conduct of life depends." It deals with the human, with life itself, and in all human affairs there always intervenes an unexpected factor, which upsets even the calculations to all seeming best established; this factor is the will of man, directed by his prejudices and swayed by his passions. It shows us the acts, the ideas, the motives of men living in society; it describes the usages, the institutions, the governments, all that determines the relations between men; thus it shows society under the form of particular and concrete examples. It does more; for it follows a single people through a succession of centuries, bringing to view the continual change undergone by society, government, manners, religion.

To give the scholar an exact idea of the successive civilizations of the world, and a precise knowledge of the formation and development of his own country; to show him the action of the world on his country and of his country on the world; to teach him to render justice to all peoples, to widen the horizon of his mind, and finally to leave to him, with the knowledge of the state of his own country and of the world, a clear notion of his duty as the citizen of no mean country and of his duty as a man, such is the part played by the teaching of History in education. It is a part whose importance increases as democracy advances, for the peoples have succeeded to the power of the kings, and they must be not less well equipped to control the destinies of a great nation; but the roots of the present are in the past, and it is only by knowing and understanding that past that we can see clearly the work that lies before us. History would thus be worthy of a place in any adequate educational system, simply for the sake of the information it gives. But this, valuable as it is in preparing the scholar for life at a precise date or in determined conditions, is but a small part of the educational value of the study of History.

Although History is not an exact science, since it has no axioms nor principles from which by deduction new truths can be established, yet it is neither a pageant nor a *chronique scandaleuse*, but in the true sense of the word a science. It is complex and human even as its subject matter, which is "man as a being who possesses a knowledge of good and evil, a standard of right and wrong, who reasons and judges, creates beauty in art and literature, commands and controls to an ever-increasing degree the forces of Nature and consciously or unconsciously fashions the destinies of this world."* It is not, however, a mere collection of stories, a bare record of past events. "No past event," wrote Macaulay, "has any intrinsic importance." Events are but the *data* with which History deals—they are not History itself; and the importance of any event depends on its meaning, on the idea of which it is the outcome, of which it is the cause. It is the idea behind the event that History seeks for, and the ideas, when found, must be grouped together, organised into a great whole. As the work proceeds,

* Professor Pollard, in a leaflet "On the Educational Value of the Study of History," published by the Historical Association.

we perceive that, although the events are new, the ideas are often old, and the dominant ideas of one age are not those of the next. So we realise that all things human transform themselves without ceasing, that all life is but a becoming, that all human happenings are but an endless chain of cause and effect, that from the consequences of our acts and decisions there is no escape. Thus we are at once freed from an unreflecting fear of change and saved from an equally unreflecting love of change for its own sake.

Uncertain and complex as are historical data, historical method is strictly scientific. The necessary data must be gathered together, and since they cannot as a rule be presented to the senses, the imagination must be called on to set the events before the mind. They must be accurately observed and compared, and the relation between cause and effect must be sought. As in other sciences, there are called into play the powers of attention and observation, imagination and memory, discrimination, selection, reasoning, judgment, expression. But, as is not the case with other sciences, these powers have to be trained and developed by means of data uncertain and complex as are the happenings and experiences that mainly fill the individual life. Herein lies the distinctive educational value of History; for it alone, among school subjects, brings us into contact with life as it must be lived when school days are over. At every turn we are called to judge men's thoughts and feelings through their acts, and in seeking truth we must remember that it can be only partial, that absolute truth cannot be found, and that if we fall short in imagination and human sympathy we shall fail altogether.

The difficulty, nay, the impossibility, of ever learning the whole truth about a past event, while it demonstrates the need for accurate observation before passing judgment, also afford a unique opportunity for discussion and for the expression of different opinions. So we learn that all truth is merely relative, that in human affairs there is nothing final, nothing absolute. We shall understand that no form of government is to be regarded as the ideally best without regard to the conditions in which it is to be adopted, that the value of economic systems is relative and depends on environment; that "moral standards are the painful achievement of ages," and nothing is good or bad but thinking makes it so; and we shall cease to regard the man who differs from us in opinion as necessarily either a fool or a knave.

So far we have ignored what many may and do regard as the chief educational value of History, namely, its use as a basis of moral instruction. Apart from any question of the possibility of *ad hoc* moral training, the use of History as a basis for such training is open to serious criticism. The teacher cannot, nor should he try to, prevent children from judging historical actions and characters, and it is his business to see that their judgment is neither due to the use of a vicious standard nor based on insufficient data. And it is permissible for him to pause before the honest men when he meets them. But History cannot be transformed into a school of morality; it is concerned not with what ought to be, but with what has been. Yet since moral training is inseparable from intellectual training, History can and ought to serve to strengthen the moral sentiment. It is a seeking after truth; it takes pains to prove it; it declares it without reservations. Moreover, the historic sense requires for its development imagination and sympathy; and in trying to understand the point of view of the actors of the past we gain a sympathy and respect for all living things which are the essence of that ethical feeling without which the finest moral training must remain barren. Nor must it be forgotten that the final aim of historical teaching is to bring home to the children a sense of their responsibility as members of a society, and that such

teaching falls short of its full purpose if it does not awaken in their minds a spirit of duty.

To omit all reference to the cultural and æsthetic value of History and Geography would be in accordance with British custom, and space allows only a hint at it. Neither subject can fail to give a new interest to our surroundings and to the happenings of our daily life, to our journeys, short though they may be, and to our reading, if it be only of the daily paper. They can do more, for they open to us a whole world of adventure in which to take refuge from the monotony of existence. We can travel round the world with Drake, sail into frozen seas with Franklin and Nansen, encounter savages with Cook and Livingstone, discover the sources of the Nile with Speke, or visit the land of Cathay with Marco Polo. We can fight the Saracen with Charlemagne or Cœur de Lion, intrigue with Elizabeth, capture Quebec with Wolfe, create an empire with Warren Hastings, and conquer a continent with Napoleon. Surely Mungo Park is a better hero of romance than Peter the Pirate, Jeanne d'Arc, a finer heroine than she of the latest penny novelette.

To sum up, we believe that the study of History and Geography is of the highest educational value for the following reasons: Both subjects impart information of great value concerning our environment, physical, political, social, and economic. From Geography we gain a clear notion of the working of the laws controlling natural phenomena as well as of the surface of the earth, and of the control exerted by them on human activities. From History we gain some idea of man's social and political evolution, some sense of the relativity of truth, some insight into the springs of human action, some notion of the responsibility and the duty laid on men as members of a society.

On the side of discipline, both subjects afford mental training of a high order. Their methods are strictly scientific, and powers of observation, imagination, comparison, discrimination, generalisation, reasoning, and judgment are called into play, all of which are essential to that accurate thinking which is the true end of education. Yet each subject has a value peculiar to itself. Geography, dealing mainly with physical realities, achieves its results by the application of new knowledge in a familiar environment, of familiar knowledge in a new environment, and so its end is the development of the power that makes a man the master of his environment and distinguishes the man who can from the man who cannot do things.

History, dealing with data uncertain and complex, and akin to the experiences of our daily life, achieves results less certain but not less valuable. "It demands and it provokes the humaner qualities." The spirit of criticism is as essential to historical inquiry as are imagination and sympathy; and History emphasises the fact that all truth is relative, all values dependent upon environment. The historical method and the historical spirit are revolutionising all sciences which have man and his activities as their subject matter, and their extension to politics is the most urgent need in an age and a society which has placed political power in the hands of the masses.

Thus Geography and History supplement one another, and combine to give that training which alone can loosen the bonds of tradition, habit, and passion, and give men intellectual freedom.

Manual and Industrial Training from the Kindergarten onwards.

By JOHN ARROWSMITH

(Headmaster of Mixenden Council School, Halifax; Director of Studies, Brighton Summer School for Teachers; Editor of *Manual Training*).

FOR the last fifty years schools have dealt with education solely from the standpoint of tradition and custom. Because the learning of ancient languages was at one time the only key to such higher branches of culture as Philosophy and Art and Mathematics, schoolmen have placed all the stress of educational method in Primary Schools on reading, writing, and sums, and have determined that a large part of the curriculum shall be occupied by the teaching of these subjects.

Looking round upon the products of primary and secondary education, one increasingly wonders what becomes of the major part of the matter which is poured by the teacher into the scholar. Can our young men and young women express their thoughts, either by voice or pen, more clearly for all the hours spent in school in trying to master these accomplishments? Are we producing a nation which, in the bulk, loves literature and art and music? Have we trained, with all our tricks and catches in arithmetic, the grown-up part of our population to look with anything like gladness upon any ordinary calculation? What becomes of the Euclid, the geometry, the algebra, the Latin, the French, the stocks and shares, the Tonic-solfa, the free-hand drawing, the model drawing, the beautiful civil service caligraphy, the apothecaries' weight, or the troy weight?

In earlier days, when people knew less of what "mind" is, there was some slight justification for the using of these "chopped-up" bits of man's experience in the education of the child.

It was thought, for instance, that arithmetic developed the reasoning "faculty," and naturally, the sooner a child began to do sums the sooner would that reasoning "faculty" be developed. When one realises that the capacity for abstract reasoning in the average human being is of very slow growth and that it only begins to develop normally at 12 or 13 years of age, one can quite understand that note of despair, deep-sounded in the reports of examiners of mathematical papers. It was thought that the sooner a child began to write or to read the better he would read and write when the time came for him to leave school, and the greater love he would have for literature. Are all these eminently desirable accomplishments strongly in evidence among the adults of to-day.

These "subjects" were forced—I use the word "forced" on purpose—upon a growing, and therefore an immature, nervous system, upon a nervous structure which is the most delicate and most easily damaged piece of mechanism in the whole of creation. The child's interests—the very voices of Nature—were unheeded, brain physiology and biology were in their infancy, and the University don had it all his own way. That the apologists of mediæval learning should enwrap and stifle, free, pulsing, vigorous childhood, even in the present day; should pen it into barrack-like schools, and then worry about problems of ventilation, of moral education, of health, and of hygiene, is a fertile source of wonder to all physiologists.

Even a hasty study of the average child shows most clearly when his brain is ready to tackle modern methods of thought-expression. There is a time for the beginning of writing, about 7 or 8 years of age; for the beginning of reading, about $8\frac{1}{2}$; and a time, much later, about 10 years of age, for the beginning of sums. For the development of chorea and other nervous disorders the too early stressing of arithmetic stands unequalled amongst all the " subjects " of the school. But the most significant fact of all is the early interest shown in all forms of muscular activity, an interest which begins before birth and only ends with death. Before a child uses his nervous system at all, his muscular activity is most pronounced. Modern science goes so far as to say that, up to the age of 10 years, muscle use and nutrition are the only methods by which brain substance can be properly developed. It is through the hand controlled by the muscles largely of the forearm that the child creates his " mind." His sight, his taste, his hearing, his smell, his knowledge of the world around him—his " mind "—must be regulated, corrected, adjusted, tuned by touch, which means muscular activity. All competent authorities are agreed that the too-early forcing of immature muscle and nerve co-ordination, as required by reading, writing, and sums, is disastrous, that precocity is degenerative, and that all these " subjects " would come more rapidly, more easily, and their retention as tools for self-education would be more permanent if their introduction were deferred until a later period in the child's life. It should be realised that these tools are not developers of brain substance, but that they are functions only of a developed brain.

The study of fatigue has received great attention during the last few years. It has been well established that fatigue is due to poisonous products given off by nerves and muscles under excessive strain, and many brain specialists are pointing to the evident lack of interest in ordinary affairs of life, to the craving for excitement, and to the apparent distaste for all forms of work shown by our adolescents as being the cumulative results of excessive brain fatigue in early school days, consequent upon the inversion of the natural order of growth—muscle first, nerve afterwards.

Is it a cause for wonder that there has been such an outcry of late years about the number of children in blind-alley occupations? What do our schools fit the children for? They cannot all be clerks, they cannot all serve behind shop counters, there is no inducement to go on the land, mills and factories place no great strain upon the intelligence of the adolescent, foundries and workshops have very little use for a boy of 16 or 17 from a Secondary School who has never learnt to use his hands.

The great mass of any people should be producers—workers with hand and brain—if that nation is to be in the forefront of civilisation from a mental, a moral, and a physical point of view. We shall eventually recognise that the traditional school subjects do not fit for life, nor are they, as they ought to be, expressions of youthful life itself. Instead of being a means to an end—tools for the further development of " mind "—they are looked upon as ends in themselves, as a means of enabling a precocious boy or girl to pass a scholarship examination.

The whole conception of " school " needs changing. Even the bit of manual work which is at present done in schools—that bit of paper, card, and woodwork—is looked upon, not as satisfying constructive instincts, but as a method of teaching accuracy. The question is not, Does the object made by the boy serve his purpose? but, Is the " model " the right length, breadth, depth, thickness? In fact, it is used as a disciplinary exercise entirely outside the child's interests.

So far this paper has been of a destructive character. Such was necessary in

order to clear the way for some suggestions of a constructive type founded upon child study and upon actual experiment in a Primary School.

Beginning with the Kindergarten at 5 years of age, the larger part of the school day is devoted to those forms of manual work which are best fitted to develop the large fundamental muscles of the body. Dancing, games, digging in a big sand-pit, jumping into the sand-pit, building with bricks in the field, are all woven together through the child's instinctive imitation of phases of adult life and work in the home and in industrial occupations, and by song and story.

Stories and songs with dramatic action and gesture appeal to the child and develop his imagination by enabling him to recombine his experiences. He shows by modelling in clay, and by building with bricks, crude efforts of mind towards constructive work. He prepares the way for writing by drawing pictures in chalk or crayon on large surfaces, thus telling a story with his fingers. He begins number by counting, in his childish way, his bricks, his pailfuls of sand, his seeds, his chalks, and his toys. No work involving strain upon the small accessory muscles of the hand and forearm is allowed. Little tongues may wag, little bodies may twist and twirl, little legs may romp and run, little fingers may mould and fashion in clay, in paper, in sand, in rafia, little arms may whirl and swing until a rest period intervenes and schoolroom, or field, or garden, or playground throbs with joyous life no longer.

From the age of 7 to $8\frac{1}{2}$ years a period of completer adjustment of the human body to the needs of life, appears. In all schools this should be a time of relaxed effort for the child. His brain is approaching its maximum in size and weight, his second teeth are appearing, and his whole body seems to be passing through that chaotic state which always accompanies change and readjustment. Here the manual work of the Kindergarten is more definite in its order, and more comprehensive in its scope, though the same materials are used together with the addition of wood and cardboard.

The boy at this stage loves a knife and the girl loves her dolls. Advantage is taken of these interests to continue the manual work on home and industrial lines. Mary makes dresses and hats and shoes and stockings out of waste material brought from home. Bits of cloth, pieces of ribbon and of leather, old kid gloves and belts are used, and, during the making of the various articles much information about the origin of the materials (very often asked for by the children themselves) is imparted just at the right time, as shown by the interest of the children when the questions are asked. Mary also weaves mats and rugs, and makes curtains for the doll's house, generously built for her by Tommy. The rule of the school is—nothing shall be bought that can be made by the child. When he sees the necessity for certain objects and he makes objects to satisfy that necessity he is thinking the thoughts that gave these things birth.

Village life, farm life, town life, are all treated in the same way; some children making pots, pans, dishes, tubs, out of clay; others gates, stools, farm buildings, clothes-poles out of wood and cardboard; others again making thatches for barns and ricks out of long grasses and rushes, so that at the end a complete tableau, fixed in the mind by appropriate songs and stories, is presented. The making of toys and apparatus for games runs through the whole school. Festivals—Christmas, Easter, May Day, Midsummer Day; seasonal sports and pastimes and occupations—haymaking, reaping, etc.—are all used in the education of the children from the manual side as well as from the literary, the musical, the art, and the mathematical side. Primitive life is actually lived in the open air; huts and caves are built of stones and bricks, and thatched with rushes, grass, moss, or

clay. Tents are made, quite big enough for two or three children to shelter in, from sticks and twigs sawn by young boys from old trees given by local farmers. By these methods the children get their first ideas of "once upon a time," and "in the days of long ago." Even the children of 7 and 8½ years make their own notebooks in which to scribble shopping transactions and so obtain rudimentary notions of the meaning of money sums.

Manual work from the age of 8½ or 9 to 12 is done in wood, metal, cardboard, paper, cloth, clay, cane, rafia, string, and local grasses and rushes. As every child in school has a garden plot, all the plant labels, borders, seed-boxes, butterfly-nets, scarecrows, baskets, fencing, paper bags for seeds, record-books, must be made by the children themselves. The boys and girls of the upper classes make cricket-nets, tennis-nets, wickets; they bind school-books, music copies, and periodicals brought from home; they make meteorological instruments—anemometer, sundial, shadow-stick, angleometer; surveying instruments—theodolite, arrows, Gunter's chains, surveying poles; cold frames glazed and painted; henhouse, swing, seesaw, and (for the use of the little ones) small pails are made out of large disused household pails, and spades from old desks. The girls from 10 years upwards learn sewing and the repair of garments, cooking, laundry, washing, home management, and the making of nets and baskets. Both boys and girls make examples of ancient and modern pottery from real potters' clay, and discuss the manners and customs of the people who made such pottery.

I have come to the conclusion that the greater part of the manual work should be done in the morning, leaving the afternoon for games, literature, music, art, and rambles.

Looking from a twentieth century viewpoint at education, every phase of thought demonstrates the absolute need of making the school into a closer resemblance to a larger home for the children, where all the industries that have raised man to his present standard of civilisation shall be undertaken, where the necessities of child growth shall be satisfied, where he will learn by actual "doing" what social service means, where moral education will be a matter of "doing," not of preaching, where the activities will find vent for unruly spirits in a manner which shall be comparable in some degree to the principles of an Aristotelian Katharsis.

I suggest that right conduct should be developed in the child, not by talking about ethical standards, but by acting, doing, and living the right kind of life in the school. How this can be possible under present conditions, I cannot see. No child is allowed to help a weaker brother—that would prevent the teacher from knowing whether the child was "progressing" or not. No child may seek help from a cleverer sister—that would be "copying." But, in the right kind of manual work, there is no fear of "copying"; discipline maintains itself, and the whole school pulsates with active life and work.

In the upper classes (10 to 13 years of age), and side by side with the manual work, a course of study is mapped out which continues, with increasing difficulty, and in a perfectly natural and therefore psychological way, the primitive life habits of the younger children. The subjoined scheme forms a complete three years' course to which three or four hours per week may be devoted.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

Caves, huts in trees, huts on land, lake dwellings, huts of clay, wattle, and of rushes.

Weapons and Tools:—Stone axes, arrows, spears, scrapers, borers, needles.

Animals:—Clothing, food, skins.

Development of the Community:—Men come together for shelter and protection; evolution of government, laws.

1. Family. 2. Tribe. 3. Race. 4. Nation.

Mediæval Homes:—Rough stones, rude beams, clay floors, straw for floor coverings, holes for windows, thatched roofs, opening for smoke, horn windows, tax on glass. Rise of towns, no drainage, prevalence of disease.

Means of communication:—Footpaths, packhorse roads.

Modern Homes:—Stone, brick, timber, tiles, slates.

1. Choice of Site:—Shelter, prevailing winds, sunshine, height above sea level.
2. Drainage:—Composition of subsoil, clay, sand, rock, gravel, dampness.
3. Railway and tram facilities, nearest towns.
4. Arrangement of Rooms:—Light sun, air space, general convenience.
5. Plan:—Rough outline, discussion of size of rooms, large living room, airy bedrooms, convenient kitchen, scullery, outhouses, garden.
6. Ground Plan to Scale:—House, yard, garden.
7. First Floor Plan to Scale:—Bedrooms, bathroom, cubic capacity of each room, amount of air space required for each person, detached houses, wide streets, trees, recreation grounds.

Materials for house:—According to locality, stone, brick, timber, tiles, slates.

Contractor's Estimates:—Reckoned at 5d. or 5½d. per cubic foot. Cost of stone, brick, timber, tiles, slates, lime, sand, carting, freights, railway, canal, road, ship.

Geography:—Trade routes, steamship and rail, ports (foreign and home).

History:—Development of transportation, sled, wagon, rail, motor, aeroplane.

Graphs as ready reckoners for quantities, wages, cost of food. Contracting by tender. Advertisements. Newspapers.

House Fittings:—Joiner, plumber, plasterer.

Drainage:—Engineer's and navvy's work.

Wages:—Skilled workman, labourer, charwoman.

Decoration:—Painter, paperhanger.

Floor-coverings, furniture and fittings for all rooms.

House ready for tenants.

Upkeep of family of five persons (father, mother, and three children).

Man's wages to be divided into, say, twentieths.

1. Food:—Prices, where and how obtained, railways, ships.
2. Rent.
3. Coal:—Where and how obtained, carting, freights, wages.
4. Light:—Candles, oil, gas, electricity.
5. Materials:—Wool, cotton, leather, silk, where obtained, early forms of manufacture, development of industries, spinning-wheels, handlooms, waterwheels, machinery.
6. Savings:—Interest, banking, percentages.
7. Pocket money.
8. Holidays:—Where to go and how to travel.
9. Doctor.
10. Depreciation of Household Effects, repairs.
11. Civics:—Municipal and Imperial Government.

Nature Study and Drawing.

By Miss Mary Simpson

(Extension Lecturer, Leeds University).

If the fight is to be keen, the soldier must be well equipped for his task. He must not be hampered with useless or antiquated weapons. Not only must his weapons be of the best, but it has been proved again and again how futile it is to provide luxuries which must be discarded as soon as the fighting begins. This fitting of the soldier for his work—how much we hear of it in these days! What care and thought is bestowed on the design of a gun, a rifle, a bayonet, in order that it may be so fashioned as to efficiently carry on its work of slaughter. How much time is spent in preparing for the campaign which is to end in death! How much more carefully we ought to consider the equipment of the soldier for that struggle whose end is not death, but life—the child warrior, who at 13 years of age, or perhaps earlier, starts his fight for life!

How can we help him? Can we, by the education we give him, increase his chance of success, lessen the likelihood of failure? If we deal wisely with the child at school, can we make his whole life more worth living? Can we do something towards rescuing him from the ranks of the destitute and preventing him from being found in later life among the hopeless, the sad, the inefficient? Surely we can, and this power brings with it great responsibility. How careful we must be in the subjects we teach and the way in which we teach them! We need wisdom in the drawing up of the school time-table and wisdom in the working of it out.

As the school time-table at present stands, it is sadly overcrowded; far too many subjects are attempted, and the tendency is to add more subjects each year. It is obvious that this mistake must be corrected. There is not time for everything; neither is it wise to overload the mind of the child. Some subjects must be crossed out as being of secondary importance. Is Nature Study such a subject? Is it merely a fad, a luxury? If so, it must go. Or has it an educational value of its own? Does the child gain from Nature Study something which it cannot get from any other study, and is that something worth the getting? I think those who have thought over this matter will unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.

In the first place, Nature Study is the only study which brings the child into direct contact with living things. And surely this means much. No other subject awakens the same response in the child's mind. Other subjects interest, but this subject seems almost to awaken; it is as though life answered the call of life. Indeed, the response is so extraordinary that one almost feels that the child who has never been taught anything of the lives of plants or animals has been denied a portion of his birthright. He has been deprived of a great pleasure, of much that goes to make life worth living. Where the conditions of life are particularly depressing, and perhaps sordid, it seems the more necessary to pay special heed to those things which touch, as it were, the soul of the child. Indeed, I should be inclined to think it worth while to put Nature Study into the school curriculum, simply because it means so much pleasure to the child. Do not all workers among the very poor speak of the absence of joy, of hope, of simple pleasures as a constant difficulty? How can we bring some colour into the drab monotony of life? Is

not that an ever-recurring question? Now, if we can, by our Nature Study teaching, give the child a lasting joy in life, surely this in itself would be a valuable asset, a shining weapon which might help to slay the dragon of despair.

Then, again, in this study of Nature the child will be learning, perhaps unconsciously but none the less truly, the great laws of life. It must be wise to learn as much as possible about the world in which his life is to be spent. It is well to know something of the laws of the universe of which we are a part, and in the midst of which the battle of life is to be fought. The soldier can the better carry on his warfare the more familiar he is with the lie of the country.

Then when we consider the Nature Study lesson itself—how much a good lesson means in the education of the child! First, there is the joy of discovery, for, as far as the child is concerned, every observation is an original observation. Here, at last, he is learning something for himself; he can acquire his own knowledge, he need not receive it second-hand either from the teacher or the book. It is true the teacher will have to supply some facts, will have to help over the difficult places, but, notwithstanding all this, at every Nature Study lesson the child should be allowed to taste all the joys of original research. This subject, which brings the child face to face with actual fact, which gives him the opportunity of learning truth for himself, should we not welcome it as one of the very greatest educational value?

So much knowledge the children must of necessity receive second-hand; they must be told that William the Conqueror was king of England; that Paris is the capital of France; that London is on the Thames; but they can discover for themselves the beauty of a beech-bud, or watch the marvel of the emergence of the dragon-fly. This constant habit of first-hand observation, of endeavouring to discover the simple truth, surely this is another valuable asset, another trusty weapon for the warfare of life.

Then the truth, when discovered, must be accurately stated, the fact must be recorded. This training in accuracy of thought, accuracy of statement, is surely an important part of true scientific training, a habit of mind which will be simply invaluable to the child in after-life. Other subjects may give this training in accuracy, but they have not quite the interest of the living thing; they do not open up such a world of wonder and beauty.

There are two ways in which the discovered fact may be recorded—the careful answer and the careful drawing. To draw the thing seen is simply another way of stating the fact. Huxley used to tell his students that they had not seen a thing properly unless they had drawn it. Good drawing helps towards true seeing. It also emphasises the fact, fixes it in the mind. It seems most natural that in the early stages of teaching drawing it should be linked to Nature Study. This is a really natural correlation.

But the Nature Study lesson should not end in the accurate statement of fact, in the discovery of a truth, in a thrill of wonder; it should lead on. The child must be trained to draw deductions, to solve problems, to make experiments. One is inclined to think that true Nature Study is really the asking of a number of questions about some plant or animal, or some natural phenomenon, and then trying to work out the answers; in other words, the Nature Study lessons should be a constant solving of problems.

Once again, I think we may say that the child who has learned to reason about facts and has learned to think out some of the simple problems of plant and animal life has learned something which will be really helpful, has added to his equipment another useful weapon. These, then, are some of the reasons for which I would

ask that Nature Study should have its place on the school time-table: because of the joy it gives to life; because it gives knowledge of the laws of life; because it trains in accuracy of thought, accuracy of statement, and love of truth; and because it teaches how to attack and solve some of the problems of life.

But this Nature Study, which is to do so much for the child, is not the casual lesson of the careless teacher. One sometimes hears lessons given on flowers and animals which might just as well be given on door-handles or dinner-knives, so dull and lifeless are they! Many of our so-called object lessons are of really no value. I suppose there are few subjects which are so little understood and so faultily taught as Nature Study. Many crimes are indeed committed in its name. This un-ideal teaching results largely from the difficulties which confront the teacher who deals with this subject.

The chief difficulties are: (1) want of knowledge on the part of the teacher; (2) the large number of children in the classes; (3) the supply of specimens.

The want of knowledge. How is this difficulty to be dealt with? It is not necessary that the teacher should have a wide knowledge of biology or geology, but it is necessary that the knowledge should be real knowledge gained first-hand from the teacher's own direct study of Nature. I do not think the teacher can gain the necessary knowledge for this work without help. Good courses of practical lectures should be provided for teachers of Nature Study—courses that will set the teachers on right lines of study and leave them full of enthusiasm for their work. Such courses are already arranged in many districts, but they should be more general and more regular. Also, it would be a great advantage if they could extend throughout the year. It seems almost absurd that such lectures are often planned for the winter months, and cease at Easter, just when spring and summer are coming and there is so much work to be done. It is the continuous, seasonal study of Nature throughout the year that is of such real interest.

There is a great deal to be said for the summer holiday course, which allows of work being carried on day after day and when so much field work can be done. I should like to put in a plea for short Whitsuntide courses. So many things are over in August, or, at any rate, they have reached the comparative dullness of middle age; but in spring we can study the beginnings of things, ever the most fascinating of studies.

But however, or whenever, the classes are held, all teachers should have the opportunity of good out-of-door work, as well as good classroom work. Teachers so trained will not be content with the methods or the information of the Nature Study text-book; they will not be found giving lessons from the wall diagram or the stuffed animal.

With such teachers in our schools many reforms might be looked for. The number of subjects which find a place in the Nature Study syllabus would be much reduced. For the wise teacher knows well that it is not the number of facts learned that is important, but the method of work. It is not necessary to make the little feet gallop along the path of learning, but it is necessary that we should start our little traveller on the right road.

The lesson, too, would be simplified and made more living. The children would not spend their time learning to describe the shape of a leaf in cumbersome technical terms, but they would be carrying out simple experiments to show what the leaf was doing for the plant, what part it played in the life of the plant. Lessons would not be given on such subjects as camels and elephants, but on

homely creatures like cats and caterpillars, for the good teacher knows something of the romance of common things.

We should have more out-of-door work, and in districts where it was not possible to take the children to the field or the hedgerow or the town park, the teacher would carry the country into the schoolroom. Yes, there is little doubt that the great difficulty of getting good Nature Study teaching would be removed if the teachers had more knowledge of the subject they were teaching.

The second great difficulty is the size of the classes in an Elementary School. It is impossible for even a good teacher to do the best work under the conditions which exist in most of our Elementary Schools. Indeed, with the demand for so many subjects, the huge classes and the amount of clerical work to be done, one feels that one ought just to sympathise with, and not criticise, the teacher. Still, I think we must alter our conditions and not our ideals.

The third difficulty is the providing of specimens for these large classes. I am sure we increase our difficulties here by our choice of subjects. One cannot emphasise too much the fact that simple, common things will answer the purpose perfectly well—all the interest or the dullness comes with the method of treatment. And here, again, it is so often want of knowledge that makes the difficulty greater. If we only knew how to gather and what to gather, a day in the country, once or twice a term, would provide us with the material for many a lesson. I have so often seen the enthusiastic teacher surmount this difficulty of specimens that I am inclined to think it is sometimes exaggerated. But I am afraid if it is not overcome in some way, then the Nature Study lesson must go; if we have no Nature to study it is no use pretending.

Before leaving this subject of Nature Study there is just one other point that should be mentioned. It is such a living thing that it is capable of many developments. It is the starting-point, as it were, of many branches of study. It is not a blind-alley, but it is a gateway leading to wider fields of knowledge. It may pave the way to a more systematic study of botany, or zoology, or geology; it may lead on to the school garden or to the more scientific study of agriculture. Indeed, it is full of possibilities if only a good start is made.

And as the Nature Study should grow and develop, so should the drawing. The art work that is connected with Nature Study begins first with modelling; this is followed by line drawing, either with the brush or pencil. But by and by the drawing leaves the Nature Study and develops along lines of its own. The drawing of natural forms, whether in pencil or brush, becomes more and more artistic—that is to say, it is not only the expression of a fact but of an emotion. The child not only expresses what he sees, but what he feels, about natural forms, and so the drawing becomes a means of self-expression, and thus another side of child nature is developed.

Then, again, the drawing trains both the memory and the imagination. The memory drawing compels the child to look intelligently and to remember what he has observed. It trains him to see with the mind; the imaginative side of the child's nature is brought out when he is asked to illustrate some story or some incident in history.

Then, again, the drawing from natural forms may lead on to the teaching of design, and so another interest comes into the drawing lesson and the artistic skill of the child is developed along other lines. Drawing and Nature Study owe much to each other, and they both have a very important part to play in the development of child nature: it is surely our wisdom, therefore, to find a place for them in the school curriculum.

Discussion.

The Rev. J. WILSON HARPER, D.D. (Alloa School Board) said that a Conference of that kind enabled those of them who were engaged in educational work to exchange views, to discover faults where any existed, and to put forward such remedies as the combined wisdom of the Conference might suggest. The President of this Section had spoken the previous day as an administrator of education, and that was very much his (the speaker's) position also. For many years he had been connected with the Colleges for the training of teachers, and for very many years a member of one of the large Scottish School Boards, so that anything he had to say was at least based upon personal experience. It seemed to him that in a Conference of that kind what they especially had to consider was how far education would enable young people to enter into professions or secure a livelihood in after life. Education towards these ends must be practical, but those who had been engaged as administrators of education knew they were far from having a free hand. He did not know how it was with the Board of Education in England, but with regard to the Scottish Education Department, they of the School Boards continually complained that it gave them no rest. It was constantly sending out circulars, and no sooner did the Boards try to accommodate themselves to the new situation created, than the Department changed its mind and threw them into a great deal of expense, and disorganised their education. They had always contended that they should manage their own education affairs in Scotland, but directions came to them from Dover House and they had no option but to obey. Quite recently Dover House had conceived the idea that there should be a written examination for those sitting for the qualifying examination. The result would be that teachers would prepare their scholars for passing this stereotyped examination rather than for their after life. Educationists should attach the minimum value to written examinations; they were no real test of the mind's capacity. Education gave a habit of study and fitted the mind to adapt itself now to one subject and now to another. Reference had been made to the condition of things in England previous to the time when education had been made compulsory, and it had been stated that in England perhaps about half of the pupils did not attend school. That had never been the case in Scotland. From the Reformation onwards they had always had their Parish schools. In the old Scotch schools they often had what were known as "stickit ministers" as their teachers—men who tried to qualify for the church, but had failed. They had many highly-qualified teachers, and he (the speaker) had gone to the University with considerable knowledge both of Latin and Greek, and that from a purely rural school. The great majority of the children in Scotland always had attended school, and when education was made compulsory an attempt was made to get hold of the submerged tenth in the cities, and one of the greatest problems they had had to encounter was in trying to get hold of the children with drunken or careless parents. Of all the papers that had been read, Professor Gregory's was the one which was truest to history and to experience. It was an admirable statement of the position at the present time. With regard to inspectors, he did not know anything that was so futile, if not wrong, as that men who had not been trained as teachers and who merely came from Cambridge or Oxford with distinguished records should be set at the head of their schools to estimate the whole of their work. Many of the inspectors of the Scottish schools were friends of his, and he did not make any personal reference, but the kind of inspectors he had referred to, although their intentions were good, had no conception at all of what was best for the future life of the child, and they set up wrong standards with which to test the value of the work which the teachers were doing. They must have men who knew education intimately and who had in view the educating and training of the children so that in their after life they would be good and worthy citizens.

Mr. ALFRED HOLDSWORTH (National Industrial Education League) said he took it that this Conference was a proof of the fact that none of them were satisfied with their national system of elementary education as it existed at present. He thought they might assume agreement that the system involved collosal waste of time, of men, and of money, and that it had failed to produce, at any rate, in any

way approaching adequate measure, those beneficial results which men of a previous generation who were responsible for the system anticipated that it would produce. He thought they could also agree that even if it were desirable to sweep away the present system and start as it were with a clean sheet, it was impossible to do so. He imagined that most, if not all, would agree that it would not be even desirable to do so; that revolutionary changes never were desirable, and that the course of amendment must be gradual reform. They must take the system as it was, conserve what was good in it, adapt what was capable of adaptation, and get rid of what was evil, or a hindrance, or in any respect harmful. He thought, further, they would agree that a national system of education must aim at preparing the younger members of the community for the work of life, and he thought most of them would go a step beyond that and say that they must have another governing principle in their efforts towards reform, and that was that the education of the boys and girls of the nation should aim at teaching them how to live as men and as women. With regard to education in its relation to destitution, he had one suggestion to make. They could not teach boys a trade within the ordinary Elementary School period; but they could teach them how to learn a trade. In manual and industrial training there must be a wide difference between town and country areas. A large part of the destitution in London and other large centres of population was due, in part at any rate, to the migration of large bodies of young men (untrained and unskilled) during the past generation from country areas to town areas. Anything which would keep men in the country was desirable as a preventive of destitution, and therefore the particular suggestion he wished to put before the Conference was that the industrial training in country areas should be primarily and principally agricultural. They could not turn out a trained and capable agriculturist at the age of 12, 13, 14, or even 15, but they could so adapt their system of education as to create in the minds of the boys and youths a real living and abiding interest in the land itself and the things, the plants, the animals that live and work on the land. He thought it possible so to adapt the curriculum of Elementary Schools in country districts as really to produce an interest that would keep the youth in the country and prevent him migrating to the towns, where he was not only very often useless, but was perpetually adding to the unemployed and unemployable, and therefore to the measure of destitution which obtained in populous centres.

Mr. H. W. Day (Chesterfield Union) said he considered the papers that had been read a magnificent vindication of the trend of modern elementary education. He received all his elementary education in Board Schools, and he was thankful to have lived to see a time when the children had not got to go through what he had. His fingers tingled now when he thought of the time when they were preparing for the annual "parade day" and the number of shillingsworths of geography and history and arithmetic and other subjects which he had helped to earn. (Laughter.) The boys and girls of 12 years of age to-day had more general knowledge, a better vocabulary, did better composition, and had a wider knowledge of literature than he had at the age of 15. They had a better chance because the teachers were not now tied down to those hide-bound methods which in the past had to be taken in order to produce something at the end of the year. He happened to be the headmaster of a school in a large colliery district where 90 per cent. of the boys went into the pit on leaving school, and at the present time they had a scheme in the upper standards that would fit the boys to take a real living interest in that work in the pit when they went to it. They were only now developing it, and he hoped in the future those boys would be fit and prepared to go right on with the mining class, and eventually some, he hoped, would be able to take charge of a pit. The last speaker had advocated what he took to mean the production of the agricultural labourer. That would be a very difficult thing, at any rate in North-East Derbyshire, where they were paid at the rate of 18s. a week, whilst as a filler in the pit they could get from 6s. 6d. to 8s. a day. Another thing that he thought was something to the credit of education was instanced in the last great coal strike. His school was in the middle, practically, of the Derbyshire mining district, and during that strike for miles and miles around there were 40,000 men and lads idle for six weeks, and during the whole of that time there was not a single bit of disturbance. (Applause.) Let them contrast that with the '93 strike; before that had been going a week the soldiers were in possession of the pits and riots were rampant up and down the length and breadth of that area.

He thought that was something to the credit of the education that had been given during the last twenty years, and another fact that was more significant still was that the last strike had not been going many days before a number of men and boys —boys of 14 to 15 and young men up to 26, some of them married—came to his school and asked, "May we come to school, sir?" They told him they had nothing to do and would like to go back to school, and they would be glad to do anything he liked. He had only spare space in one room, but during the whole of that strike from fifteen to twenty of these men and boys came to that room and were given advanced work to do. Just before the concluding hymns and prayers he told them that they need not stay unless they liked, but they said they would stay, and it would have done the hearts of those present that morning good to have seen those lads taking part in the concluding offices of that afternoon school as reverently and as quietly as if they had never been out of the school. That also spoke well for the elementary education of the last twenty years. They were not perfect yet. Great improvement had taken place, but before much further improvement could be brought about certain things would have to be done. In the first place the schools would have to be better staffed. A friend of his in one of the London schools had told him the previous day that at his school he had seven fully certificated teachers. He (the speaker) had only six—three certificated and three uncertificated—and yet he had the same number of children to train, and he was supposed to do the same work and get just the same results as his friend who had seven. The whole question of staffing would have to be investigated. It was time that the 18,000 young women whose only qualification was that they need be 18 and had been vaccinated—(laughter)—were out of the school, and that the large army of partly qualified teachers, the "Article 50's," had an opportunity during their training to learn more than at the present of the real art of teaching. They came to the Elementary Schools supposed to be able to take charge of a class, and for twelve months they were little more good than one of the chairs in that room. With regard to the six-monthly promotions of certain Authorities, he thought that the idea of making the classes fit the rooms was the greatest educational fallacy that had ever arisen. It simply meant looking for trouble. Another matter that would have to be considered was the condition of some of the schools. There were hundreds of schools up and down the country which were an absolute disgrace to the Education Authorities. He knew a school within range of Welbeck Abbey that the Duke of Portland would not put his dogs into, and yet children had to be taught there each day. There were none like that in London unless a certain school he knew in Trafalgar Square in the 'nineties still existed. He remembered that on going up the staircase of that school they always took the wall side at one particular part, because, if they took the railing side, they were liable to take in mouthfuls of noxious vapours which came up from the lower regions. Those reforms would all cost money, and he knew that they had as much as they could do in the Midlands to persuade the ratepayer to spend the money that it was felt must be spent. He contended that the Government should give more liberal grants to the Education Authorities, making it a distinct condition that they should not reduce their present expenditure but that the extra money given should be used for levelling up the schools of the country and putting them on a more satisfactory basis.

Mr. C. G. Watkins (Buckinghamshire County Council) said that much as one appreciated the point of view of a University professor, he ventured to think it would be well sometimes if the professors would descend from their lofty pedestals and go into the Elementary Schools and realise the conditions under which the work is carried on. He wished to refer to the formal lessons in history and geography such as one often found in rural schools, and he ventured to think that those formal lessons as usually given were quite unsuitable and very often out of place. The alternative which he ventured to suggest to the formal history or geography lesson was that first of all the important events in the calendar should be taken daily by the teacher, who would thereby arouse the interest of the children in the important events of the past. The Empire League had issued in January last a most useful calendar giving a number of most interesting facts which would save the teacher time. There were such things as the coming round yearly of Oak Apple Day, Empire Day, the Battle of Trafalgar, and the Battle of Waterloo—not that one need attach too much importance to mere battles—and if those events were dealt with on their anniversary

there would be a greater awakening of interest on the part of the rural child in the important events of their country than if simply the formal lesson covering a particular period was given. He welcomed the work of their Chairman and others in starting local history lessons in order to give Londoners an interest in their own place, but in the country there were also interesting associations. There was the church or the town hall, or some Roman remain or other which should be the basis of the teaching, and the children should go to the church and to the Roman wall and see the parish register, and their interest would thereby be aroused and they would become prouder of their village. If they aroused interest in that manner they were certainly teaching in the right way. Then the use of pictures ought not to be minimised. Last year there were published some very beautiful reproductions at an inexpensive price of the frescoes in the House of Lords and House of Commons, and he thought that pictures of that sort hanging on the walls of a school would form the basis of the lessons and carry home useful points to the children. He came from a county burdened by rates, and it would seem impossible to equip 200 village schools with all the historical pictures that one would like to see, but it was possible to form an association to lend such pictures. There were over 1,000 pictures circulating in that way in his county, the movement having been started by Lady Verney. Then in the third place the dramatisation of history was of great importance in order to get the children interested in it. It was only what the children did themselves that really mattered, and drawing and manual instruction could be brought in in connection with the dramatisation, and the children would probably go to original sources and search educational and illustrated encyclopædias, etc., and gain knowledge in that way. In so far as the child was interested he would learn; and he believed that with the formal history lesson and the formal geography lesson there was less likelihood of awakening the child's interest and intelligence than by the three methods he had mentioned—the greater use of a calendar, the greater use of pictures, and the dramatisation of history.

Miss CONSTANCE COCHRANE (Rural Housing and Sanitation Association) said she thought they must remember the immature mental and bodily condition of the children they were trying to teach in the Elementary Schools and also the poor intellectual capacity inherited by those children. She thought that those who dictated to teachers what they were to teach had not been through that experience with that poor intellectual capacity and could not realise it. Boys and girls who left school at 13 or 14 apparently sharp and fairly well educated were found three or four years later, when they came into touch with them in connection with Sunday-school teaching or Evening Classes, to have forgotten almost everything they had learnt, things which it could hardly be believed that they would have forgotten, and they made the most appalling mistakes. In the school in which she was especially interested in Cambridgeshire they found that the manual instruction classes developed enormously the capacity of the children. A great many different branches of education, for instance, could be brought into the lesson in gardening, in which both the boys and the girls took part, and it stimulated a great interest in the children in the land. They saw the history of the seeds they planted and learnt that there were certain enemies to be overcome and that simply leaving the seeds in the ground was not enough. Last year they exhibited thirteen specimens of field grasses that the children themselves had grown and from which they had learnt the different sizes in which the different grasses grew. The girls budded the rose-trees, the boys going out and getting the stocks, and the children began to want to have little gardens at home, and they made notes in their note-books of what they did in their gardens and these could be referred to in after years to see what seeds should be sown at certain periods. They also had a Woodwork Class which worked together with the Gardening Classes and did any work required for it. They found that the woodwork developed wonderfully the dull boy, and the boy who was almost a dunce in the school would take to it, and instead of feeling a dunce he would begin to take a pride in himself. (Applause.) In that way they were doing something to prevent the children becoming destitute in after years and were giving them an interest in life. With regard to history and geography, she agreed that, as generally taught, it was exceedingly dull. She wished that the public would take more interest than they did in the elementary education of the children. In the country year after year went by and nobody came into the school, except the parson, to give a religious lesson. The

poor teachers were expected to do everything the Inspector required, and received no encouragement and no help, and so how could they always be teaching enthusiastically? Here and there one did so, but it was not human nature to always keep that up, and she thought that some members of the public who were fitted to do so should come in and do what they could. She never took a journey abroad or anywhere without telling the children about it when she came back. They could be given a magic lantern entertainment, and she always brought back picture postcards and told them all about the places she had visited, and then they would find those places on the map, and the children were delighted and learnt and remembered far more than they would with the school book and school map only. The children were also encouraged to take an interest in local geography by asking them such questions as whether they were going north or south when they came to school, how many hills there were, how many ponds, and how the fields were cultivated. That made them take a great interest in the surroundings of their villages. She thought that too often the towns were being considered and the country districts forgotten. The teachers who came into the country were often those who were not quite good enough for the towns. That was not always so, but it was very often the case, and it was very hard on the country child and reacted eventually on the towns. The teachers in the country also often had to put up with a great many disadvantages, and she did not consider that was at all fair. Although perhaps she would be in a minority, she wished to say that she thought it was also a great mistake to insist upon children coming to school at 5 years of age. There were a great many little children who, although not being ill enough to have a doctor's certificate, suffered from such things as headaches, and through other causes would probably be far better if they stayed at home. She had also known cases where children had not been able to start school life at an early age, but when they did come to the school, not only caught up but even passed the children who had had to go through the dull routine of school life ill or well even since they were 5.

The Rev. JOHN SMITH, D.D. (Govan School Board), said that a great deal had been said and a great deal of criticism passed upon their present system of modern education. Personally, he did not believe in any finality in education. He believed in education that was developed on broad, sane, and rational lines, and he had not the slightest faith in anything that savoured of faddism. He thought they had had a great deal of that not only in England but also in Scotland. He believed the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department were doing their best, but there were circulars sent out from time to time which were bound to have an irritating effect on educationists, and those circulars were often severely and often very justly criticised. As Chairman not merely of the Govan School Board, but of the Provincial Committee of Glasgow University for the Training of Teachers, he might say that their training of teachers in regard to Nature Study was on very wise and systematic lines. There was a certain amount of zoology and botany and geology in the curriculum, and those subjects were not taught merely from dry text-books, but by practical work in the laboratory, etc. Another point was the difficulty in regard to the size of classes. There was no true educationist who desired a class of sixty or seventy to be under one teacher, but it was to be remembered that the demands of the Board of Education of England, and especially of the Scottish Education Department, had been so great that the ratepayers had been forced to bear an undue proportion of the cost of education. It must not be forgotten that education was not a local matter. It was a national matter; it was an imperial concern; and he was bound to say that the State as a State ought to pay far more out of imperial funds towards the ever-increasing cost of education in England and in Scotland. He felt certain that a Conference like that one would go a great way towards unifying and co-ordinating education in England and Scotland.

Mr. H. LEONARD HUMPHREYS (West Ham Distress Committee) said that as he had been engaged for from twenty-three to twenty-five years in scholastic work—elementary, higher elementary, and secondary—and in the last seven years had been in touch with it in connection with some 16,000 men, many of whom were in large part the product of elementary curricula and methods, he thought he might claim that this matter of education in relation to destitution was one that specially appealed to him. Some eight and a half years ago he had the pleasure of submitting to the West Ham Education Committee—and as a basis of what they were able afterwards

to develop and had now in working—a scheme of curricula, methods, and organisation for general co-ordination purposes. In that scheme, based upon his fairly lengthy experience, he pointed out certain special features that he thought should govern education generally and be common to all grades, and he thought that it was on those general principles, rather than a discussion of little details, that they should consider the question. First he attached special importance to was Physical Training. They could not possibly get from the unhealthy child, the ill-nurtured child, that mental activity that was necessary, and therefore he had put in the first place healthy physical training. He did not mean merely military drill for half-an-hour or twenty minutes once or twice a week, but a definite, well-thought-out plan of exercising the whole boy or girl so that the whole body was being developed. No cramming of the curricula should prevent an important place being given to that feature. Then with regard to Manual Training, how much they had forgotten that they needed the manually dexterous and intelligent as well as the mentally dexterous. Further, with regard to the physical training he had referred to, was it not a common experience that they found among their children so much readiness to give way to vicious habits—affecting so seriously many social questions—owing to lack of training in habitual and manual exercises. The second feature he wished to emphasise was the direct or indirect moral and citizenship training which had been so admirably suggested by one of the ladies who had contributed papers—the subject of History taught by " living " method, providing a splendid aid to this end. Then they wanted the three R's as preliminaries to, or accompaniments of, all formal studies, but with regard to Euclid and Algebra, much as he recognised their value, to teach such things as those to barefooted and half-clothed children in town schools as was sometimes done was futile, and he did condemn most emphatically the fads that had led to such attempts as that when the children had only seven or eight years of school life. Again, they needed English Composition and Drawing right through, either as main studies or as auxiliaries in developing real intelligence in all. Bacon had well said that reading certainly makes a full man, speaking a ready man, and writing an exact man. They needed indeed to adopt methods right through best calculated to produce in every grade trained intelligence and power of application. He would also certainly like to see the fact more uniformly realised that behind all curricula, all methods, and all other provisions, however costly or elaborate, lay the question of greatest moment—the training and personality of the teacher. It was the personality of the teacher that told. They had had a little example of that personality that morning. What was the meaning of those lads, fifteen or twenty, turning up during the coal strike eager to participate in school work again? It was the personality of the man under whose hands they had been. (Applause.) Their great object was to provide such education—physical and manual equally with academical —as would best fit a boy or girl for his or her after years. Six, seven, or eight years were all they had in hand, and they must not see that time frittered away on subjects which were in no sense helpful either as to the development of the body, the character, or the intelligence; and which certainly tended to disgust the child with study, which was the case if the curricula was crowded with subjects that had no practical bearing on his after-life.

Mr. H. W. Day said he should like to explain, in view of the remarks of the last speaker, that what happened at his school during the coal strike also happened at dozens of other schools on the same coalfield, so it was nothing to do with him personally.

Miss A. Doulton-Edwards (Scarborough Guild of Help) said she wished to emphasise the note struck by Miss Simpson with regard to Nature Study imparting a knowledge of the laws of life. One characteristic distinctly lacking in youth was reverence and she felt that the teaching of natural science could impart that to the children in a special degree. It was also one of the best methods of leading on to the important subject of sex hygiene, the neglect of which led to so many evils. Physical degeneracy and illigitimacy had a large share in contributing to destitution, and much could be done by a pure, earnest presentation of the mystery of birth and purity of sex. Many would say that the home was the right place for such teaching, and in its best form it certainly was, but as they had so few true homes among the classes from which destitution came they must depend largely upon the schools for that early training. The teaching certainly needed a very special qualification, and

the personality of the teacher must be considered, but at the same time there were very many who, realising the spiritual and eugenic importance of the subject, would treat it very wisely in the schools.

Mr. H. HOLMAN (Child Study Society) said he took it that they all agreed that the relation of the child towards destitution was the question of the child's personal efficiency, taken, of course, in its widest and broadest sense. They had all heard the aim of education expressed that morning as "preparation for life" and "preparation for living." It might be that the two meant the same, but the second might mean a "preparation for earning a living," and there was a very vital and fundamental distinction between preparation for life and preparation for earning a living. It might be that a person was being prepared for being a crossing-sweeper or a dustman. (Laughter.) Well, the sort of education for that was very limited, and very narrow and confined—and a very mischievous and disastrous one. (Applause.) Preparation for life was, to his mind, for living as a good citizen, and for being and doing good in every possible way. That was the issue before them.

People who used the phrase "preparation for living" or "preparation for life," often had at the back of their minds the idea of preparation for earning a living; and they had even had it suggested that anyone born in the country should be prepared for agriculture, and anyone in the mining districts for the mines. In Bermondsey he supposed the preparation should be for leather tanning, and in a certain street in London for picking pockets. (Laughter.) That was, of course, pressing the argument to its logical absurdity; but he really thought, on this theory, that if some people found a child born in a stable they would prepare him to be a horse. (Laughter.) He was exaggerating, but it was to emphasise the fallacy of the idea at the back of the argument. One of the most interesting of the many interesting things in the papers was that the first three of them, read in the order that they were printed, gave an absolutely complete representation of the educational history of the last 100 years. That was a striking and remarkable thing: the papers gave in their order the successive stages in the attitude of individual men, and of the population as a whole, towards the educating of the child for life and for earning a living. In Professor Gregory's paper they had the attitude of 100 years ago. (Laughter.) There were a few modern touches—he did not know how they got in—(laughter)—but they had a plea for the three R's. That was for earning a living. At that time they wanted clerical accomplishments, and insisted on having them; and they said that reading, writing, and arithmetic were fundamental subjects. They were absolutely no such thing. (Laughter and applause.) They were derivative and secondary. there was knowledge long before reading, writing, and arithmetic. Some men had earned large fortunes by great knowledge, and yet they could not read or write. Fifty years ago such men were common, up in the north, at any rate. Only after a time did the three R's become vital. The mind could not carry on its highest work without those systems of symbols—for that was all they were essentially, symbols for recording and re-expressing knowledge, which had to be gained as experience first of all. The emphasis which had been laid upon them was entirely mischievous, and very disastrously so. Then with regard to education and crime, they should look at the paper to be read by Mr. Bruce on Friday. No one had any right to say that because there was so much crime education had failed. Education had reduced crime amongst the educated. They would find, in Mr. Bruce's paper, the question dealt with statistically, and it was shown that the proportion of crime decreased in a remarkable way in the case of those who had passed the third standard, while among those who had not done so there was the most crime. So with destitution and education: destitution decreased as education increased, when the sweater permitted it. It was nonsense to say that the better educated man was not more likely to earn his living than the more ignorant person. That was really a contradiction in terms. (Applause.) Then they came to Dr. Reid's paper, with which they might put Miss Simpson's. They represented the next great stage in the public attitude towards the schools and the earning of a living. Huxley and his school said that what they wanted was to teach science, which was the great motive power in industrial life, and of the first importance to the individual in his life and in the life of the community. That was quite true; and science teaching had this very great virtue—and therefore did an immense amount of good for education—it was nearer to the way in which the child naturally learnt, because he was a rational

being. Science had got nearer to his nature, and to the natural way of learning. But these good people made the grand mistake of forgetting that children were children. (Applause.) So the papers represented far too much the point of view of the cultured scientist. Dr. Reid had been talking about history in a way that had nothing to do with the child, or with the audience, but only with Dr. Reid. (Laughter.) The child knew nothing of those historical values to which she had referred; and Heaven forbid that the teachers should have to try to make them understand, because they could not. Then there was another mistake of the enthusiastic scientist; that there's nothing like science. Miss Simpson, whom they all admired for her work, had said that people sometimes gave lessons on flowers and animals which might just as well have been given on door handles or dinner knives, so dull and lifeless were they. Why, the most interesting lesson in the world could be given on a knife by one who understood the knife and the child. There was nothing under the sun that was uninteresting to a rational being, or that could not be made interesting to children. Then they came to the third paper, which Mr. Arrowsmith had read. That paper was well worth their most careful study, as it represented the newest attitude—not education according to what the child was in, but what was in the child. They had got to the point that it was not educational to introduce certain subjects, such as the fundamental subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic (laughter), until a certain age (6 to 8); and that it was not educational to introduce the subject of pure science until the period of adolescence was just beginning. That was the true science of education. They were learning to consider the child; and the more they developed its nature, as such, the more efficient it would be, and the more fit for life and living in its broadest and best sense, and therefore for any form of earning a living. What he wanted to say with all respect to the amateur—"most of us here are amateurs, I believe" (laughter)—was: When would the amateurs know how little they knew about education? (Laughter.) When? And when would they learn that enthusiasm was not knowledge in education, and that however fond they were of the subject, they did not, therefore, necessarily know it? These admirable amateurs—and Heaven forbid that they should cease to interest themselves in education—when would they be content to sit at the feet of the lifelong professional educationists, as they were willing to sit at the feet of a doctor who had given his life to the study of medicine? When they did so sit, as they quite rightly sat at the feet of a doctor, then they would have a different attitude to education. They would not then have the amateur who laid down the doctrine of education before he had studied it. Only the deepest depths of ignorance could ever rise to such sublime heights of impudence as the amateur, whether in the Board of Education or out of it, who would calmly lay down the law, to the hurt of education, simply because he had become interested in education, but who had not studied, even for a reasonable minimum of ten years, what was in reality a scientific subject. (Applause.)

Professor GREGORY, in replying to the criticisms of his paper, said that in the first place Mr. Holman assumed that they were all amateurs. Now he ventured to say that he had had a wider experience of educational matters than Mr. Holman had. It was an experience which certainly extended over a wider area. He went through an Elementary School, which he left at the age of 14, and at the age of 17 he could not do a simple subtraction sum. He then attended evening classes, and eventually obtained a post at Clifton College, and he had also been through a technical college as well. (Mr. HOLMAN: May I say that I have had more than that.) He thought elementary school, public school, university college, and technical college seemed to include the whole group. During the last twenty years he had also been very closely concerned with educational work on the literary side, having been bound to follow the progress of education in the editing of an educational paper, and also as the assistant editor of the chief scientific paper in the country. To suggest that he was only concerned with matters a hundred years old, seemed to be a little unkind —(laughter and applause)—especially when one was compelled to keep in touch with everything that was taking place in the educational world. With regard to the three R's, he did not select the subject himself, and it was not the subject which he would have selected. He would have preferred to deal with the interests of science and scientific work in the school; but the subject of his paper had been chosen for him. It had been suggested that he should deal with the curriculum of the school,

and specifically with reading, writing, and arithmetic; so the Committee was responsible for the subject on which he had contributed his paper. With regard to the relation between education and crime and destitution, he was only able to refer to it parenthetically, and it was impossible now to go into details, but he quite agreed with Mr. Holman that crime was due to the lack of education. He did not wish to state for a moment that there was any other relationship between the two. It was clear from the Blue Book on Criminal Statistics that the number of crimes known to the police in 1910 was greater than the average of the twenty years from 1887 to 1907, but 50 per cent. of the prison population of the country were illiterate, or nearly so, whilst the general illiteracy was only 2 per cent. or so, which showed that it was the lack of education that filled our prisons, and certainly not education itself. There was only one other point to which he wished to refer, and that was the question of the adaptation of the curriculum of the elementary schools in rural districts to agricultural requirements. He spent four days every week in a typical agricultural district, West Sussex, where he had his home, and was deeply concerned with agriculture, and he considered it was absurd to think that by means of a curriculum they could make an enterprising young countryman satisfied with the conditions under which he would have to work. It was those conditions that wanted altering. (Applause.) In his district the labouring man received 15s. a week and perhaps a cottage, which in many cases was a broken-down, insanitary place. Could they therefore expect to keep the most enterprising and the best men in the country? There was a larger proportion of mental deficients in the country than in town districts, because the best men got out of it and went to where there were freer conditions of labour, for when a man was dismissed by a farmer he had often to go out of the district because he could not find a cottage in which to live.

Dr. Rachel Reid, in reply to criticisms of her paper, said that while she agreed with all that had been said as to the use to be made of local monuments and local history in teaching history, such use was a matter of method, and she must point out that in preparing her paper she was concerned not with methods of teaching, but with the question, "Why should geography and history be taught in Elementary Schools?" Her definition of history had been criticised as personal and academic, but she had not always been a University teacher; she had taught in Elementary and Secondary Schools and in Elementary Training Colleges, and she knew many teachers who held the same views as she. If only for the sake of the information to be gained, both geography and history should have a place in the Elementary School curriculum. When talking to ordinary people and trying to understand the working of the mind of the average man in dealing with social, economic, and political problems, she had been struck with the inadequacy of his information. He seemed to know so very little about either the world or the society in which he lived; and he was quite unable to estimate either the control that they had over the individual or the influence that the individual could have on them. But geography and history had a value apart from that of their information. Much of the science teaching of the past had been wasted because each science had been isolated from other sciences and from life; but geography brought the sciences into relation with one another and with man. The basis was nature study, but whereas nature study must remain a study of isolated facts, geography, starting from the observation, added to it the recorded observations of others, and helped to train the children to get behind the isolated facts, to interpret, and to bring them into relation with one another and with human activities. With regard to history, she admitted that history, in the full sense of the word, was hardly a school subject at all, but the same could be said of any subject, and certainly preparation for its study in later life could be made at school. The children themselves made this clear; for they were intensely interested in men; not in the policeman or the next door neighbour, but in the people whose story could begin with "Once upon a time." These stories could be chosen from the story of their own country and of the world, and could be so presented that the children might learn something, not only of the great men and decisive events of the past, but also of the slow growth of civilisation. They could understand how men lived in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, and could follow the story of their own land from the Stone Age to the present day. The shortness of Elementary School life left little time in which to make much progress with such a subject as history, but the new interest in the society around them shown by most children about the age

of 12 warned the teacher that the time had come to help them to understand the nature and growth of that society. They could do so, however, only with the aid of imagination, human sympathy, and understanding, and by cultivating the spirit of criticism so essential for judging aright the facts of human life, and for estimating social and political problems without passion or prejudice.

Miss SIMPSON said that the point which Mr. Holman had raised with regard to her paper was so trfling that it seemed scarcely worth answering. (Laughter.) The illustration that she had given might not have been good, but her point was all right—that nature study lessons were often so dull and uninteresting that they might be on dead things instead of living things. Perhaps it was the alliteration of " Door handles or dinner knives " that caused her to use that illustration which, no doubt, was a bad one, although the point was good.

Mr. ARROWSMITH also replied to points raised during the discussion. He said he had been very much struck, during the whole of the morning, with the use of such phrases as " I would like to see this," or " I would like to see that." No one had said " What does the child want?" It was no good coming with set schemes and saying that this or that scheme would do. The thing to do was to consider very carefully what the child required. They would not be on right lines until they got to that. Many of them who perhaps wanted to travel too fast were kept back by the Board of Education and the Inspectors. He considered that the Inspectors were very badly selected. They were not men who knew their work. How would the audience like to have their bread and butter at the mercy of an irresponsible little child? Teachers were at the mercy of thirty, forty, or fifty irresponsible little children, and these children were very much subject to conditions of weather. On a dull day very little could be got from children. It could be got from the human sponges, the parrots, but the teachers could not always get the thing they wanted from the real kiddie. The Inspectors and the Board of Education were in the teachers' way; they could not move for them. (Hear, hear.) The coming thing, due to the modern development of the picture show, was the teaching of history by means of moving pictures. He did not think that any child under 12 had the real historical sense. Manual training was intellectual training. They had so distorted the meaning of " intellectual " that now persons only thought of book learning when the word was mentioned. It was the number of experiences that the human being had undergone and had profited by that formed his intelligence, and so they should not talk any more about manual training *and* intellectual training, because manual training was intellectual training. They could not be separated.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was again occupied by Mr. Cyril Jackson, President of the Section and the discussion on THE GENERAL CURRICULUM OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS A PREPARATION FOR AFTER-LIFE was continued. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Interest of the Child in Work.*
By PROFESSOR J. J. FINDLAY.

2.—*The Curriculum of the Public Elementary School as a Preparation for After-life.*
By Mr. J. W. EMBLETON.

The Interest of the Child in Work.

By J. J. FINDLAY, M.A., PH.D.
(Professor of Education in the University of Manchester).

I UNDERSTAND from our Secretary that it is your desire this afternoon to consider the curriculum of the Public Elementary School in its general aspects, in contrast to this morning's programme, when we looked separately at various groups of pursuits followed in schools. If I can contribute anything to this discussion, it will only be from one standpoint, viz., from investigation of the nature of children, and of the response which *they make* to the schooling we provide. I present this point of view because I hold that it is a central issue in all discussions about school teaching, that in spite of all that has been written and said about child study, our knowledge is still elementary and tentative, while what is known is largely disregarded.

I do not invite you to a general survey of child psychology; it will be sufficient if we confine ourselves to that aspect of child life which is presented by the purpose of this Conference where we consider the school as a preparation for after-life. Now, the after-life of the Elementary School child is to be one of work.* He knows this at an early age; even in a prosperous artizan home the steady industry of his parents teaches him the lesson; how much more is this the case in homes of destitution! Our question is: *What is the child's natural*

*I agree that work and wages do not cover the entire field of interest, far from it—but it is helpful to deal with one aspect of experience at a time.

attitude towards this work? Does he feel himself to be a fellow-worker with his parents and elders, or does he naturally desire to be an idler or a playmate?

Now there has been a great change within living memory in the view taken by cultured adults of the nature and needs of children. The traditional view held by our grandfathers was still that of the Old Testament: "Childhood and youth are vanity." Even when the child was not regarded as radically wicked, his idleness and shiftlessness were regarded as so alien from our devotion to toil as to require constant reproof. The school was only tolerated because it was supposed to infuse ideals of industry which were difficult, as civilisation developed, to foster in the home. But in the nineteenth century a decisive reaction began. Its ethical foundation may indeed be traced to the New Testament, for the Master declared that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven"; nevertheless, it has been in the last 100 years that what we may call the sentimental attitude towards children has influenced public policy. I need not describe it in detail; Wordsworth in literature, and Frœbel in pedagogy, were the finest exponents. The child is here treated as a being full of tenderness and mysterious charm; he must be shielded from the stress of our anxieties, and thus by many the school has come to be regarded as a place where the child needs above all to be sheltered apart from the realities of adult life—his "interests" being the main concern of teacher and of parent. Both these conceptions contained elements of truth, and, however clearly we discern the failure of what is called the "New Education," we shall render no good service by attempting to put back the clock and revert to the harsher doctrines of an earlier day. Rather let us seek to reconcile the new and the old by a more dispassionate interpretation of the actual behaviour of children.

(2) Let us make distinctions of age. Up to 6 years the average child appears to have no interest in work; his reaction to the life about him, whether of industry or of recreation, is uniformly one of "play"—*i.e.*, of imitative response; it is the "play-actor's" attitude, not, however, acting out the inner meaning of adult behaviour, but merely the surface impression as this impinges on his senses. After these 6 years there is usually a transition stage of some two years, and then we witness a decisive transformation. From about 9 to 12 the child does not cease to be a playmate, but he displays also what I believe to be his dominant attitude towards experience—a desire to achieve *some immediate practical result* from the activities about him, and to work with some measure of independence and initiative. Some kind of industrious, constructive employment which (either in appearance or reality) is like the manual work on which adults are engaged is congenial to him. This employment must attain some "end," either a useful end in which he can imitate his elders and secure their approval, or a fanciful end, satisfying his own conception of achievement. In other words, he conceives of himself as a worker, and he can and will be industrious in the best sense of the word during these years, if we find for him the proper outlet. About 13, with the dawn of adolescence, another decisive change in disposition begins to operate: a new estimate of social values is made. But I wish to confine this paper to the earlier stage, which some psychologists describe as the "period of stability," since a steady control, both physical and mental, seems characteristic of the child at this stage.

(3) I answer, then, the question of my first paragraph by saying that boys and girls at this period of life, when reared unconventionally, are practical in the best sense of the word, and that they require abundant opportunities for discharging their energies for work, if they are to lay a right foundation for an intellectual and moral life in the later stages.

Now, many efforts have been made to meet this need, but they have been largely defeated because they have involved the putting of new wine into old bottles. We are all familiar with the varied endeavours to develop manual training since the 'eighties when Sloyd came to us from Sweden. No one disputes that these exercises are of some benefit; they certainly bring the child into closer touch with concrete things; they exercise muscle as well as nerve; they take him away from the confinement of the classroom. But their defect, which is now being widely recognised, has always been in their scholastic "exercisy" nature. The child does not "want" exercises; he cannot fulfil his nature merely by copying forms; he wants product, personal achievement.

We may turn to another of the new "subjects" and note, *e.g.*, how glad he is to learn to cook something, but not to learn "cookery"; or give him tools and wood and he will produce something; no doubt coarse and crude work, but yet real achievement, and he will be willing to come to a teacher and take some guidance (especially if the teacher is himself a craftsman doing useful work). But a set of Sloyd exercises or gas-stove exercises, while better than a series of copy-book exercises, are remote and therefore fail *to get the best* out of him. I quite agree that he is docile, ready to be influenced by environment, and he *can* be shaped by our formal drill methods; but if we want the best out of this stage of life, we cannot get it by trying to fit the old scholastic machinery to our new interpretation of boys' and girls' nature.

(4) This important movement towards reform in manual or practical "training" has been accompanied throughout, and greatly reinforced by the demand for technical or vocational training. Impressed by the importance of the child's future career, the teacher is urged to provide pursuits which will help him to be serviceable at a later period. Well, the motive is sound enough, and incidentally this reform has brought congenial interests to the child's attention which otherwise would have been neglected; but fundamentally he is not concerned at this period of life with his future career: *immediate* achievement is his desire; and while he is submissive enough and ready to learn this and that because you tell him that he will some day be a man, you do not get full value out of his powers if you strain his best attention to master such "preparatory" exercises.

Hence we find that everywhere teachers and laymen are beginning to try and satisfy this instinct for achievement more adequately. In the excellent Report on Manual Instruction* issued from the Board of Education we see this tendency at work, but it is not boldly outlined. Many examples are offered of plans for giving reality to manual exercises by correlation with other subjects, but if the Inspectors who drafted this report had more faith they would have recognised that in Standards IV. to VII. handicrafts can and should take equal rank side by side with humanistic pursuits, and not merely as correlated interests.

(5) It is easy, however, to criticise; it is far more difficult to construct and to organise a scheme of pursuits for a large group of children which shall answer to this instinctive need. The manual training centre, the cookery centre, and all the rest have been devised with great care, in order to secure motor activity for multitudes of scholars. Can we suggest schemes which will replace these and yet be possible for easy running in the Public Elementary School system? I answer at once, No, we cannot present any cut-and-dried scheme; such schemes do not emerge fully-armed like Minerva from the head of Jupiter; they are the final stage in efforts of experiment, of trial and failure repeated many times. But

*Board of Education, 1910, price 3d.

what we can do is to point to many examples where children are educated on principles analogous to those I have put before you. And I will summarise the principles of this doctrine of work in fresh terms so as to make my meaning more clear: (i) I hold that every boy and girl before adolescence should have had some years of experience in achieving practical immediate results in some form of "work" such as he can readily master and can treat, to a limited extent, on individual lines; (ii) that these industries should be simple in their nature, in contrast to the complex, specialised, finely differentiated task of modern industry; (iii) that this work can be found in an infinite variety of duties that have to be discharged in the domestic provision of food and shelter, in the house and the garden, in the workshop and the toolhouse—and to these I would add in the making, typing, printing, and binding of books, for the book can readily be made to the growing child an object of high regard; (iv) that while there is much of failure in execution when a boy or girl makes the first attempt at new work, if time for practice is given, if order and method and persistence are pursued, *habits of method* result which can thereafter be readily transferred to adult work, both in office and in workshop; (v) and hence any premature specialisation as preparation for a vocation is needless, since habits are created which will function to the satisfaction of an employer when the ex-scholar comes to take up a specialised form of industry; (vi) the intellectual aspect of work (analysis of cause and effect), the attempt to force the "lesson" side of these pursuits on the scholar, is to be deprecated, not because we despise intellect, but because the human mind is so constituted that intelligence will force its claims both on teacher and scholar without any pressure. The intelligence is only stunted when labour (either of children or adults) is exploited for the sake of gain. Nickleby, in Dickens's story, was not ill-used because he was made to clean the "winder"; on the contrary, I know some Boy Scouts in my own troop who can clean windows and scrub floors with credit and greatly to their own satisfaction. The abuse lay in the exploitation by Squeers of child labour; we only learn half the lesson which Dickens had to teach if we refuse them the chance of cleaning windows because we fear the tender age of children may be abused.

(6) And now for some illustrations.

(*a*) The race in modern Europe which has taken the best advantage of culture and education is the Jewish race; and from the days of old it was a Jewish tradition that every boy should learn a trade. I do not know how far that custom has been modified in modern days, but it is widely recognised that the habits of service in the Jewish home still act as a safeguard against degeneracy.

(*b*) The English gentry, long after mediæval times, carried on the custom of expecting service and "duty" from children and youths in the home. While in the great majority of homes more degenerate customs (aided, alas! by the pressure of modern schooling) have now prevailed, I have no doubt that in not a few quiet country houses survivals might be traced; and the fagging system of the Public Schools is a real survival and traces back directly to mediæval England.

(*c*) At the other end of the social scale the Truant Schools and the Industrial Schools (Day and Residential) bear witness to the same doctrine. It is quite true that the reasons which led these institutions to make boys expert in shoemaking or gardening or scrubbing were not always of the best; there is often an exploitation of labour for the sake of economy—and hence a low standard of intellectual correlation both in the staff and the pupils. But no one who has impartially investigated these institutions can deny that boys from 10 to 14 find real

satisfaction in " service." If this be so, why deprive good children of the benefits you confer on the naughty ones?

(*d*) There are other types of " institution " where similar relations of cause and effect are to be discerned—*e.g.*, school ships and in the marine training of boys generally; some, but not all, of the orphanages where children are educated for definite callings.

(*e*) Again, there are various enterprises avowedly conducted to promote reformed ideas. In nearly all countries of Europe, as well as in U.S.A., schools have been founded (that conducted by Dr. Reddie at Abbotsholme is the best known) where the scholars are encouraged to give play to their instincts for immediate achievement combined with social service. In our Demonstration School at Manchester we have made many halting experiments in this direction;* our scholars at one time or another have helped to clean their classroom, to arrange the lunch table, to make small fittings (wood or cardboard) required for the classrooms, nets for football, basket balls, etc., exercise-books, and drawing-books, in addition to overalls and other garments such as are often made in Elementary Schools. And by taking our scholars into the country, living in tents or cottages, we have gained further experience of their instinctive reactions when sharing in camp life. Much of this work has been only partially successful; if we could secure teachers as well trained and as happy in such work as they are in academic pursuits the task would, of course, be easier.

(*f*) But the finest example in reform comes not from teachers, but from the Boy Scout organisation; and the genius of that movement found his inspiration in a dramatic situation, where boys were wanted for service, for practical decisive help, for labour in their country's cause and not for exploitation. I would ask anyone who is sceptical of the soundness of Baden Powell's ideas to read the list of pursuits offered for Efficiency Badges, and consider whether these do not afford scope for development entirely consonant with the natural disposition of boys from 10 to 14. True, there is another element in this movement, viz., an appeal to the romantic, adventurous spirit, to which I do not allude because it lies outside the scope of this paper, but romance can exist side by side with what appears menial or utilitarian. Indeed, it is a universal experience in all stages of life that the romantic and the practical need to be united if either is to produce its best result in the individual.

I could add other illustrations if time permitted. The contribution by Mr. Bathurst to last year's Conference is especially to the point as showing how rural conditions of childhood explain many of the difficulties that confront the urban child population.

(7) If, then, we are asked what can be done this year and next by teachers who have faith in this doctrine, I would reply—

(*a*) That the principle of correlation as expounded so excellently in the Report of the Board of Education can be immensely extended—History, Nature Study, Arithmetic are all waiting to be aided by the arts and crafts.

(*b*) That in the selection of " manual " pursuits from all the variety open to a school, those should be chosen which offer possibilities for product. Thus, if a bit of ground can be secured for gardening, vegetables can be cultivated and sold for consumption; if food is required for a midday meal, cooking can be efficiently done with children as helpers.

(*c*) That new exercises should be undertaken which are part and parcel of the industrial management of the place, but are at present delegated entirely to

*See Board of Education Report above referred to, pp. 29–33.

officials who have no concern in its educative purposes. I hesitate to say anything about what is called domestic or menial service, because I know that under present conditions I should be regarded as an unpractical philosopher if I suggested that children should be invited to take an active share in keeping sweet and wholesome the beautiful buildings which we provide for their culture. But there are other useful pursuits which are not regarded as so objectionable: thus children are quite capable of cutting up the paper and stitching the exercise-books required for their writing. A hand-printing press is not beyond their power of manipulation after 12 years of age, and type-setting is not beyond their range. In all schools there is now a heavy burden of clerical work, some of it involving the use of the typewriter. It would, no doubt, be as much trouble to the teachers to employ youngsters before leaving school on this work as to do it themselves; but when assistance in such work was once organised it would not be *more* trouble, and the moral and practical gain to both parties would be invaluable. This, indeed, is only an extension of monitorial systems which are more or less adopted in many types of schools.

(*d*) There is the entire field of out-of-school interests which hitherto have been almost wholly filled by school games. English teachers in Elementary and Secondary Schools alike have commonly been ready to give much of their time to rendering service, without reward, in helping boys and girls in the playfields. Heaven forbid that we should depreciate this service, or underestimate the proper rank that field sports should take in human development. But it is now becoming widely recognised that sport needs to be limited; and I, for one, after spending much effort on behalf of school games for thirty years with colleagues and with schoolboys, am convinced that we have exaggerated the claims of the sporting instinct, and that the exclusive devotion to sport in our English scholastic traditions has led to an arrest of development. Land can be used for other wholesome purposes besides that of playing games upon it. If you will allow boys and girls to put their own buildings upon it—let it be only a wigwam or a rough shelter—they will, at any period up to the age of 14, find as much satisfaction as if they used it merely for play. Indeed, such work is, in the proper sense of the word, play: for they are acting out with muscle and brain the life of older folk. In this connection may I just refer to the remarkable experiments conducted by Miss Caroline Sewell in Canning Town?* I understand that she is now enabled to repeat her enterprise with the co-operation of the West Ham Education Committee, and I trust this adventure will receive the careful study of all who wish to learn more of children's disposition.

(8) And now, in conclusion, I will ask you to assume that the doctrine I have expounded is sound. Where is the central difficulty in putting it into practice? There is at bottom only one difficulty, and that is in the *hostility of public opinion*. Almost the whole tendency of the public mind, reaching back to the revival of learning, has been increasingly opposed to this doctrine. At the present day we still have to protect child-labour from exploitation, and anyone who proposes to put children to serious work is in danger of being confounded with the promoters of sweated industry. Many members of this Conference will have followed with interest the recent discussion in the House of Commons on Mr. Rea's Half-Time Bill. That debate brought into clear relief the conflict of issues afforded by our theme. It is clear that so long as children can be exploited by adults to secure cheap labour, they must be protected. Certainly there is no reason at the present day, when adult unskilled labour is so abundant, for capital

* *Vide* School Hygiene, December, 1911.

to have recourse to child-labour. But the issue is not closed when the law, or public opinion, have intervened to prevent such exploitation. The supreme question lies in our study of the child's own needs; and while I am prepared to condemn the system known as half-time labour as heartily as any member of this Conference, I must honestly avow that I hope to see children, while protected from the abuses of the industrial market, permitted to find play for their own instincts in service and in work. But the public mind is not yet prepared to readjust its conceptions of what is worth while in life, so far as to welcome the reintroduction among children of simple social and domestic "service"; on the contrary, the economic status of industry is such that school has come to be regarded as a place where the child can escape for as many years as possible from contact with any form of productive toil.

This settled hostility unfortunately finds its culmination in my own profession, which by tradition and training lays emphasis on what is academic and genteel. We teachers are, inevitably and properly, the product of public opinion; we serve the public, we do not lead it. When we attempt to do so, we soon find our level! It is a strange reflection that a profession which historically traces its origin to the Christian Church, a Church founded by a Master who was a carpenter, with fishermen and tent-makers for His apostles, should be almost wholly given over to the specialised pursuits of the academy! These children by their nature are akin not to our century, but to a primitive period of human history which developed to our adult stage by tools and materials, by simple craft, and not by books and letters. True, the modern environment demands that the modern child shall "know his letters" also; but his primary instinctive needs cannot fail to supply the dominating factor in his development. Hence, as I have elsewhere put it, the teacher of the Primary School needs to be first of all a craftsman; and it is through the crafts that he can learn, for himself and for his scholars, the arts and wisdom of the ages. It was a countryman of ours who wrote:—

"A servant with this clause,
Makes drudgery divine,
Who sweeps a room as for Thy cause
Makes that and the action fine."

We applaud this sentiment, but few Englishmen, and still fewer Englishwomen, believe that the poetry is true to fact. We will drudge over grammar and science, and not a word is here said to throw contempt on the eager desire of the adolescent after knowledge, but the child is more ready to drudge in handicrafts. It is a great thing to be surrounded, as we are in all our academies of learning, by young men and women ready to toil in libraries and laboratories, and master the sources of learning; but it is a greater thing still for a man or woman to renounce academic ambitions for the sake of children, to delve below the libraries and find light and healing for his children in the common labour of the field and shop. I should not have ventured to address this Conference for the Prevention of Destitution if I did not believe most devoutly that the teaching profession needs to be converted to a new conception of the worth of manual toil, of the divine dignity of humble service.

I must apologise to this Conference for the abrupt style in which I have put these suggestions together, at a time of great pressure. The theme is vast in extent. I shall hope, at any rate, to have provided material for discussion.

The Curriculum of the Public Elementary School as a Preparation for After Life.

By Jno. W. Embleton, B.Sc.
(Head Master, Southchurch Hall Boys' School, Southend-on-Sea).

For the purpose of our Conference the subjects which generally form the basis of the curriculum of a Public Elementary School have been divided into the four groups of (*a*) Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; (*b*) History and Geography, (*c*) Nature Study and Drawing; (*d*) Manual and Industrial Work; and the necessity for the inclusion of each of these groups of subjects has already been fully discussed and emphasised. This afternoon we are asked to consider the value of the curriculum, as a whole, as a preparation for the after-life of the child; how far it meets the child's requirements; what are its limitations and deficiencies; and what steps, if any, may be taken to improve its value. Then a brief consideration of the relative value of each of the subjects, so that, while all may be included, none shall be unduly emphasised, but that there shall be maintained a careful balance so as to produce a maximum efficiency.

The False Position of the Elementary School.

To give just guidance to our discussion it is obvious that we must first of all consider the true function of the public Elementary School. Upon this question there exists much misunderstanding, largely due to the false position which such schools hold in the educational system of this country. Throughout the length and breadth of our land these schools have been built with amazing rapidity. Every year sees improvements in the hygienic conditions of the school, in the efficiency and sufficiency of school materials, and in the better equipment of teachers, until now our present standard is one in which we feel a certain amount of pride. Yet despite the guidance of our Board of Education, and the almost lavish expenditure of many of our Local Education Authorities, there is, amongst all interested in the training of the children, a great feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction. So necessary and great has been the concentration on the building and organisation of our Public Elementary Schools, that their purpose has become somewhat exaggerated, and so, because these schools are unable to realise this exaggerated expectation, much disappointment is being expressed on many sides. Now, as long as such exaggeration exists, our educational zeal and enthusiasm for the uplifting of the working classes will be directed into wrong channels, and it is very necessary, therefore, that we regard these schools in their true light as soon as possible. At the present time our Secondary Schools are too few in number to be of much value to the lower classes, and, without considering the question of the suitability of their educational training, these schools may be disregarded in considering the question of the educational preparation of the vast army of children of the working people of this country. We are, therefore, in this position, that the training received in the Elementary Schools is, at the present time, the only direct and definite educational effort these children receive as a preparation for after life. It is due to this fact that the aim of the Elementary School has been somewhat exaggerated. Between the ages of 7 and 14, the child is to receive the whole of its educational equipment. Obviously such is impossible, but owing to the lack of all further suitable training, parents,

Education Authorities, and even teachers themselves, all demand that there shall be as much training as possible, especially from a utilitarian point of view. So with all this anxiety as to their future welfare, the children are driven and pressed and crammed. After seven years of such driving and pressing, the child leaves school. Parent and employer soon discover that the child's education is still very incomplete and his mind very immature, and the fault is often laid at the door of the school. One of the very worst features is that the child, whether boy or girl, also believes that his educational training is fully completed, and closes his mind to all thought of further education with similar feelings to those of the student packing up his books after a stiff University examination.

Education in an Elementary School only Preparatory.

It is evident, then, that the work of the Elementary School can only be regarded in its true light when we consider it as the beginning of education and not the complete course. It is very necessary that further schools and further opportunities to attend such schools should be provided, not for the few, but for every child that passes through the Elementary Schools. Not a single child must be allowed to neglect this further education, for it will probably be such neglected children who, as adults, will have to be maintained at the expense of the State. The education in these further schools should train the children to be good workers in any chosen trade and as good citizens of their country. Had such suitable Continuation Schools, with their necessary legislation, been provided with the same rapidity, earnestness, and enthusiasm as in the case of the Elementary Schools, and side by side with them, the educational outlook of all people, including the young children whom we are now training, would have been truer and wider.

In considering the curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life, it is well, therefore, that we suppose such continuation Civic and Trade Schools to exist for all young people. The sooner such schools do exist the better, for, at present, we are turning away our children from our schools immature in mind and body, and ready, during the impressionable years of adolescence, to receive all the false and sometimes immoral philosophy of life which lies in their path.

The Aim of the Education in the Elementary School.

The training given in the Elementary School should therefore—

(1) Prepare the child for future education in the more special branches of knowledge according to the particular trade he desires to follow and according to the individuality of the child as expressed during his period of adolescence.

(2) Give the child an elementary insight into the workings of the natural world which he sees around him and which he feels is part of his environment.

(3) Give the child the necessary mental and moral training and outlook which will serve him in the comprehending of the principles of citizenship which he will learn as part of his further education.

(4) Give the child that mental and moral stimulus which will tend to cause him to spend his leisure time in a profitable way.

(5) Have a care for the physical well-being of the child.

The question of the training is of very serious moment. Think of the thousands of children in our Elementary Schools. They are the race in the

making. It is our fervent desire that they become good, intelligent working men and women for their own sake and for the sake of the community; that they become good and useful citizens, every one of them without exception; that they will spend their times of recreation and leisure in ways which will uplift themselves and others and give a high tone to the society in which they live and move. We want to reduce to a minimum all the parasites of the community, to eliminate such altogether if possible; we desire to rid our nation of all the dishonesty and immorality in thought and deed which seem so rampant about us. Here are the children, who will make the future generation, awaiting true development. The question at once arises, What shall we teach, how shall we teach them in order that our aim may be best achieved?

Let us eliminate first of all that worst of all demands, viz., that a child shall receive some form of vocational training; that a child, before he is out of his childhood, shall be directed away from the paths of real education and be made to work at some small branch of knowledge which will only be of use to him when he goes out into the world as a workman. Such a mistaken idea has ruined the educational training in our Elementary Schools quite long enough. For the sake of the nation and the child, let us train the child as a child and not change him into an adult before he is through his infancy. Let those who, as practical men, desire vocational training in our schools, combine together and with one loud and sure cry demand that after the Elementary School—the Trade School; after an education on broad, liberal lines, a training for good workmanship, a training as skilled, intelligent craftsmen. To try and train the child as a skilled craftsman before he has obtained any liberal ideas on the life around him, with no appreciation of that which is beautiful and true except in the narrow rut of his own craft, with no further perspective of life than the utilitarian view of earning a living and the selfish grasping for his own needs, is a procedure wrought with extreme danger to the life of the nation. The utilitarian demand is just, when the time is ripe, when the child is ready. If, after the Elementary School course, we could only obtain such facilities for vocational training by the establishment of Civic and Trade Schools, not for the few, but for all, we are providing a sure means for the eradication of some of the unnecessary causes of destitution in our midst, and establishing a sure training in citizenship and craftsmanship which will give an impetus to the onward and successful march of this country in the van of nations.

A Training on Broad and Liberal Lines.

For the purposes of higher education particularly, the analogy between the upraising of structures in the physical world and in the mental world has been closely followed. When men build an edifice which is to rise higher and higher above the earth, they supply it with good broad foundations and base, and gradually decrease the area of the horizontal section as they go higher and higher until the top appears as a mere pinnacle. The reason is obvious. The same principle is applied to the work in Secondary Schools and Universities. The preliminary studies and examinations cover an elementary knowledge of many subjects, and as the student rises from one grade to another his mind is gradually concentrated on a less and less number of subjects until, in the end, he finds himself specialising in one particular branch of knowledge. The utilisation of the knowledge in this one particular branch will probably be his life-work, and everyone will agree that, the wider his outlook upon the world in other directions, the more useful and sound will he be as a workman for the community. No one would

suggest that, because a student has determined early in his career to pursue a certain branch of knowledge, he should therefore concentrate all his attention upon it, to the exclusion of other subjects, throughout his career as a student.

If this is so true of the higher branches of knowledge and work, still more does the principle apply when we are considering the training to be given in our Elementary Schools. Very early in life will the boy or girl leave school to pursue some definite vocational training, where, even in a "Trade" School, it will be quickly narrowed down to that branch of work in which he desires to be a craftsman. Should we, then, deny the child the opportunity of as broad an education as possible whilst he is in the Elementary School? Whilst giving due attention to the three "R's," should we not also open his mind to other ideas and interests? Will he not grow up to be a better citizen and craftsman by such widening of his outlook? We do not desire that our youths should meet together at the street corners during most of their spare time with no better mental or social stimulus than the discussion of the possibilities of the great professional football teams. Rather do we want to give the boys and girls from the Elementary School the opportunity to look at the world around them from many points of view.

The Desire "To Know."

To the child the world is full of wonders and marvels. He sees what he does not understand. He is ever seeking to learn more of his world. So great is his desire that he appears curious and inquisitive. Note how children will rush to, and crowd round, any uncommon sight. It is their one delight to become more and more acquainted and in touch with the world around them. Moreover, they feel they have a right to know, for they feel themselves each a part and parcel of the world around. Therefore in our Elementary Schools, by means of a broad curriculum, we are striving to make use of and guide this great desire "to know," so that the child, whilst obtaining satisfaction, will be able to distinguish between that which is beautiful and true and useful, and that which is ugly, false, and waste. So, although it is so necessary that the children should be proficient in the three "R's," we give them at the same time the opportunity of knowing the life of men and women in the past; of being acquainted with the build, peoples, products, and trading of the world in which we live; of understanding somewhat of the wonderful forces of Nature; of developing a true appreciation of beauty in all its forms; and of developing their own bodies in a true way by physical exercises and by habits of cleanliness and temperance.

All these efforts, besides widening the outlook and providing a means for mental discipline, tend to produce that soundness of moral judgment which is extremely desirable and important in the life of every person.

The Desire "To Do."

Again, there is another desire in child life quite as important as the desire "to know," viz., the desire "to do." All his limbs call to him for action, for direction, for use. The desire has been growing from infancy, from the moment in which the young baby realises that his hand is not one solid piece of flesh, but has five fingers which he spreads out, shuts, and bites to satisfy his wondering mind. The desire is evident in the Kindergarten, where the infant takes pleasure in movement and games, but when the child enters the Elementary School he has arrived at a stage when he wishes his activity to be the outcome of purpose;

behind the activity there must be some worthy motive, some individual mental cause. Again, he now perceives that a man's activity is directed towards adapting to his own ends the different materials provided by the natural world. He envies the power of man over material; he desires that power, and, moreover, feels that it will provide an outlet for his desire "to do." The ignoring of this desire in our Elementary Schools has been one of the chief hindrances to true progress in school work. Fortunately recent years have seen much improvement and development in this direction, but we are still so bound by the traditions of the past that we are not making the headway desirable. We have in past years mainly trained the child to read, write, and calculate, unduly emphasising the value of facility in these directions. We have compelled the child to sit day by day at his desk for seven long years, and required him to still his restless and active body, with the result that when the child leaves school he has, by long habit, suppressed all desire "to do"; in fact, he has acquired a physical inertia. He has no easy power over the finer movements of his muscular system; he has developed no mental stimulus "to do" as soon as necessity arises; he prefers to lounge about and read a newspaper or exciting story, and the only way in which he usually desires to spend his leisure time is in reading, in playing or walking. His knowledge of, and power over, various tools is limited; much more so is his knowledge of the adaptability of different materials.

Manual and Industrial Work.

The value of manual and industrial work has too long been lost sight of. Looked at from all points of view, such work stands out in a way which commands much consideration. Physically, morally, and intellectually an excellent training is provided. It satisfies the requirements of the utilitarian; it provides the best way of finding gratifying pleasure in leisure moments; it acts as a strong counter-attraction to the empty gaiety of the streets and places of doubtful entertainment. Everyone will admit that the great steadying and sobering influence among the working classes is to be found among the skilled artisans. The moral influence of their work is seen in their life. They are happy in their work because they can do it well. They have to take much care themselves, and like to see the same care shown in other directions. Their mental habit of desiring to do their work as well as possible makes them desire to see other work, in which they are interested, also done well. They are good citizens. They are so accustomed to the uselessness of slipshod and inaccurate work that they respond at once to reasonable and true demands for the benefit of the community. The careful observation and thought which they use in their own work they instinctively bring to bear on the life around. If, then, the influence of skilled craftsmanship is so marked in adult life, surely manual training should find a high place in our Elementary Schools, where the children are just longing to give vent to the desire "to do." Unfortunately we have not yet realised its importance, for our schools are still full, to their utmost capacity, of writing and reading desks, and no rooms are provided in which the children may work at various occupations. It is true such opportunities are provided at special centres, but they only touch a very small percentage of the school children, and are regarded as something apart from the ordinary school routine.

As long as such a state of affairs exist in our schools, so long are we wrongly employing much valuable talent and time, and so long will our schools be very inefficient as places of preparation for after-life.

The future work of these young scholars may be easily divided into two chief classes—the clerical pursuits, the industrial pursuits. The clerical pursuits are so unduly emphasised by much clerical training that the majority of our children desire to become clerks. Should we not emphasise the dignity of industrial pursuits even more so? The work may be dirty, the hands may be rough—at what time should we not impress the value and importance of such work if not in childhood? Why should we not, in school, respect the child who can cause mind, eye, and hand to work in such good harmony that he is able to reproduce his ideas in concrete form as well as the boy who is merely intellectually clever. There is also this burning question: What preparation for after-life do our schools provide for the child who is apparently dull? And such children are not so few in number that they may be disregarded. At present much of our preparation is negative, for it only gives the dull child a great desire to leave school as soon as possible. He soon learns that he is not fit for a future occupation where much purely mental work is demanded. He is given very little, if any, opportunity to discover his latent possibilities, to find out where his talents lie, nor do we take the trouble to develop his talent if it is not an intellectual one. Moreover, will not his mental work be better and more pleasurable when it had received the necessary stimulus from his manual work?

We have forgotten to emphasise in our schools the dignity of labour—nay, more, we have shown a tendency to train the children to consider that work which will soil the hands and the clothes has no dignity. Yet a huge percentage of the children will enter the ranks of the industrial classes. Desiring to undertake clerical work, or any other work in which they will always look clean and neatly dressed, they find that there is no room for them, and so they fall back upon the rough, hard work of the industrial classes with no incentive to see any honour in such work; with the result that they feel they are among the despised and rejected of mankind and gradually become careless in appearance, careless in action, and careless in life. It has, indeed, been a fatal mistake in our schools to indicate that purely mental work is superior to and deserving much more attention than manual and industrial work. We have proclaimed for many years that the work of the school aims at the formation of character and have thoughtlessly neglected one of the great formative influences in the lives of all people. Let us then put the cultural studies and the manual work on the same level in our schools, giving equal praise to the children who strive and excel in either. In fact, the more the question is considered the more apparent does it appear that the day's work should be divided into almost two equal portions, one devoted to intellectual work, the other to manual work. It would mean a change in the building and furnishing of our schools; it would mean a further reduction in the size of many of our classes; it would mean a change in the methods of training the teachers; but, once begun, its effect as preparation for after-life would soon be appreciated.

In conclusion, it may be said that the manual and industrial work should proceed on as broad and liberal lines as the purely mental work. It is not our desire that the child should become an expert at carpentry, or gardening, or anything else to the exclusion of other occupations. The aim of the teacher should rather be that the child is trained to express his ideas in concrete form, to use his hands deftly, to know the correct use of tools, the adaptability of materials, to be able to control the finer and more complicated muscular system, to perform a piece of work in a careful, accurate, and intelligent manner—these should be within the possibilities of the Elementary School.

Cultural Studies.

It has already been stated that, although the work in the school was divided for our consideration this morning into four distinct groups, the work in one section, viz., manual and industrial work, should be given a time and opportunity which will be equal to the sum of the three other sections. It is true that the three R's require careful attention. They are the tools of thought. They provide the means of acquiring knowledge. It was to provide the children with these means that the Public Elementary Schools were first established. Without them all our further training would soon come to a standstill. Every child must possess the necessary facility in the subjects, and they must be common to the curricula of all schools, although the attention respectively paid to the further cultural studies and also the manual work will vary in different schools according to the special needs and adaptability of both the children and the district in which the school is situated. Side by side with the three R's will be taken those subjects which broaden the outlook upon life. There is the acquiring of knowledge, by observation and by reading, of the world of man and the world of nature. Unfortunately, in these subjects, History, Geography, and Nature Study, we have been too much bound by traditional methods and systems of examination, so that, while the children welcome these studies with open and inquiring minds, we have shown a tendency to rouse in them feelings of rebellion and dislike by emphasising the acquisition and cramming of many unnecessary facts, dates, and data as the essentials of these studies. Instead of presenting these subjects as full of life, as they really are, we have compelled the children to walk in a valley of dry bones. They certainly have acquired some knowledge, but they have gradually lost all interest until, when they leave school in the midst of their young life, they no longer desire to consider the life around them. They can find more pleasure and happiness in the pursuits, good or bad, often bad, which they have followed outside the school.

There are also those subjects which will develop an appreciation of and a taste for that which is beautiful in thought and language, in design, in colour, in growth, and in sound, such as Literature, Drawing, Nature Study, and Music. In these let there be no compulsion; the child needs leading, guiding, and carefully training, if the formative influence of these studies is to be maintained. Besides their own intrinsic value as knowledge and mental discipline, it is well to remember the steadying influence that such subjects may possess in the formation of character during this young and plastic period. The work certainly can only be of a preparatory nature, but it is surely of the first importance that the child nature should be moulded in true form from the very commencement of school life.

Besides the training in the physical well-being of the child by means of physical exercises and lessons in hygiene and temperance, there also remains one other duty of the school, viz., to develop a true social instinct. The corporate life of the school has certainly a continual and direct influence upon the social instinct, but every year sees a greater recognition of the importance of school games. It has been well said in "The Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers" that "there is no better work in the field of education than to inculcate a wholesome love for games in the playground, for to do this means the creation of an *esprit de corps*, a readiness to endure fatigue, to submit to discipline and to subordinate one's own powers and wishes to a common end. . . . It seems clear unless the school in some way recognises this type of work it does not perform in the highest degree possible its full duty to the children."

In conclusion, it may be said that whilst the Elementary Schools are doing much that is good for the after-life of the children, whilst every year teachers and children are being allowed more freedom in the choice and method of school work, yet a great portion of the work is rendered of no account by the lack of provision for further education on more vocational lines. Many children are allowed to leave school at the age of 14 with but little desire to continue their education. They are not of the type to take pleasure in intellectual work, and the school has not indicated any other wholesome form of occupation. We have killed their desire to make things with their hands. Many of them do not seem to desire to spend their leisure time in any profitable way; they prefer to waste it in idleness. They leave school having no idea for what form of occupation they are adapted other than that of the clerical pursuits. For one or two years many follow some blind-alley employment, during which time they are allowed to follow their own path without further guidance, allowed to pass out of and forget the training, excellent in many ways, received in the Elementary School and upon which so much money and care has been spent. The making or ruin of character and good citizenship is left to chance, and chance makes ruin of many.

Discussion.

Mr. Ernest Lesser (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association) said that however much they might sympathise from the educational point of view with the plea for the children being allowed to do more work in the sense of performing services and turning out some definite product or other, it must not be a cause of surprise if those of them who had before them the evils of child exploitation and of the half-time system, viewed with a great deal of apprehension any strong plea for children being allowed, while at school, to do practical work of that kind outside the school. The dangers of the use of child labour, both in the homes and by third parties, employers, had been demonstrated so forcibly in the past that he thought there would be a very natural hesitation on the part of the informed public in lending themselves to any scheme which would again make it possible for some of those very serious evils to crop up. Personally, he would cordially support the movement in favour of the children, while at the school and under supervision of the proper authorities, doing much more practical work than they had in the past. All of them who had children knew the intense pleasure they felt in being able to achieve something. If they gave a child a piece of clay to make a model of an animal or something, the child would try to perform that task with avidity, because, even if it was a failure, the child felt that he had done something. That was a most valuable educational factor. It seemed to him that there was a great tendency to attribute the faults in the children to the curriculum, faults which were really due, in a large measure, to other causes. No one was going to pretend that the curriculum was as perfect as it might be, but he did think that the Board of Education and most of their leading Education Authorities had recognised the mistake made in the past in framing the curriculum so as to give a bias to clerical work rather than industrial work. He thought that that mistake was recognised now and that it was not likely to be repeated, and from now onwards they would see a movement in Elementary Schools in favour of striking the balance between the child's anxiety to know and the child's wish to do. He thought it was a mistake to think that however perfectly they might frame their curriculum, they would necessarily get a good product at the end of the school life. They were all aware that there were antagonistic influences at work which tended to counteract the effect of the curriculum

and to prevent them reaping the fruits of the labour at school. There was, of course, the unfortunate home influence, which was so often working unconsciously against the efforts of the teacher. There was also the inadequacy of housing, insanitary housing, inadequate feeding, and the physical deficiencies of the children, and it was obvious that with those factors, however perfect their curriculum, they must not look for impossibilities and expect that the curriculum alone was going to turn out a perfectly satisfactory child. In addition to those antagonistic influences that they had to deal with, there were deficiencies in the schools, which had nothing to do really with the choice of curriculum. He referred more particularly to the quality of the teaching. That only applied, he was happy to think, to a minority of schools, but in some schools, owing to the quite unreasonable size of the classes, it was impossible that any subject could be really satisfactorily taught to the children. They all knew that in London—perhaps it was a delicate subject to discuss before Mr. Jackson (laughter)—the question of the excessive size of classes had become very acute in recent years, and they were happy to know that a determined effort had been made to bring down the size of the classes. It must be obvious that with a class of inordinate size, even with the most perfect syllabus, it was impossible that the results would be the same as with a class of more manageable dimensions. Then, again, with all possible deference to the splendid quality of the mass of the teachers in the Elementary Schools, it had to be remembered that owing to the inadequate salaries offered to so many of the teachers, it was not possible for the community to recruit its teachers—he would not say from as good a class, but from so wide a class as they otherwise could. The miserably low salaries deterred many good men from entering the teaching profession, and as the community could not therefore draw from so large a class there must be more inferior teachers than there would otherwise be. They must also take care not to blame the curriculum if the child was not at school for a sufficiently long time. They were trying to give the children of the Elementary Schools a degree of education that no one would ever dream of trying to give to the children of the more well-to-do class in the same time. Among the middle classes he did not think it was an exaggeration to say that the child was never held to be beginning its education up to the age of 12, and no sensible parent worried much about what his child was doing at a Secondary School up to that age, but at the Elementary Schools the child was expected to have by that time gone through nearly the whole curriculum and be more or less a master of the whole of the different subjects, and in many cases, owing to home conditions and parental neglect, it had often had to do its work when its physical health had been a good deal below par. It had been called upon to do more, although more insufficiently equipped, than the child of the well-to-do class above it. Therefore it seemed to him that there were two classes of difficulties to be remedied, the class of difficulties to be remedied by the Education Authorities and also the class of difficulties which they could not deal with. The class of difficulties which they could rightly be expected to deal with were with regard to the curriculum, in making good defects in the curriculum, in bringing down the size of the classes, in raising the salaries of the teachers, and in other ways improving their terms of employment, so as to draw, if possible, a superior type of person into the ranks of teachers. They all agreed that it was not the aim and that it would not be right for the Elementary School to have what was called a vocational basis, to do anything that might be considered as prematurely specialising, but he laid down the proposition that it was the business of the Elementary School so to arrange its curriculum as not to give a bias in any one direction, as in the past. It had distinctly given a bias in favour of the children entering clerical occupations in the past, and that was a wrong thing, and they had to correct that bias and see that the scales were held evenly between the wish to know and the wish to do. He did not think, however, that some other phenomena they had recently seen could be attributed wholly to the curriculum. He did not think that the dislike of entering domestic service was entirely due to the bookish nature of their education. That was only one of the factors. Other factors had been the growing desire, among all classes, of more pleasure and excitement, and also the inconsiderate attitude of some mistresses towards their servants. He would leave the meeting with a distinct feeling of hopefulness that in the future their Education Authorities would so frame their curriculum that the product of the schools would be likely to adjust itself more easily, not only to clerical occupations, but to industrial occupations hereafter.

Mr. ALFRED HOLDSWORTH (National Industrial Education League) said that the tendency of any educational discussion was naturally to consider the subject with reference to boys, and, notwithstanding the forward movement among women of recent years, girls were put in the background; but girls were a most important element in this matter. (Applause.) The incompetent wives of working men formed a fruitful source of destitution throughout the country at the present time. Such a woman as those he had in his mind always reduced the value of the husband's earnings to a very material extent. She knew nothing of the real values and prices of food and of clothing. She bought inferior commodities at relatively high prices, and when she had got the food she had no real knowledge as to how to make the best of it, and the value was reduced again. She also could not make the best of clothing, because she had no real knowledge of how to keep it in the best condition and repair it to the best advantage, and she could not make her own or her children's dresses. That, again, reduced the value of the husband's earnings, and consequently when she began to feel the pinch, especially when children arrived, she got slack, and acquired slatternly habits, and became only too often what was commonly called a slut. And they must remember that she was the mistress of the home. Then there was her ignorance of the needs and nurture of children, and that again produced no end of destitution. They often spoke of drink among men as a cause of destitution, but he was absolutely certain that many working men were driven to the public-house through the incompetence of their wives. Bad food badly cooked produced disorganisation of the digestive organs and led to the seeking of relief in drink. That state of things was due to many causes. One was the fatal conception of gentility which dominated the minds of the labouring classes, and the idea that a lady could not be a lady if she did any work that soiled her hands. To a very large extent all that he had spoken of could be remedied by educational reform, and what he pleaded for, in conclusion, was that their girls in Elementary Schools should be given a thorough training in the sort of domestic economy that they were likely to be called upon to exercise in their after life. There was a dignity of labour which educationalists should insist on; the dignity of work of all kinds. whether physical, mental, or manual, honestly and heartily performed.

Mrs. RACKHAM (Cambridge Charity Organisation Society) said she wished to emphasise, especially in the case of girls, the danger of premature specialisation for any particular vocation in their Elementary Schools. She thought it needed emphasising in the case of girls because of the modern craze for practical teaching, the teaching of girls what would be useful to them in after life. She believed in teaching the girls accuracy, neatness, and cleanliness of a high standard in their work, and in teaching them that what they did with their hands was every bit as important as what they did with their heads, but she could not believe in any attempt to turn out little cooks, little housekeepers, little general servants, and worst of all, little wives and little mothers at the age of 13. (Applause.) No knowledge which depended for its value on the recollection of detailed facts had really any great value as education, because those detailed facts could not be remembered by the girls when the time came to use them in their own homes. She did not think they could give definite teaching in subjects like infant management. She had heard of girls being set to wash indiarubber dolls, and she had heard a mother say that she could not imagine anything less like a baby than an indiarubber-doll, as all the things that made it difficult to manage, and interesting, were absent. (Laughter.) She also considered that there ought not to be such a domestic bias in the education of girls as would handicap them in making a livelihood in any way that might be open to them. It was just as important for them to be able to earn their livelihood as for boys if they wanted to avoid destitution, and what was worse than destitution. If only they could teach the girls accuracy, neatness, cleanliness, order, and method, that would be just as useful for the girl clerk as for the mother or the domestic servant. They did not know what the vocation of the child was going to be, and they ought not to wish to know—the possibilities ought to be infinite, and they must therefore see that their faculties were trained all round. Especial attention had to be paid to the training of character. It was the character that was wrong with the slut, to which the last speaker had referred. If their education was on those lines she thought they would then feel that they were fitting the girls for all careers and hindering them from none.

At this juncture Mr. Cyril Jackson intimated that he was obliged to leave the Conference to attend another meeting and his place in the Chair was taken by Professor Findlay.

Mr. T. C. HORSFALL said that in this country there was more urgent need to consider the relation between the school life of its children and destitution than in any other country in the world. They had had an official report made to them, the like of which he thought had not been made to any other country. Sir Ian Hamilton, in his book which had been written at the request of Lord Haldane, told them that every year the British Army obtained about 48,000 recruits because there were that number of young men who had reached the age of 18 and found themselves unable to obtain a job which would bring them in 15s. a week. Sir Ian Hamilton, curiously enough, took it for granted that there were only about 48,000 young men in that position, but they knew by the statistics of recruiting in Manchester and other towns that for every young man who could be accepted for the Army, there were at least ten whom the recruiting sergeant would have nothing to do with, whilst there were also many young men who were so miserably equipped for life that they would never think of offering themselves to a recruiting sergeant. Altogether there must be yearly about half a million young men placed in such a bad relation to work that they could not hope to earn 15s. a week. They had examples of children who had received the best possible education in the world—the education given by the family—children who had never been to school at all but had been brought up by sensible parents and had become eminently useful and good men and women. Their education had been neither onesidedly bookish or too much on the side of manual training, although it had from the first included a great deal of manual training. He thought that the distinction made by the Chairman between the occupations of the very young child and those of the somewhat older child was not quite justifiable. The play of the child was always work. That was to say, that the child, if it was a healthy child, was doing what it did with the whole of its nature. It was thoroughly absorbed in it, and the distinction between play and work was for adults and not for the child. They saw that as the child gained in physical and mental power, the kinds of occupation that pleased it before ceased to please, and the child took to things which were considered to be work. He thought that Munich had shown us how to train children. Dr. Kerschensteiner had introduced a great deal of household training into the school life of the girls who were passing their fourteenth year at school, and a great deal of manual workshop training for the boys. The household work of the girl was made the centre of her training in physics and arithmetic. There was no danger of such training being one-sided and unfitting the girl for any work. It was a training which any girl would be better for having received, whatever position of life she afterwards occupied. A few years ago Munich was almost as much plagued with boys who, at the age of 17 or 18, were absolutely unfitted for any kind of skilled work as were English towns now; a great many Munich boys took to blind alley occupations, and many went to the dogs. As a result of the introduction of those subjects into the Munich Elementary Schools, Dr. Kerschensteiner was now able to say that the shunning of skilled occupations was at an end. The immediate effect was also to make the school much more like the home, which should always be the ideal of the school. Dr. Kerschensteiner had said that when he watched the flushed cheeks, the sparkling eyes, the untiring interest of the children in their work, he knew he had been on the right lines. In Munich they had followed manual training up, and they must follow it up in this country, with work in compulsory Continuation Schools. In Munich the children were compelled to attend for about eight hours a week from the end of their fourteenth year to the beginning of their eighteenth year. We should be courting destruction, we should be promoting destitution, so long as we went on in our idiotic way of leaving children at the age of 13 or 14, just at the most difficult time of their life, to their own devices.

At this point Mr. J. W. Peck took Professor Finlay's place in the chair and occupied it during the remainder of the Session.

Miss E. S. KERRISON (West Ham Union) said that with regard to the scheme which had been started by Miss Caroline Sewell, which had been referred to by Professor Findlay, the West Ham Education Committee was about to put it into

practical operation at a new school which they were building. The scheme was particularly valuable for the children attending a school in a slum district. Interesting and valuable lectures on hygiene were already given in their schools by the teachers, but those lessons seemed almost a mockery when they were given to children who went back to such homes that even the most elementary ideas of cleanliness could not be carried into practice, either through poverty or bad housing. Under this system the children would have practical lessons in hygiene, which were better than any lecture that could be given. Last year the scheme was carried out under Miss MacMillan at the Deptford School Clinic. The school garden played a very important part in the scheme, and the girls would take their share in it as well as the boys. Another very important and useful adjunct was the shower bath, which was not at all expensive, and was managed very ingeniously at Miss MacMillan's Clinic by means of a cold-water pipe and another piece of piping surrounding by sacking to make a kind of Turkish bath. Then sleeping accommodation was provided practically in the open. The beds were on canvas fixed up like a hammock by means of poles fastened into the wall with stanchions and had sacking around, and the beds were sheltered just sufficiently to keep them from the rain, but there was no other shelter at all and they were quite open to the air. After the boys had been sleeping out in this manner for some time, when they had to go home they greatly objected to sleeping in a stuffy bedroom, and in that way they were taught the value of fresh air. They had the necessary ground at the school that was being built at West Ham, and perhaps West Ham was taking the lead in this provision of outdoor sleeping for boys, but she hoped others would take it up, as the physical welfare of the children was of the greatest importance. It did seem very hard for the teachers to have such poor material to work upon as they frequently had in the shape of unhealthy, stunted little bodies frequently suffering from skin disease and eye disease and other troubles. The teachers often felt also that they were doing a cruel action towards the children in making them sit and learn and repeat lessons when they were so physically unfit. She hoped that their little experiment would be followed in other places. It was simple and inexpensive, and yet one of the most valuable things that could be tried for children.

Mr. H. Leonard Humphreys (West Ham Distress Committee) said that they had been following in the past so much the satisfying of the child's desire to know, they had been pouring in so much, that they had gradually got into the habit of pouring in with too little thought of drawing out, and had thereby satiated the child. The desire to *do* was the desire which undoubtedly governed every healthy child. He had had the pleasure of seeing a little of the results of the Scout movement in the training of observation and particularly in initiative, resource, and self-reliance; and the splendid results that had come from that movement—not for wages, or for any material return, but because it was a part of the moral duty of the boy as a Scout honourably to fulfil the trust reposed in him—made him look upon Baden Powell as one of the greatest educationists of the day; certainly he had been an inspiration to teachers and others in the work of true education. (Applause.) They all recognised that in all education, whether it was the drawing out of the manual skill or the mental skill, there must be intelligence applied right the way through, but the children had got hold of the idea that it was so much finer to follow the clerical occupations rather than the manual. Their sole aim appeared to be drop into some clerical work, dressing in immaculate cuffs and collars, and engaging in nothing that would soil their delicate little fingers. That was the feeling which dominated not only in the Secondary Schools, but very largely in the Elementary Schools also. Only the other day he had used pick and shovel in his front garden wearing the same rough garb that he always wore for gardening, and he and his wife had been quite entertained by the looks of shocked surprise at "Mr. Humphreys turning into a navvy." The children had that same false idea, and the sooner they drove out of education any practice tending to encourage such opinion, instead of dissipating it, the better. He thought their infant school education was on an ideal plan. They were there training the whole child in eye and hand work as well as in the little beginnings of thinking out things. Instances had occurred among the Boy Scouts illustrating the wonderful effect it had upon a lad when he found that he certainly possessed manual skill that he had never imagined he had during his school work. It often happened that if a boy was not able to reach a certain academical standard he was made to understand, if not by cuffings, by the manner of the teacher, that he

was a duffer and not much good, and because he had failed to reach that standard and had had no opportunity of showing what he could do, he had left school with a loss of self-respect. No lad should be allowed to leave school like that. (Applause.) The lad got an idea that he was a duffer—and what were the street corner loungers and loafers made of? They were made, to a larger extent than was generally recognised, of those whom they had tried to merely force up to an academical standard instead of training their manual intelligence as well and their power to apply it all round. The Scouts found they could do things that they had never imagined they could do, and in one case in particular, the teacher had told him that the boy seemed to have been entirely transformed in his school work in consequence. They ought to provide that at least equal recognition should be given to those showing manual skill as to those showing mental skill. The scholarships at present were mainly for academic advance, and their manual centres only trained a certain percentage of the elder children in their schools, and that was only upon certain lines which rather suggested that they were going to be made into either carpenters or plumbers. They wanted general manual training that should include the provision of scholarships, by records easily kept, and that would provide advance from the elementary into the craft schools, where the children could continue certain subjects taught in the Elementary Schools along with the development of skilled hand and eye work. He was delighted to know that that movement was advancing much more rapidly than they had ever dared to hope it would, and that there was more wide-spread recognition of the fact that it was the whole boy and girl that must be trained and developed right from the infant stage and through the various grades. Education must be concived on a plan that would dissipate the false pride that was providing so many hundreds of the genteel unemployed.

Mr. E. LAMBERT (Romford Union) said that as a School Manager he should very much have liked to see far more teachers as well as managers and other local administrators attending such a Conference as that one, for he felt that the teachers would go away ready to work with a much better heart did they know that such a body of persons outside their own particular craft was in sympathy with them. Although, of course, there were many members of the teaching profession present, there was also a large number of others outside that profession taking the keenest interest in their work. He entirely agreed that they must increase the staffs of their schools. When they found that there was such a vast difference between the country schools and the town schools, they could not genuinely expect the same work done in the one as in the other. But, at the same time, there were advantages in the rural schools that did not obtain in the urban schools in the direction of social surroundings and the opportunity of cultivating a more active life, of ridding themselves of the false gentility that had been referred to, and of learning not to be afraid to do a little manual work. The training of teachers was also a very serious thing to be considered, as it was found even now that some of the teachers who had been through the Colleges were totally incapable of expressing or imparting the knowledge they possessed to the children they taught. He knew of a teacher who had come from the eastern coast who was fully certificated, but was practically useless as a manager of the children he was supposed to teach. He was supposed to take sixty boys, and he was no more capable of managing three of them than he ought to be of managing a hundred. In his opinion it was utterly impossible to train the child for the various occupations which were open to him in after-life under the present system of education. In Secondary Schools—the main cost of which, even if a few guineas were paid by the individuals who were able to pay them, came from the general body of rate and taxpayers—it was very peculiar that we should be able to provide playing-fields, and should be able to develop the full faculties of the children by having classes that were not allowed to contain a greater number than thirty, and by having teachers who were much better paid and of a better calibre. If they were to have a thorough system of education it would have to be unified, the elementary or primary should prepare all the children for the secondary, professional, or technical; and opportunities should be given to develop the whole of the faculties and the whole of the capabilities of every child.

Councillor M. CONWAY (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) said he was afraid that the Elementary School was becoming a sort of whipping-post to bear all the sins that their educational administration of the past had heaped upon it. It had been suggested that the parents' snobbishness was largely responsible for children

taking to clerical occupations rather than to manual. He wanted emphatically to dissent from that. When parents found, as they did in many of the big cities, that the only security of occupation was to be found in a clerical one, they preferred to send their sons to that rather than to send them to manual occupations. There were cities of one staple trade where boys commenced at any age from 12 up to 16, and where, by the time they were 17 or 18, 60 per cent. of them were landed on the casual market. Parents were quite well aware of that fact, and when they saw that a clerical occupation would give their boys some security they put them into it. They must not blame the parents for that: they must not visit the sins of the economic system on to the Elementary School. Many of the remarks that had been made were a sort of imputation on the Elementary School that it was in some way responsible for the after-failures of life. That was an insult to the teaching profession of this country, because, as a matter of fact, the after-failures were often very bright when they were children at school. In the city from which he came it was very frequently the best boys, the very brightest boys, that left school to go half-time, and it was those who always landed on the casual market at an age too late to enter a trade. They could not blame the Elementary School for that; they had got to readjust their economic system. He wanted to say that, from practical experience and from a pretty wide knowledge of Elementary Schools, that the teachers were not so far behindhand as many made out. They were experimenting in method, and there was a revolution going on in the schools. The teachers themselves were solving the question of the relative value of manual and humanistic study, and he had been amazed at the progress made during the last few years. What occurred after the children had left school the teachers could not be responsible for. He believed that in the schools to-day an attempt was being made to develop individuality. The teachers were trying to work on that line, but it was impossible with big classes. They must have small classes in order that the teacher might get at the individual. To-day they were getting class teaching; they were not getting the individual teaching in the Elementary Schools as they were in the Secondary Schools. The regulations of the latter schools prescribed that the children should be taught in small classes, and there was, therefore, a development of individuality, which was what was wanted. If that was done the child would have a better chance if he was thrown on his beam ends after he left school. The teachers to-day in the schools were fighting an uphill battle. They were underpaid in very many cases, and they were overworked, in spite of the holidays granted. They were trying their best to bring out the individuality of the children and to train them as citizens. But they must remember that no formal training would make good citizens; it was the unconscious influence of personality and surroundings; the teachers were having to fight against antagonistic influences from outside, and yet they had done a noble and civilising work. The faults outside the school altogether, the faults of the system of employment, must not be visited on the Elementary Schools. (Applause.)

Miss EPSTEIN said she had no official connection with education except that she had visited medical cases in connection with the School Care Committee of the worst school in London. But she had thought a great deal about education since she was 9 years old—(laughter)—and she would like to make a few remarks from the point of view of the pupil who was being taught. The child needed variety of work, and she thought that the chief need of younger children was to have their occupation changed every twenty minutes or half an hour at the utmost. Children were very enthusiastic at the beginning of a lesson and frequently did their best work almost in the first quarter of an hour. She had been very keen on schooling herself, and had been held up as a model scholar because of her anxiety to learn, but after sitting for two hours at a desk trying to listen, she had often thought "How I should like to toss hay or dig potatoes, or learn anything about gardening." (Laughter and applause.) She had often asked children from 5 years old and upwards what lesson they liked best and took the most interest in. They almost always said nature study, and they also liked the lectures on health and hygiene. They were very keen on their new tooth brushes and anything that had relation to their actual lives was a great influence on their homes as well, for they told their mothers all about it, and consequently parents were taking more interest in their children's work. They all knew that quite as much depended upon the personality of the teacher as upon the subject. When she was at school she liked all those subjects of which she liked the teacher, and when she did not like the teacher she

did not like the subject—(laughter and applause)—and that was the experience, she thought, of a great many boys and girls. She did think that in the curriculum, both of boys and girls, there should be included some knowledge of the government of their own country. The children, when 12 or 14 years of age, should have a knowledge of what the vote meant and the constitution of Parliament. They were taught how the Romans were governed, and yet not how they were governed in London—at any rate, she knew nothing about it when she left school. The school played a far more important part in the lives of the Elementary School children than in the lives of the Secondary School children, as the latter had a much greater and healthier home influence than the former. The parents of Elementary School children were wage earning and did not have the time, and the children depended almost entirely on the school for a much wider outlook on life than they could get at home. As well as knowledge of government, the children ought also to have some idea of a high ideal of citizenship—girls as well as boys. She did not suggest that that should be given as a subject, but it should be a background of every subject, and they might be shown how they could use their capacities in the best forms of social service. She found that all children were most willing to serve, and were much happier when feeling useful to people and to each other than when they were feeling the reverse. She wished it could be possible to discourage girls and young men from becoming teachers if they were not by temperament and nature fitted for the work. (Applause.) She thought that it was just as important as in the medical profession that only those who felt drawn to it should enter it, and not those who simply regarded it as the means of earning a living. Of course, they had to earn their living as well, and they should be paid good salaries, but she wished that in the examination—she supposed it was quite impossible—that personality and stimulating, inspiring influence could be taken into account. They all knew the difference between one teacher and another, and how terribly difficult it was to concentrate one's attention if the teacher was dull. She suggested that one hour a week should be left absolutely open, and that the teacher should take a referendum of the class as to what they would like to be taught in it, and they would get some interesting suggestions and the children would be in it with their whole soul.

Mrs. ROGER GREEN (Burton-upon-Trent Health Society) said they must take it as granted, or they would not be there that day, that the conditions of life were not what they wished them to be, that something was wrong, and the fact that they were discussing the curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life meant that schooling had something to do with after life itself. She was interested in the health of the nation, and she wished to plead that if they did not see fit to actually give attention to the question of baby management, they should give some attention to home management. They must compare the outlook of boys and the outlook of girls for their after lives. When a boy left school, if there was anything in him, he generally went to something which he would be in more or less all his life, but the majority of girls after they left school were only filling in a period of interregnum, they were following practically a blind alley employment, and they came back to home life afterwards. It was really a Health Committee problem—to fit motherhood to perform its duties. Mothercraft was not learned by instinct, and she asked those who had charge of education to consider whether it would not be better to give a little grounding to the girls at school, which, though half forgotten, they might pick up again.

Mrs. EMPTAGE said that, as a teacher in one of the London Elementary Schools, she wished to assure some of them that quite good work was being done in the schools, particularly in London. Reference had been made to the infant schools, and to the lessons being only fifteen minutes long. Their time-tables had been arranged by experts. The teachers were earnest men and women who had given the whole of their time to thinking out the very best way of training and developing those under their control. Municipal lessons and lessons in citizenship were already given in the school. Not long ago Empire matters were taught for a whole week in the Council schools, and the children were given a special half holiday at the end of the week to think about the things they had been taught. Special lessons were given in all the schools in London, she believed, on our Empire, and surely citizenship was bound to come in with that. Lessons were also given in municipal matters in a great many schools, she believed, all the year round, and as local elections cropped up they would be surprised if they knew how those things were talked

about in the schools. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) She did not mean from the propaganda point of view. (Renewed laughter.) At one boys' school they had really carried out a general election in their own school, but not a political one. She thought they were really proceeding on quite good lines, and she did not think they would be quite so afraid, if they went into the schools, of what was going to happen. With regard to manual training, from one school at Peckham they were sending out fifteen boys this term to take up trade scholarships, boys who had been trained in the industrial class, so she did not think that their manual work was in such a bad way. On the other hand, the clerical side had not been neglected; the two must work hand in hand.

Professor FINDLAY, replying to points raised during the discussion, said he was very glad that the gentleman from Bradford had made a protest against the kind of feeling that they were blaming the school. It was not a question of praise or blame. They were engaged in a scientific investigation about the nature of children. As to attention not being paid to girls, he had not been aware, when writing his paper or when speaking, that he was making any difference in the sexes; and he agreed that there was a great difference in the problem of the sexes, and that the problems arising from the attitude of the girl towards work were undoubtedly different from those concerning the boy. He did not see how the teachers could teach domestic economy under present conditions, but the failure was not due to the teachers. He had visited one of the magnificent domestic schools in Scotland, and they had shown him a suite of rooms and said it was an artisan's dwelling—(laughter)—and that they were teaching every girl to care for it. It was swept and cleaned and dusted and so forth twenty times a day. (Laughter.) That was just like the rubber doll they had heard about that afternoon. It was not life; it was not reality; and the teaching of their schools would be revolutionised as they realised that schools must no longer be "schooly" but be re-shaped in close relationship to life. Domestic economy was a very essential thing, and the failures that had been referred to were due to the fact that it had been impossible for the school to come close to the realities of life. He had been very pleased to hear the suggestion of the children having freedom to choose the subject for one hour a week at school, since that was what they were doing at the school with which he was connected; although they did not ask the children to vote as to what to do, but simply said, "Do as you like." One boy had pointed out that the class did not have a notice board and had asked if they could make one. In another case two girls took to cleaning the room and blackboard. There was the case of the Secondary School in Birmingham, where the boys, with a master, spent their Easter holidays in levelling a huge mound of earth to make a school playground. At Albany, New York, the girls took orders from parents for goods; they went to the shops and obtained the material, and in that way they were learning values and prices.

Third Day, Thursday, June 13th.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint meeting with the Unemployment and Industrial Regulation Section).

The Chair was occupied by MR. SIDNEY WEBB, President of the Unemployment and Industrial Regulation Section. The subject discussed was THE CARE AND TRAINING OF JUVENILE WORKERS. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Functions of the Juvenile Advisory Committee.*
BY MR. R. A. BRAY, L.C.C.

2.—*The Organisation and Aim of Continuation Classes: with special reference to recent developments in Edinburgh.*
BY THE REV. W. MAIN.

3.—*The Present Position of Opinion as to the Labour of Adolescents.*
BY MR. R. H. TAWNEY.

4.—*The Medical Supervision of Juvenile Workers.*
BY MR. ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

5.—*The Industrial Employment of Girls.*
BY MISS CONSTANCE SMITH.

The Function of the Juvenile Advisory Committee.

By REGINALD A. BRAY, L.C.C.
(Chairman of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee).

THE objects of this paper are two: First, to describe the organisation, with the ideas underlying that organisation, which has been gradually established by the London Juvenile Advisory Committee since its formation a little less than two years ago; and secondly, to discuss generally the function of such Committees in dealing with the problem of juvenile employment.

PART I.

THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Central Committee. In London there is a Central Committee, usually termed exclusively the Juvenile Advisory Committee, appointed by the Board of

Trade, and consisting of persons nominated by the London County Council, of representatives of employers and employees, and of others interested in the question of juvenile employment. It is the duty of this Committee to advise generally the Board of Trade in regard to the management of the juvenile side of the Labour Exchanges, and particularly to form Committees in connection with each local Labour Exchange, and to supervise and direct the work of such local Committees.

Local Committees. Eighteen of these local Committees have been formed together covering, in the sphere of their operations, the whole of the Administrative County of London. The Committees are usually termed Local Advisory Committees, and are formed of persons representing interests similar to those represented by the members of the Central Juvenile Advisory Committee. These Committees have been formed gradually, and the last two had not started work at the time of writing. Each Committee is supplied by the Board of Trade with a secretary and other necessary staff. It is the duty of these Committees, under the general supervision of the Juvenile Advisory Committee, to advise as to the management of the juvenile side of the local Labour Exchange, to arrange a scheme of co-operation between the schools in the district and the Exchange, to give advise to juveniles seeking employment, and to organise a system which will make it possible to follow up the industrial career of the juveniles placed.

A nineteenth Committee has been formed to advise as to the Clearing-house system, a system which will be discussed later.

The work of the Central and Local Committees may be considered as falling naturally into four divisions.

1.—The School-leaving Form.

Between the Advisory Committees and the Education Authority, with its Care Committee organisation, co-operation is close and cordial. The following scheme of bringing the Elementary Schools into relation with the Exchanges has been adopted and is in process of development. It should be mentioned that in London a Care Committee has been appointed for each school, and among the duties of the Care Committee is the duty of its members to interest themselves in the children when and after they leave school.

Shortly before a child leaves school, a form, termed the school-leaving form, is filled up, in part by the head teacher of the school and in part by a member of the Care Committee. This form contains (*a*) details of the child's school career, with particular reference to any special ability he may possess, (*b*) the record of his last inspection by the school doctors (arrangements are made for the re-inspection of all children among whom defects have been found at the routine inspection between the ages of 12 and 13), (*c*) a statement of his home circumstances, so far as these are relevant to the choice of employment. In general, parent and child have been seen by a member of the Care Committee, and the form contains an expression of the desire of the parent as to employment and the recommendation of the Care Committee.

It should be mentioned that the co-operation of the Advisory Committees with the schools is not confined to the Elementary Schools. Already some steps have been taken to secure co-operation with the Secondary Schools, Technical Institutes, and Evening Schools, in short, with the whole educational organisation of London, so far as juveniles are concerned. But this side of the work is only in its early stages and the main activities of the Committee are directed towards the development of the scheme of co-operation with the Elementary Schools.

2.—The Work of "Placing."

The school-leaving form is sent on to the local Labour Exchange. If the parent has expressed a desire to make use of the Exchange, the fact is notified on the form, and the parent and child are summoned in due course to appear before the Committee. If the parent has not so expressed his desire, the form is filed at the Exchange, in case the child should eventually apply. It will be seen that when the system has had time to develop, there will be at the Exchanges, on the school-leaving form, detailed information respecting the school career and the health of every juvenile who has passed through the London Elementary Schools.

For the purposes of dealing with individual cases, the Advisory Committees form small rotas of persons who agree to attend at the Exchange at certain definite times. These rotas consist of members of the Committee or of other volunteers who have been approved by the Juvenile Advisory Committee to serve on rotas without being members of the main Committee. The rota interviews the juveniles with school-leaving forms who have been summoned by the secretary. The rota has also before it particulars of the various openings notified either by employers in the district or through the Clearing-house.

The rota then has before it the juvenile, and possibly his parent, the school-leaving form, and the particulars of the various vacancies available. Sometimes it may be possible to recommend a suitable opening to the juvenile at once; sometimes it may be thought desirable to obtain further particulars about a vacancy; sometimes to canvass in order to discover the suitable opening. These are matters on which the Committee decide, and instruct the secretary accordingly.

The rotas do not confine their attention to the juveniles leaving school. In all Exchanges certain selected juveniles are interviewed, and in some Exchanges attempts are made to interview all juveniles. But whatever the practice, all juveniles are dealt with by the secretary or by the staff acting under the direct orders of the secretary; while the secretary, in dealing with these juveniles, must bear in mind and endeavour to carry out the instructions of the Committee. When the Committees have been longer at work they will be in a position to deal with all juveniles in the same way. But at the outset it was thought desirable in most cases to concentrate attention on the school-leaving form children.

In order that the Committee and its officers may be in a position to advise effectively, the Board of Trade is carrying out detailed inquiries into the method of entry, conditions and prospects, existing in the different trades, and circulating the information. It is intended that such information should be kept up to date and circulated at frequent intervals.

3.—Supervision.

The third part of the work lies in the attempt to organise a system under which information will be obtained in respect of the industrial career of each juvenile placed. The name "supervision" has been given to this side of the work, though the term is not altogether a happy one. Supervision is of two kinds: there is, first, information about the juvenile furnished by someone who has undertaken to keep in touch with the juvenile and send in periodic reports; and there is, secondly, information obtained from the employer.

Supervision of the first kind is carried out in part by the Care Committee, in part by the Advisory Committee. When the school-leaving form is filled in, it

is open to the Care Committee to indicate thereon the name of some person willing to act as supervisor of the juvenile in question. When the juvenile has been placed by the Advisory Committee information as to the nature of the situation is sent to the supervisor. Report forms, which he is asked to fill up and return to the Exchange, are sent him after the first month, and thenceforward half-yearly. He is also invited, if occasion arises, to call at the Exchange at any time and consult with the secretary. The supervisor does not visit the employer; his function is to keep in touch with the juvenile. If the Care Committee indicate on the school-leaving form that it does not desire to provide a supervisor, it then becomes the duty of the Advisory Committee to provide some kind of supervision. Sometimes the juveniles are invited to call periodically at the Exchange and report progress; sometimes the parent is communicated with; sometimes a friend of the juvenile is found who is willing to undertake the duty. The work of supervision is not confined to children with school-leaving forms, and in one Exchange it has been found possible to provide supervision in every case. In course of time, when the school-leaving form system has fully developed, the distinction between the two kinds of juveniles will disappear. The object of the Advisory Committees is to provide means of keeping in touch with every juvenile placed. The attainment of this object involves the securing of the services of a large number of volunteers. With this end in view the co-operation of Managers of Clubs, Scout Masters, Superintendents of Brigades, Trade Unionists, has all been enlisted.

Supervision leads on to various developments. Systematic attempts are made to induce the juveniles to attend continuation classes and to advise them as to the classes most suitable. Classes during the day-time have, in one Exchange, been provided for boys who are temporarily unemployed. A beginning has also been made of getting into touch with the Medical Inspectors under the Factory Acts, with the view of obtaining from them the names of young persons rejected on the ground of health, and so of finding for these persons suitable employment. Certain Committees have obtained the services of a medical man to examine and advise on delicate or defective juveniles.

The second kind of supervision is concerned with obtaining periodic reports from the employers. This work is carried out by the Exchange. No general system has at present been set up, but a start has been made, and it is hoped that in course of time the practice of obtaining such reports will become universal.

Both kinds of supervision are essential. The one is concerned with gathering information from the juvenile's point of view, and the other from the point of view of the employer.

4.—The Clearing-house.

To complete the organisation of the Advisory Committees a Clearing-house is essential. None of the areas of the local Labour Exchanges constitute industrial units. There are districts where the juveniles are numerous and the vacancies relatively few; and there are districts where an opposite state of affairs exists. And further, it is often the case that the districts which possess in the largest number the most eligible juveniles are the districts which afford the least satisfactory openings. A Clearing-house system must, therefore, satisfy two conditions—it must provide means of obtaining employment for those who cannot obtain employment in their own districts; and secondly (and this is the more important point), it must provide means whereby the best openings may be made

available for the juveniles best fitted to fill them from whatever district they may come.

A Clearing-house system has now been established in connection with the Labour Exchange in the City. As at present organised, the arrangements are as follows: The Clearing-house deals with vacancies of three kinds. There are vacancies notified in the ordinary way by employers; there are vacancies which other Exchanges have been unable to fill locally; and there are vacancies obtained by a special staff of canvassers attached to the Clearing-house. The work of these canvassers is not confined to the administrative area of the City of London, but include other districts where the extent of employment is large and highly specialised. It is intended that from time to time other districts and trades will be canvassed by these canvassers, and so brought within the direct influence of the Clearing-house. The vacancies, from whatever source obtained, are classified into three groups, lettered A, B. C.—A, vacancies of a very special character; B, vacancies offering good prospects to juveniles; C, vacancies in general of the errand-boy type. A vacancies are notified to all Exchanges; B vacancies to a group of three or four Exchanges; C vacancies to a single Exchange. These lists, as classified, are sent out daily. On receipt of the list it is the duty of the Local Committee or its secretary to go through the register of juveniles seeking employment. If a suitable juvenile is discovered, he is sent either direct to the employer, or to the employer after a preliminary call at the Clearing-house. Local Committees who have on their books juveniles requiring vacancies of a special character are invited to submit particulars of such cases to the Clearing-house; and the canvassers are instructed in the course of their work to search for openings of the desired kind. A special Advisory Committee has recently been formed to supervise and advise on the Clearing-house system. The Committee consists in part of persons representing the large City trades and businesses, in part of chairmen of local Advisory Committees.

A few figures may indicate the extent of the work carried out. During the year 1911 the Exchanges within the administrative county received applications from 29,337 boys and 18,756 girls, making a total of 48,093. There are, in London, roughly speaking, about 200,000 juveniles between the ages of 14 and 17—the three years with which the Committees are concerned. The Committees are therefore already dealing with nearly a quarter of the whole of the juveniles in London, and the numbers are rising steadily. It must not be supposed that employment is found for the whole number of applicants. Juveniles are in such large demand that in many cases, if the Exchanges cannot at once offer them vacancies, they will not wait but obtain employment on their own account. In order to give the Conferences some idea of the proportion of juveniles placed, I have taken out the figures for three Exchanges which have had Advisory Committees during the whole of 1911. Sixty-six per cent. of the boys and 48 per cent. of the girls, or of boys and girls together 59 per cent., were placed. These figures do not in general include the considerable number of children referred to other agencies such as the Skilled Employment Committees or the Metropolitan Association for befriending young servants.

Part II.

The Function of an Advisory Committee.

As the work of an Advisory Committee is new, it seemed desirable to explain in detail the scheme that is now being carried out in London. Three principles underlie its formation: it endeavours to secure detailed knowledge of each

juvenile who registers; detailed knowledge of each vacancy notified; detailed knowledge (including supervision) of the industrial career of each juvenile placed I do not wish to pretend that these principles have been fully carried out; such is far from being the case. But I see no insuperable obstacle in the path. Assuming, then, that these three principles are carried out, what function is performed, in the organisation or reorganisation of juvenile employment, by the Advisory Committee?

First, it is an agency for sorting out the available juveniles and distributing them among the available openings. The distribution is carried out on principles founded on knowledge of all relevant circumstances, and not, as at present, determined by chance and ignorance. In particular it promotes successes and prevents failures. The clever child is kept from selecting occupations in which his abilities will find no scope for development, and sent to openings where there are possibilities of learning and prospects of advancement. The delicate child will be prevented from entering trades for which he is physically unfit, and so saved from a complete breakdown of health in later years. While in districts like London, where the demands tend to outrun the supply, it is possible to keep unfilled the most undesirable vacancies.

Secondly, it is an agency for supervision and control. For the first time since the break-up of the Gild system, a large section of the juvenile population is brought directly under the eye of a public authority. The Advisory Committee is becoming a centre for the various agencies interested in the welfare of juveniles: Clubs, Boys' Brigades, Scouts, and the like are tending to make increasing use of the Exchanges for purposes of finding employment for their members. On the other hand, from the Committee's side attempts are on foot to connect every juvenile with some such organisation. So far as the attempt is successful, the juvenile population is brought under some kind of friendly control. There is an organisation ready to supply that advice so necessary to a juvenile during the early years of employment; in a position to recommend attendance at those continuation classes most likely to be of service to him in the work he has selected; and capable of watching over his health during the critical period of adolescence. Further, it provides the machinery for carrying out many of the proposals often made for the regulation of juvenile employment. Is it a question of limiting hours of employment? Is it a question of licensing juveniles engaged in certain forms of work? Is it a question of compelling children to attend school unless beneficially employed? Here is an organisation capable, so far as that is possible, of enforcing regulations intended to serve these and other similar purposes.

Thirdly, it is an agency for the creation of opinion. It creates opinion among parents and juveniles. They are informed of the conditions attaching to any vacancy, in particular of its prospects. When they choose, they no longer choose blindly. If the only vacancies available leave much to be desired, it is at least a good thing that their unsatisfactory character should be impressed upon parents and juveniles in order to breed a salutary discontent. And if this discontent takes the form of refusing to fill the openings, the Committee is in a position to give effective voice to such refusal by informing employers that juveniles will not accept the conditions. Next, it creates opinion among employers. There are many good employers, quite unconscious of the harm done to juveniles by the conditions offered. This is especially the case with the blind-alley employment. Sometimes all that is wanted to provide at least a partial remedy is a little thought and rearrangement. The Post Office is the most striking example of this kind. It

is now promising to offer a career and permanent employment to all the boys entering its service. With the problem of juvenile employment much to the front, as it is now, the Committee should be able to do something towards creating an opinion among the better employers. Lastly, it creates an opinion among the general public; and this is far the most important, for if the general public is educated in these matters, legislation can no longer be delayed. The Committees, if their work is efficiently carried out, should be in a position to furnish irrefutable evidence, convincing to all, of the evil effects of the present unregulated system of juvenile employment, and to point out the way that reform must take. There is one thing that the Advisory Committees cannot do: they cannot transform the industrial situation. It is important to lay emphasis on this fact, because there are many who seem to think otherwise. Such persons, at any rate to judge from their words, seem to believe that, if only sufficiently diligent search were made, good openings with prospects could be found for all. It is common to hear the Exchanges severely criticised for sending boys into the so-called blind-alley occupation, with the implication that something better should and could have been found. Now, before Labour Exchanges came into existence the London County Council obtained returns of the occupations boys went to on leaving school. I have analysed large portions of these returns and been able to show that something like half the boys took up occupations of this character, and not more than a third entered a skilled trade. Now, these figures represent the normal demand for juveniles; and the establishment of Labour Exchanges cannot effect a sudden transformation. We must realise that these unsatisfactory vacancies exist in the proportions mentioned. If the Exchanges do not fill them, they will be unable to provide with employment more than a small proportion of the juveniles who register. But the places will be filled, and juveniles and employers will meet without the assistance of the Exchange, as they did in the past. It has already been shown that unless the Exchanges find work almost at once, the juveniles find it for themselves. Now, if an evil exists, it is much better that the evil should go on under our eyes, where its ill-effects are plainly seen, than that it should be hidden away. An evil that is known in detail is an evil on the road to remedy; it is the evils that are only vaguely understood to exist which lie beyond the possibilities of cure. This is the real reason why we should be very cautious in refusing to fill any type of vacancies. If we fill, we can at least know what is happening; if we refuse, we do not prevent the vacancies being filled, and only deprive ourselves of that knowledge which might compel legislation. It is only by filling the vacancies now that we can hope to be able to keep them empty altogether at a later date.

We must take the industrial situation such as it is, with the vacancies such as they are, and with the juveniles such as they happen to be. But even with these limitations, as I have attempted to show, much can be done by the Advisory Committee. It can distribute existing juveniles among existing vacancies; it can watch over them during their industrial career; and it can effectively create public opinion. In general the work of such a Committee represents the first systematic effort to bring some kind of order into that chaos which now distinguishes all branches of juvenile employment.

I shall, perhaps, be expected to allude to the much-discussed question of whether an Advisory Committee appointed by the Board of Trade or a Committee appointed by the Education Authority under the Choice of Employment Act is the better body to deal with juvenile employment. As a member for many years of the Education Committee of the London County Council, and as a member,

from the beginning, of an Advisory Committee under the Board of Trade, my experience and opinion founded on that experience may have a certain value.

First, it is sometimes urged that unless the Education Authority controls the work the educational side of the question will not be given due consideration. I venture to say that this statement is incorrect. Those who have been at the pains to read the first part of this paper will, I trust, draw the conclusion that the whole system therein outlined has been organised in the interest of the juvenile. School-leaving form, method of placing, supervision—all are designed to secure the special treatment that juveniles require; and this presumably is what is meant by the expression educational consideration. This could hardly be otherwise, taking into account the members who constitute the Juvenile Advisory Committee. A third are actually members of the Education Committee, while the majority of the remainder regard the question of juvenile appointment from the same point of view. The Committee is, in short, overwhelmingly educational in its sympathies. It is on the advice of this educationally weighted Committee that the local Committees are formed, their secretaries appointed, and the general work carried on.

Further, it is only fair to say that the officials of the Board of Trade responsible for the policy of the Labour Exchanges are, so far as my experience goes, no less anxious than the Committee that prominence should be given to the educational side of the question. They feel as strongly as anyone that juveniles must be treated differently from adults, and have assisted the Committee throughout to secure this difference of treatment. I can call to mind no single recommendation of the Committee involving educational principles which has not been approved by the Board of Trade.

Secondly, it is no doubt a fact that there has been a tendency among managers of Exchanges to treat juveniles and adults alike, and to regard number of placements as the test of successful work. From them the educational side of the question has not always received the consideration it ought to have. There are exceptions, but they must be regarded as such. Now, so far as my experience goes, there is only one possible way of remedying this defect. We must introduce into the Exchange, as an integral part of the Exchange organisation, a counteracting influence. This is just what the creation of an Advisory Committee does. Here is a body of persons appointed by the Juvenile Advisory Committee and assisted by a secretary, an officer on the Exchange staff, appointed on the recommendation of the Juvenile Advisory Committee. Committee and secretary deal with every section of the juvenile work. Questions affecting the advice given to juveniles, the placing of juveniles, the canvassing of employers—all alike come under their consideration. On the other hand, this is just what the creation of a Committee under the Choice of Employment Act does not do. It is of great importance to realise the difference. Under this Act a Sub-Committee of the Education Committee would take the place of the Juvenile Advisory Committee. It would be necessary to form Committees for each Exchange and to supply them with officers. There is no reason to suppose that, so far as individuals are concerned, such Committees would differ much from the existing Local Advisory Committees; the same may be said of their officers. But such Committees and officers would be shorn of half the powers the Advisory Committees and their officers possess. As agreed between the Board of Trade and the Board of Education, the Education Authority advises the juveniles while the Exchange deals with the employer. The officer of the Education Authority may not visit or communicate with the employer. Now, my whole experience of the work

has shown me that it is precisely in dealing with employers, in canvassing for and in collecting particulars of vacancies, that the assistance of a Committee and special officer is most required. From this section of the work the Committee under the Education Authority is excluded. Further, only those can usefully advise juveniles who are dealing from day to day with employers; they can in no other way gain the necessary practical experience. A local Advisory Committee is assisted by an officer who is in constant communication with employers; a Committee under an Education Authority never communicates with employers. In other words, under the Choice of Employment Act those who give the advice are those who have not the knowledge to make that advice of value. It would be easy to give many other reasons why the formation of an Advisory Committee is essential to the successful working of any scheme of this kind. But I am anxious not to labour the point, because, as it seems to me, the question is always wrongly stated. It is always stated as though we had to choose between two plans—either a Committee under the Board of Trade, or a Committee under the Education Authority. As a matter of fact, we want both, and in London we have both. A Sub-Committee of the Education Committee deals week by week with questions affecting the relations between the schools and the Exchanges, while the Care Committees play an active part in the work, filling up the school-leaving form and providing a large portion of the supervision.

There remain two general reasons why nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the Board of Trade forming Advisory Committees. First, in dealing with juveniles we want to have a system that covers the country. The Choice of Employment Act is optional, and Education Authorities have been slow to use their powers. As a consequence, over the greater part of the country there exists now no organisation for advising juveniles. The Board of Trade, for some time past and until June 30th next, has agreed not to form Committees on its own account, in order to allow Education Authorities to make their own schemes. It is most desirable that after June Advisory Committees should be established at as early a date as possible. Only a department like the Board of Trade, covering the whole country, can bring the whole country under a system. And secondly, the problem of juvenile employment can never be solved unless some means are found to connect juvenile and adult employment. The gulf between the two must be bridged, and can only be bridged when one organisation is dealing with both classes. To create a condition of affairs where the Education Authority is supposed to be responsible for juveniles and the Board of Trade for adults, is to perpetuate the continued existence of this gulf.

The Organisation and Aim of Continuation Classes, with Special Reference to Recent Developments in Edinburgh.

By the Rev. William Main

(Convener of the Continuation Classes Committee, Edinburgh School Board).

Among the causes of destitution must be placed the want of the proper equipment of boys and girls for profitable and remunerative work. Young persons attend an Elementary School from 5 to 14 years of age. But no one will be

disposed to say that at the end of this nine years' curriculum they are completely fitted for the work of life. At the best they have obtained a certain amount of moral training and general education, to which has been added a two years' course of manual training for boys and domestic training for girls; but experience has proved that, if the education of young persons is not continued and directed after the Elementary School age, even the best of them will fail to become thoroughly efficient workers, and many of the others will show themselves so utterly inefficient as to fall into the ranks of those who go to swell the numbers of the casuals, the unemployed, and the unemployable.

All this is now abundantly recognised, and Educational Authorities, especially in the larger centres, are setting themselves more and more zealously to the work, so clearly indicated by the Scotch Education Department, in an important Circular, of " taking cognisance of the period of adolescence, reinforcing parental control at the time when it is most needed, guiding and advising young persons as to the choice of occupation, and providing for them such systematic instruction as will enhance their efficiency in their various occupations and make them more useful citizens."

It may be well, however, at the outset, to emphasise the necessity for a thoroughly efficient system of Continuation Classes by glancing at the conditions of a set of young people who leave the Day-school at 14 years of age. As this paper is to have special reference to Edinburgh, we will take as an example a year's exodus from the Elementary Schools under the Edinburgh School Board.

During Session 1910-11 approximately 3,500 pupils, having attained the age of 14, left the Day-schools at one or other of the " fixed periods " of that session. Now, what was the educational condition of these young persons?

(*a*) In the first place, 657, or 19 per cent., had failed to pass the Qualifying Examination, an examination which ought to be passed ordinarily at 12 years of age, and which qualifies for entrance to a Supplementary Course.

(*b*) Including these 657, no fewer than 2,021 had failed to obtain the Merit Certificate which, by successful examination, can be obtained after the pupil has been one full year in a Supplementary Course. The Merit Certificate may be taken as the mark that the pupil has attained the normal end of the system of Elementary Education, including attendance on a Supplementary Course. The foregoing figures, therefore, mean that *more than half* of the pupils leave the Day-schools in a given year without having attained this end, while nearly *one-fifth* of them leave without having qualified in respect of purely Elementary Education. The figures are startling, and suggest many questions which it is not our business to enter into here. But that Edinburgh, far from being worse than other towns in Scotland in respect of these results, is distinctly better, may be seen from the following table based on official returns:—

	Edinburgh.	Aberdeen.	Glasgow.	Dundee.
Total number of pupils who left during Session 1910-11 ..	3,500	2,636	7,410	1,859
(*a*) Number of above who had *not* passed the Qualifying Examination	657 or 19%	747 or 28%	3,215 or 43%	654 or 35%
(*b*) Number who had obtained the Merit Certificate ..	1,479 or 42%	938 or 36%	1,886 or 25%	727 or 39%

Now, whatever may be said of the system of Day-school Education and Examination, which cannot produce better results than these, or of the physical, mental, and domestic causes that contribute to them, the stern fact remains that many pupils leave the Day-schools without having reaped anything like full advantage of the Elementary School system. Those especially under (*a*) of the above table constitute what has been called the " dangerous fraction." It is from them that the ranks of the destitute are largely augmented, and they, therefore, demand special consideration if they are to be better prepared and stimulated for the duties of life.

(*c*) But in our group of 3,500 pupils there are 1,479 who have obtained the Merit Certificate and who may, therefore, be said to have reaped the full advantage of Elementary School Education. But even these are not thereby fully equipped for their future work. They suffer from an inability to adapt the knowledge they have gained to practical requirements, and they require guidance and further instruction if they are to fill a worthy place in the economy of labour.

(*d*) In the group there are many boys who will go into various trades. But the training of apprentices is not what it once was, and if these boys are to be made competent workmen they must have technical instruction beyond what is given them in their own workshops.

(*e*) Many are girls, who require domestic training if they are to be efficient housewives, or further instruction in other subjects associated with suitable employments for girls.

(*f*) All of them are at that period of life when the care of the body and the development of the general physique are of great importance. And

(*g*) They are all at the beginning of that important period, between 14 and 20 years of age, when a right sense of the responsibilities resting on every member of the State may be awakened and developed, and when, by acquiring a rational knowledge of how to enjoy their leisure in a rational way, as well as wisely to employ their hours of labour, they may be saved from an aimless, hopeless existence and helped and encouraged to become useful members of society.

The defects and necessities thus indicated in our group of leaving pupils are to be found in any similar group anywhere, and they require consideration and attention during the whole period of adolescence. It is the aim of the Continuation Classes to supply the necessities and attempt to remedy the defects; and in Edinburgh an extensive and comprehensive system has been organised for the purpose of providing the young people of the city with instruction and training suited to their various requirements.

The Board's Continuation Classes are carried on in twenty-seven schools. They serve the needs of pupils who have to work during the day, but who desire either to extend their general knowledge, or to make a beginning of studies bearing on the occupation upon which they have entered. Much attention has in recent years been given to these classes, and to the bringing of them into vital contact with the industries and occupations in the city. The Board works in close co-operation with employers of all kinds, and receives from them valuable advice as to the forming of courses and the actual requirements of the industries. The classes meet on three nights a week, and are held in summer as well as winter. It is found that a well-organised, well-staffed voluntary system attracts large numbers of the youth of both sexes in the city, and although the Board has power under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 to frame bye-laws for compulsory attendance in respect of young persons between 14 and 17 years of age, that power has not yet been exercised. The only

compulsory attendance is in the case of telegraph messenger boys, who are compelled, not by the Educational Authority, but by the Postal Department, to attend Continuation Classes either in the morning or evening, as their duties suit, and the arrangement has worked out harmoniously and well and to the great advantage of the boys, of whom there are about 200.

In the winter of 1911-12 the number of students in the Continuation Classes was 10,747; in the summer of 1911, 3,270. The education in these classes is practically free if regular attendance is given, the fee for the session (five shillings) being returnable in all of the schools, except the three which are set apart for adults over 20 years of age, at the close of the session to each pupil who makes 80 per cent. of the possible attendances.

The range and variety of instruction may be gathered from the following list of courses and subjects:—

DIVISION I.—*Classes for the completion of General Elementary Education.*

English and Arithmetic, and one or more of the following: The Empire, Civics, The Laws of Health, Drawing, Woodwork, Common Commercial Documents, Needlework, Cookery, Laundry Work, Dressmaking, Millinery.

DIVISIONS II. AND III.—*Specialised Classes and Courses.*

ENGLISH COURSE:—

English Composition, English Language and Literature.

COMMERCIAL COURSES:—

(i) Shorthand Course: English, Shorthand, Typewriting.
(ii) General Commercial Course: Two or more of the following—Commercial Arithmetic, Business Procedure, Elementary Bookkeeping, Shorthand, English, Commercial Geography, French, German, Esperanto.
(iii) Combined Commercial Courses: Business (Operative), Business (Historical, Geographical, and Economic).

TECHNICAL COURSES:—

(i) Elementary Engineering.
(ii) Elementary Physics.
(iii) Brassfinishers' work.
(iv) Tinsmiths' work.
(v) Moulders' work.
(vi) Elementary Building Construction.
(vii) Plumbers' work.
(viii) Gas Lighting and Appliances.
(ix) Plaster work.
(x) Carpentry and Joinery.
(xi) Cabinet-making.
(xii) Upholstery.
(xiii) French Polishing.
(xiv) Printing.
(xv) Bread-baking.
(xvi) Confectionery.
(xvii) Tailors' work.
(xviii) Tailoresses' work.
(xix) Hairdressers' work.

ART COURSES :—

(i) General Art Course.

(ii) Wood Carving and Design.

(iii) Modelling in Brass and Copper.

(iv) Design for Dressmakers.

DOMESTIC COURSES :—

Two or more of the following: Cookery, Needlework, Dressmaking, Laundry work, Housewifery, Millinery, and First-aid, Home-nursing, Hygiene, and Temperance.

DIVISION IV.—*Auxiliary Classes.*

(i) Physical Exercises.

(ii) Swimming and Life-saving.

(iii) Vocal Music.

(iv) Wood Carving.

(v) Elocution.

Schemes of co-ordination between the work of the Continuation Classes and the Central Institutions in Edinburgh are also in operation. These Central Institutions are five in number, viz. :—

1. Edinburgh Heriot-Watt College.
2. Edinburgh College of Art.
3. Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture.
4. Edinburgh Royal Dick Veterinary College.
5. Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy.

The general principle of the schemes of co-ordination is that boys and girls, on leaving the Day-school, should undergo a period of two or three years' training in the Continuation Schools in the elementary stages of the subjects which bear upon their occupations, and that thereafter they should proceed to the appropriate Central Institution for the specialised advanced instruction which can only be had in suitably equipped Technical or Art Colleges.

To encourage pupils to pass on from the Continuation Schools to the Heriot-Watt College and to the College of Art, Mr. McEwan, ex-M.P. for the Central Division of Edinburgh, has for some years kindly supplied a fund, which has been distributed by Mr. James Pretsell, a well-known citizen of Edinburgh, for the provision of fees at these Central Institutions. An arrangement has been made with Mr. Pretsell, whereby, in the case of this fund being continued by Mr. McEwan, preference will be given to pupils who have received certificates of proficiency from the School Board's Continuation Classes, showing that they are able to go on to the Technical, Commercial, or Art Classes, as arranged under the schemes between the Heriot-Watt College, the College of Art, and the School Board.

The City of Edinburgh Committee on Secondary Education has framed a scheme for enabling qualified students resident in the city, by means of bursuries or otherwise, to obtain education at any of the Central Institutions recognised by the Scotch Education Department. The amount of each bursary is determined according to the circumstances of each case.

The co-ordination of the work of the Continuation Classes to the higher work in the five Central Institutions is ensured by frequent conferences of the teachers and administrative officers concerned, and by the issue of a Joint Prospectus giving all the details and the relationships of the various courses.

According to the Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of the City of Edinburgh issued by the Registrar-General on February 27th, 1912, there are in the city 17,759 young persons between the ages of 14 and 17 years. Of these at least 5,000 are in attendance at the Continuation Classes of the Edinburgh School Board, 1,500 are attending Central Institutions or Private Schools, and 5,000 have not yet finished their Day-school education. The number who are not yet receiving instruction of any kind may be put down in round numbers at 6,000, or 34 per cent. of the total population between 14 and 17 years of age.

In 1910 an Educational Census was taken of the children and young persons in Edinburgh with a view to determining two main points, viz.: (*a*) the actual number of young persons for whom Continuation Class arrangements should be made; and (*b*) the nature of the industries of the various districts in which these young persons are at present employed. The census was confined to houses of a rental of £30 per annum and less. Detailed reference was made to this census by Mr. Peck, the Clerk of the School Board of Edinburgh, in a paper read at the Conference on the Prevention of Destitution last year. It is sufficient, therefore, now to say that from this census it was learned that there are forty-three occupations in the city in which more than fifty workers between the ages of 14 and 18 are engaged. These important groups of industries were carefully surveyed with a view to showing to what extent provision had already been made in the Continuation Schools for giving instruction in the subjects which are directly related to them, and what further organisation was required to meet the necessities of occupations still unprovided for. One important result was the erection and equipment of workshops at Tynecastle, in the west of Edinburgh, for the practical and theoretical instruction of apprentices living in the western districts. The needs of the other parts of the city were also considered and investigated, and it is expected that within a year workshops, similar in construction to those at Tynecastle, will be erected in the northern and southern districts of the city.

As the workshops in Tynecastle represent the latest development in Edinburgh of the equipment of Continuation Classes in trade subjects, the following description of them may be found interesting and helpful:—

The Tynecastle workshops are situated at the north-west end of McLeod Street, in the western district of Edinburgh, in a field whose area is three and a half acres, and in which is also built a new Supplementary School. The workshops consist of a two-storied building 406 feet long and 28 feet wide, with an adjoining wing on the west side 100 feet in length. The height of the building is 33 feet, and the average floor space of each room 1,000 square feet.

The cost of erecting these buildings has been £6,000, which works out at the exceedingly low average of 3¼d. per cubic foot, while the tools and fittings, with the necessary electric motors, have entailed an expenditure of £2,020, making a total cost of £8,020.

The rooms are eighteen in number. Four of them are at present used for the theoretical part of the instruction relative to the Engineering and Building Courses. These subjects will, next session, be taught in the new Supplementary School, and these rooms will be taken over by the Cookery and Laundry Classes. One room has been specially fitted up for Mechanical Drawing, and is seated for

thirty pupils. Another room is a Physics Laboratory. Two rooms are occupied by the Woodwork Classes of the Cabinet-making and Building Construction Courses, in which the students devote one evening per week to Mathematics, one to Drawing, and the third is spent at bench work. One room, devoted to Tinsmith work, is open four nights in the week, the extra night being necessary owing to the large enrolment of tinsmiths. The pupils are divided into two sections—Junior and Senior; the former receiving four hours' theoretical and two hours' practical work, and the latter four hours' practical and two hours' theoretical work. In the practical classes the students are taught the various methods of joining metal by soldering, etc., hollowing, wiring, etc., and the use of the burring and other machines.

Forty plumbers work in another room on Monday and Tuesday. Each lad receives two hours' practical work per week, and devotes the remaining four hours to Workshop Arithmetic and Drawing.

One room is given to the upholsterers and French polishers. The pupils in the former class are engaged in building chairs and sofas from the frames supplied, in planning out carpets, in cutting out loose covers, etc., and in estimating for work. In the Polishing Class are seven out of the eight lads between the ages of 14 and 18 engaged in this trade in Edinburgh. The syllabus of instruction covers knowledge of wood, polishing ingredients, and the staining and polishing of various kinds of wood.

Two rooms accommodate the tailors and tailoresses.

One room is occupied by the plasterers, for whom a two-years' course in Drawing and Practical work is provided.

The walls of the rooms have been left bare, and a miniature roof erected for workshop practice.

The Engineering room is the largest department in the school. One evening per week is taken up by its students with Engineering Drawing, one evening with Mathematics, and one with Workshop Practice. While most of the time in the workshop is given over to vice work and bench work, experience is also gained in lathe-turning and forge work. There are in this room four turning-lathes and a drilling machine.

In another room, fitted with two wood-turning lathes, a band saw, and a complete outfit for each pupil, the moulders draw and make the patterns for their work in the moulding workshop. Lessons are given on timber, and the tools used and moulding boxes, patterns, etc., are constructed. Lastly, another room, containing the large boxes for the various kinds of sand and the large pit in which the pupils work, is set aside for the teaching of the principles of moulding.

There are twenty-three teachers on the staff, all of whom are highly skilled experts at their respective trades.

During last session nearly 400 pupils were in attendance, representing the various trades. Many of them came from long distances, but the attendance was very satisfactory, averaging 90 per cent.

In connection with each trade there has been formed a Sectional Committee, composed of masters, workmen, and educational experts, who periodically visit the classes, examine the work of the students, and send in reports and recommendations to the School Board. Much valuable help has been rendered by these important Committees.

It will thus be seen that a very important step has been taken in developing the teaching and training of apprentices with the view of producing more competent tradesmen and equipping young people to occupy remunerative positions

in the work of life. Inevitably this development has led to the practical consideration of a system of Day Continuation Classes. It is being increasingly felt that if apprentices are to be rightly and thoroughly trained a scheme must be devised whereby, with the consent of employers, young people may attend classes during the day for instruction, supplementary to that obtained in their own workshops, such attendance to be counted as part of their working day. A deputation of the Edinburgh School Board visited Germany last year and investigated the admirable system of Day Continuation Classes to be found there, especially in Munich. As a result, action is now being taken to establish, in co-operation with employers of labour, a somewhat similar system in Edinburgh.

Not less important than the building and equipment of classrooms is the question of the equipment and training of teachers for the classes in the various trade subjects. It is easy to get a sufficient number of expert tradesmen to become teachers; but these are not always found to be gifted with the art of efficiently imparting their own expert knowledge. It may be long before we are able to introduce the thorough system of training expert trade-teachers to be found in Germany. But an important development in this direction took place in Edinburgh last year. At the request of the School Board the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers instituted a course of training in Methods of Teaching for Non-professional Teachers. The course was attended by 137 non-professional teachers engaged in the Continuation Classes of the Board. These teachers were classified under three sections, viz., Commercial, Industrial, and Domestic. The course consisted of Lectures, Demonstration Lessons, and Supervised Practice in Teaching. The average attendance exceeded 90 per cent. In the work of supervising the Practice of Teaching, the Masters of Method of the Provincial Committee had the assistance of commercial technical, and domestic experts. The course was highly successful, and has done much to shorten the period of amateurish effort and to eliminate some of the early efforts made by the untrained expert at the expense of the students of the Continuation Classes.

This course of training is to be continued, and, until a more thorough and comprehensive system can be established, it will undoubtedly serve a good purpose in making more efficient teachers.

Lastly, there is under consideration at the present time the important question of the supervision of young people who have left the Day-schools to enter various occupations, and who are attending the Continuation Classes. It is hoped that at an early date, through the Local Care Committees established in connection with the feeding, etc., of neglected children, there may be instituted a system of kindly and sympathetic supervision over those boys and girls who need it most, in order that it may be insured that they are regular in their attendance at the Continuation Classes, that they have found the occupations for which they are best suited, and that the classes they attend are such as to fit them more fully for the work in which they are engaged. With such a system added to the organisation for the training and equipment of young people, which has been detailed in this paper, the hope may be cherished that the future will contain fewer lads and girls drifting aimlessly to swell the numbers of the casual labourers, the unemployed, and the destitute.

The Present Position of Opinion as to the Labour of Adolescents.

By R H. Tawney.

In this paper I have not the results of any original investigation to offer, nor shall I attempt to anticipate the constructive proposals which will no doubt be made by other contributors to the Conference. What I propose to do is simply to state, in a quite summary form, some of the principal conclusions which, as it seems to me, are to be drawn from recent inquiries into the economic, moral, and educational problems surrounding the life of young people, between manhood or womanhood and the age at which full-time attendance at the Elementary School comes to an end. I shall purposely take a broad survey of the field instead of confining myself to the elaboration of any one side of the question.

There are, no doubt, departments of social life in which the main obstacle to future advance is lack of knowledge. But lack of knowledge cannot, I think, be pleaded as an excuse for our failure to remove some of the well-known evils of adolescent labour. The extraordinary concentration of attention upon this question which has taken place in the last five years, not only in Great Britain, but in America and on the Continent of Europe, has resulted in both private individuals and Governments supplying us with a mass of information, suggestion, and criticism which is easily available, and which has been quite sufficiently winnowed by discussion to be ready for practical application. From the former we have (to mention only a few instances) Professor Sadler's account of experiments in continued education ("Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere"); Mr. R. G. Bray's book on "Boy Labour and Apprenticeship"; the chapters on "Juvenile Labour" in the recent book of Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Laske on "Unemployment"; the book of Mr. Greenwood, "Juvenile Labour Exchanges and After-care," and of Mr. Keeling on "The Labour Exchange in relation to Boy and Girl Labour"; Mr. J. H. Whitehouse's "Problems of Boy Life"; and, as an historical introduction to the whole subject, Miss Dunlop's and Mr. Denman's "History of Apprenticeship and Child Labour." If reports are to be regarded as a sign of activity, public bodies have been equally active. From the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children in 1901 onwards there has been a steady stream of official publications dealing with one aspect or another of the same question, of which the most important are the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission, together with the Report of Mr. Jackson on Boy Labour, the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Attendance at Continuation Schools Compulsory and Otherwise, the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance ("Half-time"), the Report of the Select Committee on Street Trading, the Report on Boy Labour in the Post Office, the Report of the London County Council on Apprenticeship, and the valuable Report contained in the Agenda of the Education Committee of the London County Council for February 24th, 1909. If these documents disagreed there would be a case for further inquiry. But in the main they agree, and when they are in agreement further delay in acting upon their conclusions is almost unpardonable.

Let me state as concisely as possible what has been *proved*.

(i) It has been proved that employment for wages during the period of school

attendance has results which are disastrous for the physique and education of the child. For the effect on its health I must refer to the Report of the School Medical Officer of the London County Council for 1906, which shows from an examination of some 400 boys that fatigue, ænemia, severe nerve signs, deformities, and severe heart signs, increase with every increase in the hours worked outside school. For the effect on education I must refer to the evidence given by teachers before the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children.

(ii) It has been proved that partial exemption at the age of 12 has the evil effects of other forms of wage-earning employment by school children, and has them in all probability in a higher degree than most. As to health, the evidence is conflicting. But since the Member for Bolton quoted evidence the other day in the House of Commons designed to show that in Dundee half-time employment was actually beneficial to the health of the children, one may point out that inquiries made in Bolton itself (Sadler, "Continuation Schools," p. 332, and Committee on Partial Exemption, p. 180) indicate that in height and weight half-timers are below the average of other children of the same age. As to the effect of half-time employment on education and future employment, there is now substantial agreement. With hardly an exception, teachers state, that, apart from other difficulties, half-timers are too exhausted to take advantage of school. The statement of the Committee on Partial Exemption as to the effects of half-time in the Bradford district is, *mutatis mutandis*, true of other textile districts: "Between 15 and 18 the greater part of the boys leave the trade, having lost an important part of their schooling, and having acquired some preliminary knowledge of a trade which cannot find them employment, and are cast upon the labour market to try and find employment in a district which is peculiarly deficient in well-paid male occupations."

(iii) It has been proved—and this is a truth more recently realised than the points which I have just mentioned—that certain kinds of adolescent employment are closely connected with unemployment and with juvenile crime. As to unemployment, there are a large number of industries in which, on the one hand, the work done by the adolescent labour employed in them involves no training whatever, the boys or girls being employed simply as cheap machines, and in which, on the other hand, the proportion of boys to adults employed is so large as to make it absolutely certain that a high percentage of the former will be dismissed at manhood. Such industries (of which, till recently, the Post Office was one) live by using up cheap relays of juvenile labour, with effects almost as disastrous as, though perhaps less sensational than, the exploitation of children under the early factory system. One effect of them is seen in the steady drift of a large number of youths into unemployment or into employments whose irregularity is increased by the fact that they are permanently overstocked. Another effect is shown by the fact that it appears to be the case that juvenile criminals are recruited preponderantly from among youths who are unemployed (see the Reports of the Borstal Association) or who are engaged in occupations offering no training for future employment and, therefore, no incentive to regular habits.

(iv) It has been proved that there are a large number of youths who, immediately on leaving school, enter occupations where they are overworked to such an extent as not only to make further education quite out of the question, but also to inflict grave damage to health. This point has for some reason received little attention, and exact information is, unfortunately, not available.

But it is really one of crucial importance. No energy devoted to guiding boys into employments will compensate for the fact that boys are often employed for hours which are far too long. This is true both of those who are engaged in occupations where the hours are quite unregulated by law (for example, vanboys, messengers, etc., who frequently work till late at night in all weathers), and also of boys whose hours are limited by the Workshop and Factory Acts, but not limited with nearly sufficient strictness.

These things, I would repeat, are not matters of conjecture, but certainties. With the exception of the last, they are written down in the cool language of official documents. It is no exaggeration to say that the general conclusions to be drawn from the inquiries of the last few years has been to show that we are every year creating unemployed, inefficients, and criminals, by tolerating the existence of conditions by which we know unemployment, inefficiency, and crime to be produced.

It is not, however, in the revelation of evils that the greatest progress of the last few years has been made. The most noticeable advance has been our growing appreciation of the conditions which any reform worth having must satisfy. I do not propose to outline, even in detail, a scheme for dealing with the evils which I have indicated. But I would suggest that opinion has reached substantial agreement upon the following points:—

(i) With regard to wage-earning employments during the age of compulsory school attendance, the time has, I think, come when we may say that there is general agreement that these ought to be stopped, not universal agreement, but sufficient agreement to make a step forward practicable. The problem is a twofold one, that of work out of school hours by children attending full time, and that of half-time or partial exemption. It may be conceded at once that a certain amount of the former is probably harmless. But the difficulty of seeing that it is not abused by being unduly prolonged is so great that I am inclined to agree with Mr. Bray that its total prohibition is the only practicable method of preventing the serious and widely extended evil of the child who, while attending school, works twenty to thirty hours a week in addition. In favour of partial exemption at the age of 12 there is one argument only, namely, that the great majority of the textile workers desire its continuance; for the statements that it is necessary to the continuance of the cotton and woollen industries are too threadbare to be discussed. This opposition is, I confess, a serious matter. On the other hand, the evil is gross. In far poorer districts than Lancashire—*e.g.*, London and Glasgow—the vast majority of children attend school up to 14. It is not tolerable, therefore, that the community should allow the physique and intelligence of the rising generation to be stunted by the workers in two or three industries.

(ii) Second, with regard to the years after compulsory full-time attendance ceases (I purposely omit the question whether the school age should not be raised to 15 or 16, as, though I am in favour of such a step myself, there are no signs of opinion yet being ripe for it). We have, I think, discovered seven things:—

First, the hope sometimes expressed that the worst evils of juvenile employment may be avoided by what is called "the revival of apprenticeship" is a mirage. Apprenticeship obtains in comparatively few of the industries employing youths, and in most of those it is of very little value.

Second, the attempt to draft youths into employments where they will receive training in the workshop (when such can be found), though it may benefit individuals, leaves the general problem quite untouched. No employer will take

on more learners than he wants, any more than he will put in more machines than he wants. It may be a very good thing so to reshuffle jobs among youths as to enable them to get the work best suited to their capacity. But when this has been done it still remains to make provision for the vast majority of boys who are not wanted as learners.

Third, it is therefore, quite Utopian to hope that any very large proportion of the young people of the country will ever receive the educational care which they require unless the task of providing it is organised by the State, as it organises elementary education at the present day. It is quite true that certain localities can produce remarkable statistics as to the percentage of children leaving the elementary school who enter continuation classes. But one must remember that, in spite of these isolated successes, over 75 per cent. of the boys and girls between 14 and 17 are receiving no continued education on week-days whatever, and that there is no reason to suppose that this percentage will appreciably decrease in the future. Those who are in evening classes now are those whose occupations make them, and sometimes their employers, anxious for their attendance. The vast majority of young people are engaged in occupations in which they do not receive any immediate benefit from technical training. The idea that they would get good from prolonged education occurs neither to them nor their employers, who, even if they give time off to apprentices, never dream of allowing it to "mere labourers."

Fourth, what is required in modern industry is not so much "skill," in the sense of manual dexterity, as adaptability, initiative, and responsibility. What is needed in the citizen is good health and general intelligence. Any training, therefore, which the State may give during the years of adolescence, must not be merely technical, but must include in its objects the development of physique and the cultivation of interests wider than the details of the trade (though it might start from these). It must not be narrowly specialised.

Fifth, for a large number, probably a majority, of youths, attendance at an evening school, after their day's work, is an undue strain. As a matter of fact, even of those who attend at present a good many are too exhausted to derive much educational benefit. Any attempt at making attendance at continuation schools compulsory should, therefore, be accompanied by a reduction in the hours worked.

Sixth, the present system under which, at least, three Departments—the Board of Education, the Board of Trade, and the Home Office (not to mention the Post Office)—deal with different aspects of adolescent employment is extremely unsatisfactory. While the Board of Trade is trying to place boys in permanent jobs, the Post Office was, until recently, manufacturing unemployment by dismissing half its juvenile employees between 16 and 17. While the Board of Education works to discourage the entry into blind-alley employments, the Home Office actually reproves Local Authorities who try to tighten up their bye-laws with regard to street trading. There should, at any rate, be a permanent Inter-Departmental Committee for dealing with questions of adolescent employment, such as exists, I believe, for dealing with the question of fair wages in Government contracts.

Seventh, it is questionable whether, if Parliament deals with the subject of compulsory attendance at continuation classes, it would be well advised in leaving the adoption of compulsion to the discretion of Local Authorities, as was done under the Scottish Education Act of 1908. Such a plan gets over certain obvious difficulties. But it has the great disadvantage that the more backward authorities

would always set the pace for the more progressive. One can imagine the difficulty of enforcing compulsory attendance plus shorter hours in the engineering works of, say, Manchester, if those of the surrounding towns were left unregulated. Probably, if compulsion is to be introduced, it would be better to better to introduce it for all towns above a certain limit of population.

These are a few of the conclusions which are suggested by experience. I should like to end by repeating what I said at the beginning, that the time for mere inquiry has passed, and the time for further action has come.

The Medical Supervision of Juvenile Workers.

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD, B.SC.

(Head of Economics Department, Huddersfield Technical College).

THE interference of the State for the protection of juvenile workers has developed in such a spasmodic and haphazard manner in the past century that the underlying principles are often lost sight of in the medley of legislation dealing with this or that form of employment. It may therefore not be out of place to summarise the four distinct lines of action which have been taken and are being taken to protect the juvenile worker.

The first is the establishment of a minimum age for employment in particular classes of work. There is, for instance, an absolute statutory minimum age for employment in factories and workshops, in mines and in street trading. In certain classes of dangerous factory employment the minimum is fixed at 16 or 18, and the high accident rate for juveniles in factories and workshops (269 per 10,000 for male young persons as against 216 for men, and 54 per 10,000 for girls as against 32 for women*) points to the fact that there is need for raising the minimum age for the employment of young persons in many other processes. (In the State of Illinois the minimum age for employment in connection with machinery is 16). There is still no statutory minimum age for miscellaneous employment out of school hours in shops, theatres, hotels, or errand work, but many Local Authorities are fixing 11 or 12 as a minimum for any employment. The second line of State interference for the protection of juvenile workers consists in the fixing of maximum daily and weekly hours of labour by the Factory, Mines, Shops, and Employment of Children Acts. According to a recently issued Home Office Memorandum on the law relating to Shops the errand boy who is "mainly engaged in delivering goods at the houses of customers, or in going round for orders" is not technically a shop assistant, and is therefore not entitled to the compulsory half holiday or the seventy-four hours weekly maximum established by the Shops Act. Van boys, office boys, messenger boys, and the young persons employed in theatres, picture houses, and laundry receiving offices, are not entitled to any protection in regard to the hours for which they are employed. It is difficult to form an exact estimate, but probably

*Report of Accidents Committee, 1911, p. 18.

the hours of labour of from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the young persons in industrial or commercial employment in any town are entirely unregulated, and it is to be feared that where the enforcement of the regulations depends on the action of the Local Authority, much of the nominal protection in regard to hours is illusory. The third line of defence of the physique of the juvenile worker lies in the regulation of the physical conditions of the workplace by the compulsory provision of satisfactory ventilation, the fencing of machinery, etc. This is secured by the Factory, Mines, and Public Health Acts.

The idea which underlies all these three lines of action is the provision of a minimum standard in the conditions of employment for *all* children, irrespective of their individual idiosyncrasies. But the English Factory Acts have always contained the conception that apart from the generally prescribed minimum, an effort should be made to consider the fitness of individual children for any particular situation. This principle received a further recognition in the arrangements for excluding individual children from particular employment contained in the Employment of Children Act, 1903. Meanwhile, voluntary agencies for guiding children into suitable employment and supervising them during the first years of their industrial career had begun to spring into existence. The importance of this work was recognised by the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, and the Special Rules for the Registration of Juvenile Applicants made thereunder, and by the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910. Both the English and Scotch Boards of Education have also drawn the attention of Education Authorities to the importance of the school medical inspection of "leavers" as a means of advising children and parents with regard to the choice of employment from the point of view of physique.*

Thus in addition to the general minimum standard of conditions secured in the three ways indicated above, there is a somewhat disconnected set of arrangements for the individual child: (*a*) by compulsory exclusion from particular situations, (*b*) by the provision of advice and supervision. The main objects of this paper are to review the practical operation of these arrangements as they concern the physique of the child, to point out their weaknesses, and to suggest methods by which they might be improved.

SUPERVISION OF WAGE-EARNING CHILDREN BY SCHOOL MEDICAL OFFICERS.

The Employment of Children Act, 1903, contains the following provisions:—

> A child shall not be employed to lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child.
>
> A child shall not be employed in any occupation likely to be injurious to his life, limb, health, or education, regard being had to his physical condition.
>
> If the Local Authority send to the employer of any child a certificate signed by a registered medical practitioner that the lifting, carrying, or moving of any specified weight is likely to cause injury to the child, or that any specified occupation is likely to be injurious to the life, limb, health, or education of the child, the certificate shall be admissable as evidence in any subsequent proceedings against the employer in respect of the employment of the child.

It is clear that these provisions place very great power in the hands of Local Authorities. It should be noted that in each of the clauses the mere fact that a particular circumstance "*is likely to*" harm the child, apart from the fact that it *is* harming the child is sufficient to warrant interference.

Cf. Memorandum of the Scotch Education Department on the Medical Examination of School Children, March, 1909, p. 3; Report of Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1910, p. 6.

The medical examination of a number of cases of wage-earning children in London, undertaken by Dr. Thomas, has shown that any employment out of school hours, beyond the lightest errand work for a very short period, is sufficient to have a serious effect upon the child's physical development. Beyond investigations into the effects of employment,* very little has been done by School Medical Officers in the direction of checking the evils of the employment of school children. A case is reported in Brighton of the prohibition of the employment of a boy on a long milk round.† From a northern town a case is reported in which the School Medical Officer issued the necessary medical certificate to prohibit the employment in a barber's shop of a boy who was attending an Open-Air School.‡ In Bradford the School Medical Officer has not infrequently issued similar certificates at the request of the Inspector under the Employment of Children Act. In Worcester the applicants for street trading licences are examined by the School Medical Officer.§ (Local Authorities can always refuse to issue a street trading licence to any boy or girl aged under 16 where such a course appears desirable on physical grounds.) But, generally speaking, the School Medical Officer is not closely in touch with the machinery for the enforcement of the Employment of Children Act, even where (which, unfortunately, is generally not the case) this machinery is an effective reality. Although in many places (including Manchester and Torquay‖) complaints have been made with regard to the evil of the carrying of heavy weights by young errand boys, I have not been able to hear of any action by a School Medical Officer to check this practice.

THE SCHOOL MEDICAL OFFICER AND THE FULL-TIME JUVENILE WORKER.

In the Employment of Children Act a "child" is defined as any person under the age of 14. In many towns a large number of the children leave school for full-time employment under the age of 14. All the powers of the School Medical Officer over wage-earning children apply equally to children under 14 employed full-time outside the Factory and Workshop and Mines Acts, *e.g.*, errand and shop boys, van boys, hotel boys. But in addition to his power of prohibiting any particular employment of this kind or checking abuses in it, the School Doctor can, as has been mentioned above, use the final medical examination for the purpose of giving advice in the choice of employment. No doubt this is done informally in a number of cases. Wherever a Juvenile Advisory Committee or an Employment Sub-Committee under the Choice of Employment Act has been established, it is also usual for a summary of the School Medical Officer's final examination to be entered by the teacher on the card which is sent for every child from the school to the office of the Employment Bureau. But it does not appear that this procedure taken alone is of much value.¶ What is needed is that the School Doctor should be in close personal relation with the Juvenile Labour Exchange, and should send a special note, or see the Secretary of the Juvenile Advisory Committee personally, when particular action is necessary for individual children

*For other investigations besides that just referred to, *cf.*, Report of Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1909, p. 80, and 1910, p. 116, *et seq.*

†*Cf.* Annual Report of School Medical Officer for Brighton for 1910, p. 137.

‡*Cf.* "The Employment of Children," by an Ex-Inspector under the Shops and Employment of Children Act, *School Child*, May 1912, p. 9.

§*Cf.* Report of Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1910, p. 18.

‖*Cf. School Child*, April, 1912, p. 11.

¶Also in districts where a large number of Children leave School under 14 it is much more common for the "leavers" to miss the examination altogether than would perhaps be gathered from the official Board of Education Reports.

(*e.g.*, in the case of tuberculous children, or children suffering from weak hearts). Of the making of forms there is no end, but perhaps I may be pardoned for suggesting that the Board of Trade or Education Authorities should supply School Doctors with a simple form which would enable the necessary communication to be made with the minimum of trouble, where this could not be done by a personal interview. It would also often be advantageous for the School Medical Officer to be a member of the Juvenile Advisory Committee, or the Education Committee's Employment Sub-Committee.

Work of the Certifying Factory Surgeon.

The functions of the Certifying Factory Surgeons in regard to medical examination of children and young persons under 16 were so fully described in the valuable paper which Dr. Dearden contributed to last year's Conference that I need not cover the same ground in dealing with their work. It should be recognised that the system of medical examination of juveniles under the Factory Acts, as it exists to-day, is the outcome of what may, in a sense, be termed an accident in the history of English Factory Legislation. It would never have come into existence but for the fact that when Parliament enacted the great Factory Act of 1833, which is the foundation of modern English industrial regulation from an administrative point of view, there was no civil registration of births, and only a very imperfect system of parish registers. The greatest stumbling-block in the way of the effective administration of those parts of the earlier Factory Acts relating to the minimum age of employment, had been the impossibility of determining the ages of children. (The same difficulty exists in administering Factory Acts in India and in parts of the United States at the present time.) A system of medical examinations was therefore adopted primarily as a means of estimating the ages of the children by an independent authority. The consideration of physical fitness was, so to speak, only a second thought. It is the haphazard and accidental origin of the system of medical examination which is at the root of its weaknesses to-day. After the civil registration of births became general, the employers who had—and still have—to pay the fees to the Factory Surgeons for the examinations (probably amounting at the present day to £40,000 or £50,000 per annum*), attempted strenuously but unsuccessfully in 1878, in 1891, and again in 1900 to secure their abolition. Consequently Parliament has, for the most part, concentrated its attention on the question whether the Certifying Surgeons should continue to exist or not, instead of on the problem of making the medical supervision of juvenile workers as effective as possible. It was only at the suggestion of a private Member—a doctor—that in 1891 it was made compulsory for the Factory Surgeons to send an annual report to the Home Office. Since then the advent of a doctor to the position of Chief Inspector of Factories, the appointment of two special Medical Factory Inspectors, the efforts of the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons, and—it must be added—the continual criticism to which the Factory Surgeons have been subjected from Education Authorities, teachers, and others, have all tended to improve the efficiency of the service to a certain extent. The Factory Act of 1901 conferred upon the surgeons the power to qualify the certificate "by conditions as to the work on which a child or young person is fit to be employed."† Before this the surgeon could only refuse the certificate altogether if he did not see his way to grant it. Till 1906 the medical examina-

*The total expenditure of the Home Office in factory inspection is less than £100,000 per annum.

†Factory and Workshop Act, 1910, Section 64 (5). The Certifying Surgeons had asked for this power as long ago as 1876.

tions only took place in connection with employment in factories. In that year the Home Secretary exercised the power (which had been in his hands since 1878) to extend the requirement of medical certificates to several classes of workshops.

There are about 400,000 medical examinations in the United Kingdom every year. (The total number of children leaving school for employment annually is about three-quarters of a million.) In 1910 there were 8,469 rejections of children and young persons on account of physical unfitness. Of these, 3,962 were on account of uncleanliness, —mostly pediculosis in the head,—951 on account of diseases of the eyes or defective sight, 346 on account of diseases of the heart and lungs. 6,500 conditional certificates were granted, in 1,810 of which employment was forbidden at or near machinery, and in 1,934 of which employment was forbidden unless the child was treated for the defect.

Following up Rejections.

One of the greatest defects in the system of medical supervision of juvenile workers through the Certifying Surgeons has always been the lack of any effective machinery for following up cases of rejected children. There is nothing whatever to prevent the rejected child from remaining neglected at home, from entering worse employment outside the Factory and Workshop Act, or, in populous industrial areas, from being "passed" by the surgeon in a neighbouring district, who is less careful in his examinations. Instances of all these results of rejection frequently occur, although, of course, in many cases the child obtains proper treatment. But often the child is unable to explain to the parent the cause of rejection, even if the doctor endeavours to make it clear to the child.* In 1893 two women Factory Inspectors were appointed. Before this nothing seems to have been done in the way of "following up," beyond the kindly advice and recommendations of the surgeons themselves. The women Factory Inspectors, however, from the first, saw the need of action in this direction. From time to time they have undertaken investigations into the condition of rejected children in different areas.† In 1905, Miss R. E. Squire was able to arrange in Birmingham for the cases of rejection for uncleanliness to be followed up systematically by Health Visitors acting under the Medical Officer of Health.‡ The women Factory Inspectors have also made some use of the power of the Factory Inspector to order any child or young person to be re-examined by the surgeon.§ The establishment of Labour Exchanges, and in particular of Juvenile Advisory Committees, provided an obvious instrument for seeing that the right kind of employment was found for rejected children, where any employment was desirable. The first town where steps were taken in this direction was Dewsbury, where Dr. Hallewell, the School Medical Officer for the borough and the Certifying Factory Surgeon for the greater part of the town, has now been working in close co-operation with the Juvenile Advisory Committee for eighteen months with the happiest results.‖ In addition to visiting all cases of rejection, the Secretary of the Juvenile Advisory Committee keeps in touch with children who, while considered fit for employment, need special attention. Co-operation of a more or less effective character has been established between Certifying Factory Surgeons and Juvenile Advisory Committees in Huddersfield, Leeds,

Cf. Report of School Medical Officer for Dewsbury, for 1910, p. 5

†*E.g.* at Birmingham and Bradford in 1905, Burnley in 1909, Ireland in 1907, Glasgow in 1900.

‡Report of Chief Inspector of Factories for 1905, p. 318.

§Report of Chief Inspector of Factories for 1910, p. 226.

‖*Cf.* Report of School Medical Officer for Dewsbury for 1910, pp. 4-8. *Cf.* also speech of Miss Hartop, Secretary of Dewsbury Juvenile Advisory Committee, Proceedings of National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution 1911, p. 478.

Halifax, Nottingham, Northampton, and Southwark. At Huddersfield the Education Committee have permitted the School Nurses to assist in following up the cases.

Weaknesses of the Existing System of Medical Supervision.

It should be noted that under the Factory Act the duty of the Certifying Surgeon is simply to pass or reject the child. He is under no obligation to assist in the work of following up; and although the Home Office favours the idea of co-operation between Certifying Surgeons and Juvenile Labour Exchanges, and intimated its views to the surgeons, it is really in a position to issue no definite instructions on the matter.

It must be confessed that although a certain amount of good is being done here and there, the system of medical supervision of juvenile workers as a whole is not satisfactory. The fact that so little use is made by School Medical Officers of their wide powers under the Employment of Children Act is due partly to the general weakness in the administration of that Act by Local Authorities. Over 1,700 prosecutions were undertaken by active Local Authorities in connection with the employment of children both in 1909 and in 1910.* But in a great many districts (including some which have actually made bye-laws under the Act) the law with regard to the employment of children under 11 as street traders, or of children under 14 after 9 p.m., is broken in scores of cases every week without the slightest remonstrance either from the Home Office (which presumably exists largely to see that Local Authorities carry out the law of the land) or from the public. Moreover, neither the Board of Education nor the Scotch Education Department have given the Local Authorities a lead by explaining clearly and concisely exactly what the powers of School Medical Officers in this direction are and how they can most conveniently be exercised.

The first and most obvious weakness of the Certifying Surgeon system is that it is confined to those employments which come under the Factory and Workshop Act. Further, it provides for no systematic re-examination after the child is once passed. A half-timer has to be re-examined on becoming a full-timer, but a "young person" is only re-examined if he happens to change his employment under the Factory Act. It should also be noted that the section of the Factory Act which lays down that examinations shall take place within a week of the commencement of employment is practically ignored in most districts. The examinations frequently do not take place for some weeks after the commencement of employment. This is the fault sometimes of the employer and sometimes of the surgeon. The Factory Inspectors do not appear to insist strictly on the enforcement of the rule.† It is possible for rejected children to start work again in a factory and work for some weeks before the surgeon comes across them. The powers of surgeons with regard to granting conditional certificates are insufficient. Probably a large proportion of the qualifications now inserted in certificates (*e.g.*, to the effect that a girl shall do up her hair closely when working near machinery, or requiring the treatment of a defect) are *ultra vires*, although most beneficent in intention.

The standards of "fitness" adopted by the surgeons, and the amount of care exercised by them in examining children vary very greatly from one district to another. Works managers will often describe how the doctor passes a dozen

Cf. Reply of Mr. McKenna to Mr. T. E. Harvey in House of Commons, 17th April, 1912.

†Although 490 prosecutions took place for offences against the law in regard to certificates of fitness in 1910.

children after barely looking at them. This state of things is the natural result of the status of the surgeons. They are nearly all part-time officers. They are paid in the shape of fees from employers. The Home Office does not appear to insert any retiring age in their appointment, and with all respect to the Certifying Surgeons as a whole, it must be pointed out that doctors who "keep on the factory work" by way of a pension, after retiring from private practice, are not likely to raise the average standard of efficiency in the service.

Finally, the usefulness of the whole Certifying Surgeon system is reduced on account of the lack of co-ordination with the local Health Authority. It is obvious that, as was pointed out by the recent Accidents Committee in their Report,* if there is to be any medical supervision of working juveniles above school age, there are great advantages in a continuity of such work with that of the School Medical Officer. It would be easy to discover instances where defects noted in the school medical inspection are overlooked to the detriment of the child in the factory medical examination. But it is only in a minority of cases that the Certifying Factory Surgeon is also School Medical Officer or Medical Officer of Health. There are about 2,000 Certifying Factory Surgeons in the United Kingdom, of whom 1,280 are in England and Wales. Of the latter, 247 hold the post of both Medical Officer of Health and District Medical Officer, 141 hold the former post only, and 502 the latter post only.† In the largest towns, such as Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, the Medical Officer of Health in no case holds the office of Certifying Surgeon. In some towns of about 50,000 inhabitants, such as Rotherham, Doncaster, Dewsbury, and Ipswich, and in some Metropolitan Boroughs, the two offices are held by the same person. According to a Local Government Board Memorandum, issued in December, 1910, both the Home Office and the Local Government Board favour the combination of the offices in the same person. But this principle is not always acted upon. For instance, the Bradford Education Authority, being dissatisfied with the passing of half-timers whom it considered unfit for factory employment, passed a resolution in favour of the transference of the work of the Certifying Factory Surgeon to the School Medical Officer, and went so far as to embody the proposal at one time in a corporation Bill. Nevertheless, last year the Home Office appointed a fresh Certifying Surgeon in West Bradford, apparently without consulting the Local Authority or endeavouring to secure a combination of the office with that of any of the School Doctors in the city.

Administrative Reforms.

A great deal can be done to improve the medical supervision of juvenile workers by administrative action. In connection with children under 14 employed outside the Factory Act, the Board of Education and the Scotch Education Department should, by circular or otherwise, draw the attention of Local Authorities to the importance of bringing the school medical service into close touch with the inspectorate under the Employment of Children Act, should indicate the powers of School Medical Officers under that Act, and the manner in which they may best be exercised, and should require evidence that they have been effectively exercised as a condition of making any grant in aid towards the school medical service. They should further see that the examination of leavers is made of more value in connection with the choice of future employment. It should also be considered whether some system of registration of all situations taken up by children out of school hours should not be adopted. The licensing of wage-

*P. 54.

†Reply of Mr. McKenna to Lord Henry Bentinck in House of Commons, 23rd November, 1911.

earning children is sometimes objected to because, it is argued (in my opinion wrongly), that the issue of badges, etc., encourages children to apply for them. But such an objection would not apply to a system which made it compulsory for the employer of a school child to sign a form stating the hours during which, and the work at which it was proposed to employ him. In districts where most children leave school for full-time employment under 14, employers are already familiar with such a system in connection with the issue of labour certificates. Local Authorities have power under the Employment of Children Act (if the Home Office will allow them to exercise it) to regulate the labour of school children in this way. Needless to say, it would facilitate both inspection and medical supervision to an incalculable extent.

With regard to the Certifying Factory Surgeons, the first step is to secure a revision in the method of appointment. Thus, in the case of any vacancies occurring in the future, the Medical Officer of Health should, as a matter of course, be appointed Certifying Factory Surgeon. The appointment should be made terminable when the age of 65 is reached, or when the holder of the office ceases to be Medical Officer of Health. In places where the Medical Officer of Health is not the only School Medical Officer, or where he has Assistant Medical Officers of Health, the office of Certifying Factory Surgeon should be conferred on as many of the local medical officers as may be thought convenient, and the Medical Officer of Health should be left free to apportion the work, subject to the approval of the Home Office. (There is nothing in the Factory Act to require that each surgeon should have an exclusive geographical district. This custom was established for very excellent reasons by Inspectors Rickards and Horner in the period 1833-1844, and has remained unquestioned ever since, in spite of altered circumstances, by virtue of mere *vis inertiæ*.) In the second place, a much more serious effort should be made to standardise the quality of the examinations. As has been suggested by Miss Patterson (formerly one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories), the surgeon should be required to have regard to certain specific points in making the examination.* Since the examinations take place for the most part at the factory, and since their object is primarily to determine the fitness for employment, and not to examine the general health of the child, it is hardly practicable to adopt a system of entering up detailed particulars on cards after the fashion of the school medical examinations. But the surgeons should be provided with books of forms, or special note books similar to those published under the authority of the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons, in which the abnormalities or defects of any child (whether rejected or not) could be noted, in order that a permanent record might be kept.

Thirdly, the work of following up cases of rejections and of defects discovered by the surgeons in the course of their examinations, must be taken in hand much more effectively. The ready manner in which the Board of Trade, through its Juvenile Advisory Committees, has stepped into the breach in this matter in various districts, is exceedingly gratifying. But although the assistance of the Labour Exchanges is required from the point of view of finding employment, the work of Juvenile Advisory Committees on the medical side can only be regarded as a praiseworthy stop-gap pending the awakening of the local Health Authorities to a proper sense of their duties. The work of following up any sort of ascertained physical defects should fall upon Health Visitors or School Nurses, and, as has been suggested by Dr. Young, the Certifying Factory Surgeon for Liver-

*Report of Chief Inspector of Factories, 1900, pp. 395-6.

pool,* School Clinics should be made available for juvenile workers under 16† as well as for the children under the existing Elementary School leaving age.

Legislative Action.

There is absolutely nothing to be said in favour of the payment of the surgeons by the employer for the examination of the children. When the work has been combined with that of Medical Officer of Health it should be paid for by a grant in aid from the Home Office to the Local Authority, based largely, though not wholly, on the actual number of examinations made. Such a system would guard against any possible danger that the Medical Officer of Health would be tempted to have regard to the presence of large employers on the Health Committee in exercising his powers.

But the relief of the employers to the extent of £40,000 or £50,000 per annum should be accompanied by a stricter enforcement of the principle of the notification of engagements of juvenile labour to a Public Authority. Instead of insisting on the notification to the Certifying Surgeon direct, the simplest plan in all urban areas would be to compel the employer (whether under the Factory Act or not) either to engage all his juveniles through the Labour Exchange§ or to notify the Labour Exchange immediately of all engagements. The Labour Exchange would then send each day a list of all engagements of juveniles to the Medical Officer of Health, specifying in each case the work which the boy or girl was undertaking. This list would at once be compared with the medical record cards of the children. In the case of any who were defective in any way, a visit would at once be paid to the place of work, in order that they might be examined. The Home Office would determine by special order in which classes of employment, or in which kinds of factories or workplaces the engagement of a juvenile would necessitate either a special examination at the place of work as at present, or a periodical examination; and in any case as far as possible each place of work should be visited periodically by a Medical Inspector—a practice which the Home Office would encourage by its grants.

It may be suggested that a great many of the dangers against which the existing examination is supposed to guard could be best dealt with in other ways. For instance, the age at which juveniles may be employed in certain classes of machines (*e.g.*, power presses in the printing, tin-box making, and other trades) should be raised to 16. All girls working near machinery should be compelled to wear the hair tied back. The evil of pediculosis (the cause of nearly half the rejections at present) should be dealt with in the home.

Finally, it must be pointed out that neither the existing system of factory medical examinations, nor any transformation of it, can, however necessary in itself, be an adequate substitute for an extension of the system of school medical inspection up to 16. Possibly, as Continuation Schools become general, the school medical inspection of juveniles above the Elementary School age will be worked in connection with them.‖ But we should not wait for the universal establishment of Continuation Schools to make medical provision for the juveniles aged between 14 and 16 who are at present covered neither by the School Medical Service nor by the National Insurance scheme.

Cf. Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for 1908, p. 209.

†There is no reason why this should not be done by any local authority at once, though possibly the expenditure would have to be charged to the Sanitary Committee and could not be incurred out of the Education Rate.

§In Dewsbury nearly 30 per cent. of the children leaving school already obtain their employment through the Exchange.

‖School Medical Inspection in connection with Continuation Classes has been begun in Vienna.

The Industrial Employment of Girls.

By Constance Smith

What do we mean by a " girl " worker ? The answer, in terms of the Factory Act, would seem to be obvious : a girl in industry is a young person between 14 and 18 years of age. But, if we desire to get even a rough idea of the number of girls employed in manual labour in this country, we cannot keep to this convenient division, because the Census, in dealing with employed persons, groups the workers between 10 and 14, and between 15 and 20. For the purposes of this paper, therefore, the expression " girl " must be taken as covering all women workers who have not passed their twentieth birthday.

The total number of girls between 10 and 20 returned as occupied in the aggregate of Urban Districts in the United Kingdom by the Census of 1901 was 1,057,968. Of these, 57, 497 were between 10 and 14,* 106,937 between 14 and 15, and 893,534 between 15 and 20. In the next group of ages—20 to 25—the figure falls to 782,356, and thenceforward goes on decreasing ; so that it is the girls between 15 and 20 who form the largest group of women wage-earners.

The employment of girls is becoming daily a more important factor in our industrial, economic, and national life. Recently, the superintendent of a great Sunday School in Lancashire took a census of the young people attending that school, and, although few of the scholars were mill hands, he did not find a single girl between 12 and 17 who was not working for wages. In the clerical profession the growth of girl labour in this country during the last decade has been so marked as to challenge the attention of the most careless observer. In the field of industry it is taking place with less observation ; but none the less it is going on to an extent which bids fair to modify very seriously the industrial conditions which has hitherto prevailed. In many industries girls in their early teens are largely taking the places of older workers. Some at least of these girls are doing, with the help of ingenious machines, work which was formerly the work of men, at a third of a man's wage.

In many branches of industry the demand for women's labour is steadily growing. This is true of other countries as of our own. In the United States of America, where the proportion of wage-earning women to the general population is lower than in any other country having a high standard of civilisation, that proportion rose in a short period of time from 5 per cent. to 8 per cent. In Germany, during the twelve years between 1895 and 1907, the rise was from 5,264,393 to 8,243,493. In Great Britain, the experience of the Labour Exchanges appears to show that in the higher branches of industrial employment the supply fails on occasion to meet the demand : the managers report vacancies for competent weavers, trained dressmakers, and skilled ironers which remain unfilled by reason of a lack of candidates. Making all due allowance for the fact that skilled workers in general and skilled women workers in particular still show a reluctance in many cases to register at the Exchanges, it is, I think, impossible to doubt that this shortage of trained women, fitted for the better class of industrial work, does exist. In domestic service, the failure of supply to keep pace with demand has been for some years notorious.

To what causes should we attribute the absence of applicants for employment in which position and pay are fairly satisfactory ? In great part, probably, to want of opportunity of acquiring the skill which such applicants are required

* Of these 56,948 were from 12 to 14 years of age.

to offer. Sub-division of process and invention of new machinery have of late years minimised the average girl's chance of becoming in any sense a craftswoman. The lower ranks of the industrial army are crowded with girls who have neither knowledge of their trade nor desire to become proficient in it; whose ambition is for the most part limited to the acquirement, as quickly as possible, of just that amount of mechanical skill which will furnish them with the means of earning a living, and whose outlook on industrial life is bounded to the few years which they expect to elapse before they are married. There is no lack of employment on these terms, although the wage it brings in is often very far short of a "living" wage. (This has been shown in various connections, and particularly in relation to the plea that the present generation of girl street traders, if prohibited from carrying on that perilous calling, would thereby be "thrown idle," careful inquiry producing actual proof that, in centres where street trading by girls is common, every girl so engaged could easily be supplied with other occupation immediately if withdrawn from the streets.) It is employment which provides, in many cases, no real training either for mind or body, fingers or character. The girls leave it, at the end, it may be, of five or six years, no better equipped for the competition of the labour market than when they entered it, having learnt nothing except to execute a few more or less mechanical movements with speed and a certain dexterity which itself, after a very few weeks, becomes mechanical. The continued performance of such movements hour after hour, and day after day, disposes to mental dulness, and leaves the worker disinclined for any form of work which requires alertness or a measure of initiative.

Even in those trades that may rightly be called skilled, the girl "learner" often gets very little regular employment in the craft of which she is supposed to be a pupil. Take, as an instance, the girl in a dressmaker's establishment. Her first year as a "trotter," employed in carrying messages and matching patterns, is not altogether without its educative influences; it tends at least to develop habits of attention and accuracy, and to strengthen the natural power of memory. But, after this period is over, unless the girl is a regular apprentice whom the employer is bound by agreement to initiate into all the different branches of the trade, her work tends to become monotonous as that of an actual machine. Week after week she may be employed in making buttonholes, or, when she arrives at the lofty status of "improver," it is as a bodice hand, or sleeve hand, or a skirt hand, that she will be exclusively employed. This is the system (alike deadening to ambition and intelligence) which the Trade Schools, with their all-round training, are striving to counteract.

But sub-division of process and invention of new machinery do more than close the avenues to skilled knowledge and check mental activity. As they are with us in the industrial world of to-day, they also render increasingly easy the employment of the very young worker.

There can be no doubt that in certain industries girls go to work earlier than they used to do. This fact has been officially recorded by H.M. Factory Inspectors, who report that some of the factories inspected by them have come "to look like schools."* Miss Squire, now Deputy-Principal Lady Inspector, in her evidence before the Accidents Committee, stated that the employment of young persons was increasing in cardboard-box factories, tin-plate works, and laundries. I myself lately visited a box factory in which the whole adult staff consisted of five persons: the engineer, his assistant, and three forewomen.

* Annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for 1907, p. 147.

The remaining ninety places were filled by girls ranging in age from 13 to 16. The local by-laws of the district permitted all children to leave school at 13; but in many other districts girls can be, and are, employed as full-timers at that age on obtaining a labour certificate.

It is not always realised, even by the educated citizen interested in industrial conditions, how severe is the strain imposed upon a girl so employed. While still a child in years, she becomes at once in industrial status a young person. She enters upon the most critical period of growth and development with permission to work a full factory day. In many cases she is employed in heated, noisy, crowded workplaces, amidst a continuous whirl of dangerous and complicated machinery, and under such conditions she fulfils the hours of labour of a grown woman. It is small wonder that she rarely finds energy or inclination to join a continuation class, and that even her club, when she belongs to one, is looked upon by her chiefly as a place of rest. Such premature exhaustion of strength cannot fail to stunt the possibilities of her womanhood, and to affect her future efficiency as wife and mother.

But immediate injury to health and potential damage to the coming generation are not the only ill effects of very early employment of girls. The accident risk of young persons is considerably higher than that of adults. Miss Squire informed the Accidents Committee that an analysis of the accidents to females in cotton mills during 1908 showed that 40 per cent. were to persons under 18.* In 1909 there were no less than 132 accidents to "young persons" under 14 in the Lancashire cotton trade alone due to cleaning machinery in motion.†

ALL ACCIDENTS IN FACTORIES, AND RATES PER 10,000 PERSONS EMPLOYED, 1898-1904.

Year.	Accidents.						Rates per 10,000.					
	Adults.		Young Persons.		Children.		Adults.		Young Persons.		Children.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1898	37,426	1,880	8,915	1,343	219	82	161	22	219	44	87	31
1901	55,988	3,419	11,321	1,884	219	66	227	38	284	58	106	31
1904	62,776	3,183	11,464	1,840	171	55	257	34	308	61	101	30
verage‡	52,063	2,827	10,567	1,689	203	68	216	32	269	54	97	31

‡ The rates are calculated on the average of persons employed in the 3 years.

ANALYSIS OF "CERTIFYING SURGEON" ACCIDENTS IN 1907.

Year.	Accidents.						Rates per 10,000.					
	Adults.		Young Persons.		Children.		Adults.		Young Persons.		Children.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1907	28,299	3,193	7,052	1,943	138	51	109	30	168	52	81	28

* Report of the Departmental Committee on Accidents, 1911, p. 35. † Ibid. p. 46.

The Departmental Committee on Accidents (1911) was of opinion that the higher rate for young persons is accounted for by the greater inexperience of girls and the greater recklessness of the boys. (Girls are not accused of running risks for the fun of the thing, as in the case of the boy who took a ride on a pair of crocodile shears.) Miss Paterson thought that the greater proportion of accidents among girls, as compared with older women, in laundries is due to the fact that they do not stay long enough to become thoroughly acquainted with the nature of their work. It is, further, obvious that girls in their early teens have not had time to acquire the habits of attention, self-recollec edness and self-control necessary for those who would move safely through a crowded factory full of dangerous machines. Such workers become, in addition, more quickly exhausted than their elders, the risk of accident increasing in proportion to growing fatigue. I remember, in a South London club, whose members consist almost exclusively of very young factory girls, a child of 15, who had been absent a fortnight, returning one evening with her arm in a sling, with the information that she had lost " two fingers in the rollers." On being pressed to give an account of her accident it appeared she had none to offer, beyond the simple reason, " I was so *tired*." I fancy that pathetic explanation would serve in a very large number of similar cases. This view is supported by the experience of the present Deputy Principal Lady Inspector of Factories,* who holds that girls are more liable to accident towards the end of a five hours' spell.

Excessive weight carrying, which is a serious evil in certain classes of employment, is specially injurious in the case of a young girl. In a Lancashire district where it is customary for the children and young persons employed in the mill to carry heavy " cuts " of cloth on one shoulder, the Medical Superintendent of Schools " found that girls particularly were in many instances having a tendency to distortion on one side." In some mills girls carry laps weighing 30 pounds. Miss Squire, before the Accidents Committee, cited cases at Bolton where girls of 13 had been found carrying 18 and 29 pounds. Except in the case of young persons employed under the Fruit Preserving Order, there is no provision of the Factory Acts directed to the regulation of the weights that may be lifted, carried, or moved by young persons, the general provision that such weights shall not be so heavy as to be injurious to health, to be found in the Statutory Section of the Employment of Children Act, 1903, being confined in its operation to children under 14. It is true that certain certifying surgeons qualify their certificates of fitness by inserting conditions as to the weights that may be carried by individual certificate holders, but this practice cannot be said to obtain generally.

It must be remembered that the conditions under which the girl industrially employed performs her daily task vary widely, even in the same industry and the same locality. Within a stone's throw of one another are to be found healthy and well-ventilated mills, and mills where the laws of sanitation and decency are still constantly broken and temperature is recklessly allowed to rise to an injurious level. There are dressmaking workrooms where the law is scrupulously observed and, hard by, similar workrooms which are neither warmed in winter nor aired in summer. Many girls are employed in underground workrooms where artificial light is constantly burning, and in factories where the windows are kept closed for fear of injury to the work. Where bad conditions prevail,

* Report of Departmental Committee on Accidents, 1911, p. 15.

the strain upon health and strength which full-time early employment necessarily creates is indefinitely increased.

We are just making our first serious efforts to provide training in the domestic arts for our young girls through the medium of the school. But for those who prematurely enter upon industrial life all schemes of domestic training are useless. The girls are taken away from school just as they reach the age when elementary training in housewifery becomes possible for them. The result is seen in a large body of young married women necessarily ignorant of the business of home-making, seeing that since their childhood, and even before childhood was over, they have never been at home.

The economic position of the girl worker cannot be said to compensate for the disadvantages just set forth. As has already been pointed out, a large amount of girl labour is unskilled, consisting of such work as aerated water bottling, jam and pickle making, rope making, box making, packing of various kinds of articles, and the lower grade of laundry work. Even among industries of a skilled type, when we have eliminated the cotton operative, and the girls in training for the higher branches of dressmaking, millinery, laundry work, or domestic service—although it is not denied that these form a considerable proportion of the whole body—the wages are in many cases exceedingly unsatisfactory. The work done by girls in such industries as the ready-made branches of the clothing trade—a wide term covering employments so diverse as general tailoring, boot and shoe making, the manufacture of hats, gloves, and corsets, fur pulling, dyeing and cleaning, and the making of shirts and underclothing—is for the most part very poorly paid. The Board of Trade *Earnings and Hours Inquiry* (Vol. II., "Clothing Trades," 1910) shows that out of 104,353 women over 18 working full time in the clothing trade in the last pay week of September, 1906, 66.7 per cent. were earning under 15s. a week, and 21.6 per cent. under 10s. per week; the average wages of girls under 18 in the same employment is 5s. 9d. This means, of course, that such girls remain in part dependent upon their parents, absorbing a share of the family income sorely needed in so many cases for the maintenance of the younger children of the family. At the same time, as we have seen, their work is in some instances at least supplanting that of adult workers who formerly earned full wages. It is not necessary to dwell upon the disaster which such a shifting of labour material involves.

Girls are at a peculiar disadvantage in the matter of bettering their economic condition. Their small amount of skill, the fact that they are not regarded, except in certain areas, as a permanent factor in industry, their lack of organisation, all combine to render them the easy prey of arbitrary reduction of wage and oppressive interpretation of the latitude allowed to employers in the matter of fines and deductions under the Truck Acts.

It is time to inquire how some of the evils we have been considering can be removed. The remedy, I think, must be sought along more lines than one. A strenuous enforcement of the existing law limiting the girls' hours of labour, and requiring that the places where she works shall be kept in a clean and wholesome state, and the machinery she handles sufficiently guarded, is the first step. The goal of good administration will not, however, be reached while we content ourselves with lending a general benevolent support to existing regulations, but by activity in reporting infringements and upholding official action on the one hand, and on the other helping to spread knowledge of the laws themselves among the people for whose safety they exist. The State's efforts to protect the girl are too often frustrated by the girl's ignorance of the safeguards pro-

vided for her. Such work as that of the Industrial Law Committee, which attempts to dispel this ignorance by means of educational lectures, is of the utmost value, and it is to be hoped that, by means of organisations like the Workers' Educational Association, this work will be largely extended in the future.

Secondly, there must be amendment and strengthening of the law in certain directions. The recommendations of the Accidents Committee and the Departmental Committee on the use of Lead in the Manufacture of China and Earthenware, if carried out, will, by removing the youngest workers from the dangerous business of cleaning machinery in motion and limiting the maximum weights that may be handled by girls under 16, lessen some of the peculiar risks which attend their labour in factories. An assimilation of the regulations governing non-textile factories and workshops to those in force in textile factories, in respect of the spell of work allowed without a break, would do something to lessen the existing strain on the health and the tension of young girls. But legislative advance in other directions is also needed. The working girl needs better education for her calling. The new Trade Schools afford a valuable training ground, from which she may go forth fully prepared for industrial life, fit to take a useful and honourable part in the world of work. That she may profit by the lessons provided, she must be withheld from premature wage-earning. This can be effected by the abolition of the existing system of half-time, the raising of the age up to which a girl shall be compelled to remain at school everywhere up to 14 at the least, and such a restriction of the hours of juvenile labour up to 17 as shall at once render impossible the premature exhaustion of the worker's powers and secure for her full opportunity of continuing her education, even after she has become in part self-supporting. The girl would thus be set free to take advantage of the instruction, technical and domestic, which we have agreed to offer her.

Thirdly, it is our duty as a community, whether we regard the well-being of the individual girl or the welfare of the nation, to see to it that the girl worker is adequately paid. We may look to the extension of Trade Boards to assist some of the weaker and more helpless classes among working girls to attain something like economic security, but for the majority the way of progress lies in organisation. Nor will the minimum rates established by the Trade Boards be satisfactorily maintained without active measures of self-defence on the part of the workers themselves. Only by personal effort and common action will they attain to an industrial condition which can be considered stable, or a wage enabling them to live healthy and self-respecting lives.

NOTE.—There are those who speak and write as though a solution of the problem we have been discussing could be found in the diversion of girl labour to domestic service. But domestic service, were its ranks ever so full, would not provide for a tithe of our girl workers. The poorer among them cannot defer wage-earning to the age at which the door to the upper and middle grades of domestic service becomes open. Yet it is only the young girls in process of qualification for these grades who receive what may be regarded as satisfactory wages; the unskilled small servant in a small place is frequently both underpaid and over-worked. Moreover, there is no disguising the fact that with a great mass of working girls this employment is increasingly unpopular. The social disesteem in which it is held by working people, and that absence of regulation which makes the conditions of each place depend upon the will of the individual employer, account, in part at least, for this unpopularity.

Discussion.

Professor SADLER, in opening the discussion, said it was clear that, if they were to grapple with this question, they needed searching educational reforms, adjustments in administrative machinery, changes in economic organisation, and a much deeper sense of social obligation. (Hear, hear.) They wanted that sense of social obligation on the part of all citizens, men and women, not less than upon the part of parents and employers. The papers to which they had listened showed that the problems raised by the questions submitted for their consideration that day raised fundamental questions of ethical aim and of national organisation. They should not be discouraged by the present rate of progress in England if that rate of progress seemed to be slow. It was becoming clearer every day that this matter raised problems which could not be lightly or quickly solved. He should like to say how much he felt they all owed to the five contributors of papers. He was qualified to say that because he had read them all. Mr. Bray had many claims upon their gratitude as a writer and as an administrator, and they were grateful to him for reminding them that morning that there were mistakes made by many employers which were quite unconscious mistakes, and that much could be done by attracting employers' attention to the question of adolescent labour and its claims. They could do very little in Parliament or in the Local Authorities or elsewhere unless they created a strong public opinion outside and a sense of individual responsibility for the problem as well as a desire to see other people doing their duty in regard to it. Mr. Main had shown them once more that Scotland was the pace-maker of England in educational matters, but when he, the speaker, thought of how many Scotchmen occupied, and had been occupying for many years, eminent positions in the administration of English education, he sometimes wondered how and why it was that they had been so long in conferring the reforms which their own country enjoyed upon the country of their adoption. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Greenwood gave them much original observation, much fresh synthesis of social fact, and several practical suggestions of great value. They went to the Scotch speaker for a witty and not discouraging description of the present administrative achievement, and to the Englishman for an almost passionate denunciation of the failure of our present administrative system, and of its falling short of his ideals. He (Professor Sadler) often wondered which state of mind got them quickest to the goal; he supposed they wanted both. Miss Smith had shown them some vital problems to which attention was needed, and her paper contained much valuable information. Mr. Tawney seemed to him to be needlessly discreet. His brilliant, thoughtful, and learned paper had in it a note of discontent with the present failure of our administrators to grapple quickly with questions intellectually obvious to them, and he propounded the question as to whether it was not time to do something. In the few moments which remained to him, that was the question upon which he would address them. In the first place, was it not possible that they might, by a short one-clause Act of Parliament, brought in by a private Member and starred by the Government, impose in the right way on every employer of labour of young people of both sexes up to 17 years of age, including those employed in offices, shops, and domestic service, the obligation first to supply the local Education Authority on demand with the names of any such juvenile workers in their employment, and to allow such juvenile workers to attend continuation classes, at whatever time of the day and for whatever period of time may be fixed by the local Education Authority of that area (1) in which the juvenile worker is employed, or (2) in which the juvenile worker resides or sleeps. Continued attendance at such schools should be an absolute condition for being allowed to remain in such employment up to 17 years of age. Was it not desirable that there should be no exemption, or rather that the school attendance should be raised to 16 years of age, except on proof given, not earlier than the age of 14, of suitable and beneficial employment. That phrase, suitable and beneficial employment, should be more strictly interpreted than it was at the present time. In other words, if a child between 14 and 16 had gone into beneficial employment and then had gone out of it again, it should automatically be brought back under the Education Law during that period of unemployment. That meant extension of the registers of the School Attendance Authorities up to 16 or 17 years of age. That was a change which would give them what they most needed.

Mrs. MIALL SMITH (Women's Industrial Council) said that the industrial employment of girls had occupied very much of the attention of the Women's Industrial Council, which had taken a great part in promoting the Trade Classes for Girls,

started by the London County Council about six years ago. The first Trade School was opened three years ago in Bloomsbury, and now there were at least half a dozen. The subjects taught included ladies' dressmaking, tailoring, waistcoat-making, upholstery, fine laundry work, and even photography. There was also a course of domestic economy and home cookery. In some schools there was a course for training for domestic service, which comprised one year of general domestic training and a second year of specialisation in either housework, professional cookery, or care of children. For the training of nursemaids there was no municipal provision at present, but ten months ago the Women's Industrial Council opened the Nursery Training School at Hackney, at which there were now sixteen students undergoing one year's training under a trained nurse and a domestic economy teacher, and there were at the present time many more than they could take waiting to enter. That there was a real need for the training of nursemaids had been shown by the number of letters (170) which had been received since that work was started, while thirty ladies had written applying for nursemaids. This training formed an opening for girls in some of the London County Council Secondary Schools, where many girls were found to be unsuitable for teachers or for commercial work. The Women's Industrial Council was also conducting an inquiry into the causes of the unpopularity of domestic service.

Mr. ERNEST LESSER (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association) said that Mr. Tawney had put a practical question to that Conference. Mr. Tawney had asked them to sketch out a programme of action. As he said, all the different aspects of that problem of juvenile labour had been investigated and they knew pretty well all the facts to be known, and therefore the time was ripe to formulate an immediate plan of further action. It seemed to him (Mr. Lesser) that a plan of further action must include amongst other things recourse to the legislature. They had to set in motion, unfortunately, that cumbrous State machinery of legislation. They did it with great reluctance because they knew the results were not always commensurate with the hopes, but in order to cope with the bad employer and the irresponsible parent, they must have the help of the Government. There were other directions in which reform could be carried on. A good deal could be done by voluntary efforts. It seemed to him that what they had to say to the employer was, "You shall not employ children at all under a certain age." And, having said that, they had to frame an Act which would carry out that proposition, and, therefore, he was entirely at one with Mr. Tawney in advocating the raising the age of compulsory school attendance. He felt that the power of the Trade Boards, which had been discussed at a previous session, should be extended to safeguard the interests of juvenile labour. It seemed to him there was no reason why the Trade Boards should not have their own Medical Officers of Health and their own Factory Inspectors in order to assist in work of that kind, and he was inclined to think that they would get much better results, much more efficient administrative action, and much closer attention to detail if the Trade Boards supervised all those matters affecting their own particular trades. To his mind it was also essential that in the future they should try to make it impossible for any child to avoid coming under the purview of some body such as the Juvenile Advisory Committee on leaving school.

Mr. NORMAN CHAMBERLAIN, of Birmingham, explained briefly what was done by the Local Authority at Birmingham in connection with the problem of boy labour. The Choice of Employment Act scheme, which they had had in Birmingham for some time, had been working with very good results. It was intimately connected with the Juvenile Labour Exchanges of the Board of Trade; and as far as he could see, the system at Birmingham worked out much the same as the scheme in London had worked out. He disagreed entirely with Mr. Bray as to the general superiority of a Board of Trade scheme over a Choice of Employment scheme: it depended on local conditions. They had made one or two interesting experiments in Birmingham. Thus a Care Committee existed in connection with one of their Trade Schools, the Jewellers' School. If it was successful committees would be started in connection with other Trade Schools in Birmingham. They also had a Committee for dealing with Industrial School children on license, and a special scheme dealing with Evening Schools.

Mr. CLIFFORD SMITH (London Teachers' Association), speaking as a schoolmaster, said he rejoiced that this subject was receiving so much attention as it was at the present time. For a long time schoolmasters had lamented that the link between the State and the child ceased when it was most needed and when it would do most good. He hoped that those who were engaged in that good work would not be frightened by hard names and by failures. Let them stick to facts, and he was

personally grateful to the readers of the papers for the large amount of information and facts which they had brought to the attention of the Conference.

Councillor J. H. PALIN (Bradford County Borough Council) said that his friends from the West Riding and himself had, in order to save time, formed a syndicate, and he was the appointed speaker on their behalf. He was enamoured of the Choice of Employment Act before he heard Mr. Chamberlain. The fact that that Act had been responsible for bringing more Care Committees into being and other combinations of busybodies had caused him to revise his opinion of it. The Choice of Employment Act was all right so long as they got the assistance of people who could do something, but it should not be simply a case of getting people to help just because they had nothing else to do. The first problem which the Juvenile Bureau had to solve was with regard to merchant and shipping houses generally and the age at which boys entered their offices. Those people laid down that it was utterly impossible to employ a boy properly unless he entered an office at the age of 14. For that reason boys who attended Secondary Schools were boycotted, and that was the great difficulty which confronted them. With regard to the paper dealing with Continuation Schools, he should like to point out that they could not separate the education problem from the economic problem, and what the reader of that paper said in summing up was perfectly true. They all knew that, but they did nothing to try to solve the difficulty, which was that the Continuation Schools would only be a qualified success with the present system of hours of child labour. The Post Office was amongst the biggest offenders with regard to boy labour and Continuation Classes. When the boys had attended those classes, a large proportion of them were fired out into the streets to enter any employment they could get. (Cries of "No, no.") That was done, notwithstanding what had been said by Ministers and others. Moreover, the effect of some of those Technical Classes was to make competition keener and reduce wages. In a school in the Borough Road he had seen girls working on waistcoats brought by a lady from a West End firm, and it was held out to him to be quite proper to get work done in that way. Perhaps it was of advantage to the girls who were learning, but what about the workmen in the West End firms, men who should be paid good wages for making those waistcoats? He further stated that in the town of Bradford the art of designing had been similarly affected, and that men who, in his time, were able to earn £5 a week, were now unable to earn more than about 30s. a week, owing to boys from the Technical Schools coming into competition with them.

Mr. F. A. EDWARDS (Hammersmith Union) called attention to the tendency at the present time to multiply the different organisations that had to deal with school children, and also to complicate needlessly the methods in which those bodies were formed. There was now such a multiplicity of bodies dealing with the children that some people on those bodies, probably through a lack of the sense of responsibility, were not so regular in their attendance at the meetings as they would have been under other circumstances. In addition to the managers and Care Committees, there was another organisation, called the Association of Care Committees. That Association was supposed to control the work of the feeding of the children, and so on. Then they had the Advisory Committees, which were provided partly by the Board of Trade and partly by the Associations of Care Committees. The difficulty was to get people capable of doing the work when elected on these bodies. A few weeks ago he had the curious experience of attending two meetings, a meeting of School Managers and another of representatives of Care Committees, and being the only person present at each meeting. The work at such meetings was expeditiously done, but a matter of that kind was open to great abuse. He thought the reason for non-attendance at the meetings was largely because people would not waste half a day to go to a meeting when there were only one or two trivial items of business on the agenda. He suggested to Mr. Bray that he should bring forward the question of the simplification of that work.

Mr. C. J. FAIRFAX SCOTT said that he spoke as Secretary of a large employers' Association and also as the Honorary Secretary of the Advisory Boards of the International Correspondence Schools. These schools, which worked on continuation education lines, had the support of expert professional authorities like Professor Boyd Dawkins, who called their system a new force of education, the Vice-Chairman of the Glasgow Education Authority, and others. Already they had 66,000 students, and that number was increasing at the rate of 2,500 per month, which showed how successful they were in carrying out what they were established to do. He thought

that there ought to be far greater educational propaganda amongst the people than there was at present. The schools with which he was connected did a great deal in that way. They issued leaflets showing the value and necessity of technical instruction to the workers in particular trades of all kinds; and every year something like eight millions of these leaflets were printed—a new leaflet every month. The distribution was in the hands of a staff of eight hundred men, and these representatives of the schools, before entering on their work, went through a special training school. There were five such training schools in Great Britain, two being in London and three in large provincial centres. They were taught how to speak of the value of continuation education to young fellows after they had left school, and they called upon the working classes in their homes and got the parents and their sons interested in the continuation of education. They also called upon large employers of labour and got them interested. Further, there were Advisory Boards of practical experts—usually large employers of labour, who were a guarantee that the instruction was up-to-date and of direct benefit to the student workers in promoting their regular employment as well as their advancement in position.

Lieut.-Col. W. Campbell Hyslop (Mansion House Advisory Committee of Associations for Boys) said that Mr. Bray's scheme appealed to the Committee which he represented. That Committee had been established for the purpose of co-ordinating the work done by the various associations for boys. They included Boy Scouts, Boys' Brigades, and other associations for boys, and last year something like 40,000 lads were thus represented. Now the Association represented 50,000 boys in London, and it had been able to secure that special attention should be given to those lads by the Education Authority and the Labour Exchanges; and the Care Committees were, he believed, to be asked to give some inducement to boys to join one or other of those brigades or clubs. The Labour Exchange had notified the Association that only a small proportion of boys from the Association had made use of the Exchange, but it was found that there was a good reason for that. Owing to the discipline and training those boys received, they were better fitted and more able to obtain suitable places than other boys. The Committee had also prepared a schedule in which all the clubs and brigades in the Metropolitan Boroughs would be indicated. Whilst every care and attention was given to a boy while he was at school, when he reached the ranks of industry there was not sufficient educational supervision, and between 14 and 17 a lad was not looked after in the way he might be. His point was this, that in developing the different official organisations and schemes, both educational and industrial, some use should be made of boys' clubs and brigades, and through that medium they should endeavour to keep in touch with lads after they had left school and during the most impressionable years of their lives.

The Rev. J. Wilson Harper, D.D. (Alloe School Board) pleaded on behalf of those responsible for the administration of educational agencies that they should have much more to say in the legislation which was being enacted by Parliament. At the present time, so far as Scotland was concerned, their educational agencies were all prescribed for them practically by the Education Department. He was one of those who thought the Education Departments were really doing their best; but he ventured to say it was quite impossible for a number of experts to provide them with such educational agencies as were needed without the help of the experience of men and women who gave their time and energy to supervising education. Therefore, he thought that if that Conference could by any means educate public opinion to the necessity of Education Authorities having something to do in the framing of Education Bills great good would be accomplished. Those present gave a good deal of their time and attention to educational work, and they should claim some share in the creating of the agencies for educational work.

Miss Dorothy Ward, speaking on behalf of the After-Care Association for Blind, Deaf, and Crippled Children, said that on the subject of Mr. Bray's paper while they all welcomed the Labour Exchange as regarded normal juveniles, there was a community in each large town which needed special care and attention. She referred to physically defective children. The Association which she represented was at the present time the only organisation in London which was struggling with the great problem of placing out these handicapped children in industrial life as they passed out of the Special Schools under the London County Council. The latter body recognised the Association by referring to it the exemption cases, and by entrusting it with important registration duties. While they could not claim in any way to deal with the great mass so afflicted, they were able to touch a portion of these

children every year. Last year they had 289 cases under consideration, and those cases were enough to prove to them how much patient personal care and effort must be bestowed upon the choice of work and workshop for these children if they were to take their places at all as wage-earners in these days of terriffic competition.

Councillor C. A. GLYDE (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) said he noticed in one part of Mr. Bray's paper that there was a tendency for these Juvenile Advisory Committees to become agencies for boys' brigades. He was an anti-militarist. He was absolutely and totally opposed to these boys' brigades, for the simple reason that he was of opinion that they fostered the military spirit amongst the young. They were supposed to be carrying on those agencies in order to prevent children becoming wastrels and loafers, but, by developing the military spirit, they were encouraging them to join the Army, which to his mind was one of the greatest causes of the manufacture of unemployment. (Cries of "No, no.") When they put a child to a trade they provided all the machinery in connection with Evening Continuation Schools, and so on, to enable that child to study until it was about 17 years of age. A boy might remain at a trade until he was 18, then he joined the Army when he had only half learned his trade. There were thousands of men in this country who had only partly learned their trade and had gone into the Army at the age of 18, then after a few years had left it and had no real trade to fall back upon. For that reason they drifted into the other great army—the army of unemployables. In a procession of the unemployed at Bradford not long ago, out of 400 men 25 per cent. had been in the Army, and out of that number only 5 per cent. had learned trades. With regard to Continuation Classes, it seemed they would have to make arrangements to meet a new condition of things. It appeared that children would be unable to go to bed at all, for the simple reason that they would have to get up at half past five in the morning, then after their day's work attend Continuation Classes, and, after that, fill in their spare time with the boys' brigades. What they wanted to do was to raise the school age to 16, and have Trade Schools for children from the age of 13 to 16, and let them go to those schools where they could possibly learn a trade. Another thing he wanted was to see free maintenance provided wherever it was necessary up to the age of 16 years. If a child habitually ran away or was bad in some other way, that child was sent to a Reformatory or an Industrial School until it reached the age of 16. If it had been a good child, it would not have been sent away and taken care of until it was 16. It seemed an extraordinary thing that the bad child was looked after until the age of 16, while a good child had to leave school at the age of 13 and work in a factory in order to eke out the family income. If they provided maintenance for the bad, they should provide maintenance for the good.

Mr. A. A. WATTS (Poplar Union) said that with regard to child labour, he thought the best thing they could do would be to abolish it altogether. The President would bear him out when he said that over twenty years ago the Social Democratic Federation had advocated that children should be kept at school until they were 16 years of age. Perhaps in another twenty years they would be in favour of the public maintenance that a delegate suggested a few minutes ago. The main point that he wished to lay before them was that all the papers amount to an indictment of the whole system under which such evils occurred, and Mr. Tawney's paper, in his opinion, was an indictment of the whole wage-earning system. It seemed to him that they would go on tabulating and examining and inspecting and investigating conditions of that sort year after year, and, unless they attacked the primary cause, they would still be where they were when they started. They had had a century of that sort of thing. Boy labour and cheap labour were on the increase, and boys and girls were being employed in larger numbers and were replacing the men and women; while the introduction of machinery, which ought to be a benefit to mankind, had meant a means of employing cheap young labour and doing away with skilled labour. He was a compositor, which was supposed to be skilled labour, and yet there were hundreds and hundreds of men in that trade who were out of work. The conditions were all due to the working of the profit-making capitalist system, and he told them frankly that they might go on talking about the evils of poverty, but after all they could at most only regulate poverty. The object of the Conference was said to be the prevention of destitution, but it could do nothing of the kind; all it could do was to regulate destitution. It could not take away the means by which destitution was caused. The root evil was that the landlords and the employing classes were living on the workers of the world.

Mr. F. KEELING drew attention to street trading. He said that they were trying

to push the Home Office and endeavouring to get that sort of trading by boys abolished. The problem had to be considered from two points of view. There was the problem of the schoolboy and there was the problem of the boy who had left school. As to the latter, the whole-time street trader only existed in the biggest towns. They had in those towns Juvenile Labour Exchanges and Committees in connection with them, and whenever a committee was established the first thing to do was to insist that the Town Council, which was the authority for licensing street traders, should, before the boy was licensed, let him be interviewed by some representative of the Juvenile Labour Exchange or a member of one of the committees connected with it, with a view to offering him alternative work. In nearly 200 cases of boys who had applied for licences for street trading after leaving school in Birmingham, regular work had been found for them. When they applied to the police officer for a licence, that officer had, before issuing the licence, asked them to step round to the Juvenile Labour Exchange, and in those 200 cases the boys had been found regular work in preference to street trading. That was a practical thing, and more could be done in that direction. Even if they could not push the Employment of Children Amendment Bill through Parliament this Session, something could still be done through the Juvenile Exchanges, if only the members of Unemployment Committees would see that a policy of the kind indicated was put into operation.

Mr. BRAY, replying to the discussion, said he should like to deal with the question of the multiplicity of authorities, which had been raised by several speakers. Mr. Edwards had given a lamentable picture of what had occurred owing to that multiplicity, but he (Mr. Bray) thought it was a good thing for one to have a great many things to do. But what was a bad thing was that a great many people, quite disconnected, might be doing the same thing. That was what they wanted to avoid. Let him apply that to the Juvenile Advisory Committees. The juveniles between 14 and 17 numbered in London upwards of 200,000, and it would be a good thing to make their employment and the obtaining of the employment the central object of all these agencies. They wanted these bodies to be a centre for keeping in touch with the juveniles as a whole, and to know how the juveniles were getting on when they were placed out to work. They did not want to supersede any other agency at all, but they wanted some system which would obviate scattered agencies overlapping and doing the same work.

Mr. GREENWOOD said that he certainly had made an attack upon public administrators, but that was exactly what the private citizen had got to do—to maintain and increase the efficiency of public administration, by persistent criticisim and the strong pressure of enlightened opinion. There were important Acts on our Statute Book which were not being enforced by the Local Authorities, and it was the duty of the citizen to see that they were enforced. One became tired of the prevalent sentimental talk about "poor little boys and girls." Such sentimentalising should cease, and whilst admitting the need for further legislative action, they should see to it that existing legislation was thoroughly enforced. He asked them, therefore, as private citizens, to pry about and try to find out cases of infractions of the law relating to juvenile workers, and to stimulate Local Authorities into more vigorous action regarding the administration of the Employment of Children Act and the Shop Hours Act. The conviction of those unscrupulous employers who violated the law of the land—and there were thousands of cases in the country every day—was the duty of local Shop Inspectors and other inspectors, but it was doubtful in many instances whether those people earned the money which they received.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH said there was one point of fact she would like to mention. Mrs. Miall Smith had referred to the girls' Trade Schools as having been in existence about three years. As a matter of fact, the earlier ones had been in existence for seven years, and that gave them much more ground to go upon in deciding whether or not it was desirable to extend and continue the work of these schools. With regard to what one of the speakers had said as to investigation and tabulation, she should like to assure that speaker that those of them who investigated and tabulated took no special joy in their task; and, indeed, it was often a very hard task, when one was convinced in heart and mind that the evil facts were not only already established, but were crying aloud for treatment. But this old country of ours moved very slowly, and Parliament perhaps moved more slowly still. They had to convince first the public, then the legislature, then that army of respectable and useful and conventional officials who stood behind Parliament; and those people who were permanent officials would not be persuaded without investigations many times repeated and tables most carefully drawn up.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 14th.

MORNING SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Crime and Inebriety Section.*)

The Chair was taken by Sir John Macdonnell, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject discussed was THE BEGINNINGS AND CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Education and Crime.*

By MR. G. L. BRUCE, L.C.C.

2.—*The Beginnings and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency.*

By HARIET FINLAY-JOHNSON.

(*The Presidential Address and the Papers taken at the above Joint Session, together with the discussion which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Crime and Inebriety Section, pp.* 475-579.)

HOUSING SECTION.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

MORNING SESSION.

In the absence of the Right Hon. Earl Grey, President of the Section, the Chair was occupied by Mr. Henry Vivian, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Town Planning and Housing from the Imperial Standpoint.*
By Mr. HENRY VIVIAN.

2.—*Town Planning in Australasia.*
By Mr. C. C. READE.

Town Planning and Housing from the Imperial Standpoint.

By HENRY VIVIAN.

URGENT appeals have been made to us in recent years to "think Imperially." The standpoint from which such appeals are made vary with different people. To some, no doubt, it means that on matters of defence against a possible foe we should take a large view, and systematically direct and organise the resources of the Empire. To others it suggests that we should take special steps to promote trade relations and mutual exchange of products between different parts of the Empire. It is the purpose of this paper to point out briefly another direction in which a large outlook, or "thinking imperially," is quite as desirable in the interests of the Empire as those already referred to. After all is said and done, our efficiency for defence and in trade and manufacture turns mainly on the fitness of the individual unit. To increase the fit and lessen the unfit is to add to the usefulness of the Empire. The foundation of fitness is good health. For a large proportion of our people, however, we know, great though the improvement has been since the middle of last century, that the conditions essential to

a healthy life do not exist. This state of affairs is largely due to the lack of forethought and imagination on the part of those responsible for regulating the growth of our cities and towns, and to the private interests of one generation being allowed to injure seriously the public interests of the next. The representative of the public interests has on this question been turning up twenty-five years after interests antagonistic to the public welfare have entrenched themselves, and at enormous expense tried to put things in order. The advocates of Town Planning desire that a science of Town Development shall take the place of the happy-go-lucky method which has hitherto prevailed. On this question of planning we are but repeating the experience of previous generations on other aspects of town life. Take, for example, the question of drainage. Only sixty years ago human life in London was being sacrificed more rapidly than it would be in a great war through the absence of public regulation of private and sectional interests in the matter of drainage. Not only were owners of houses allowed to poison the neighbourhood by making no proper provision for the drainage of their property, but small public authorities, such as they were, were allowed to frustrate each other's efforts at dealing with a matter in which co-operation on a combined scheme was essential to success. We are going through the same process, making the same mistakes in principle in the matter of Town Planning as we did on the matter of drainage, and the way out will be along the same path. We must condition private interests so that they harmonise with the public welfare, and we must display imagination and forethought in planning our towns. Our population has, under the growth of industrialism, rapidly changed from rural to urban conditions. In 1700 Somerset, Herts, Wilts, Bucks, Rutland, and Oxfordshire were the six most densely populated counties in England, whilst Lincolnshire, Durham, and Staffordshire were not even mentioned in the first dozen. This transfer is still rapidly going on. In 1861 the proportion of urban to rural population was 25 to 15. It is now 25 to 7. Hitherto our rural districts have been able to make good the wastage of life and physique in our big towns, but we have arrived at a stage in this development when the demand exceeds the supply. Our salvation would seem, therefore, to depend on making our towns themselves life-producing. Fortunately we have in recent years made considerable steps in this direction; otherwise the situation would be much more serious than it is. Such agencies as the electric car have, notwithstanding our neglecting to provide ample scope for their free play and usefulness, came to the rescue, and made a comparatively healthy life possible for a large proportion of our urban population. The motor 'bus seems destined to play even a larger part in this work if we will but give it scope.

That the present unit for Local Government purposes is in many urban areas quite unfitted to deal adequately with the problem is generally recognised by those who have given much thought to the question. Not only do the local governing bodies responsible for districts on the outskirts of an existing city at times fail to facilitate or encourage bold and necessary improvements for a large area of which their own would be a section, but they are continually engaged in passing plans for new roads and buildings which manifestly must throttle and make almost impossible a rational planning of the district so as to harmonise it with a good plan for the greater area whose interests and welfare are permanently and intimately bound up with their own.

I take London for example, and what is true of London is true in a degree of many great cities in the Empire. The organisation of London and the urban areas around it is on this matter at present as unscientific as it could well be.

Large sums of money, it is true, have been spent in preparing schemes for main roads, but there is no adequate authority to see them carried out. We have scores of authorities with conflicting aims and interests, each often frustrating whatever efforts at improvement the other is making. Take almost any main artery leading out of London. Look at the jumble of property which is being run up on each side of it. In twenty years from now these roads will be in many parts too narrow by from twenty-five to fifty feet for the traffic they will have to bear. For the most part they will be shabby and undignified. Widenings will cost more per hundred yards than they would have cost per mile ten years ago. The part which should have been dealt with, and ought at once to be dealt with, runs through districts which are being administered by perhaps half a dozen different urban public bodies. These have no plan to work to, and there is no central authority to impose any plan on them. Thus the efficiency, the comfort, and the health of a city which in a few years will have a population of ten millions is being sacrificed. Give home rule to localities by all means, but let it be on matters which do not frustrate the good of the whole. For certain large questions which affect Greater London as a whole, including the planning of main and secondary roads, the securing of open spaces, and the general development of the area over which the population of London will spread in the next fifty years, there should be a central responsible body. In the matter of roads, good planning need not involve much more land or a much greater cost, if any, than the indifferent planning of to-day. On building estates round London expensive macadamised roads of a width of from forty to fifty-five feet are often insisted on, where a width of from fifteen to twenty-five feet would be ample with a reasonable limitation of the number of houses to the acre. On the other hand, the traffic on the main roads leading to such estates is throttled by their being too narrow. The width of, and expenditure on, roads should be adjusted in a more intelligent way to the needs of the situation.

The situation in London is typical, not only of what is taking place elsewhere in Great Britain, but also of what is taking place in the cities and towns in other parts of the Empire. I speak more particularly of Canada, because my knowledge of it is greatest. Just as we in the old country have, in generations gone by, been able to rely upon the rural districts being able to make up for the wastage of life and havoc wrought on physique by the unhealthy city, so Canada will for some time be able to rely on getting such a large number of sturdy emigrants from the older countries that the wastage of the unhealthy parts of its big towns and cities will not be appreciably felt. That in time, however, the tables will be turned in Canada, as elsewhere, and the drain of the unhealthy city become a serious factor, is certain, unless there is a bold handling of the growth of its towns and cities so as to make them life-giving. One cannot help comparing the organisation, skill, and science utilised in building such great and wonderful vessels as the *Olympic* and *Titanic* to take people across the Atlantic, with the absence of organisation, skill, and science frequently displayed in the development and building of the towns and cities which the passengers on these vessels inhabit when they get across.

Why town building should, in this age of science, be left so much to chance or accident, it is difficult to explain. The newer parts of the Empire, like Canada and Australia, have in this matter a great opportunity, and one would like to see a healthy rivalry between them. They have already repeated the Old Country's mistakes on a fairly large scale, but are still so much in their infancy that the wrong done is a trifle compared with the magnificent examples

of healthy town life they are in a position to produce. Canada has not only the mistakes of Great Britain to warn it, but also those of the United States at its doors, where millions are now being spent in an endeavour to make up for the lack of foresight in the past. One cannot help being impressed by the magnificent position Canada has for many of its important towns and cities, and what opportunities they offer for good Town Planning. There are two things which I hope our Dominions beyond the Seas will make a special effort to guard against. One is the acceptance of a cut and dried pattern for their towns, whether it consists of squares, oblongs or circles, or any other shape of a set nature. The other is the adoption of the flat or tenement system as the standard home for the working people. The set pattern is not only monotonous and depressing, but it often fails to make the most of the natural condition of the site from the point of view of utility. It stereotypes thought and strangles the imagination of those engaged in the profession of Town Planning. It should be possible for anyone to satisfy himself that he had got into a fresh street or town independently of getting to know that they had a different name.

To cultivate the imagination of the residents of a town is an important contribution to their education.

As to the type of home working people should live in, I am convinced that it will be a grave mistake for us to accept the tenement as our standard. It is difficult to measure the influence upon character of two different types of home, but cause and effect are none the less real because they are not always obvious. Apart altogether from questions of health, the individual home with its individual garden is the nursery in a hundred unseen ways of thoughts and feelings in parents and children which go to strengthen that individuality and character without the possession of which you cannot have a great people. It may be said that large blocks of working-class tenements are an economic necessity. I do not believe it. They may be an economic advantage to certain interests for the time being, but, taking the economic interest of the nation permanently, the productive power of a working people, with homes in tenement blocks, will, I believe, be much lower than that of a working people having individual homes and gardens. The injury to the productive capacity of working people of living in tenement blocks is not seen in one generation. You transplant a man and his family from a home in a small town to a tenement in a big city, and he will, if in fair health, keep up his industrial efficiency for many years because of the vitality he brings with him; but the effect on the children begins to be serious at once, and their efficiency twenty years later will be very much affected by the conditions under which they were brought up. It is with the permanent efficiency of its people that a nation should concern itself if it wants to keep going.

There is just a danger that in our efforts to secure—and within reason rightly to secure—that the main features of a town should be planned on a dignified scale, we may devote insufficient attention to the planning of the areas where the great bulk of the population live. A noble setting of the public buildings of a town does not compensate for squalid and undignified residential areas. Rightly to enjoy and value the best expression of art in our public buildings, the people must have reason to be proud of the more immediate surroundings of their home life. The key, in fact, to " thinking imperially " on this question is the home. We cannot reach our ideal in Town Planning in the Empire unless we get the active help of the people themselves in the work. Those of us who have had some experience in trying to develop Garden Suburbs and Cities know

to our cost that without the active co-operation of the individual citizen the efforts of architects and builders are largely frustrated.

On one estate you will have neglected gardens, careless treatment of trees and open spaces, lack of attention to small details connected with the upkeep of the house; on the other, pride in the beautiful and regard for matters common to the whole estate is so strong that the contrast in the effect produced is most marked.

It is upon this drawing out of the individual's sense of order and beauty, and securing his co-operation, that in the long run good Town and Estate Planning depend for their perfect realisation. By this process we develop imagination and harness it to the great purpose of improving the world as a place to live in. In this way, too, what is so essential to correct "Imperial thinking," the spirit of individuality and co-operation both find an ordered expression. As citizens of the British Empire, we have exceptional reason so to mould character as to provide for the harmonious working of these two forces. Our Empire, more than any other that exists or has existed, rests upon individuality and co-operation. This may be thought by some to be a strained process of reasoning, and that there is little or no connection between the development of pride in the beauty and order of the estate we live on, and pride in a well-ordered Empire of which we are citizens. I think they are closely connected. Legitimate pride, imagination, a love of ordered progress and growth, are not fixed quantities. They expand with use and application, but they grow from small things to great, and I feel sure that those who are pressing for the elimination of the slums and working for the planning of the cities and towns of the Empire on healthy, ordered, and dignified lines, are at the same time creating the atmosphere in which alone a truly Imperial spirit can exist.

The Conference will, no doubt, have placed before it information on the bad housing conditions concerning Great Britain, and the remedial steps which are being taken, but it may be of interest if I supplement this by information drawn from other parts of the Empire. The statement I made in Canada in 1910, that I had seen slums there as bad, or even worse, than I had seen in the Old Country, came as a surprise to many people, and not a few thought it was an exaggeration. That this is not so may be gathered from a report of a tour of inspection to the slums of Montreal made by Mr. Rufus Smith, of the Charity Organisation Society, and a representative of the *Montreal Star*. The report tells us that:—

"They saw hundreds of people living in basements with no outside air reaching their rooms, with no light but the foot square of glass, the side walk, and this was covered in winter. They found fifty people eating, living, sleeping in a six-roomed flat. They verified for themselves the fact that Montreal has a huge slum population—that the housing conditions which exist in this prosperous and nominally Christian community are a disgrace to civilisation and a humiliation to the human race."

"On Alexander Street the full meaning of the terrible overcrowding in the poorer districts, due to the high rents charged, begins to dawn on the visitor. Here there are houses, two and three storeys, with basements of the old-fashioned cave variety, low, damp, evil-smelling, and tiny. Such houses, one would say, ought to let for about ten dollars or fifteen dollars. As a matter of fact, they are made to bring in anything from thirty-five dollars to fifty dollars a month. This is done by cutting them up into miserable little tenements, each let to families of from four to six people. In this way the houses are crowded from basement to roof. The basement itself is turned into a 'suite of apartments' entered by a hole down some steps in the backyard, and for this lovely breeding-

place of tuberculosis, with nothing but a narrow pane of glass peeping up on the pavement for light, seven dollars a week has to be paid."

"Not only were people found to be living in houses that were built for human habitation, but they were found living in wooden sheds where formerly only rubbish was kept, and in places converted from stables into houses. The people who live in this *district are mostly English-speaking people*, and some surprisingly nice families were found there, struggling bravely to be cheerful and hopeful amid their depressing environment."

"When St. Urbain Street and St. Charles Borromee Street are reached, there is a subtle change which can be felt in the very air. A lower depth of degradation is reached. English and French people here have given way to foreigners, mostly Poles, Russians, and Galicians. The overcrowding of the tenements further to the west pales into insignificance compared with the overcrowding here. The houses, apparently, are let, relet, and sub-let, and the sub-letter takes in lodgers. The result is that people swarm like vermin in the houses. Three and four beds in a single room, which room also serves as a living-room for the people who occupy the beds, are by no means uncommon."

The results of an investigation of the slum conditions of Toronto by the Medical Officer of Health for the city has been embodied in a Report presented on July 5th, 1911. In all, 4,696 houses were inspected in the six districts selected. We are told: "There are few conditions found in the slums of European cities, or in the greater American cities, that have not been revealed in Toronto, the difference being only one of degree; and the conditions of the lesser degree to-day will, if not corrected, become those of the greater degree to-morrow. In fact, conditions have been revealed quite as bad in character as any in either European or American cities, but fortunately these are thus far limited in extent."

"The following conditions peculiar to great cities are found to be present to a lamentable extent—rear houses, dark rooms, tenement houses, houses unfit for habitation, inadequate water supply, unpaved and filthy yards and lanes, sanitary conveniences, so-called, which, because of their position or condition, or for various other reasons, have become a public nuisance, a menace to public health, a danger to public morals, and, in fact, an offence against public decency."

"The following conditions have been found to be present in a greater or less degree, and will constitute a part of the problem we have placed before us for solution: The lodging-house evil, the tenement house problem, dark rooms, back to back houses, basement and cellar dwellings, unsanitary privy pits, lack of drainage, inadequate water supply, exorbitant rents out of all proportion to the return given, overcrowding in houses, rooms, and lots."

"It must be apparent, therefore, that an organised effort should be made at once to deal with these conditions. A city like Toronto, with all its churches, with all its philanthropic societies, with all its charitable benevolent institutions, should certainly save its citizens from being submerged in the one-roomed dwelling and under conditions which tend to destroy both body and soul."

"Now that we have the facts before us, we have fortunately the available land, and co-operation of the people; we have a city site which, for natural beauty and attractions, is second to none in the world. All we need is proper and efficient organisation, that we may turn our resources to best account."

These paragraphs are not taken from articles written by highly imaginative representatives of the Press, but from a report drawn up by a highly competent public official. I know that similar investigations in the other cities of the

Dominion would reveal substantially the same conditions, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to enlarge on this aspect of the case.

These facts are given at some length because I think it is of the highest importance that in the distant parts of the Empire, no less than at home, our race must be roused to action on the matter if the Empire is to hold its own.

It is encouraging to know that action is being taken all along the line to deal with the state of affairs revealed. In the winter of 1910 the Union of Canadian Municipalities appointed a special committee to study the question of Town Planning and Housing, and the Mayors of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, St. Boniface, Medicine Hat, and Vancouver accepted office on it.

The Government of Quebec has appointed a Metropolitan Parks Commission to suggest a scheme for the planning of Greater Montreal, with a view to removing the evils that exist, and preventing their growth in the future.

A public utility company is being formed in the city to secure a large area of land and lay it out as a Garden Suburb, thus providing an example to educate public opinion. In this work the co-operation of many important organisations has been secured. At Toronto, the Toronto Co-partnership Suburb Ltd. has been started to lay out a Garden Suburb. The bodies co-operating in this work include—Civic Guild, the City Council, and the Board of Trade.

The Medical Officer of Health, Dr. C. G. Hastings, recommends the city to secure good housing bye-laws, the development of Garden Suburbs with rapid transportation facilities at cheap fares, and a proper scheme of City Planning, and the control of the area surrounding for five miles. A Housing and Town Planning Bill for the province of Ontario has been before the Provincial Parliament, but did not get through the Committee stage. It is now thought possible that the Bill will be brought in again, but limited in its application to Toronto and district.

Town Planning Committees have been appointed for the cities of Winnipeg, Calgary, Regina, St. John's, and action is being taken at, amongst other places, Vancouver, Halifax, and Fort William.

The Canadian Pacific Railway is also acting with imagination and foresight in connection with the planning of the small towns which are springing up on the territory which is served by its line running 150 miles eastward from Calgary. This land is under the control of the Colonisation Department of the C.P.R., which in that district is managed by Mr. J. S. Dennis, with whom I had an interview when in Canada, and who gave me particulars. Instead of the muddled —not to say hideous—system of development which usually prevails in the starting of a new town in Canada, there will be a definite plan.

"A strip of land, the full length of the town, having a minimum width of one hundred feet between the station grounds and First Avenue, is to be laid out as a public park, prettily decorated with shade trees, flowers, and benches. Leading from the railway station, at right angles to it, will be a main or centre street, also one hundred feet wide, this width being maintained up to the intersection with the road allowance. The first two blocks on both sides of Centre Street will be devoted to retail and general business, the street then opening into a public square or park, about six hundred feet square; the balance of this street will be boulevarded. Special attention will be paid to beautifying both the public square and the boulevards. The wholesale industries, factories, and lumber yards

will have special locations on the outskirts of the town limits, while in addition to the public square and railroad park, already spoken of, ample reservations will be made for recreation grounds. Residential lots will generally face the railroad park and the avenues, with a few more desirable ones looking over the public square."

"All the lots will be sold with building restrictions, specifying the type of building to be erected, and the minimum value of same, and under no consideration will a transfer of property be admitted until such conditions have been complied with."

"Provision will be made, in each case, for a town site covering from 100 to 160 acres; should it become necessary to extend the town site beyond the area originally provided, such extension will be made to suit the requirements of the situation developed by the growth of the town. This will be done in no haphazard manner, but in further comprehensive mode, with due provision for park and recreation grounds. When the towns have grown sufficiently large to require these, it is the purpose of the railroad to turn them over to be administered by the municipality."

"Attention will be given to boulevarding, surveying, and tree-planting. When the topographical conditions permit of bringing water into the towns from the irrigation ditches, such water will be utilised along the boulevardes and in the parks for irrigating the trees, plants, and new-sown grass. Not only will this be of great advantage to keep the parks fresh and green, but, incidentally, will demonstrate the value of irrigation for this purpose."

No longer will the church and the saloon rub shoulders, nor the courthouse and the livery stable lean affectionately against one another; the bank and the lumber-yard cannot exchange confidences, nor the corner grocery store smile lovingly across at the public park. Each will be in its place, and there will be a proper place for all.

What is needed is that all Canada should act on something approaching this scientific plan of growth. Once lay it down and get it accepted that order and forethought must take the place of anarchy in the growth of towns, and improvement will be rapid.

In other parts of the Empire, thought is also moving on the question. The Town Planning Bill for Delhi is receiving the attention of the Legislative Council; whilst the Australian Government has received 200 plans for the lay-out of its new capital on the Molouglo River, twelve of which have been selected for special consideration. The town is, we are told, to be smokeless and slumless. At Sydney (New South Wales) a Garden Suburb is being laid out, the houses on which will be available for people of all occupations. It is also suggested that a Housing Board, free from political control, should be created to help forward the work.

The movement will, I am satisfied, make increasing headway as years roll on. Nothing convinces so well as examples of what can be done, and these are steadily increasing. As their full effect on character and health become more clearly recognised, the demand for action on a larger scale in all parts of the Empire will become irresistible.

Town Planning in Australasia.

By CHARLES C. READE
(Late Editor, *New Zealand Graphic*).

THE Town Planning movement in its Imperial aspect acquires a wider significance than that of its appointed function in promoting orderliness and beauty in the cities and the lives of the people. It establishes a common bond of interest and purpose between those of our British and Colonial kinsmen whose watchword is, "The greatest good to the greatest number." Town Planning has set the twentieth century in motion towards the practical and actual creation of those ideals of civic beauty and social order which the great minds of another age had sketched in vain for their generation. True as this is of England, it is rapidly becoming so of Australasia to-day, where already a national ideal has been materialised in the fact that the new Federal capital will arise on lines productive of much more than a few wide, spacious thoroughfares, big parks, and monotonous residential areas.

In Australasia the contrast with the Old World is very striking. There, no local traditions, no century-laden institutions, nor yet old stones piled into some architectural monument of Time exist to mould the mind or stir the imagination. The native born Colonial has sprung up like his cities, on a virgin soil devoid of all contact with the past. Into the last fifty years have been crowded untold energies clearing away bush, securing settlement, making roads and bridges, piercing the wilds with immense strips of railway, building cities and towns, and all only at the cost of sacrifice, hardship, and isolation from the larger world. Under this process it was inevitable that for a time art and culture should suffer. Side by side with these utilitarian activities, however, recent years have seen a rapid growth in ideas. Liberal facilities for education afforded by the States, increasing national wealth and freedom of individual action have all conspired to an intellectual awakening which has already produced a national consciousness and widespread unity of aim and purpose. There are political and social differences, of course, but in the mass of the people to-day, both in Australia and New Zealand, intellectual unrest, consciousness of social shortcomings, and the eternal struggle between wealth and necessity are "speeding up" the wheels of national evolution.

The immediate evidence of these things is, of course, centred in the cities. There is a growing perception of the fact that some more comprehensive machinery some wider conceptions of municipal life are needed to control their growth. Similar processes and causes are producing a rapid extension of suburban and residential areas on the confines of Australasian centres, as is the case with London and provincial cities to-day. Recent years have seen extensive developments in electric car services. Population has been rising rapidly, and a continuous wave of prosperity still flowing and spreading itself over the larger half of the community is providing unprecedented activity in building, both commercial and residential. Speculation in suburban property is also rife. Especially are these things so in Sydney—now the largest metropolis in Australia—with a population of 606,000, and Auckland, the principal city of New Zealand, which in the last seven years increased its population by 30 per cent., to a total well over 100,000.

To the English view, accustomed to thickly congested industrial centres, the figures will seem small in comparison. But of leading cities of Australasia it must be remembered that they are practically all capitals, and as such carry with them a full complement of Public and Government buildings, Houses of Parlia-

ment, Universities, Town Halls, Art Galleries, Museums, etc. They have much of the framework, and many of the institutions, of European capitals. Moreover, the congestion, the squalor, the predominating note of disorder and ugliness which vividly impress themselves upon a Colonial imagination in cities like Leeds and Manchester, do not exist. The outstanding characteristic of these Antipodean cities is the huge areas of ground over which they straggle. The metropolitan area of Sydney, for instance, is spread out over an area of 149 square miles. The only possible comparison to these figures is the 116 square miles comprising the combined area of the County and City of London.

The prosaic checker-board model is the universal, and, in fact, the only evidence of systematic planning. Its existence dates back to the early days when sites were selected and cities planned out block by block by the pioneers of colonisation. The most conspicuous examples of these creations—most of them by British surveyors of the early Victorian age—are Adelaide and Melbourne, in Australia, and Christchurch, in New Zealand. These early efforts were all inspired by a desire common to the time, to see cities arise in these new lands that would banish forever from their midst the gloomy and unrelenting ugliness of the average industrial centre in Britain. Christchurch was a notable example. The English people who promoted this city of the plains nearly half a century ago, not only planned it out with a commanding central square, wide streets, and endowed it with big tracts of park land, but also had plans prepared and sites reserved for prominent public buildings on a scale of impressive munificence.

But the struggle for existence, the dominating need and fight for colonisation prevailed against this dream. Whilst the central city maintained the features of its early planning, and some conspicuously fine buildings arose, the city generally had to spread as best it could, without comprehensive effort to shape the growth as a whole. And what is true of Christchurch belongs equally so to all the Australasian cities.

It is perhaps not generally known to Town Planners that it was the ring of park lands around the central city in Adelaide which suggested to Mr. Ebenezer Howard the possibilities of an agricultural belt for his Garden City. There is, indeed, a spaciousness and dignity about the South Australian capital which makes itself felt immediately you emerge from the central station and enter the broad and conspicuously clean thoroughfare of King William Street. Midway between the park lands, upon which it opens on either side, the street is broken by a large tree-planted square, where flower gardens and statuary are arranged with delightful effect. There are five of these squares in the central area of the city, which is secured for all time by the magnificent belt of park lands surrounding it. The parks are an example of municipal efficiency that compares well with Britain In order to secure water all the year round, boating, and the creation of an artificial lake, the River Torrens (on either side of which part of the park lands extend) had to be dammed at considerable outlay. The result is in summer time, when the fierce Australian sun has the city in its grip, a succession of cool, shady walks, opening up vistas of trees and flower strewn gardens from the waterside edge, are to be found midway between the commercial and residential areas. It is evidence of the spirit which inspires the city that when the Federal Government last year made an unsuccessful attempt to take part of the lands for a Military Training College, the Mayor (Mr. L. Cohen), roused the public by declaring: "The parks are the pride and glory of this city—the best and greatest asset it has, or ever can have. To every generation they are becoming more valuable.

Let us therefore keep them inviolate; keep them intact; keep them sacred from the hands of the despoiler."

Melbourne, the capital city of Victoria, is a larger Adelaide, covering a metropolitan area even greater than that of Sydney, and holding a population of nearly 600,000. It has no belt of park lands, although there are numerous open spaces and public reserves. But it is essentially a city of right angles, of long unbroken streets, where in some cases the view extends for over a mile without any architectural creation to arrest the vision. The principal streets are 100 feet wide, and the architecture, reaching in some cases to ten and twelve storied buildings, aspires to dignity and effect. But whether you survey the immensity of its principal thoroughfares, the splendour of its gardens and parks reaching down to the edge of the river that divides the city, or trace the simplicity and grace of the beautiful Princes Bridge, Melbourne, from the Town Planning point of view, tires one with its geometrical repetition of design. It seems to have had all the ambitions, but realised few of the ideals of a truly noble city. It is when you pass beyond the central area into the suburbs that the least attractive side becomes apparent. In Fitzroy and Collingwood, on the one hand, and South and Port Melbourne on the other, there are interminable roofs, large areas of bricks or mortar spread over comparatively flat country with but few open spaces and no garden plots. Without Town Planning, without any adequate limit to the number of houses which shall be built to the acre, and a general absence of trees, it is inevitable that such surroundings should partake a good deal of the drab suburbia of many English towns. Sunshine and climatic advantages of course prevail, but with increased population and suburban extension, it is inevitable that the more congested residential parts of the city immediately outside the commercial quarters will depreciate, overcrowding follow, and so to the slum. Slums —or rather, slum conditions—as a matter of fact are existing in the worst parts of Melbourne, Sydney, and other places to-day, despite the efforts of the municipalities to exterminate them.

With Sydney the case is different. Situated on the shores of one of the finest waterways in the world, pierced by many a glittering cove, the premier city of Australia was never planned with anything approaching the comprehensive lines which mark the central areas of all the other Australian capitals. A strict adherence to the universal checker-board pattern was impossible because of the undulating character of its site. Only a small part of it was laid out on stereotyped lines. It mainly grew, and such plan as it now possesses over the whole of its metropolitan area is as much the result of accident as design. It is not implied, of course, that both Government and Municipalities have not done much towards laying out the principal roads, and endeavoured to secure continuous communication for traffic. But so far no machinery has been perfected for dealing with city and suburbs as a whole. A widespread and numerous network of suburban areas now crowd in on all sides to the city and to the harbour foreshores without conspicuous form or design. Some of the arterial thoroughfares straggling out to these areas over undulating country are said to have been cattle tracks, which as settlement developed became roads. Cattle, as is their usual wont, invariably choose the easiest grades.

Recent years have seen a suburban growth and civic development in the New South Wales Capital almost phenomenal in extent and character. As rapidly as the iron roofs and chimney pots spread over hill and gully, the congestion and the difficulties of the traffic in the city itself increased. The expansion of large commercial and shipping interests soon made it evident that the principal thorough-

fares—long narrow lanes some of them—through six and seven storied buildings, were altogether inadequate to meet the traffic. Not only that. Some years ago the busy port was badly stung by an epidemic of bubonic plague, which became endemic for a time owing to the congested and insanitary nature of the " wharves" or docks and the buildings in their vicinity. The whole community awoke to the peril of the situation, accentuated as it was by the existence of slum areas, Chinese opium dens and other horrors sheltered in parts of the city by a mean and tangled disorder of lanes, alleyways, and courts. A widespread campaign for cleanliness was followed by a demand for reform.

Over two years ago a Royal Commission for the improvement of the city and suburbs sat for nine months, examined forty witnesses, and collected a vast amount of information as to the advance of civic improvement at the chief world centres. The Commission brought down recommendations for improvement estimated to meet the needs of the traffic for the next twenty-five years, involving wholesale demolition, the creation of new streets and arterial thoroughfares 100 feet wide to the suburbs, street widening and regrading, the immediate construction of a comprehensive system of underground railways, the promotion of a Building Act, powers to municipalities to resume and remodel slum areas, to provide workmen's dwellings, playgrounds, etc., and finally to make and execute Town Planning schemes on the lines of the English Act. Sydney is now occupied in carrying out some of the Commission's proposals. Those which have been adopted will, of course, be spread over a period of years. The City Council itself is spending some two millions sterling for the creation of the new Sydney. It should be added that the promotion of many improvements in the city in recent years is due largely to the ardent civic spirit and ability of the present Lord Mayor, Sir Allen Taylor, who has been continuously in office since 1909.

Sydney in its early days was much less fortunate than Melbourne or Adelaide, and so great and so widespread are the problems which have rapidly accumulated in the last decade that many years must elapse now before the improvements so boldly projected by her citizens can be accomplished. It is as yet premature to judge what effect the City and Suburbs Improvement Scheme will have, but there are several things to be noted. In the methods of what in Australasia is called " resumption " of bad areas and street widening, the City Council is taking " the long view " wherever possible. Not only is the strip of land necessary to increased width acquired, but also with it wherever possible sufficient depth to ensure to the city possession of business blocks with frontages to the improved street. The residue is let out on lease, the rents from which are contributing handsomely, so it is found, towards the cost of the scheme. The writer was assured by one of the Council's officials that in one or two cases the increased value of the site is returning sufficient by way of rent to pay interest and sinking fund on the capital outlay—a striking tribute to the potentiality of " the unearned increment," and its retention by the Local Authority which undertakes city improvement schemes.

A typical instance of what is being done in Sydney is shown in the case of Wentworth Avenue—a new street 100 feet wide, giving direct access from a very busy thoroughfare to the Central Station. This splendid avenue runs clean through an area of some eight acres—which was originally a congerie of disreputable houses, Chinese opium dens, slums, etc. It cost £300,000 to "resume," but the actual expense to the city after making Wentworth Avenue was £140,000. The freehold of the land under the scheme remains the property of the city for all time.

By the demolitions of insanitary property effected to date, hundreds of persons

have been de-housed. The City Council for various reasons have not made any provision to replace these homes in its boundaries, and the consequence is the bulk of the people are going into adjoining suburbs. The effect of this policy is probably not fully realised as yet, but it is important to note that whilst the density in the city is 45 persons per acre, in the suburbs, where these de-housed persons are flocking, the density rises to 55, 59, and in the case of Darlington (immediately adjoining the city boundary), 77 per acre. The city's normal death-rate is 11.26, with the infantile mortality at 82. In Darlington the normal death-rate is 15.65, with infant mortality reaching 229 per thousand.* That is an aspect of the case which has yet to be met.

There is also a conspicuous and characteristic problem before, not only Sydney, but all the Australasian cities, and that is the proper control and direction of their suburban areas. It is somewhat remarkable that whilst the central areas have been consciously planned and laid out on a scale far superior to many older English cities, whilst the concrete example of civic orderliness is before them, the suburbs have been permitted to grow in haphazard fashion. This is well illustrated by the case of Auckland, a conspicuous example of what rapid development, land speculation, and municipal failure to control the growth is producing in the newer suburban districts of Australasian cities. The fundamental difficulty which faces them all is the existence of numerous local bodies within the metropolitan area. In Auckland, for instance, there are sixteen, Adelaide has nineteen, Melbourne twenty-two, and Sydney no less than forty-two. The confines of these cities are frequently in the hands of bodies that correspond in character to the English Urban District Councils. There is no cohesion or comprehensive system for seeing that new roads or " estates " are so planned as to fit into and become an integral part in the design of the cities as a whole. Agitations for a " Greater Auckland," " Greater Sydney," " Greater Adelaide," and other places have been increasing, and it is now recognised by nearly all civic reformers that the abolition of divided authority is an essential step towards the promotion of orderly and better planned communities.

The problem is also complicated by the fact that in recent years land values and rents have leapt up at an astonishing rate, the increase in some cases representing a rise of over 100 per cent. in twelve months. High rents in all the centres has led to the inevitable factor of two families living in one house, and the position is sufficiently acute to warrant a Commission sitting recently in Sydney to investigate the question. As a result of disclosures pointing to what is known as commercial landlordism, the Government of New South Wales has announced its intention of creating a model suburb on the outskirts of Sydney. Details of this interesting proposal are not yet available, beyond the fact that the Government intend that all the bricks required shall be supplied by the State works, which have been created in anticipation of the needs of the Federal capital, and also to regulate prices against the operations of " rings " or " trusts " which of late have told against the public.

Town Planning reached a definite stage in New Zealand last year when a Bill was introduced into Parliament conferring powers similar to those of English local bodies. Unfortunately, a constitutional issue, quite apart from the measure itself arose, and led to its being dropped. It seems certain, nevertheless, that the necessary legislation will shortly be enacted in response to a recent agitation which resulted in an effective exposure of insanitary homes in the New Zealand cities, together with the wholesale cutting up of suburban lands by speculators.

* See Medical Health Officer's Report, 1910.

Here, again, careful investigation reveals how rapidly housing is becoming a vital problem in the new world. Land values and rents have risen enormously in recent years. Suburban property in Wellington, for instance, has in twenty years increased from £19 to £250 per acre. The average rents for the poorest homes range from 7s. to 9s. a week—a figure it has been proved that is not now within the means of hundreds of casual waterside labourers. The New Zealand Government has, and is erecting, detached working men's homes in the principal centres—homes which can be purchased by a £10 deposit, and weekly payments spread over twenty-five years. The payments, however, run from 15s. to 17s. 6d. per week, and the houses are therefore only within the reach of the better paid and more skilled artisan.

What is required is not discussion as to whether the State is justified in providing homes for a section of the people at a reasonable cost, but a clearer understanding and appreciation of the economies in housing which are effected by Town Planning in England to-day.

There is not the slightest doubt, in fact, that all Australasian towns and cities stand much in need of, and are asking for, expert and up-to-date information on Modern Town Planning. The proposal of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association to equip and send out an emissary to Australia and New Zealand to deliver comprehensive lantern lectures would not only be a powerful stimulus, but warmly welcomed by the numerous Municipal and Government officers, architects, engineers, and others whose thoughts are setting keenly towards such places as Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that to the progressive minds of Australia is due the proposed lay-out of the new Federal capital on Town Planning lines—a dream that is within sight of realisation. The supreme hope is, of course, that the example of the Federal Capital will infect all the cities with Town Planning ideals. It was the inauguration of the Commonwealth at the beginning of this century, and the festivities associated therewith, which brought Australian cities the realisation of civic dignity and importance. It seems as if it is to be the Federal Capital, promoted in turn by the Commonwealth, which will point the way towards the planning and creation of truly splendid cities by the shores of the lonely Pacific.

Discussion.

Mr. F. E. Fremantle, F.R.C.S., read the following letter addressed by Earl Grey to Mr. Vivian :—

"Dear Mr. Vivian,—I am sorry I shall be unable to preside over the Housing Section of the National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, on Tuesday, June 11th, but I think the Congress is to be congratulated on the fact that you have kindly consented to take my place. The work you have done, not only in England but in Canada, will invest your words with a special interest. I am glad to be able to inform you that the seed you sowed in Canada two years ago is responsible for a vigorous growth in more than one city in the Dominion, and I look forward with confidence to the adoption by municipal authorities of Co-partnership Tenant principles as the means of providing housing accommodation for the increasing city populations, under good conditions. As one of those who believe that the scientific planning and organisation of city life is an essential in the promotion of national well-being, I hope the discussion on June 11th and on the following days will be followed by wide-reaching and beneficial results.—I remain, Yours very truly, Grey."

Mr. HENRY VIVIAN said he was sure they were all extremely sorry that Earl Grey could not be with them that day. He particularly felt that as he had been called upon to take his place. He thought that those who knew Earl Grey and his work would say that no public man of his day has given more freely of his time, energy, and thought towards promoting all agencies which had for their object the improvement of the health and character and good of the people. Movements like theirs owed a great debt to Earl Grey for his untiring labour on their behalf. (Hear, hear.) Those of them who were connected closely with the Housing movement knew that his interest was not just a temporary or hurried one; in fact, it was interesting to see the very close way in which he had been connected with that movement from the beginning. He (Mr. Vivian) believed that Earl Grey cut the first sod at Letchworth before he left to govern Canada seven or eight years ago. He was also one of the first, if not the first public man, to visit the Ealing Tenants' experiment, when they were building nine houses, and he was chairman of the first Committee responsible for purchasing the land for the Hampstead Garden Suburb. So Earl Grey was no temporary friend; his interest in the work had been long.

Proceeding, Mr. Vivian said that his words that morning would be very few. First, he would like in the name of the Organising Committee to give a hearty welcome to those attending the Conference. He thought they might truly say that, however important the other subjects might be which were to be discussed at that Conference, they would not admit that the subject of Housing was the least important. (Hear, hear.) He thought they were all agreed that Housing was very closely connected with the problem of destitution and poverty. He had not read all the papers, but he did not think they need waste time in urging that aspect of the case, but rather concentrate themselves on discussing how to escape the present evils. He thought they were all agreed, judging from the variety of the papers and the variety of associations represented by the writers, that their goal—and that of all sound Housing reformers—would not be reached through any single channel. They needed the endeavours and co-operation of a number of agencies in order to achieve their ideal, but he thought it would save them a great deal of disappointment if they realised that the contribution which purely philanthropic effort could make towards a solution of this problem was really limited, and that in the long run they would have to accept the fact that the people responsible for building, housing, and developing residential estates for a nation like ours would enter into that work stimulated by practically the same motives on the whole as attracted people into the coal industry, or the cotton industry, or any other industry. In other words, people went into the industry of housing to win a living for themselves. They must accept that as a fact. Philanthropic experiments might make a small contribution by way of example, but on the whole they must assume the existence of the ordinary business motives in the carrying on of their work.

He believed it was possible to infuse into business more public spirit and more imagination. He had never accepted the theory that all public spirit should express itself either in Parliament or in Public Authorities. He saw no reason why a man should not in some degree regard the chairmanship of a great business as, in part at any rate, a public trust. He thought they wanted more and more of that spirit, not only in connection with Housing, but in connection with the problems affecting every industry. Employers responsible for capital, and for the lives of large numbers of men under their direction, should not only regard it as a means of livelihood, but also as a position of public trust, and realise that they were in duty bound to make some contribution to the common weal as well as make fortunes for themselves. More particularly they wanted the spirit of imagination applied to this problem of Housing, but at the same time the capital that came into that work must, in the long run, win a reward for itself, if they were to obtain the necessary capital to undertake all the work there was to do. The great problem in Housing, more than in any other industry, was so to condition that private or individual interest as to harmonise it with the public good. In the case of the boot and shoe industry, and the coal industry, and a great many others, it was not harmful; indeed it was to the public advantage that all concerned should do their utmost to produce the maximum return with the material at their command. The public interest was served as well as the private interest. But that was not true when one was laying out estates. It was not true that if you made every inch of land straight away produce the highest maximum return for the individuals concerned in the enterprise, that would in the long run promote the public good as well as advance private gain; and they were

entitled to call in public control so as to condition this effort to achieve private gain, and secure that it should promote the public welfare as well; at any rate, that it should not stand in the way of the public good. But he thought they would be disappointed if they assumed that public bodies, whether Parish Councils, Town Councils, Rural Councils, County Councils, or even Parliament itself, in all cases represented the public interest and were bound to have no regard for any other interest except the public interest. They must not make the mistake of expecting that kind of altruism amongst public bodies. They could all of them mention numbers of public bodies, from the Parish Council upwards, which represented anything but the public interest in their deliberations concerning this problem of Housing. Indeed, he thought that one of the most serious problems confronting the Housing reformer was that of getting elected an adequate number of public-spirited, competent persons on Parish, District, Town, and County Councils, to take upon themselves the great and increasing responsibilities which Parliament was, year by year, putting upon their shoulders. (Hear, hear.) The could get the enthusiast without judgment in any number, and frequently they could get the man with judgment, but lacking faith and enthusiasm. They could get large numbers with neither judgment nor enthusiasm. (Hear, hear.) But to get the combination—men or women full of faith, and full of enthusiasm for the public good, and at the same time having good business judgment—was extremely difficult: difficult, not always because there were no such people available, but often because those people were the last people to thrust themselves forward, and go through the scrimmage of an election, ultimately finding themselves landed as one of a Council with the members of which they had to struggle for years in order to get some moderate reform carried out. Suitable people frequently got discouraged by the amount of indifference, and even apathy, they encountered, even if they got on to a Public Authority. He thought they would agree that, taking the country as a whole, that was one of the difficulties that confronted them in this problem. There were, of course, extraordinary exceptions. There were numbers of public bodies which were taking these questions up heartily, and one hoped that their example would permeate the whole of our public life until the standard was generally raised.

That Conference which they were holding and the papers they were to hear and discuss should help them in carrying the question forward. Much had been done during the last ten years in arousing public opinion on the question. The numerous Conferences which had been held had undoubtedly concentrated attention on the different aspects of the question; but they needed now, more and more, practical demonstrations in the different branches of the work, showing what could be done. Conferences were very good, and meetings were very helpful, but after all they had already created such a body of opinion in favour of doing something that a man made the best contribution to the solution of the question if he showed what could actually be done on the different sides of the case. They had, for example, the vexed problem of by-laws, and they needed people to make practical contributions by showing how by-laws operated and what amendments were desirable. It was in that way that they would help on the movement. By all means, let them continue their conferences and meetings and lectures, but side by side with that let them not forget that they had already brought a large number of people to the stage of desiring to do something. Those people were merely asking how, and to answer that question they must have practical demonstrations of the different aspects of the case all along the line. In any case, they should not be discouraged; they should go forward boldly. Already they had achieved a great deal. He thought that anyone who remembered the state of public opinion on this question fifteen years ago ought to realise where they stood to-day, not only in this country but in every great industrial country in the world. Small as the progress might seem to some enthusiasts, he thought they would all agree that they had made immense progress in ripening public opinion; and he was satisfied that if they went forward sanely and courageously, they would strengthen that public opinion, and steadily increase their practical demonstrations of what was possible. (Applause.)

Councillor J. W. Crowther (Sheffield County Borough Council) congratulated the Chairman (Mr. Vivian) on his remarks, which were full of good argument. In reference to the paper contributed by Mr. Reade, there was one point to which he wished to call attention, which would be familiar to every Housing reformer, especially those who had to do with the pulling down of slums in the centre of cities. Mr. Reade has said that, by the demolition of insanitary property, hundreds of

persons had been dishoused. That was the problem with which they had to grapple. There were often houses in a city rented at 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. a week, and hundreds of people were turned out to seek houses that could not be obtained for less than 5s. or 6s. a week. It might be wise on the part of City Authorities, before pulling down slum houses, to provide somewhere else for the people to go. In Sheffield, while the housebreaker had been busy in the centre of the city, the jerry builder had been busy on the outside. When the people were dispossessed—not being able to afford the rentals on the outside of the city—two or three families had gone into one house, and that had an undesirable influence, not only on their morality, but on their physical strength.

In reference to the Chairman's paper, there was one statement which apparently contradicted another almost in the same paragraph, on the question of the cost and width of roads. One of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the development of suburbs was the heavy cost of the roads. It was not so much a question of the width of the road, as the cost of road paving, and although no road ought to be less than fifty feet wide, that did not mean that the whole of the road must be made at once. The road proper could be twenty-five feet wide, and the difference between fifty feet and twenty-five feet could be thrown into the forecourts of the houses; and some day, if necessary, part of the front gardens could be taken away, and by that process a wider road secured. One or two figures with regard to Sheffield would perhaps prove of interest. Sheffield had the first Garden Suburb in the world, and he represented a ward which at the present time had such a Garden Suburb. Sixty years ago some 200 men bought land, and he desired to explain the disaster which overtook them. In their simplicity they thought that by going two miles out of the town they would escape certain responsibilities, so far as cost of roads was concerned. They bought 300 acres of land, and in the deed it was set out that the maximum number of houses erected should be ten to the acre. In part of the district ten houses was even now the maximum holding. They had built their own houses and formed their own gardens, and by arrangement the cost of the road-making was charged upon the whole of the plots, a more expensive plot not having to pay more than another part where the road-making was not so expensive. They began to build their houses, and all the time the city was creeping up the hillside, and then came the bomb-shell. The city came upon them to pave the roads with granite sets at a terrible cost. The result was that, in connection with plots of 1,200 to 1,500 yards which had originally cost £60 to £90, the city came upon the holders for in some cases three times the original cost when the men had nearly finished paying for the land and got their houses up. Many had to clear out their plots at from £12 to £26, and some had to go through the Bankruptcy Court or mortgage or sell their houses, in order to escape their responsibility. The question of roads was of great importance. In the case of roads which would be traversed by nothing much more than a milk cart, the paving should be done at a cheap rate. He hoped the attention of Housing Authorities would be devoted to cheapening the roads and keeping them in character with the district and the houses erected.

Mr. G. Montagu Harris (County Councils' Association) considered the imperial aspect of the case was most valuable in commencing the proceedings of the Conference. In connection with the point brought out in both papers regarding Authorities who had to deal with the Town Planning question, it was interesting to notice that the difficulties encountered in this country were also experienced in Australia, and probably in other parts of the Dominions, where one would have hoped that the complications which in this country were supposed largely to have grown out of our long history would have been avoided. In England we naturally found that local government, having developed in various directions, had thrown out all sorts of different branches, which had, to a large extent, interfered with one another. As time went on, the difficulty of finding the right Authority to deal with Town Planning became greater, but in a new country one would have hoped they would have realised that and prevented any such complications arising. It was disappointing to find it was not so. Taking the case of London, and the question of Town Planning as regards the department of roads, it was evident that the roads leading in and out of London were of more importance to London itself than to any other part of the country; therefore, the planning of the roads outside London could not be left, and should not be left, to any Authorities to deal with without London having the predominant voice in deciding the lines on which Town Planning should take place. That did not mean that London should be the Authority to deal with the roads outside its own

area, and it was to be hoped that any changes which occurred in our local government system would not give the power to one Local Authority, however large or important, to override the powers and duties of another Authority outside its own area. Combination, joint committees, co-operation, and everything of that sort was desirable, but the independence of our local government system should be kept up. It was also necessary in this country to see that we were not entirely governed by the interests of urban populations. Rural populations had keen interests, which were somewhat distinct from those of the others, and it was a real danger if London and other towns were to be allowed to spread all over the country and hold the country practically for their own interests as against those of people who lived in rural areas.

He hoped that the Garden City idea, as distinct from the Garden Suburb, would so spread as to prevent the extension of the large towns with all their disadvantages. One advantage of the Garden City was that it should prevent, or to a certain extent relieve, the congestion of the urban areas by scattering them, and not by spreading and extending existing cities. There should be more manageable cities all over the country, each of which had the advantage of town and country at the same time.

With regard to the question of cities having power over other areas, he hoped something would be done to make it a duty of Authorities outside towns to prepare for the future. In our system of local government, one of the disadvantages of perpetual elections was that it was difficult for any existing Council to make plans for the future, because their existence was limited. There was a certain amount to be said for the system of a paid Mayor or chairman, who held office permanently or for a considerable time. It made it possible to have a policy which would take many years to carry out. In the position at the present moment there was a certain misfortune; local Councils were apt to think only of the moment, and their schemes were consequently very much limited in character. With regard to the planning of roads, it was absolutely necessary to look to the far-distant future. Certain towns were bound to extend and develop. For that reason it was most desirable that, if new roads were made, they should fall in with one large plan—a larger plan than that of a county, a plan of the whole country. The condition of things in the distant future should, as far as possible, be anticipated, and properly prepared for. By that preparation, not only was it possible to arrive at a better system, but an enormous sum of money was saved, because it was a distinct economy to arrange for the future, and build all houses and roads in accordance with some large plan, which would be of advantage to the country and community as a whole.

From the point of view of existing towns, he hoped towns would not always be wanting to extend their areas for the purpose of being able to say they were the second or third largest cities in the kingdom, and in order that they might enjoy the further rate-bearing capacity of the added area. There was also the consideration that a body of persons eminently capable of looking after the interests of a big town were not necessarily capable of looking after the interests of a country district. That sort of thing might very well happen if a town gathered in every bit of country, because it was assumed that at some date in the future it would contain an urban population and become part of the existing town. When the time arrived that a suburb became part of a town, the Town Council might look after it, but while it was agricultural land populated by agriculturists, the Council which was more conversant with the needs and interests of the rural population should have its administration. He was not upholding any system for dealing with the question on smaller lines, and it was most desirable that interests of that kind, which were of such importance to the community, should not be looked after by small bodies covering small areas, with possibly small personal interests and prejudices. Such bodies should be large enough, and the area should be large enough, to enable a wide view of things to be taken, and to secure the elimination of all personal interests. It was to be hoped also that some system of Town Planning would be brought forward, under which this country and all other countries of the empire would be dealt with on a large scale. Without confining the work of administration to small areas, the tendency to megalomania which attacked some cities should not be allowed to spread. The principles of co-operation and working together should be carried out to the full, and local self-government throughout the country carried on in such manner that it would not be interfered with either by the Central Government or by local bodies trying to secure control over the administration of an area outside their real jurisdiction. (Applause.)

Mr. Robert Lambie (Lanark County Council) was delighted with the subject matter

of the papers, because Town Planning and Housing from the Imperial standpoint was one of the most important subjects which the Conference could discuss. No Housing reformer perhaps realised how much housing had to do with the question of destitution, and he had hoped by considering the matter from the Imperial standpoint they would get at the root of their difficulties, and improve the chances of making the country healthy and happy. How was the question to be met? Already it was being partly met, and he hoped one result of the Conference would be that they would rise to the sticking point, and put into force the powers already within their reach. The Government had valued the land. One of the greatest hindrances in connection with housing had been the land question, which, in fact, was responsible for slumdom. A law had been passed that every landlord should give the value of his land as it now stood. Had that been the case with the slums, for which an enormous amount had been paid, the question of street planning would have righted itself. In connection with Town Planning the landlord should be given fair play, but the people should also have fair play, for, after all, the land was the people's before it was the landlords.' Could not an intimation be sent out from the Conference that Local Authorities should combine, take advantage of the law, and have joint committees with the object of laying out districts as they should be laid out? If that course were adopted, it would be easy to deal with slums, after the outside territory had been put right. Local Authorities now had the power to combine, and they were neglecting their duty if they refused to combine to make the best of the country surrounding their districts. (Hear, hear.)

Sir JOHN SPEAR, M.P. (Association of Poor Law Unions) said they were all agreed that the better housing of the people was not only a humanitarian question, but also an Imperial one. An Imperial race could not be built up unless all classes were well housed. It was a little startling to find there were slums in our territory across the seas, and the difficulty even there was not exclusively a question of land, but a question of how to provide houses at a rent which the working man could pay. If that was the end, how was it to be attained? Was it to be by municipal enterprise, or private effort? Private effort had done much in housing in this country, and though it had not done enough, he was a little anxious that in completing their great work private enterprise should not be throttled. They found that where municipalities had done their best to use public money in providing cottages, they had not been able to build and let them at a price as low as that charged under private enterprise. Garden Cities represented the ideal they sought to attain by and bye, but in the meantime how were they to deal with the slums of to-day? Must they be dealt with Imperially—by State effort and State aid, by Town Planning and by finding public money to build houses, or should private enterprise and municipal effort be so balanced as to allow the two to go on side by side? He had heard Housing reformers speak very strongly of the neglect of other people in connection with the lack of houses; but if they were asked how many cottages they had provided they frankly said they did not like dealing in bricks and mortar; and that was because they knew they could not build houses that would be financially remunerative and let them at a price which the worker could afford to pay.

The stringent character of by-laws, he believed, had often handicapped Municipal Authorities in providing suitable cottages for slum dwellers, and though they wanted ideal cottages and Garden Cities, the question was so pressing that they should have some more immediate means of dealing with slum dwellings. Whether or not it was right to improve slum dwellings, they had to remember that occupiers of slums were used to their environment, and very often were uncomfortable in a good house. They had to be educated to appreciate its value, and that could only be done by degrees. Temporarily the position should be met by the improvement of the slums, and the provision of an intermediate cottage which the slum dweller could afford to move into, thus educating him for a better order of things and providing a dwelling suited to his rent-paying powers. In the rural districts, he was glad to know there were many cottages with rents ranging from 1s. to 1s. 9d. a week, and yet there were not sufficient houses. More should be provided, but certain theories were abroad which made people in the rural districts button up their pockets, and there would be greater difficulty in the future in getting sufficient houses than there had been in the past. In Ireland, cottages with half an acre or an acre of ground had been provided at a rent of 1s. 6d. to 2s. a week, and that surely could be done in this country. He recognised the moral responsibility of those connected with the land to provide good dwellings for the peqple on their estates. Without wishing to escape

that responsibility, there was a shifting population outside those who had an immediate claim on the owner of the land, and he wanted to see better houses because, from an Imperial point of view, it was desirable that there should be more people in the rural districts than was at present the case. (Hear, hear.) That could not be accomplished unless it were made worth their while to stay there and they had better houses to live in. The question under discussion was extremely important, and he felt that they were at the parting of the ways. Were they to throttle private enterprise and depend on the State, or have a combination of the two so that there might be a full field and fair play for both parties? Their deliberations would help very much their efforts to solve the problem in a way which would be just, and tend to meet the crying need of the working classes for houses at a price which they could afford to pay.

Mr. EWART G. CULPIN (Garden Cities' Association) declared that the advocates of Imperialism who had addressed the Conference all agreed in one thing—in keeping away from the Imperial aspect of the question. (Laughter.) The intention of the papers was that the question should be considered as applied to the Empire, and not the home country. On other days the subject would be considered from the rural point of view, the town point of view, the new town point of view, and all the other aspects involved. He regretted that there had not been more people present with a special knowledge of the Imperial aspect, as presented in the two admirable papers under consideration. Earl Grey in his letter had referred to Mr. Vivian's work in Canada, and almost every week he (Mr. Culpin) received letters from towns in Canada which Mr. Vivian had visited, asking for further information about his work, which would contribute largely to the solution of the Housing problem. Mr. Reade had aroused opinion in New Zealand to a large extent. Mainly as a result of his lectures and writings there was now to be introduced in the New Zealand Parliament a Bill providing for proper Town Planning. (Hear, hear.) From the example of the great Federal Capital of Australia, and from the example of Delhi, it was evident that the outposts of our Empire were awakening to the importance of what had been described as the Imperial aspect. We in the home country were unable to appreciate the significance of the problems confronting those who lived in new countries, and should try to learn something more about them. Surely there could be no more important question for an Imperial Conference to discuss than the housing of the people of the Empire, but the Imperial Conference had not time to deal with it. They discussed those things which made for the destruction of life, and he hoped attention would be drawn to the things which made for the preservation of life, and better, happier conditions for the people. The enlargement of the interest taken in the housing of people across the seas was an Imperial aspect of the question which should unite them all. In new countries they should not be occupied so much in clearing out slums, as in taking opportunities for preventing slums ever coming into existence. (Hear, hear.) Slum cure was good, but in connection with the remote parts of our Empire it was the duty of those who had seen what congestion of the population meant, the dangers it led to, and the legislation which was necessary to overcome it, to teach our kinsmen what good housing and Town Planning could do. For that reason, he hoped Mr. Reade's proposition, that a Housing and Town Planning emissary should go out to our Colonies, would be carried into effect, so that England might make her contribution to the problems which had there to be faced. (Applause.)

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, M.P. The subject discussed was THE CREATION OF NEW TOWNS, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Garden City Principles*
By Mr. E. G. CULPIN.

2.—*Garden Cities in relation to Municipal Bodies.*
By Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS.

3.—*Garden Villages and the Problem of Destitution.*
By Mr. J. H. BARLOW.

Garden City Principles.

By EWART G. CULPIN
(Secretary, the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association).

ONE of the problems most seriously affecting civilised humanity to-day is the twin problem of the overcrowding of the towns and the depopulation of the country-side. Wherever we inquire, whether it be in the industrial countries of the old world or in the more newly developed settlements of the new, the same state of things is to be found—everywhere the towns are becoming too large, and, especially in the old countries, the rural population is decreasing at such a rate as seriously to jeopardise the proper carrying on of husbandry.

The industrial revolution of the last century, while it led to much material advantage, and greatly increased the financial prosperity of the country, was responsible for many evils, which, although not perceived at the time, are none the less pernicious in their results.

Fifty or sixty years ago the bulk of the population of this country lived in rural conditions, but it is estimated that at the present time six-sevenths is born and bred in large towns and cities. The growth of mechanical industries, and the higher money wages which resulted, caused the rural dwellers to flock into the towns and to neglect the countryside, where at eighteen years of age a man was earning as much as he ever would earn as an agricultural labourer. Too often country life presented a picture of helplessness and hopelessness; there was no opportunity for improved conditions of employment, for recreation, for education, or for social life. Housing conditions presented features as horrible as the worst slum

can show; sanitation, lighting, water, and the other services which the town-dweller has come to regard as a necessity were altogether lacking, and it is not to be wondered at that the lights of the town and its "gold-paved" streets have proved a fatal fascination to the hundreds of thousands who have come to swell the already overcrowded labour market.

And the town, with all the advantages of commerce and high monetary wages, with education, amusement, and all the services of civilisation, has its dark under-world, whose real inwardness is hardly known to those whose lot is cast in more pleasant places. The march of science, the increasing activity of Sanitary Authorities, and the efficiency of their officials, backed by an enormous expenditure of money, has resulted in much improvement in the condition of our large cities; but still there is the slum and the overcrowding, still disease, dirt, and degradation. And even where in their extreme these conditions do not prevail, we find dreariness, monotony, inconvenience, and absolute divorce from the beauties of nature: we are trying to breed an imperial race out of the material which makes for ruin and decay.

A satisfactory solution of the problem thus presented must therefore go a long way towards the prevention of destitution. Anything which brings a new hope to humanity, any force which may be expended on creating a new condition of life, and any new economic truth which is capable of adaptation to the varying needs of the dwellers in town and in country, in old worlds and in new worlds, must be hailed as leading to that prophetic day and that ideal city which the dreamers of every age have dreamt of from the time of Isaiah down to William Morris.

Has that solution been found? I purpose trying to prove that in the Garden City movement it has, if not its complete form, at least the nucleus, and a good deal beyond it.

As is the case with so many great movements, the Garden City idea was the outcome of the man of the people—unknown beyond his immediate circle, and without the resources of wealth and privilege to forward his project. I venture to say that Mr. Ebenezer Howard, the founder of the Garden City movement, will be remembered in history when the names of many prominent politicians and soldiers have been forgotten, for of him alone can it be said in modern times that he founded a city, and not only founded one city, but that by his practical enthusiasm and his clear-sighted idealism he gave to the world an idea which has resulted in a few years in a complete change of the ordinary methods of town extension and estate development. It was only in 1898 that, after studying for many years the social problems of the country, and observing the results which had come with the improved environment of the people, he published a book called "To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform," subsequently issued as "Garden Cities of To-morrow."

In view of the many distorted ideas of what a Garden City is, and the confusion which has resulted between Garden Cities, Garden Suburbs, and Garden Villages, it may be well, before proceeding with further explanations, to quote a succinct definition of the three phrases:—

A "Garden City" is a self-contained town, industrial, agricultural, residential—planned as a whole—and occupying land sufficient to provide garden-surrounded homes for at least 30,000 persons, as well as a wide belt of open fields. It combines the advantages of town and country, and prepares the way for a national movement, stemming the tide of the population now leaving the countryside and sweeping into our overcrowded cities.

A " Garden Suburb " provides that the normal growth of existing cities shall be on healthy lines; and, when such cities are not already too large, such suburbs are most useful, and even in the case of overgrown London they may be, though on the other hand they tend to drive the country yet further afield, and do not deal with the root evil—rural depopulation.

" Garden Villages," such as Bournville and Port Sunlight, are Garden Cities in miniature, but depend upon some neighbouring city for water, light and drainage; have not the valuable provision of a protective belt, and are usually the centre of one great industry only.

The Garden City, therefore, stands as the preventive, not as the palliative.

Of the causes of destitution there are many views, some of them irreconcilable; but of its existence there is no doubt, and equally there is general agreement that the housing of the people and the evil environment of that housing are very potent factors. The aggregation of population is in itself an evil. Wherever more than a certain number of people are housed on a given area of land, no matter whether they be in the best of " model dwellings," there the vital statistics show the progress of the evil.

The problem which Mr. Howard set himself out to solve was to show that by starting entirely new towns in rural districts, free from the vicious inheritance of generations of town life and slum degeneracy, an opportunity would be given for a fuller, freer life, and that the mental, moral, and intellectual development would follow as surely as the physical. It was not an easy problem, although it is so much taken for granted nowadays. It was really the creation of new economic conditions. First, it involved Town Planning. This was quite a new idea in this country; but through Mr. Howard's initial work and the labours of those who gathered round him, it is now an accepted necessity, and embodied in an Act of Parliament.

Before a sod was cut or a brick was laid, in its main outlines, at least, the new city must take its form upon paper. Traffic difficulties would be thereby avoided in the future. By the proper restriction of areas, schemes of lighting, drainage, and water supply could be planned out from the beginning, with no uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the future population. The limitation of the number of houses was an essential point. In many districts to-day the municipal bye-laws allow fifty-six and even sixty houses to be crowded on to an acre of land, giving a population, even in cottage property, of some 300 people to the acre; while in tenement dwellings the number comes up still higher.

Profiting by investigations that have been made by scientists, a limit of twelve houses to the net acre was determined upon, and this, with the provision of ample open spaces, parks, and recreation grounds, and allowing for generous grass-lined roadways, will mean, on the average of five people to a house, no greater population than thirty people to the gross acre.

But it was not enough to plan where the town should grow; it was necessary to say where it should stop. It is being borne in upon the minds of thinkers that our big towns are too big, and that where you continue adding village to town and town to city, so that you have huge conglomerations like London—or, as in south-east Lancashire, practically one great town twenty-five or thirty miles long and eight or ten miles wide—and where your population is numbered by the hundred thousand, you have practically shut out the benefits of fresh air and pure sunlight from the great mass of the dwellers. The idea, therefore, in creating Garden Cities is to aim at towns with populations of between thirty thousand—lower than which it would not be possible to go to enable the necessary provisions

to be made—and sixty or seventy thousand, beyond which access to the country-side begins to be in danger.

To secure the proper restriction of the town, Mr. Howard conceived the idea of the agricultural belt of land encircling the town area, and providing upon its farms and small holdings an opportunity for the solution there of rural problems, while in the town area urban questions were being settled.

But it is useless to talk about fresh air and sunlight to the man who has to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow unless you give him an opportunity of continuing his employment. This meant, therefore, the provision of work near to his home.

Few people have realised the enormous economic waste involved in carrying workpeople to and from their work. Not only is much time wasted, but the conditions of workmen's trains are such that serious physical results must follow, and we are probably thereby laying up a store of nervous disorders.

But apart from that, with improved forms of transit, it is not necessary for mechanical industries all to be carried on at one centre, and all in big towns. Years before the Garden City movement came to birth, individual manufacturers were finding that it paid them to take their works out into the country districts, where the cheapness of land and the lower expenditure on rates, etc., amply repaid them for their outlay. It is true there were failures, and there have been failures since then, but this is where the Garden City movement met the problem and solved it by organising the migration of manufacturers. Only the largest firms could provide housing, sewerage, water, gas, and other facilities for their work-people, and the failures were deterring further experiments when Mr. Howard showed how, under the Garden City scheme, the combination of manufacturers in conjunction with residential development, could do what was not possible to individuals. The cheapness of land enabled factories to be built all on one floor, and with proper lighting; it enabled cottages to be built cheaply and reasonably near the factories, and it also provided that each house should have an ample amount of garden ground around it. Working in a London factory often means living in a slum, with the children's playground in the gutter or on the stairs of a "model dwelling"; it means an exorbitant rent in the centre, and if the worker lives in the suburbs what he saves on rent he spends on railway fare.

The financial side of the question was given very careful thought and study, because it was realised from the beginning that even if sufficient money could be found to equip such a venture at the start, unless it could be proved a commercial success, no one else would be likely to make the experiment, and it would be impossible to impress upon the country and upon the State the value of development upon these lines. In order to adjust the claims of capital and of production, it was proposed that the dividend on capital should be limited to 5 per cent., and that all profits above this sum should be devoted to the benefit of the community. The land would be bought as a whole at agricultural prices, and the freehold retained by the company. As the population increased, so would the value go up, and this value would be for the benefit of the people themselves. The developing company was to act as a sort of trustee, and when the estate was sufficiently advanced to run on its own legs, it was hoped that it would be possible to hand over the whole concern to some body which should act as permanent trustees for the community, at the original price which had been paid for the estate, which should henceforth be carried on in the interests of the dwellers on the spot.

The promulgation of these principles thirteen years ago was received with that kindly cynicism with which most changes are greeted. "Utopian," "beautiful

but impracticable," " wildly visionary," and many another epithet are found on looking through the newspaper Press of that day. By most the scheme was hailed as idyllic; few deemed it possible of success. The few, however, have proved in a remarkably short space of time to be wise prophets.

After a few years' propagandist work by the Garden City Association (now the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), which was called into being to foster the new idea, a pioneer company was formed to make investigations, and in 1903 First Garden City Ltd. was formed to develop the estate of nearly four thousand acres at Letchworth. Here many of Mr. Howard's original ideas have been put into practice—modified, of course, by the requirements of the site, and hindered oftentimes by the lack of sufficient capital, but yet being pressed onwards by men with an ample faith in the soundness of the project and in the ultimate realisation of triumphant success. That success has now been achieved. What a few years ago was arable and pasture land with a scattered population of a few score people, is now a thriving industrial and residential centre with a population of some seven thousand people, which is being added to day by day as the requirements of those desiring to live there are met by the provision of additional cottages.

The following statistics of what has been accomplished at Letchworth will show the progress which has been made: 49 factories and workshops have been built, and about 1,700 new houses have been added to the 115 existing in 1903; ten miles of new roads have been made, and about twice that length of water mains laid; gas mains and sewers have a length of about fifteen miles, and electric light is supplied to the centre of the town. Commercial facilities exist to the fullest extent; social, recreational, and educational opportunities are much greater than in an ordinary town; some of the best and cheapest cottages in the country can be found there, as well as some of the most successful of modern architecture; and while it is a manufacturing town, there are no belching smoke stacks, and there is a death-rate of only four and a half per thousand of the population.

It was not long before it was seen that this movement had in it a much wider application than the building of new towns. That was the ideal; that was the solution of the problem. It would keep men on the land, and bring others back to the land. It was grand; it was heroic; but it was very hard. And not everywhere were conditions suitable. Our great towns were still growing, and in the nature of things they must continue to grow. Despite the knowledge that this meant the increasing shutting out of nature, and although it would not be possible on the margins of our towns to provide the agricultural belt or the provision for factories and workers, at least the other parts of the scheme were applicable.

Why should our suburbs grow in streets of endless monotony, of absolute lack of beauty, and become centres of that blot upon modern development—middle-class respectability? The complete segregation of classes was not good, the absence of local centres destroyed local patriotism, homes became dormitories, and the garden—where it had not become a rubbish heap—was the show-ground of weakly exotics, whose too frequent libations were hastening them to an untimely end.

With characteristic energy Mrs. Barnett took up the Garden Suburb idea. There was a scheme for the enlargement of Hampstead Heath, and she saw an opportunity of combining this preservation of a beautful piece of nature's handiwork, and an attempt to weave into man's work some threads of nature's. How well she has succeeded need hardly be told. From the opening, in 1907,

the original area of 240 acres has already been dealt with, and further extensions have been purchased. The population has increased to 4,500, and, by the exercising of judicious control, a community has been brought into being which is the Mecca of the architect all over the world. Many subsidiary experiments are being tried there, and the example so given has encouraged scores of people elsewhere to take similar steps, with a consequence that to-day there are some forty Garden Suburb and Village schemes in existence in this country, all embracing in one degree or another principles which were enunciated by the founder of the Garden City movement.

So far, the second Garden City has yet to be built. The Garden Suburb has not to create new conditions, but simply to direct an existing flow, and therefore, since we, as a people, are inclined to take the line of least resistance, the Garden Suburb succeeds the more quickly. The child has outstripped the parent, and in some degree the great truth has been in danger of becoming overshadowed by the lesser truth.

Let it be understood that not for one moment do I discourage Garden Suburbs. I have helped in the formation of several, and hope to continue that work, while our Association is engaged week in and week out in preaching the advantages of the principle. But that does not mean that we have lost sight of the fact that the true solution is in the Garden City. For the extension of that principle we shall continue to work, side by side with encouraging the growth of the Suburb. The big landowners are coming to our aid. In all parts of the country tracts of land are being properly planned by men who have had their training in our Association's work, and areas which might have been covered with unlovely dwellings are being laid out with every regard to decency and order.

Finally, the Municipalities are now awakening and joining in the march onward. The Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act of 1909, gives them powers to do what the Garden City has already done, and in this connection it is interesting to read the prophetic words of one of our leading newspapers. In speaking of the growth of the movement, some six or eight years ago, it said: "The Garden City pioneers have shown the way. Private enterprise, as it usually does in this country, has given an example to the State." The State has followed the example, and although no voice of statesman has been uplifted to sing his praises, there is no man more responsible for the acceptation of Town Planning principles in this country than was Mr. Ebenezer Howard. When many of to-day's advocates of Town Planning were dumb and ignorant, he preached its merits. Not only that, he secured its application, and if a future England sees its towns grow up more healthily, more beautiful, more convenient, then more than to any other one man will she owe that fact to the humble pioneer of Garden City principles.

Garden Cities in relation to Municipal Bodies.

By Aneurin Williams, M.A.

I should be the last to minimise the great work which Municipal Bodies have to do in housing and town planning, but in their relation to Garden Cities the most outstanding fact is, it seems to me, that Letchworth, the one and only existing Garden City, has not been created, and that future Garden Cities are not likely to be created, by municipal bodies. Parish and District Councils, and for the matter

of that, County Councils also, are very far from having the necessary legal powers to create an entirely new industrial and residential centre; and, if they had the powers, it is probable they would very rarely have the inclination or the enterprise to use them. If, on the other hand, they had the inclination and enterprise they would, as the law at present stands, need special Acts of Parliament to authorise them; and the question is whether they would ever get them from a legislature which would certainly be inclined to take the view, that experimenting and speculating with the ratepayers' money could not be allowed. I do not think it at all likely, therefore, that Parish, District, or County Councils will ever be the creators of Garden Cities. No doubt, if one had a specially enlightened County Council, it might desire to establish one or more Garden Cities within its area; but I think the possibility of such a desire ever leading to any practical results is very remote.

At first sight it might perhaps seem that Borough Councils will be more likely to become the creators of Garden Cities, at any rate in cases where they have an over-flowing population to deal with, and insanitary areas to clear; but it must be remembered that if a Borough Council established a new town, that new town would immediately become a rival to the old town: the ratepayers, who control the old town, would therefore very naturally object to their money and credit being used for such a purpose. This would especially be so if the new town were to be established outside the rateable area of the Corporation. It clearly would not be to their interest to do that. Borough Councils will, of course, develop Garden Suburbs as time goes on, and their powers of land purchase increase, but that is quite a different thing. My hearers no doubt fully understand that when I speak of a Garden City, I mean an entirely new industrial and residential town, and not merely the addition of a new residential quarter to an existing town.

But although municipal bodies are never likely to be the parents of Garden Cities, yet as soon as a Garden City is planned, its relation to various existing municipal bodies becomes highly important in the present; and its future relation to its own municipal body at once becomes a matter requiring careful consideration. Wherever land is chosen for a Garden City, it is, of course, within the area of some Parish Council, some District Council, and some County Council, or perhaps within the areas of more than one of each of such bodies. It is clear, therefore, that it may from the first be subject to regulations as to building and road-making, which may be very restrictive; and also to an administration as to existing roads and other matters, which may very much help or hinder the scheme. When we started at Letchworth we found that the building regulations of the Local Authority were so easy-going that they left us practically free to make our own building regulations, which we were able to do with much more regard to practical necessities on the one hand, and economies on the other, than many Local Authorities seem to show. We were able also to do very much as we liked in the matter of light and cheap roads, relying upon gardens for the necessary air space, and not upon wide and costly roads, as seems to be the idea of so many Local Authorities. As to existing roads, the attitude of County and District Councils as to allowing the Garden City promoters to open them for the purpose of laying pipes, or to cross those old roads with railway sidings, and so forth, may have a very important bearing upon the getting of manufacturers, and generally upon success or failure. On the whole, I am glad to say that in these matters, and generally as to the attitude of the Local Authorities towards us, we have had, little or no ground of complaint at Letchworth.

Turning from municipal bodies proper to the Licensing Magistrates, who are, at any rate, a Local Authority, their attitude towards the new town would, at first sight, seem to be very important. If, however, the promoters of the new city have the complete ownership of the whole of their area, and that area is large enough, then by virtue of their rights as landowners, they have the veto in licensing matters. They can try the No-Licence System if they choose: they can prohibit clubs and so forth, just as they like; or they can leave local option to the inhabitants, as we have, in the main, done at Letchworth. The promoters cannot, of course, themselves create licences, but the magistrates are not at all likely to refuse them any reasonable number of licences, if they desire to try the Trust System, or to have licensed houses of the ordinary kind. If, however, there are bits of land within the area of the new town, or within its agricultural belt, or on its edge, which do not belong to the promoters, then the action of the Licensing Authorities may conceivably be very disturbing. They might, for instance, allow the establishment of public-houses, or the enlargement of old houses, in a way that would be very injurious. At the present day, however, it is hardly likely that there will be any great ground of complaint. Most Licensing Benches are very chary about granting new facilities, and I think they would be especially careful in the case of a new Garden City.

I think it will be interesting if I give a brief account of the history of Letchworth in relation to municipal bodies. We purchased the whole of the two parishes of Letchworth and Norton, and the greater part of a third parish, Willian, and bits of one or two other parishes. Practically, however, the whole of the land was contained in the three I have named. There was no Parish Council, no one of the three being big enough for anything beyond a Parish Meeting. Practically all our land was in the County of Hertfordshire, and within the area of the Rural District Council of Hitchin.

These last points were advantages to us, for clearly it would not have been so convenient if different parts of our area had been subject to two or three County Councils, or even to two or three different District Councils. In such a case, the rates, the building regulations, the system of administration, and the attitude of the authorities, would have been different in different parts of the estate.

When Letchworth became a town of a thousand or two, the need for some organisation of its inhabitants, beyond the three Parish Meetings which I have mentioned, soon made itself felt. A Council of residents was formed, but of course this was purely a voluntary body with no legal powers whatever. It might have been argued that it was to the interest of the promoters, viz., the First Garden City Limited, to let the three Parish Meetings go on, as the only legal authority, as long as the law would allow it, so as to have a clearer field for its own Authority. Clearly, however, this would have been a narrow view, and in any case that old *régime* could not have gone on long. Parish Councils for each of the three parishes must have come soon, and that would not have been a satisfactory arrangement. The First Garden City Ltd. therefore used its influence to hasten the forming of one united parish and one Parish Council for the whole of its area. The parishes of Letchworth and Norton, and half the parish of Willian were consolidated so as to give an area practically identical with the area of the Company's estate. Though there was some convenience in this, it was largely a matter of sentiment at first, though eventually it will be of very great importance, as I hope shortly to show.

When the new parish was formed, a practical difficulty arising out of our present registration laws presented itself. It takes, on an average, about two years

from the time a man becomes resident in a given parish until he can vote, and with a new town like Letchworth, the major part of the population, when the new parish was formed, had not been there two years. In most towns the slowness of the registration law is chiefly a matter of individual hardship. In a rapidly-growing Garden City it clearly made the Parish Council, when it was first elected, scarcely representative of the town at all. The farmers and others who were there before we bought the land had, clearly, far more than their fair share of voting power. At the second or third election this matter put itself, comparatively speaking, right.

A very important point in relation to Local Authorities is, of course, the rates which they require a new Garden City to pay. In Letchworth, in its early years, the rate payable fell to a very low figure, viz., 2s. or even less in the pound, including the whole county, district, and parish rates. I will try and make the reason of this plain. A county, having ascertained the amount of money it requires for any year, apportions that total to be paid by the various parishes in proportion to the total rateable value of each parish. When Letchworth was started the relative rateable values of the parishes in Hertfordshire were ascertained for the above purpose in such a leisurely way, that it took about two years. The amount required for the county was therefore apportioned, not in proportion to the existing rateable values of the parishes, but in proportion to the rateable values as they had been two years before. Then the overseers of each parish levied upon their own area the amount which the county demanded of it, but for this purpose they, of course, levied every tenement, new or old. Thus when Letchworth had actually reached a rateable value of say, £20,000, it might be paying to the County Council an amount based on the assumption that its rateable value was still only £10,000. If I have made my meaning clear, it will be seen why in Letchworth the rates fell in the early days. These low rates were, of course, a great encouragement to people to come to us, but when the County Council found out what was happening, it altered its system, and proceeded to apportion the money it required from the several parishes in proportion to their actual rateable value, and not the rateable value as it had been two years before. Thereupon the rates at Letchworth jumped to much the same figure as in the rural areas of the county. There have been minor fluctuations, but they are now, I may mention, about 4s. 9d. in the pound, including lighting, fire brigade, dust collection, and other services not usually provided in rural districts. This little history is an instance of the serious effect that municipal administration may have upon a Garden City.

Two other points of similar importance may be touched on. A new Garden City makes many new roads, and these have to be maintained at first by the promoters or their tenants. By and by the county or district has to take them over, and a good deal depends on the ease with which this transfer is made, and on the expenditure demanded on curbing, etc., before the roads are taken over. As to sewers and sewage disposal a great conflict with Local Authorities might easily arise, but at Letchworth we and our tenants have so far done this at our own expense, amounting to a good many thousand pounds. A small instance of how we work in harmony with, and supplement the Local Authorities, is the collection of refuse.

One of the great problems we have had to face at Letchworth has been the provision of cottages for unskilled labourers, as distinguished from the artisan class. The wage of such labour is better at Letchworth than in many places. Still, all over the kingdom it is miserably low—indeed, inadequate for the needs

of a family on the most modest scale. I think one may lay it down that in no part of England are the unskilled labourers decently housed by private enterprise, working in the ordinary way for a commercial profit. I doubt if they are in any part of the three kingdoms. At any rate, no instance of any magnitude is known to me. At Letchworth the District Council has made a contribution, small as yet, to the solution of this problem, by erecting four labourers' cottages—very good, and let very cheap. I hope that it will go on and help to provide cottages on a much larger scale. Hitherto, however, such provision for unskilled labourers has had to be made for the most part, directly or indirectly, by the First Garden City Ltd. itself, and its immediate friends; though private enterprise and voluntary co-operation in the form of a Co-partnership Housing Society have done nearly all that was required for the artisan.

With the growth of the town the work of the Parish Council is, of course, growing in importance. It has undertaken the street lighting, had a good deal to do with the formation of a road bridge under the railway, has conducted a poll of the inhabitants to ascertain their wishes on the licensing question, and so on. It is probable that the Council might now become an Urban District Council if the inhabitants so desired, but it seems to be thought that this would involve great additional expense, and that for the present the Company and Parish Council, working together with the friendly co-operation of the District and County Councils, can provide for all necessary purposes. Some people think that the Local Authority of Letchworth had better remain a Parish Council only until it becomes a Municipal Corporation. I am not myself very clear why the intermediate stage of an Urban District Council should be skipped. The thirty-five thousand inhabitants which it is intended that the town and its agricultural belt should eventually contain, is rather a small number for a Mayor and Corporation; but it must be remembered that besides the ordinary powers and responsibilities of a Local Authority, ours will also have all those of a landowner owning the whole freehold of its area: for it is, as my hearers probably know, the intention that the Company should some day sell out to the Local Authority. By its constitution the Company cannot pay more than 5 per cent. per annum dividend to its shareholders. The only other way in which they could conceivably get further profit would be by a dissolution of the Company, when there is power to pay them once for all a 10 per cent. bonus on refunding them their capital. This, however, is not a provision of any real importance in this connection; so that for practical purposes we may say that shareholders can never get more than 5 per cent. per annum on the capital they have found. All surplus profits are to go for the benefit of the town and its inhabitants. The estate and its assets, after providing for all borrowed capital, are worth a large sum more than the whole of the Company's paid up share capital. It is clear, therefore, that the Company could afford some day to hand over the estate to the Letchworth Local Authority at a very reasonable price.

If, therefore, the town collectively is some day (and I hope at no very distant day) to be its own landlord as well as its own Local Authority, it is evident how important it was, as I suggested above, to get its local government unified at a very early stage, before vested interests had grown up, or serious differences of rates or of administration arisen in different parts of the new town. It is clear also how important it was to make the boundary of the local government area and of the Company's estate coincide.

I began this paper by showing that Local Authorities, though they can create Garden Suburbs, cannot create Garden Cities. In opposition to this I can

conceive its being said, that if Garden Cities are to be created, Local Authorities must do it—must, in fact, be made to do it; otherwise no Garden Cities will be created, seeing that we cannot rely upon private benevolence in such a matter. I entirely disagree with this opinion. It seems to me it would be much easier for the State to do it than for the State to compel Local Authorities to do it. But I do not look to the State to do it either—not that I am in any way afraid of State activities. Neither do I look for the foundation of a new limited liability company, or trust, similar to the First Garden City Ltd., in each case where a Garden City is to be created. An efficient and sufficient agency for creating Garden Cities already exists. The First Garden City Ltd. is now a powerful body with more than £175,000 share capital, and earning a profit for this capital—a profit which will soon attract more capital. When, therefore, the Letchworth area has been sold to the Letchworth community in its corporate capacity, the energies of First Garden City Ltd. and its capital will be free to undertake the work which municipalities cannot do, and which the State is not likely to do at present. First Garden City Ltd. should, in fact, in my opinion, become a National Trust to develop on Garden City lines, not suburbs, but entirely new towns, wherever, say, a new coal pit is sunk, or a new port opened, or a new railway junction made, or some great factory moved out of a crowded city to find elbow room in a country place. In all these cases the growth of a new town, big or little, is certain; and in each one of them, with proper arrangements, a large town rather than a small one, might be brought into existence, a variety of industries being attracted to the nucleus provided by the pit, the port, the railway junction, or the first great factory. No agency at present exists to see that such new towns grow up decently. I suggest that First Garden City Ltd. should become the agency to deal with such cases, and thereby to deal with the great problem of distributing our industries over a much wider area than now, bringing them into much closer touch with the agricultural life of the country, giving the town people space and fresh air, and the country people opportunities and variety of interest; and thus, as Mr. Howard put it, solving the twin problems of the overcrowding of the towns and the depopulation of the country districts. In every such case the relations of the new community with the existing Local Authorities will present problems such as I have very lightly touched upon above, and the end will be the creation of a new Urban Council or Corporation, enjoying not only the ordinary rights of such a body, but the much greater powers which will fall to it by the fact of being its own landlord, of its owning its own site, and administering it in the common interest.

Thus, then, while the existing Municipal bodies have a very great work to do in housing reform by improving their overcrowded centres, and by building Garden Suburbs on their edges, the creation of Garden Cities is not within their scope, but will, nevertheless, be done, and will lead up to new Municipal bodies having the powers of ground landlords in addition to those of Municipal Corporations, and therefore far better able to deal with all the problems that arise.

Garden Villages and the Problem of Destitution.

By JOHN H. BARLOW
(Secretary of Bournville Village Trust).

IT may probably be felt by some that the subject of Garden Villages is rather remote from the great problem of Destitution, and that there are other topics more germane to the discussion which might better have occupied our time. I will not attempt at present to deal fully with this objection. I may venture to say, however, that I think the organisers have been well advised to lay their lines broadly in approaching this matter, and that any movement which helps to elevate the general level of life, by increasing the health and raising the moral standard of the population, comes well within the scope of our inquiry.

The Garden Village movement, as we know it to-day, is of comparatively recent origin. The special need for it may be said to have arisen with the extraordinary growth of towns which followed the dawn of the Factory era. It is true there was overcrowding and squalor enough and to spare before that date. Ghettos, in which pestilence found a congenial home, and where disease made a permanent dwelling-place, were all too common. Most of us are familiar with pictures of the old-time cities, which occur in the pages of historians and novelists, and we recognise that they were bad enough. But it was with the rush to the towns that the problem of overcrowding and housing became acute. Then from comparatively small centres they grew enormously and rapidly, usually without guidance or forethought on the part of the authorities. Gardens were built over, open spaces sacrificed, and the congestion of houses on land and of people in houses grew to an appalling extent.

The body and soul-destroying conditions thus produced were ignored by some and accepted as inevitable by others. Some looked for a remedy to legislation and enlightened administration. Yet others, while supporting the demand for new laws and stricter administration, felt that something could be done without waiting for these. The conditions of overcrowded city life would take long to remedy, might not a step forward be made by rendering it possible for some at least of the overcrowded city dwellers to leave their insanitary and squalid surroundings and settle in an area developed according to new and better ideals? Others approached the subject from the standpoint of the individual manufacturer primarily anxious for the welfare of his own workpeople. He argued that not only was it contrary to the interests of the workers to live under unhealthy conditions, but that, as the best work could only be produced by men in sound health and full vigour, he was consulting his own as well as his workmen's welfare by providing them with convenient and healthy dwellings.

These ideas, at first the possession of a few individuals gifted with the prevision and constructive power which are the elements of true statesmanship, gradually spread, and now development upon what are known as Garden Village, or Garden City, lines is popular. It is the method of the architect or engineer busy with his scheme of "Town Planning," and has been adopted by Tenants' Co-partnership Societies, Development Companies, and private landowners, while it exacts a certain homage from the speculative builder.

What, then, do we find as the distinctive features of the Garden Village? Sometimes the village is definitely attached to an industrial company, as in the case of Port Sunlight, built for Messrs. Levers' employees, or Woodlands, erected for the colliers of Brodsworth Main Colliery. At other times it is open to all

comers, as in the case of Bournville and New Earswick. To whichever class the villages belong, they will be found to possess certain features in common. Thus the estate will be carefully planned, and dealt with, not only as a separate unit, but in relation to surrounding developments, and its roads will be linked with means of through communication. Sites will be reserved for public buildings, and open spaces, gardens, and land for allotments will be provided. The houses will not be crowded on the land at the rate of forty to the acre, but will be found to average twelve or ten, or even fewer. It is, however, best in such matters to deal with concrete cases, and I therefore turn to the village of Bournville as a case in point. It may perhaps be noted in passing that Bournville, which formerly formed part of an urban district, is now included in Greater Birmingham, must be classed as urban, whereas it possesses the advantages and amenities of a rural area.

The Garden Village of Bournville, then, represents a population of about 4,400, living in pretty cottages built mainly semi-detached or in blocks of three or four. These cottages stand in plots averaging, say, 500 square yards, and fronting to tree-planted roads. As the houses are set back twenty feet from the roads, there is ample space from front to front, and full provision for the free access of fresh air and sunshine. In Spring the gardens are beautiful with their masses of snowy blossom, while in the Autumn the trees are laden with fruit. The front gardens are bright with flowers, from the appearance of the first crocuses until the late chrysanthemums have withered. What with fruit, flowers, and vegetables, the gardens prove a valuable asset to the tenants, and experiments have shown that an average garden may be expected to yield produce to the value of 2s. per week throughout the year. Rents range from 4s. per week, rates additional, and every effort has been made to plan the houses so as to give convenience and good accommodation. The public buildings consist of schools, Village Meeting House, and Ruskin Hall, the latter being used for public gatherings, and in winter for classes in arts and crafts. The village is well supplied with shops. There is a park with tennis courts and bowling green, various open spaces, playgrounds for young children, a small wood of fine trees where the ground is gay in springtime with daffodils and wild hyacinths.

It may be well to ask now how far such a village is acceptable as a place of residence. The reply is that it is exceedingly popular. For a house to remain unlet for any length of time is a rare occurrence, and the number of applicants is always far in excess of the houses available. Further, changes of tenancy are not very numerous, residents apparently preferring not to leave unless obliged to do so.

I must next ask attention to a few facts and figures illustrating the result of life under garden village conditions. Take, for instance, the effect of leisure spent in gardening. It adds to the health and restores the tone. It is refining and elevating. It encourages forethought and brings a man into wholesome contact with the processes of nature. In addition, it gives, as previously pointed out, a distinct addition to the resources, while the family as a whole benefits from the fruit and vegetable diet.

Time thus occupied is free from the expense, disadvantages, and temptations attendant upon so many forms of recreation, and a man living under such circumstances is less liable to become derelict than one under less favourable conditions. Follow this out in a particular direction. Take, for example, the question of over-indulgence in alcohol.

In the first place, the garden villager will probably have to go some distance

to find a licensed house, as one marked feature of such villages is the exclusion or drastic restriction of public-houses. But further, enjoying as he does plenty of fresh air, using a diet of which fruit and vegetables form a large proportion, with the "call of the garden" always in his ears, with wholesome occupation for his leisure, with neighbours possessing similar interests, the temptations are greatly reduced. He does not need to go to the public-house to find companionship or to "kill time"; his appetites are healthy, and the "crave" so often accentuated by squalid conditions and contaminated air is absent.

Or take another view-point. Here is a workman compelled from lack of other accommodation to occupy a small house in a crowded part of a large city. The air is heavy and unwholesome, and clouded with smoke. His dwelling is surrounded on all hands by bricks and mortar, crowded humanity seethes around it. In summer the heat is reflected from the pavements and intensified by narrow alleys or stifling courts. In winter light comes late and darkness falls soon, while the amount of direct sunshine is measured by minutes rather than hours. What wonder if the man wakes in the morning feeling wearied and unrefreshed, goes to his work listlessly, and toils through it without spring or spirit? What wonder again if his weakened constitution offers a ready welcome to disease germs—always plentiful in the conditions described—and from illness and general debility he descends into the ranks of the unfit and destitute? It needs no argument or elaboration to show how different would be the chance of the same man living under garden village conditions. He wakes refreshed and invigorated, strong to work, to fight disease, and to hold his own in the battle of life—one of the stamp of men that England needs if she is to hold her own in the great rivalry of nations.

Now it is easy to draw idyllic pictures of life under garden village conditions, and to argue conclusively that the dweller in these modern Arcadias must be healthier and more efficient than his brother of the city. What we want, however, is evidence and experience, and I propose now to supply these so far as I can.

Take, for instance, the following figures:—

Death-rate per 1,000 *for ten years ending* 1911.

Bournville	England & Wales
6.2	15.0

Or again, take the five years' averages 1906 to 1910 for—

Bournville	Birmingham	St. Mary's Ward, Birmingham
5·7	15.6	23·3

Turn now to the figures of infantile mortality:—

Infantile Mortality per 1,000 *live births for ten years ending* 1911.

Bournville	England & Wales
64.2	125.6

Again, take the average for the five years 1906 to 1910 for—

Bournville	Birmingham	St. Mary's Ward, Birmingham
62	145	205

Height and weight measurements of school children tell the same story, and it is echoed from other garden communities. For instance, the Secretary of First Garden City writes: "The death-rate at Letchworth for 1910 was 6.3 per 1,000, and the infantile mortality rate 54.54 per 1,000 births. The health

of the children at Letchworth in the early days of this Company's existence was not good; a large number of the children coming from populous cities and towns were anæmic, poor in physique, and a number were suffering from adenoid growths and throat affections. This state of things is fast disappearing under the new conditions at Letchworth and the hygiene routine given during school hours."

Hampstead Garden Suburb is the same, while Sir W. H. Lever, in his address to the members of the International Housing Conference in 1907 gave a series of comparisons of the most complete and striking character, proving the physical superiority of the child of the garden village over the city child of the same rank in life.

It may thus be fairly claimed that Garden Village conditions tend to raise the level of life all round. They make for greater efficiency in the workman, and while building up the body help to form the character at the same time.

I have already indicated, by implication at least, the connection between Garden Villages and the problem of Destitution, but before closing I must claim a moment or two to touch more directly upon the subject.

The Garden Village, then, is in entire antagonism to many of the conditions that induce destitution. What are some of these conditions? If we turn to that vast quarry, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, we find the following among the causes of pauperism enumerated: Drink, gambling, sickness, industrial unfitness, insufficiency of housing accommodation especially in rural districts. With some of these I have already dealt, and if we look below the surface we shall find how closely all of them are linked with Housing conditions, and how an alteration in these conditions would help to mitigate the evils. Without going through all the causes named above, take, for example, the following sentence from the Commission Report: "Much sickness, especially phthisis, is due to the conditions under which people live and work; hence these, too, must be regarded as causes of pauperism. Mr. Bircham says: 'The number of houses unfit for habitation occupied by paupers is very large in my district. I think a main cause of pauperism is the disgraceful state of the houses in which many of the paupers live.'" Under the heading of Sickness, consumption holds a prominent place. Thus we read: "After a careful examination of 4,000 cases of consumption in the wards of a union infirmary, Dr. Nathan Raw, Liverpool, came to the conclusion that nearly 60 per cent. were paupers because they were consumptives, and not consumptives because they were paupers." Again, he adds: "The sad part of it is that highly respectable people in all ranks of society are dragged down to destitution by this fell disease, finally becoming chargeable with their families to the Poor Law."

Speaking of consumption, Mr. Lloyd George said in Birmingham in June last year: "Seventy or eighty thousand lives each year are carried away by it. It is a burden on the rates, it is a burden on the State, and wastes its resources. In London alone it is reckoned that four millions of wages are lost every year through consumption." Now consumption is pre-eminently the disease of the dark, ill-ventilated, overcrowded house. This has been proved up to the hilt. Take a stricken man from these surroundings, place him in a house where he will have plenty of light and air, and where he can draw the breath of newly-turned earth, and you give him a chance of health and vigour. Leave him where he is, and the probability is he will gradually descend until he adds one more to the army of the destitute.

Take again the following from the Report of the Committee on Physical

Deterioration: "Overcrowding still stands out most prominent with its attendant evils of uncleanliness, foul air, and bad sanitation." Again, from the same Report: "Overcrowding is the great cause of degeneracy." "Drink is fostered by bad houses." "Crowded homes send men to the public-house." "Crowding the main cause of drink and vice."

Here, then, we have pressed upon us the inextricable connection between bad housing, moral and physical evil, and destitution. When we see how closely they act and react upon one another it is small wonder if men dispute as to which is cause and which effect. And further it is easy to wrangle as to who is responsible for these disastrous conditions—an overburdened Parliament, lax municipal administration, grasping property owners, or idle, thriftless, dirty tenants. Perhaps the easiest way out of the perplexing problem is to cry "A plague o' both the houses." However this may be, and whatever the answer we give to the various questions suggested, I venture to repeat that it is abundantly clear that the conditions of Garden Village life are absolutely antagonistic to the causes of destitution we have been considering. Their influence is to elevate, not to degrade; to strengthen, not to weaken; to enrich, and not to impoverish. The more, then, that we can encourage the drift from town-centres to suburbs—a movement almost as marked as the drift from country to town—the more we can increase transit facilities, provide lungs and open spaces, garden villages and suburbs, so much the more shall we help to lift our population to a level beyond the reach of the greedy waves of destitution, so much the more shall we help to build a rampart between them and the slippery descent into that gulf of ruin.

Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.) expressed his appreciation of being invited to preside over that part of the Conference dealing with the subject of Garden Cities and Town Planning, in which he took a great interest. Of the many important topics to be discussed at the Conference, none was more important than Housing. (Hear, hear.) Some people might, in fact, go so far as to say that most of the evils they hoped to remedy were traceable in the long run to the conditions under which a great number of our fellow-subjects lived. Immense progress had been made in the last few years. In spite of the many criticisms which had been levelled at the Town Planning Act itself, that Act was, nevertheless, a potent instrument for good, and with amendment it might be made of the utmost service in the direction at which they were aiming. The greatest tribute was due to the President of the Local Government Board, who had conducted the Bill through the House of Commons, and had since displayed immense activity and resource in getting Local Authorities to adopt it.

Mr. J. WILLIS BUND (Chairman, Worcestershire County Council) was afraid he was not altogether in harmony with a great deal that had been said. As dreams and as ideals, Garden Cities, Garden Villages, and Garden Suburbs were everything that could be desired, but unless gentlemen of considerable wealth and enthusiasm could be found they would always result in a deficit. (Cries of "No.") If the auditor examined the accounts properly, he generally found a deficit. (Cries of "No.") Well, on that point they must differ. It had already been pointed out that they could hardly expect municipal bodies to go in for anything of the kind, because, first of all, they would not be allowed to do so as the law stood; and secondly, he was certain that the majority of members of municipal bodies would be opposed to it for the same reason that it would necessarily involve a very considerable

increase in the rates. The increase might only be temporary possibly, but he believed there was very little chance of getting municipal Garden Cities or Villages carried out. Until there was a great alteration in the existing law, he did not see how it could be done. The very essence of a Garden City, if it was to succeed, was that the parties responsible for it should practically have the control in their own hands. The restrictions that came under the control of District Councils, and the bye-laws which they made—or perhaps would not make—(laughter)—would very often cause great difficulty in carrying such a scheme out. It might be urged that the difficulties were there only to be overcome. That was so, but still he was unable to see how, under existing circumstances, the thing could be done. Another point was that at Letchworth there were only four agricultural labourers' cottages. There they were dealing with the pick of the artisans, and not with the ordinary artisan. They were not dealing with the agricultural labourer, and he was by no means sure that, for many years to come, they would get the same enthusiasm or the same results from the agricultural labourer as from the picked artisan. In the first place, his wages were lower, and in the second place, he had lived in the country all his life; and a Garden City presented no charm or novelty to him; in the third place, he was not so keen on making changes. Although he did not want to throw cold water on the scheme, and felt it was a great thing to get people out of the towns into the country, yet he did not believe Garden Cities, Villages or Suburbs were the last word in the solution of the Rural Housing question. They might be a great help as regards towns, but would only touch the fringe of the rural question. They had been told that around Letchworth there was a belt of country, to be cultivated for small holdings. He knew some of the country pretty well, and was sorry for the small holders, because the land was not at all adapted for that purpose. Unless land were suitable for Small Holdings, and unless there was a market near, and special conditions for cultivation, it was really cruel in many instances to put a person on a Small Holding. (Hear, hear.) Where they were suitable they were admirable, but where they were not suitable it was almost wicked. As an illustration, he might mention the case of a Small Holding in a parish in Worcestershire, where there was stiff, clayey soil, and which was some miles from anywhere, and altogether unsuited for a Small Holding. Certain gentlemen were told that the place was unsuitable, but in spite of that they wrote to the Board of Agriculture, and the Board brought pressure to bear on the County Council. The County Council went to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and under pressure, feeling it would be a failure, took a certain amount of the land, which was generously let to them at the same rent as was charged to farmers. After two years the land was thrown up; it was impossible to cultivate it, and nobody else would take it.

A DELEGATE: Make a Garden City of it.

Mr. WILLIS BUND: How could you put a Garden City on a place of that kind? It would be impossible to put a Garden City on stiff red clay; you would be simply creating diseases of the worst kind. It is all very well to speak of Garden Cities, but you must select your site. It is because enthusiasts think that Garden Cities can be placed anywhere, that, if they carry out their ideas, they bring discredit on the movement. (Applause.)

Councillor C. E. BROWN (Tottenham Urban District Council) thought there was a tendency to forget altogether what, in his opinion, was the most important part of the Housing movement. What he wanted considered before the Conference dispersed was the question of the housing of the poorest classes. How was it possible to maintain a high state of morality in the district from which he came, where not a single residence could be obtained at less than 8s. per week.

Mr. Brown then proceeded to deal in detail with the conditions obtaining in Tottenham, but was reminded by the Chairman that a general discussion on the subject of Urban Housing was not in order. Mr. Brown then said he would defer his further remarks till a more opportune occasion.

Mr. J. H. GREENHALGH thought that, having protested with an emphatic "No" against some of Mr. Willis Bund's remarks, it was only fair he should give the reason. With regard to Urban Housing, he was afraid Mr. Willis Bund could not have seen the Ealing Tenants' balance sheet, which after being properly audited showed that the estate was a sound and paying concern, and at the present moment there was not a house to let. At Hampstead the rent of their lowest flat was 5s. 9d. and rates—they taught citizenship by making the tenants pay their own rates (Hear, hear)—and that brought the rent up to about 7s. 6d. inclusive. At Ealing it

would be still less. The First Hampstead Society had finished building for two years, but the Ealing Society was still building; he challenged inspection of their balance sheets.

Mr. R. H. CAWLEY asked Mr. Culpin what steps Garden Cities Ltd. were taking to bring manufacturers to Letchworth? It might seem easy to some people to get manufacturers to move, but those who had to do with small manufacturers realised the difficulty that was entailed. He wished also to know under what conditions the houses were built to accommodate the people the manufacturers brought with them. With regard to Trade Union wages, in many cases Trade Unions allowed a lower rate of wages in an agricultural district, where the rents and cost of living were lower than in large towns. He was interested to know whether that problem had arisen at Letchworth, and whether, when an industry had been moved from the East End of London, the Trade Unions had been willing to accept a slightly lower rate of wages from the manufacturer to enable him to pay railway carriage and so on, knowng that the operative would be better off with a lower rate in Letchworth than with a somewhat higher rate in London? An electrical engineer, who had come with his firm from the East End of London, had told him what a difference the environment of Letchworth had made to the men, and it would be interesting to hear Mr. Culpin's reply to the points raised.

Councillor J. W. CROWTHER (Sheffield County Borough Council) thought it was difficult to keep within the lines of order, seeing that apparently they were not allowed to discuss questions raised in the Papers. He, however, did not wish it to be thought that he was opposed to Garden Cities or Suburbs, because they had the effect of making people discontented, and engendered in them a desire to have the same surroundings as they saw in Garden Cities. The more they made people discontented, the better they would progress. There certainly was one evil connected with Garden Cities, though it had nothing to do with the Garden City itself, and that was that they must be commenced by private enterprise. Garden Cities could never solve the question of the housing of the people. The lowest percentage they had to pay was 5 per cent.

A DELEGATE: The highest!

Mr. CROWTHER: Well, it is the lowest as well. Continuing, Mr. Crowther said it was possible for municipalities to borrow money at 3 per cent., and spread the repayment over sixty years. In Sheffield the repayment for land was spread over eighty years, and yet Sheffield was not able to commence a Garden City, though they were the first to commence a Garden Suburb. So far as Garden Villages were concerned, he did not regard them as a solution of the Housing question. The class of people who occupied Bournville, for instance, were not the class that Garden Cities desired to accommodate. Bournville was simply the sleeping-room for the tradesmen and higher class artisans of Birmingham, but it offered no solution for the people living in the St. George's district or the Floodgate area. Therefore, neither Garden Cities nor Villages nor Suburbs—unless they were under the municipality—were going to solve the Housing question. Their great value lay in their educational force, but the only solution of the Housing problem must come from municipalities, aided by a wise Government. At the present time there were millions of pounds invested in the Post Office, for which depositors received a fraction over 2 per cent., and that was being used to a large extent for the purpose of floating large navies, for financing the army, and for governmental purposes generally. He did not hesitate to say that if municipalities could use the Post Office savings at 2½ to 3 per cent. for housing the artisans of the country, they would do more to find a real solution of the Housing problem than they had done in the past. Further, they were told of the low wages paid all over the country—even at Letchworth. He had a strong suspicion that very often firms went to Garden Cities because of the cheap labour obtainable there. They found an agricultural population who considered themselves in receipt of a princely income if they got a pound a week. Large firms taught these people the trade, and got their labour very much cheaper than was possible in the cities, and that was the inducement for them to go there. When it was impossible for a man to pay the rental demanded for a decent sanitary house, it was not a housing question but a wages question; and if people who were fighting to get the rents of houses down to the labourers' wages, would fight as hard to get the wages raised, they would do far more good. (Hear, hear.) Frequently they were met with the cry that they were not housing the poor, but the true solution was that they should have no poor people who could not afford to pay for a decent house. They could fix

a minimum wage if they liked, but they were bound to fix a minimum rent for a sanitary house. In Sheffield they had been trying to get the lowest possible price in the kingdom, and had offered to pay £150 for the brain power of any architect who could tell them the cheapest house fit to live in. Such houses did not exist at Bournville, though there were beautiful houses at a rental of 8s.

Mr. BARLOW: Much less! Some at 4s. 6d.

Mr. CROWTHER, continuing, said they had houses in Sheffield which let at 5s. a week; there was a green at the back of every house, and a bath also was provided. Garden Cities and Villages were leading the way to better conditions of reform, but at Letchworth, for instance, one great mistake had been made. The houses were not such as artisans could afford to pay for.

A DELEGATE: Oh, yes; there are some at 4s. 3d.

Mr. CROWTHER: With a bath in them?

The DELEGATE: Yes.

Mr. CROWTHER: That is very good! But the main question, continued Mr. Crowther, was the lumping of the houses together. In most Garden Cities the whole of the cheap tenements were put on back land. The real idea was to mix the houses up—the 5s. house next to the 10s. house—so that rich and poor might mix together, and one man have the advantage of the example set by the other. (Applause.)

Mr. H. D. PEARSALL disagreed with Mr. Willis Bund that there was no future for Garden Cities. It had already been proved that Garden Cities could be made a successful business proposition, and therefore for their multiplication they would not have to rely solely on enthusiasm. It was true that when the First Garden City was started it was problematical how far they would succeed; but now that it had been proved to be a fair commercial enterprise, the business world would regard it in that light, and there would be no insuperable difficulty in starting other Garden Cities. The most important thing they had done was to demonstrate to the world their absolute practicability. Mr. Bund was of opinion that they had only succeeded because they had a particular class of artisans, and that if the common ruck of workmen came they would fail, but he saw no reason for that view at all. They certainly had some extremely good workmen, but it was not correct to say they had only picked men. Mr. Bund had also said that Garden Cities did not touch agricultural labourers, but town labour and agricultural labour were different propositions. The body in which he was interested started to make an industrial town, but although perhaps it had not done very much to solve the agricultural labourer question, yet it had incidentally done a great deal for them, because it had raised the wages of agricultural labourers in the district all round. (Hear, hear.) Farmers said they would be ruined, but in fact were doing better than ever, and were perfectly able to pay the increased wages. With regard to Mr. Crowther's statement that the only possible solution was to raise the wages of labourers, so that they could afford to rent a decent cottage, he entirely agreed, and that was what they were aiming at. As to Mr. Williams' suggestion that the building of Garden Cities should be the business of a Garden City Trust, which would be the successor or a reincarnation of the First Garden City Limited, that seemed an admirable programme, and was likely to be very useful. He did not, however, agree with Mr. Williams' pessimistic forecast that no Local Authorities would ever build Garden Cities. There certainly was reason to doubt whether Town or Borough Councils would do so, some of their interests being antagonistic, but those considerations did not apply with equal weight to building by a County Council. The creation of a new city was a great advantage to the county finance in increasing the rateable value. That had been proved in Hertfordshire already. If a County Council had a proper regard for the social amelioration of the people whom it represented that would also be good ground for their promoting a Garden City, and it was to be hoped that the voters would demand it of them. (Cheers.)

Mr. G. MONTAGU HARRIS (County Councils' Association) thought Mr. Willis Bund had not intended to express the views of the County Councils' Association. The Garden City movement was not a question which that Association had particularly taken up, but as he (Mr. Harris) had for many years been closely associated with the Garden City movement, it was rather in that capacity he spoke. Mr. Bund was rather fond of posing on the platform as a reactionary of the worst description—(laughter)—but no one else would venture to place him in that category. In Worcestershire, more than any other county, advantage was taken of the Small Holdings Act of 1892, and the Chairman of the Worcestershire County Council could

not be regarded as anything but an apostle of progress. The Garden City movement would not do everything in this world, but the fact that it was impossible to plant a Garden City upon any area made it necessary to consider carefully the question of site. There were not, however, so many Garden Cities in this country that anyone need be afraid of a dearth of suitable sites. Although he had felt that one of the most attractive aspects of the Garden City movement was that the community was to own the land though the Local Authority, he had always wondered how that was to be brought about, because under existing laws it was an impossibility. In Germany it was different, and that was one of the things which Germany managed better than we did, but it was a point that needed looking into very carefully. Mr. Williams had defined a Garden City as essentially a new residential and industrial district, but there appeared no reason to regard it solely from that point of view. If only English towns had the power—which they had not—it might easily happen that an existing city would turn itself into a Garden City. The problem for existing cities was not merely that of extension, and adding a Garden Suburb, but the possibility of altering the whole aspect of the town, if only a chance were given of altering the conditions upon which it was held. That was a point upon which he thought sufficient stress had not been laid. They should consider what could be done to enable municipalities to do the very best possible in the matter of Garden Cities. Believing that one of the principles of the movement was that the ownership of the land should be in the hands of the community, rather than in the hands of an outside individual, they must necessarily look with great favour on a town owning its own land. They should not confine themselves to the idea of future and entirely new towns owning their own land, but also aim at making it possible for existing towns to do so, and so reduce the rents. That required legislation, and until it was brought forward he was unable to see how the aim of Letchworth, that the community should own the land, could possibly be achieved.

Dr. F. E. Fremantle (Medical Officer of Health, Hertfordshire) agreed that, under the present law, municipalities could never undertake the creation of Garden Cities and Village schemes. But they must now admit that under appropriate circumstances and conditions the Garden City principle, established on a dividend-paying basis, of removing industries into the country was sound. With the help of telephonic communication and other conveniences it now paid a manufacturer better to establish a new industry in the country, buying land at country rates, than to establish it in a town. The proof was not limited to Letchworth. Around all the big towns manufacturers were looking for sites along the railway, and purchasing land at agricultural rates. This established the case for the general adoption of the Garden City principle, and Housing Authorities should therefore adopt it far and wide. It should be possible for the city fathers to say: "Here are so many manufacturers looking for a site. Let us form a community, and help them to find a site." The objection lay in the rates. Supposing the London County Council were convinced that the sound thing to do would be to decentralise to a certain extent with regard to new industries; they could not think of it at the present moment, because every industry which left London represented a loss of so much assessable value; and they were therefore compelled to adopt an inferior principle and develop suburban areas and workmen's dwellings. But was it not conceivable that they might get some revision of the law, by which co-operation could be secured between a large town and the surrounding Authorities, with a joint Board to decide upon the right division of expenses and profit entailed by the distribution of the town's population in the country? At the present moment large towns were extending at a very great rate—Birmingham and Sheffield were instances in point—so much so that working men had to spend an hour or two each day in travelling to and from their work. That was not a condition which the members of that Conference would wish to perpetuate. Large towns were extending their powers to adjacent areas, and then saying to the inhabitants, "You are gaining the benefits of the town, and you must pay our rates." In order to adjust or obviate the financial injustice involved in the extension of a town's boundary, would it not be possible to have a joint Board to pool the monetary liabilities? If that were done, it would be possible for the London County Council and the other Town Councils to undertake schemes of rural colonisation, in order to plant their people in healthy surroundings, instead of leaving Garden Cities or Villages to private enterprise, or to such a National Trust as had been suggested by Mr. Williams. (Applause.)

The Rev. C. Harrison (Basford Union) felt they must draw a clear distinction between Garden Cities and the treatment of the working classes in the matter of

housing. It was obvious that if, to advance manufacturing processes, men took land and provided houses for their employees, they selected their employees, and had a great amount of control over them. How far that was going to affect the problem of destitution he did not know. It seemed to him that in the selection of workpeople, in assuring them work, and taking them to a Garden City, those who could not find employment and were mostly destitute, were being left behind, and the question was whether that was not largely affecting the destitution in, for instance, Birmingham. He would be the last to say anything against Messrs. Cadbury, but they were not necessarily a permanent institution. Supposing some catastrophe overtook them, and they could not continue their business, what was to become of their Garden City? The Conference was hardly in a position to judge what the effect would be, but at any rate they were setting the pace, and giving an example of what was possible. Whether public bodies would be able to follow, he did not know. It involved the question of rates, and the public were getting very sensitive on that subject. Education was a good thing to spend money upon, and would help people out of destitution to a large extent. His Council was appointing inspectors to examine houses, and getting rid of bad property, and he believed they had power to spend money on providing houses for the working classes. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, a good deal was being done. Something had been said about stirring up discontent. "The divine unrest of noble souls" was all very well, but let it be a little bit divine, and let it be the noble souls who stirred it up. (Laughter.) They should not deal carelessly with the question of discontent. There was virtue in contentment after all. They were trying to solve the problem of environment, but environment must not be made a god. He was sick of the talk of people being the "slaves of circumstances." Men should be encouraged to make their own Garden City, and he hoped the time would come when they would be able to give men facilities in that direction, and also the means of carrying it out. (Applause.)

Mr. EWART G. CULPIN, replying to Mr. Cawley's inquiry as to what steps had been taken to induce manufacturers to go to Letchworth, said the explanation was that Letchworth gave cheaper land, better commercial facilities, and better places for the workpeople to live in than could be obtained elsewhere. The manufacturers were enabled to build their factories on modern principles, with extension laterally rather than vertically, so that their people could work under proper conditions, as well as live under proper conditions. The houses were built in different ways, but not by the Garden City Company. The land was owned by the Company and leased, and a large number of the houses had been built by Co-partnership methods. Others had been built by Cottage Companies, subsidiary to the First Garden City Limited. As against the 5s. cottage with 200 yards of land quoted by Mr. Crowther, might he instance the 4s. 3d. cottage at Letchworth with 400 yards of land?

Mr. CROWTHER: Does your 4s. 3d. include rates?

Mr. CULPIN: It is 4s. 9d. including rates. As to the effect of residence at Letchworth on the workers, one of the biggest firms was Messrs. J. M. Dent; and when recently he had visited their factory, Mr. Dent assured him that not only was the health of the men better and their children healthier, but their wives had lost their careworn look, and the men did better work. They not only did more than he expected, but they did finer work, and work of a higher quality, thus proving that they had not only improved physically, but mentally as well. Mr. Crowther had raised the question of 5 per cent., which he said had been fixed as the minimum as well as the maximum. That was not the case. At Hull, for instance, in the Garden Village started by Messrs. Reckitt, the maximum dividend was 3 per cent. At Bournville they tried to make the property return 4 per cent. Mr. Crowther seemed to think that, because Bournville did not provide for everybody on earth, therefore the Garden City and the Garden Suburb movement would not solve the problem. While they did not claim to have established a new heaven and a new earth, they were at least pointing the way for people to have some glimpse of heaven while on the earth. The question had been raised as to what was to be done for the poorest people when they were moved from the centre. The only solution was the raising of their wages. Housing reformers were recognising that, and instead of trying to get the rent of a cottage down to the wages of the lowest paid workman, they were trying to get the wages raised to meet the price of the cheapest cottage. All that could be done at present was to make room for the people at the bottom by moving out those who were a little higher up. Mr. Harrison had inquired what would become of Garden Cities if the industries failed. There was a difference

between a Garden City and a Garden Village. A Garden Village was the centre of one great industry only. A Garden City held the nucleus of a hundred industries, and therein lay its strength. It was an everlasting institution, and would not itself die out when the Company was wound up voluntarily, because its duties would be carried on by the body to which Mr. Williams had alluded. The safeguard of the Garden City was that it was not a place containing one industry only. There was more fluidity of labour, and an opportunity for a man who ceased work in one place to find work in another. Finally, Mr. Harrison had spoken on environment, and told them that the strong man made his own circumstances. They were not out to help the strong men, but the men whom circumstances had made. (Hear, hear.) For every man who could make his circumstances, there were ten thousand whom circumstances had made, and it was those men they were out for. (Applause.)

Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS asked to be allowed to refer to a matter outside the scope of his paper. Mr. Willis Bund had said that Garden Cities could not be multiplied, because they could only be set up by gentlemen of wealth who were prepared to face a deficit. He felt it only right to say with regard to Letchworth that they had passed the period of deficit, and were now making a profit. It was easily demonstrable that, after the first few years of capital outlay, they must make a profit, and they had already arrived at that stage. It would be a serious matter if it went forth from that meeting that Garden City development was only possible by making a loss. On the contrary, it meant a very big profit, and that profit went to the inhabitants of the new town. Mr. Bund had also said there were only four cottages for agricultural labourers. That was not so. A very great number of the cottages at Letchworth were within the reach of agricultural labourers, and occupied by men working in connection with the farms and small holdings. The Rural District Council had only built four cottages so far, and that was a fair instance of how municipal bodies were apt to lag behind private enterprise.

Mr. CROWTHER: They have not the power to borrow.

Mr. WILLIAMS: Rural District Councils have power to borrow, and these people have done so, but it is under recent legislation. Mr. Brown had suggested that attention should be given to the housing of the poorest classes. That was the final problem they were coming to, but at present it was not possible to tackle it. Meantime he believed in establishing better houses, not only for the artisan, but for labourers in fairly regular work, and the steps already taken had raised the efficiency of the men, and tended to raise the standard of wages all over the country. The Garden City movement was not intended to deal with the Housing problem alone, but primarily to deal with the question of redistribution of industries in different parts of the country, rather than have them concentrated in a few great centres. He believed it was immensely better for the workers and for every class of society that industries should be carried on in comparatively small centres, where the worker would be within easy reach of his work, and have only five or ten minutes' walk at dinner-time, instead of being perhaps three miles' distant and having to go by tram. Mr. Crowther appeared to think that municipalities alone must deal with the question of Housing, and probably also with the redistribution of industries. He did not in the least agree with that, nor was it the experience of anybody who examined what had been happening during the last thirty or forty years. Everywhere it was private individuals, private initiative, and voluntary associations which had set the pace and given an example of possibilities previously undreamt of by the municipalities. Municipalities could do things on a much bigger scale probably than private individuals, and they also had advantages in borrowing not possessed by private associations, but he doubted whether they could borrow money at 3 per cent. for housing at the present time. Then it had been suggested that manufacturers went to Garden Cities in order to get cheaper labour. That was possible, but it was not a condition peculiar to Garden Cities. Manufacturers had gone to all sorts of places for cheaper labour, but the conditions existing at Letchworth tended very materially to raise the rates of wages previously obtained in the district, not only for agricultural labourers, but for ordinary labour. There was all the difference in the world between a house with a garden and a house without one. When the rents at Letchworth or any other Garden City were spoken of, it must not be forgotten they were in respect of houses with gardens. As to the creation of Garden Cities by County Councils, he was not at all averse from County Councils or any other municipal bodies taking that step, but they had not shown any inclination at present to do so. When the example which had been set had been multiplied, it was possible that some County

Council might wake up to the fact that they had a great opportuntiy in creating Garden Cities.

Mr. WILLIS BUND: Give them legal powers to do so.

Mr. WILLIAMS, proceeding, said it had been asked how Letchworth could become proprietors of their own land. He had always imagined they could get a private Act of Parliament to enable them to do it. He hoped, now that Letchworth had set the example, they would be able to go further, and there was in fact a Bill now before Parliament the express object of which was to allow municipalities to become the owners of land within their area. The transformation of existing cities into Garden Cities was an entirely different problem, and was not in Mr. Ebenezer Howard's mind when he originated the phrase "Garden Cities," though doubtless it was a most admirable object to endeavour to so transform our cities that they might fairly be called Garden Cities. Such a step would involve very great changes in legislation in order to give municipalities greater powers of owning land. As to Dr. Fremantle's suggestion of a joint Authority to make financial arrangements and divide profit and loss between a town and a Rural Authority when industries passed from one to the other, that was a big question which he had not considered, and he was not prepared to give an immediate opinion, except to say that, if by that means the redistribution of industries over a wide area could be facilitated, it would be a very great advantage in every way. Mr. Harrison had questioned the permanence of Garden Cities, but there was no reason why a town like Letchworth, with its twenty or thirty industries, should not be as permanent as any other town. As to a man making his own Garden City, that was a suggestion which might point the pitfall into which so many fell, of thinking that an individual could do everything. It surely was not necessary at this time of day to argue that there was an enormous deal in modern life which the individual could not possibly control, except by combination with thousands of others; and what possibility was there of a man living in the East End of London making his own Garden City? If he were an exceptional man, he might rise superior to the circumstances in which he lived, but that was not making a Garden City. He deprecated the idea that there was any rivalry, much less hostility, between municipal effort and voluntary association in the matter of Garden Cities. There was more than enough for them both to do, and when the municipalities had done all they could in their own areas, and voluntary association had also done all that was possible, they would still only have touched the fringe of the subject. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. BARLOW, in replying, said that perhaps his first quarrel was with the implication that those who had contributed papers represented the Garden City movement as the one solution of the problem of destitution. They were not quite so foolish as that, but appreciated that their papers represented only a small contribution towards the solution of a very great problem. On the Bournville Estate they had a number of small houses which let at 4s. 6d. a week—rates extra—and he ventured to think they should be within the reach of the average wage-earner.

Mr. CROWTHER: What are the ground rents?

Mr. BARLOW: They are included in that. Proceeding, Mr. Barlow said that in a Garden Village or City, one had to remember, as an offset to the rent, the produce of the garden, which was a very material matter indeed. If a man was worth his salt, the produce of his garden was a very considerable asset, and resulted in a considerable reduction in the rent he had to pay. He admitted that it was a wage question, as well as a rent question, and was not obsessed with the idea that Garden Cities provided the only remedy. Mr. Harrison's inquiry as to what would become of Garden Villages if the factories ceased business had no applicability to Bournville, because Bournville was open to all comers and did not belong to Messrs. Cadbury. As a matter of fact, over 50 per cent. of the residents worked elsewhere than at the cocoa factory; and he was probably within the mark in saying that if all those who worked at the factory lost their work through the closing of the factory they would be able to fill their places in the village very rapidly indeed. (Applause.)

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. F. E. Fremantle, F.R.C.S., The subject discussed was THE MARGINS OF EXISTING TOWNS, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Town Planning from the Municipalities' Point of View.*
BY Mr. HAROLD SHAWCROSS.

2.—*Town Planning: The Landowner's Opportunity.*
BY MR. G. L. PEPLER.

3.—*Some Experiments in Urban Housing.*
BY MR. J. H. GREENHALGH.

4.—*Town Planning in Practice.*
BY ALDERMAN W. THOMPSON.

Town Planning from the Municipalities' Point of View.

By HAROLD SHAWCROSS
(Town Councillor of Rochdale; National Housing and Town Planning Council).

IN treating the question of Town Planning from the point of view of the Municipality it is necessary at first to consider how it can be connected with the Prevention of Destitution, which is the subject which this National Conference has been called to consider in all its aspects.

At present our towns can only control their development to a very limited extent, and anything that is done in the direction of securing open spaces, playgrounds, sites for libraries or recreative institutions has to be brought about by the Municipality purchasing land at often exorbitant prices and often in undesirable positions, except in rare cases where generous persons come forward to give land for these objects. As municipalities are mostly oppressed with the burden of heavy rates, they grudge expenditure of this kind, and therefore little is done, and the sad result is seen in the depressing manner in which most of our large towns have been developed. To drive from the centre of a large town like Manchester towards the outskirts and to pass through the rows and rows of mean streets and to see almost every house cast in the same mould, and each with the open space about it measured apparently to the same number of feet or

inches, cannot but have a most depressing effect upon the social reformer; and the absence of trees, playgrounds, or public gardens for apparently miles of houses makes it that the public house is still the chief attraction for any man wishing to leave his home in the evening.

I propose in this paper to consider how, by the Town Planning Act, we hope to alter the present state of things.

First it is necessary to remind hearers what are the present powers of most Local Authorities to control the development of their towns.

Limitation of Municipalities' Powers.

Few people are aware how limited these powers are, and when they are told that in most towns and districts, except where in some cases there are special local Acts, that the following statements are true, they are apt to be incredulous.

A Local Authority has no power to prescribe the direction of a road, but can only insist on certain widths and gradients.

They have no power to prevent a house being built upon any spot an owner wishes, and may not even insist upon proper access being given to it.

They have no power to regulate the height of buildings, and any owner can build to what height he likes provided he does not interfere with the right of light of neighbouring owners of buildings.

They have no power to insist on cross streets if the owner does not provide them, and a row of houses could be a mile long in most places if the builder so desired.

They have no power to insist on the builder of a house providing that only a fixed proportion of the site shall be covered with buildings. All they can insist upon is a certain open space exclusively belonging to it, usually 150 square feet or less, and this whether the house is a mansion or a cottage.

That Authorities have not at present powers to control above matters is due principally to two reasons.

The first has been the conviction in the minds of Government and people that property in land was the same as any other kind of property, and that the owner should have the right to do exactly what he likes with it, whether what he did was to the advantage of the community or not.

Second, Parliament in the past has been exceedingly loth to give too much power to municipalities owing to the fear that misuse would be made of the same in the way of wire-pulling, favouritism, etc., by which local representatives might use their powers to further private ends and private interests. Hence it is not yet possible for Authorities to buy land or property without permission from the Local Government Board, and this permission is refused unless it is for a certain definite purpose.

Previous to the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 Local Authorities had not power to buy land for housing the working classes unless they had the intention of at once covering it with houses. By this Act they have now power to secure land in advance of their immediate requirements in building houses.

It is, however, doubtful whether, if more control had been given to Local Authorities in the past, the result would have been better than we have to-day, as until the people generally and their representatives can be persuaded that the better development of our towns is desirable and essential if we are to improve the healthy conditions of living for our population, we shall not advance very far or very fast.

It is a somewhat distressing fact for believers in democratic government to

have to admit that towns that have been best developed are those where landowners have insisted in letting their land upon conditions making for better health and amenity than the towns themselves have asked for through their Local Authorities.

All the limitations set forth above it is now possible to rectify in the interests of public health and amenity by the making of a Town Planning scheme, and I think there is reason to hope that Local Authorities will take up this Act with some enthusiasm judging by the interest shown by them at the largely-attended Conferences called by the National Housing and Town Planning Council. It is also a very favourable sign to those who wish success to the Act that landowners generally are giving such favourable consideration to Town Planning schemes, as it is almost essential if these are to be a success that the hearty co-operation of landowners should be secured. As there are questions of compensation to be considered under the Act it is most desirable that agreements should be made with landowners wherever possible, as at present we have little guidance as to what basis these claims will be assessed upon.

Objects of a Town Planning Scheme.

The Act states that a Town Planning Scheme may be made as respects

(*a*) *Any land which is in course of development*, or

(*b*) *Appears likely to be used for building purposes*, with the general object of securing proper *sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience* in connection with the laying out and use of the land or of any neighbouring lands.

A Town Planning Scheme will first of all define the direction of the main and secondary roads.

It cannot, unless the Local Authority is itself prepared to make the roads, get a road made within a given time by the scheme, but can only say that when a road is made in any area governed by the scheme it shall be in the position drawn upon the map and of the width indicated thereon.

Doubtless in many cases Local Authorities will arrange to make roads that are badly needed, recovering the expense when frontage land is developed or by deferred payments.

Sewerage and Water Supply.

By a Town Planning Scheme the sewerage and water supply in the environs of a town can be controlled and directed much better than at present, as sewers will be taken along the lines of roads shown upon the plans, and not, as is often the case now, through undeveloped land on which no roads have been laid out, and where much expense is incurred for wayleaves, etc.

Buildings and their Limitation per Acre.

As to buildings by a Town Planning Scheme the Local Authority has power to control their "height" and "character" and the space about the same.

It is possible by "character" for the Local Authority to alter their building bye-laws, either in relaxing or strengthening same, and the provision as to height is very important, as by simply restricting the height of buildings over an area it is possible to greatly improve the amenity of the same.

The most important clause in the Act relates to the limiting of buildings to be erected not being subject to compensation if the limitation is reasonable. The clause is a very important one, and is better quoted in full:—

"Clause 59 (2). Property shall not be deemed to be injuriously affected

by reason of the making of any provisions inserted in a Town Planning Scheme which, with a view to securing the amenity of the area included in the scheme or any part thereof, *prescribe the space about the buildings or limit the number of buildings to be erected or prescribe the height or character of buildings*, and which the Local Government Board, having regard to the nature and situation of the land affected by the provisions, consider reasonable for the purpose."

This would seem to mean that any limitation of houses inserted in the scheme, if the scheme is assented to by the Local Government Board, would by that assent be not a matter for compensation.

But it may be that this is not the true interpretation of the clause, and it will be well for Local Authorities in all cases, when getting schemes approved, to procure a written declaration from the Local Government Board that the limitations proposed are in their opinion reasonable. For it is quite possible that Local Authorities may in some cases think the question of limitation so important that they would be willing to risk paying compensation rather than give up their scheme.

A very difficult task is placed upon the Local Government Board in deciding what is reasonable in this matter, for as the limitation is solely to promote the *amenity* of the area this would be best procured by greater limitations on the number of houses on the edge of growing towns, where land is dearest and buildings are now crowded together. But the probability is that Town Planning Schemes will seek to limit houses to a less number per acre on land further out from the town where it is cheaper and where the necessity for limitation for amenity's sake is not so great.

Now in these provisions for limitation of buildings and for prescribing their character lies the great hope of better conditions through a Town Planning Scheme.

In the first place no scheme would be worth making unless the Local Authority was able to secure open spaces, recreation grounds, and allotments without any great expenditure of public money.

It is becoming now a common thing in Town Planning Schemes for one acre in ten to be given for open spaces. Landowners are beginning to see that it is to their interest to do this as enhancing the value of their surrounding land.

Land can also be procured for public purposes in this way. In planning out a district, which we might take as an example at twenty acres, if the houses were limited on these twenty acres to twelve to the acre, the open space would be got by allowing houses to be built in certain parts of the district with less site area to each house than the house would be entitled to if built twelve to the acre, and in return for this part of the adjacent land would be given up for open spaces, etc., so that the average number of houses per acre over the whole of the area would be not more than is provided by the scheme.

It will probably be found the wisest course in a Town Planning Scheme to confine the proposals as to buildings as much as possible to parts of the environs of towns reserved for residential districts.

Areas so reserved would attract intending builders greatly, as they would know that as no factories or workshops could be placed there the amenities of the district would be preserved, and intending purchasers of houses or intending residents would be in no fear of having to move through having undesirable neighbours.

Also it should be possible by skilful planning of the roads to so arrange them

that many streets would have no through traffic on them, and in this case great economies can be effected by having narrower roads, and in some cases not having them made so expensively. If a Town Planning Scheme reserved, as suggested, certain areas for residential districts, the rest of the land in the scheme might be left to be developed as at present, subject to certain modifications of the building bye-laws so as to give more site area for each house than is usually required, thus ensuring more open space about the house.

Provision would also be made for buildings of unusual height, such as some shops, warehouses, and factories, having greater air space about them than is now required. A convenient rule would be that on at least two sides of a building there should be provided an open space equal at least to the height of such building.

Exception might be made in the case of warehouses used solely for the purpose of storing goods, which could be placed closer together than this rule would admit.

It must be remembered that a Town Planning Scheme once fixed cannot be altered without another scheme, and if the second one had to alter the provisions of the first, great claims might be made for compensation by those persons who had already built under the first one. Therefore, as we are not in a position to foretell future developments, great caution is necessary in making a scheme, and the provisions should be as elastic as possible subject to the objects being attained for which the scheme was adopted.

Municipal Balance Sheet under Town Planning.

Local Authorities will naturally be much exercised as to the cost of Town Planning and whether much extra expense may be expected to fall upon the rates. The cost of a Town Planning Scheme may be considered under three heads:—

(*a*) The actual cost of the preparation of a scheme.

(*b*) The possible compensation to be paid.

(*c*) The cost of administration where Town Planning Schemes are adopted, *i.e.*, will this be increased or lessened?

(*a*) The cost of this should not be very large, and probably a scheme might be put through for £150 to £200 for the first 1,000 acres planned, and for £100 more for each subsequent 1,000 acres.

(*b*) As to compensation it is not wise to say much at present, but good judges do not think this need be feared; also it must be remembered that "betterment" can be claimed by the Local Authority if by the making of a scheme "any property is increased in value." They can, however, only claim half the increased value, whereas they must pay the whole of any compensation awarded by an arbitrator. But I would here repeat that a Local Authority will in all cases be well advised to make their agreements with landowners before presenting their scheme for adoption, as if these agreements are signed and inserted in the schedule there should be no fear of compensation claims.

(*c*) The cost of administration by a Local Authority should not be markedly increased by Town Planning. Where houses are built with a less number to the acre than at present there will be a greater initial expense in laying water mains and gas pipes and in gas for street lamps. Also the cost for scavenging may be a little more owing to there being no back passages to the houses, so that it will take a little longer to collect the refuse. The cleansing of the roads may also be slightly increased, though it is not likely that this will be much, and probably

it will not be necessary to have scavenging and cleansing operations performed so frequently as now where houses are huddled so closely together.

The repairs to roadways under Town Planning Schemes should not be more costly than at present.

By judicious planning in the future roads will not be made of an unnecessary width where only serving a limited number of houses, and there is no need to allow the road bed to be less substantially made than is now the case, so the repairs to it need be no greater.

Better planning of towns will materially decrease the cost of maintenance in this way.

Under our present higgledy-piggledy development there is great loss of time in getting from one part of a town to another. In many towns it is necessary to come into the centre of the town to get from one outlying district to another, thus causing great extra wear and tear to roads and streets. By judicious planning of roads to link up outside districts and to cut off corners great saving to the wear and tear of roads can be made; also loop roads can be made so that through traffic can skirt the town instead of going through the centre, thus saving road wear and increasing the amenity of the town.

But even if it could be shown that expenditure in the future would be greater in towns planned with fewer houses to the acre any extra cost would be a trifle compared to the enormous advantages gained through better health and pleasanter conditions of life for the bulk of the people.

To sum up, our Municipal Balance Sheet might be stated as follows:—

DEBTOR.

Slight extra cost of gas and water mains.

Slight extra cost of gas for street lamps.

Slight extra cost of scavenging and cleansing.

Making new roads where needed by the Local Authority before landowners are prepared to build; interest on capital outlay on above.

CREDIT.

Lessened cost of main sewering charges.

Land for playgrounds, open spaces, etc., free.

No extra expense for widening roads in the future, as they will be planned right width for all possible traffic, or in case widening should be required in some few cases, it can be done very cheaply, as houses will be set well back from the roads.

Less crime, and so fewer police.

Better health, and so saving on sanatoria, asylums, crippled children's homes, etc.

Increased rateable value through families being gradually moved up from cheap slum dwellings to houses on outskirts of towns of a higher rateable value. For each house rented at 3s. 6d. per week condemned or disused and replaced by a house at 7s. 6d. per week most towns will gain 1s. per week in increased rates.

We have, by the Town Planning Act, made a tentative beginning in giving permission to our towns to control their future development.

Local Authorities are told they "may" prepare a scheme.

Without desiring to check the initiative or interfere with the freedom of local government unduly, is it not to be regretted that "shall" was not substituted for

" may " in the Act, and instead of our present chaotic methods of growth we insisted on wise and well thought out plans for the development of the outskirts of all our towns?

Something was done in the Housing and Town Planning Acts to raise the standard of working-class houses by prohibiting the building of back-to-back houses in future, whether the bye-laws of the Local Authority allowed them or not. More is required than this. In many rural districts houses are now being built without having to conform to any bye-laws at all; in many others the bye-laws are generations old and quite oblivious of modern sanitary requirements. It is possible to find houses erected on one side of a road without damp-proof courses, with no concrete over the site, and with four and a half inch party walls, whilst on the other side of the road these defects are remedied. Is it not time that all districts were compelled to build houses with at least the minimum requirements that are considered necessary by medical and sanitary experts?

Complaint is often made that in some districts building conditions are too stringent and prevent cheap houses being built, but it is not wise to compel Authorities who are ahead of their neighbours to go back.

The duty of Parliament should be to bring the laggards up and not to interfere with those who are in advance. Local opinion should be strong enough to compel alterations of too stringent regulations where these are found.

Town Planning, the Landowner's Opportunity.

By George L. Pepler, f.s.i.

As this paper is to be read at a National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, I take it that the side of the problem to which we must give most attention is that relating to Town Planning, as it affects the poorer part of our population.

That Town Planning is one of the fundamental factors bearing on the well-being of the community, we are all by now probably agreed, as we recognise that very little lasting improvement can be effected in the home unless the surroundings of the home are such as to give some scope and encouragement for good living.

Since the passing of the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, there is some chance of insuring that the future growth of our towns shall be on sane and healthy lines, and that all classes of our population shall be housed in surroundings that may not only be healthy and convenient, but may tend to elevate rather than degrade. In this respect it is worthy of note that this is, I believe, the first Act of Parliament of its type that recognises the necessity of " amenity."

We can take it, therefore, that we are all agreed as to the desirability of Town Planning, but what we have to consider most carefully is how best we can put the Act and Town Planning principles into operation so as to obtain the most beneficial results.

In this respect I suggest that one of the first points to note is the importance of the landowner, and to realise that to get really satisfactory results from the Act we

must carry the majority of owners with us. The Town Planning part of the Act and the regulations are so framed, and perhaps wisely so for a first step, that we shall get comparatively little done unless we can convince the owner that his interests are identical with those of the general public.

I have elsewhere set out my reasons for thinking that the Act offers great opportunities for estate owners in general. I shall try to show in this paper that the advantages apply equally with regard to the smaller class of property.

First, I think that we ought to start with the assumption that the majority of owners would be glad to make provision for proper housing if they learn that it can be done on economically sound lines, and if the municipalities give them some lead and encouragement. Up to the present owners have had practically no inducement to do better. That their lack of foresight has harmed themselves in the long run as much as it has the public is quite evident.

The only method of reform in this matter that I can suggest is by lifting from the top. At the present time it is hardly possible to house the very poorest on spacious lines. It is possible, however, to provide first class housing and surroundings for the man earning his regular 30s. a week, and if this is provided he will leave his present dwelling for the better, and the man below can step up and take his place. By this means the very worst town housing will die a natural death, and things will be improved all round. Rural housing is, of course, a much more difficult problem, and if agricultural wages are to remain at their present level, I think that the Local Authority must step in, as private enterprise cannot profitably meet the demand. This, of course, only applies to purely agricultural rural districts. In all other cases the private owner is closely concerned, and to him Town Planning is of the greatest importance.

A great feature of the Act is that it enables an Authority or an owner to look twenty or thirty years ahead. Up to now hardly any one has exercised any foresight at all, and most of the property that owners have put up, or allowed to be erected on their land, has from the first had in it the seeds of decay. Each acre has been covered as closely as possible with no regard to traffic facilities or any other convenience, or as to whether the neighbourhood has been at all suited to such property. All beauty has been disregarded, and old trees wantonly destroyed. The result is that as education is teaching people the possibilities of better things, they are going, as soon as they can, to where better conditions are obtainable, and the bad property is being abandoned or let to any kind of tenant that can be obtained. It is not that all this property was necessarily badly built. It was simply totally unsuitable. Empty property involves loss to the rates: that means higher rates, and so the property owner is hit in every way.

Also the Local Authority having exercised no foresight in setting aside suitable land for recreation grounds, etc., or for future traffic necessities, all such municipal matters as these and street widenings, etc., have been carried out ultimately at exorbitant cost, which again has put added burdens on property generally in the form of rates.

"The growing margins of our towns" are made up of all kinds of property in addition to cottages, and the owners' present position with regard to other matters is as follows:—

In the case of residential property many estates that have been developed with good houses are now emptying fast because adjoining property has been cut up for crowded cottages, or for shops or factories, skating rinks, or cinematograph palaces.

People are afraid of buying houses for the reason that they have no certainty as to how neighbouring estates may be developed.

The owner can only develop his own particular piece of land, and can make no provision, except at inflated cost, for through connections that may be almost essential to the proper development of his estate, such as connection to a railway station or a tram route.

Many properties cut up for dwelling-houses would never have been so treated if a comprehensive scheme had been prepared for the whole district, as the sites are either unsuited for the particular class of property, or else are more suited for factories. The different class of property or the factories are now probably being substituted, as occasion occurs, in patches, thus depreciating still further all the remaining property.

In many cases factory sites were chosen, not primarily because they were in the best position for use, but because it was the only land available or not restricted against such use. Now, in the same town, or elsewhere, sites really well suited for factories, with good rail accommodation, etc., and perhaps with really good housing accommodation adjoining for the workpeople, are becoming available, and consequently the former factories are emptying fast, and that is more loss to the landowner and the town.

Trams have been brought along insufficiently wide streets, not designed for them, and all the fronting property has consequently deteriorated in value on account of the noise and discomfort.

Most property owners will agree that their present position is not a happy one; how, then, does the Town Planning Act offer them help?

In the first place it encourages a municipality to adopt a look-ahead policy, and if the municipality is backward, gives the owner an opportunity to stir it up.

It can be arranged that all the future growth of a place (nowhere more important than in rural districts, with the future before them), shall be on ordered lines, each class of property being allotted its suitable area, and roads being planned for general convenience, so that one owner cannot shut out another or a number of others from access to high road or rail. Recreation grounds and parks can be arranged for when land is cheap, and not when it is at its dearest. All points of beauty can be preserved. A town can save large sums by arranging ahead for such matters as drainage and water supply, and so save rates and the property owner's pocket.

The owner, to his cost, has found that the old methods have been ultimately to his detriment. The Town Planning Act gives the owner and the Local Authority the opportunity to work together to build up something that may stand a chance of retaining a permanent and lasting value.

There is, nevertheless, one provision of the Act that landowners are likely to be suspicious of, and that is the one that permits a Local Authority in a Town Planning scheme to limit the number of houses on any area without compensation. There are, however, three important considerations to be borne in mind with regard to this: First, that it has to be a " reasonable " limitation in the view of the Local Government Board. Second, that in order to attract custom at all, quite apart from any regulations, the whole tendency is that owners must plan on more spacious lines than they have done. Third, that apart from the likelihood of future depreciation, there is not as much to be gained by crowding houses on land as would appear at first sight. The reason for this is that in order to get your extra frontage you have to make so much road, that unless the sales are very quick

your increased first cost, with the interest on it, soon swallows up any possible extra profit.

Mr. Raymond Unwin has worked out comparative figures to test this point, and taking land at £300 per acre, undeveloped, and adding the cost of development: A, if 9.6 houses are put to the gross acre, B, if 25, the cost of land and road per house is £68 in the case of A, and £40 in the case of B. But with A you get a plot of 423 square yards, whereas in B you only get 127 square yards. Or, to put it in another way, with 25 houses to the acre the tenant pays 7½d. per week rent for 127 yards; with 9.6 houses to the acre if the tenant paid 1s. 0½d. per week he could have 423 yards for his plot, and the landlord would make the same profit on his land.

These figures are based on the assumption that roads of the same width and construction are used in each case, whereas under a Town Planning scheme, with the fewer houses to the acre, a less costly type of road could be employed, which should practically make it possible for the owner to give the larger plots for the same money per plot as the smaller ones and still make the same profit, quite apart from having a much more attractive and marketable type of property.

In the past the Local Authorities have treated the property owner as a potential misdemeanant, and have framed their regulations on that basis. The Town Planning Act provides that if he is willing to co-operate with the Authority, it can relax these rigid bye-laws that have often made building and estate development so costly.

In many parts of England 9 ft. high rooms have been insisted on, possibly a very necessary regulation when so little air space has been allowed outside. If lots of outside space is provided, 8 ft. 6 in. or even 8 ft. will usually be found ample, and this will considerably cheapen building.

In nearly all parts one rigid width of road has been insisted on, because as no general scheme was prepared one never knew what traffic might have to be borne. Now that a general scheme can be settled, it will be known with certainty exactly what the traffic requirements will be, and therefore for purely residential roads narrower widths and less expensive construction will be possible, and another saving effected for the owner. Also the residential roads will be so designed as to discourage through traffic, and so made much more permanently pleasant to live in.

Other ways in which the Act can assist owners with regard to property are as follows: When the plan is made and the scheme settled, the owner will know for what purpose the particular district is to be developed, and to what class of property it is restricted, and the number of houses allowed.

Because of this he can proceed with the development of his own land on the best lines, and neither he or the purchasers or tenants he wishes to attract will have any fear that the property will deteriorate in value or amenity, but can be sure that the conditions now settled for the whole neighbourhood will be permanent.

Of course, altered conditions may conceivably make a change of type desirable in the future; but in that case the Act provides, with proper safeguards, that the change may be made. If any open spaces or parks are settled on for the neighbourhood, he will have the advantages of being able to offer these as settled and permanent attractions. Main traffic and tram routes will be selected, so that he can plan his estate to take advantage of these instead of being, as now, at their mercy. If his estate is really suitable for factory sites, then he can see that in the scheme the Local Authority make proper provision for the necessary services. Finally,

he will be able to offer permanent beauty and convenience to all the residents he would attract, and any owner knows what a powerful commercial asset such a position offers.

These economics being available, it will be clear that the Local Authority have it in their power to make it possible for owners to lay out their property on really spacious lines without suffering at all in their pockets. It must be clear to owners, from their present experience, that they will have to provide better conditions if they wish to create permanent value, and if they can do so and still reap as much reward from their enterprise, they are not likely to neglect the opportunity.

These things may be clear to us at this conference, but they are as yet hardly known to the great body of owners, or even appreciated by most municipalities, and it is for us to see that both sides take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the Act, so that the future growth of our towns and villages may be on sane, healthy lines, and all classes of the community may enjoy healthful homes amid pleasant surroundings.

The growth of our towns in the past has been entirely without sense or reason. The conditions it has produced are some of the root causes of national destitution and bodily and mental degradation; that these conditions should be altered is to the advantage of everyone, and it is for us to see that the new order shall be established without delay.

Some Experiments in Urban Housing.

By John H. Greenhalgh.

Some eleven years ago a small group of persons, nearly all industrial or artisan wage-earners under the leadership of Mr. Henry Vivian, started by registering, under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, a Society at Ealing for building and collectively owning small houses. The disadvantages attending the relationship prevailing between landlord and tenant were all too well known: interests exist which hitherto had been conflicting—insecurity of tenure, unjust raising of rents, absence of incentive for the tenant to care for internal condition of the house, etc.; then, arising from occupier-ownership, was the hindrance to mobility of labour, difficulties of capital, expenses of retail dealings in building, selling and letting, risk of the character of the neighbourhood going down, and the like. The Society's basic principles were that every occupier should share in the Society's responsibilities and advantages, that interest on capital should be limited, accounts carefully kept and audited, facilities for neighbourliness provided, the speculative element eliminated, and permanent corporate control assured.

We began with nine contiguous plots of freehold land, subject to the seller's restriction as to elevation and plan—it was the best we could do at the time, with our limited resources. Friends came to our help with counsel and capital, and we began to realise the possession of the germ of better and wider ideas. Some of us dreamt of an area eventually amounting to an estate capable of harmonious, dignified, and consistent planning, with larger gardens, sites for church and club,

playing fields—in short, all the advantages deemed necessary by and for a community—a concrete example of our principles, encouraging their extension and also their adoption elsewhere.

We encountered difficulties inherent to every new system—lack of capital, lack of public imagination, and lack of practical working experience in housing; but with time these were overcome, though financial aid will doubtless be wanted by every such Society for a time after it has ceased building and has reached the administrative stage.

Members of the progressive minority of the public began to awake to the potentalities of this and eventually of kindred efforts, and on further freehold land being acquired (after some 100 plots had been taken up) an opportunity arose for realising our ideals upon an estate exceeding 60 acres, on which to-day over £200,000 has been spent.

The Public Works Loan Commissioners after our first few years came to our aid and advanced us money for the erection of the smaller houses; latterly a few larger ones have arisen, so that our rents at Ealing vary from that of a cottage up to that of a £55 house.

Meanwhile, Letchworth Garden City had come into being, and still further inspired us. Similar Societies there and elsewhere had been formed, some of which—viz., those at Letchworth and Hampstead—were spared the necessity of finding and buying freehold land by reason of the sympathetic and zealous action of their respective pioneer parent societies, the Garden City Company and the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust.

Public opinion being stirred, the Housing and Town Planning Bill was introduced: on the Committee of the House of Commons several of my able Hampstead colleagues were active members. The experience gained, and the object lessons given at Ealing and elsewhere, were of considerable value during the discussion, and contributed in no small degree to the successful passing of the Act.

Soon after the founding of our three earliest Co-partnership Societies, the need was felt for some central organisation to advise and help in matters of formation and registration, architecture, site-planning, surveying, finance, accountancy, and trade; and, with the aid of staunch supporters and appreciators of our work, Co-partnership Tenants Ltd., a registered Society acting as a Central Federation, was formed in 1907. At the present time there are 14 Societies in the Federation, with 647 acres of land, upon which, when the building work is completed, it is estimated there will be 6,595 houses, cottages, flats, old people's homes, and shops, at a cost of £2,190,000. At the end of last year the estate accounts stood at £1,072,000.

I should like to quote from our latest report: "Perhaps the healthiest feature in the year's development has been the growing number of cases in which advantage is being taken of the skill and experience of the central Society's staff by societies which are able to raise their own capital. Where the Co-partnership Tenants Ltd. becomes responsible for the larger part of the capital required for the development of an estate, it must obviously insure a commensurate control. Where, however, Societies are able to raise their own capital to develop estates, that is in itself a very fair guarantee that those responsible are equal to the task. At any rate, those who find the capital believe them to be so, or the capital would not be forthcoming. We have therefore two types of Societies growing up: one in which the chief control centres with Co-partnership Tenants Ltd., because it finds the bulk of the capital and all the initiative to

develop the estate, and the other where the capital and initiative are provided locally, and in consequence the estate is locally controlled. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Board will welcome these self-sustaining Societies, for the more public-spirited men with business experience who can command public confidence and capital are brought into the movement for establishing 'public utility' Housing Societies, the greater will be the progress. Further, as few of them will follow exactly the same model, we shall have the great benefit of variety in experiment within reasonable limits, which will be helpful in showing what modification in methods and policy may be desirable in the future."

Difficulties and their Removal.

Some of our initial difficulties, inherent in every Housing movement, have been briefly stated, and in the main suggest their respective remedies. They relate to:—

1. Capital. As regards that provided by the Public Works Loan Commissioners—to whose valuable aid our movement is deeply indebted—efforts should be made to reduce the interest below $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and to extend the term for repayment beyond thirty years. This point has been frequently and publicly discussed. Our movement is doing a national work, for which I would claim increased favourable national consideration.

As to capital provided from other sources on behalf of our Societies, the matter has been ably dealt with in a paper by the Chairman of our Society: it would appear essential that the average interest to investors should not exceed $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

2. Enlarged area of Local Authority or a combination of Local Authorities, at least for the purposes of Town Planning, traffic, and provision for and preservation of parks and open spaces. This, according to a statement in our press, has recently been done in Berlin by the Dernberg Committee. Such new or enlarged authority should have wide powers similar to those possessed by most German towns of acquiring land and leasing it on reasonable and renewable terms to Societies of Public Utility or the like, or even to a public-spirited individual who would work on our lines and subject to similar restrictions. This is one of the many amendments which seem essential to the extension and amendment of the Town Planning Act.

3. Bye-laws and statutory provisions relating to new streets and buildings. A lengthy paper from sources of the highest and most varied experience would not suffice. The following comments have been kindly furnished me by Mr. Lister Sutcliffe, F.R.I.B.A.

The rules enforced by Local Authorities with regard to new streets and buildings, as all Housing reformers know, are of two kinds, viz., bye-laws and statutory provisions.

Statutory provisions may be contained either in General Acts—such, for example, as the rule relating to the size of flues—or in Private Acts. By far the greater number are contained in Private Acts, each of which deals with a particular city or urban area.

In many towns provisions relating to new streets and buildings are contained in Acts of Parliament dealing also with tramways, water supply, gas and electric light works, and other local affairs. In many cases some of the statutory provisions still in force were framed more than fifty years ago.

A large part of the Liverpool Building Act of 1842 is still in force, and other provisions are to be found in other Liverpool Acts of 1854, 1864, 1867, 1871, 1882, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1902, and 1908. In Liverpool, as in some other towns, statutory provisions and bye-laws exist side by side.

Private legislation of this kind results invariably in confusion, and renders it a matter of considerable difficulty to ascertain what are the exact rules in force with regard to any particular detail of estate development and building construction. In addition to this, there is the disadvantage that obsolete or obsolescent provisions are often retained for many years because the Local Authority does not wish to incur the cost of obtaining new powers.

A statutory provision cannot be repealed or modified, except by another Act of Parliament or by a Provisional Order followed by an Act of Parliament. It is not possible for a Local Authority to amend a statutory provision by means of a bye-law. The Local Government Board will not grant to a Local Authority a bye-law dealing with any matter which forms the subject of a statutory provision in force in that Authority's area, however indefinite or out-of-date the statutory provision may be.

In spite of these disadvantages, some Local Authorities, particularly those in large towns, prefer to deal with estate development and street construction by means of statutory provisions rather than bye-laws, because, as a rule, Parliament will allow in an Act greater latitude to the Local Authority than can be allowed by the Local Government Board in a bye-law.

Many provisions in Private Acts contain clauses permitting the Local Authority to enforce the provisions if they think it desirable so to do, either with or without modification. A bye-law, on the other hand, is definite.

It may be said that in many cases Private Acts provide that the Local Authority *may* exercise certain powers, whilst a bye-law says that they *shall* comply with its requirements.

A great advantage of a bye-law is that it requires the approval of the Local Government Board only, and can be altered at little cost and with very little delay with the consent of the Board. At the National Town Planning Conference it was stated that it is possible to obtain the Local Government Board's consent to modified bye-laws made applicable to a particular area within the district of the Local Authority.

It is not an easy matter to put an end to the existing confusion. The rules relating to estate development and building construction in some towns are hopelessly out of date, and are quite unsuited to Town Planning and to Garden Suburb development. For example, as a rule the Local Authority has no power to insist on any road being made wider than the minimum width prescribed by the regulations in force.

What is required is greater elasticity, and this can be obtained in various ways. In the first place, it would be to the benefit of the community if a short Act of Parliament could be passed, by which all statutory provisions relating to new streets and building would, after a certain date, be converted into bye-laws. The Act might also provide that within, say, two years after such conversion, all the bye-laws of each Local Authority should be codified and amended as desired by the Local Authority, and submitted to the Local Government Board for alteration or approval. It would also be useful if bye-laws were granted for a term of years only, and not for an indefinite period. If this were done, bye-laws could be kept abreast of modern thought, and might be made to encourage the development of estates on the best Garden Suburb lines, instead of being, as they often are to-day, a hindrance to progress and a drag on the efforts of enlightened land-owners and site planners.

Powers ought to given freely for modified bye-laws relating to the width and construction of streets and the grouping and construction of buildings to be allowed

on building areas, comprising not fewer than a specified number of acres, where the owner is willing to give the land for making through-roads or main traffic routes of a greater width than the minimum bye-law width, and to restrict the number of houses per acre, and to set apart a specified proportion of the area for open spaces.

We are all too painfully aware of the increased cost of unnecessary road-making, roof-raising, piping, and drainage.

4. Increased travel facilities. While tram, train, tube, and motor-'bus have contributed to our success, still more I believe could be effected by following Continental systems.

5. Need of continued propaganda as to Town Planning and Housing. Even to-day the public does not readily differentiate between a public utility society on the one hand and the speculative land dealer and speculative builder on the other.

6. Variety in growth, so that in every district there may be homes for all sections of the community. It is hoped that the future will never again see any large area allocated mainly to houses of only one character. Our societies are diversified, and at Hampstead, for instance, accommodation ranges between workers' flats at 5s. 9d. (*i.e.*, 7s. 6d. inclusive) to houses at a rental of £115.

Some Criticisms.

(*a*) *Labour Co-partnership.* It was difficult to apply these conditions owing to the fact that hitherto our societies have only been employers of building labour during the period of construction, and do not sell their houses, and in that sense do not make a profit. But now a subsidiary society has been established to carry out work of building and road construction for public utility societies, and is applying these conditions. The system must necessarily be elastic, and time and experience can alone test them.

(*b*) *Local Citizenship.* It has been thought that members of our societies are in danger of neglecting the large civic life of the locality. We are restoring to town workers the idea of home life, and at the same time ample provision is being made at our clubs and the like for intellectual social and political intercourse. I trust the above-named danger will be avoided. Our tenants are all ratepayers and directly pay local rates.

(*c*) *Management of Local Societies.* Care should be exercised lest members be admitted who do not share the ideals of our movement. I would suggest a period of probation. Some minds do not differentiate between the body politic and a voluntary association. Tenant-investors come into our houses because their requirements are answered, and many only realise afterwards with appreciative surprise the advantages conferred by our system and shared by all.

(*d*) *Payment of Landholder.* His initial return is too high. Mr. Vivian suggests a sliding scale of interest. The difference between an agricultural rent and the interest on the capital paid for land about to be built upon is usually considerable. It would seem just that this interest should be commensurate with the success of the society. In some societies progress may be slow, and if a society can only pay an initial low rate of interest to its ordinary investors who

run the initial risk, I think the original landholder who runs practically no risk should be content with a similar rate. An interest of, say, 2 per cent. would in most cases mean a substantial increase in the landholder's income, and this rate could be increased up to 4 per cent. or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with the increased prosperity of the society.

Co-partnership may not be the last word on Urban Housing of all sections of the community. I trust it may yet reach a still higher expression and evolve with the growth of civic consciousness.

Town Planning in Practice.

By Alderman W. Thompson (Richmond)
(Chairman, National Housing and Town Planning Council).

Bad sanitary conditions are admittedly such a fundamental cause of poverty and unfitness, that a measure tending to lessen present evils in this respect and to avoid the repetition of them in future, demands the earnest support of all who are interested in the Prevention of Destitution.

Although the general objects of a Town Plan include the securing of convenience and amenity as well as proper sanitary conditions in connection with the laying out and use of land likely to be used for building purposes, it is obvious that the last-named of these objects is the most important.

One of the best means of securing proper sanitary conditions is to have a plentiful supply of sunlight, fresh air, and vegetation round the dwellings of the masses of the people as well as near those of the well-to-do, and it is a matter of vital importance that the working of practical experiments under the Town Planning Act to attain this end should be closely followed by all concerned.

The Housing and Town Planning Act which was passed in December, 1909, has been the subject of much earnest consideration and painstaking effort on the part of the Local Authorities and a number of landowners who have decided to put it into operation, but the procedure instituted by the Act is so full of complexities and difficulties, in the absence of knowledge as to how the regulations will be interpreted by the Local Government Board, and so much uncertainty exists as to the effects of the various clauses, that no schemes have yet been sufficiently advanced to obtain the approval of the Loval Government Board.

The procedure for carrying out Town Planning Schemes is settled in pursuance of the Act by Town Planning regulations, thirty-six in number, which are drawn so as to be of general application, but as it is probable that a number of cases will require some relaxation or alteration of the regulations in their application, Article 34 contains provisions which will enable the Local Government Board to dispose of or vary any requirements of the regulations where reasonable cause is shown, subject to compliance with the various provisions of the Act itself.

Instructions for ensuring co-operation between Local Authorities and owners and other persons interested in the land proposed to be included in the Town

Planning Scheme are contained in regulations which specify the notice to be given for this purpose at various stages of the procedure, and indicate the facilities to be afforded for enabling owners and other persons interested to place their views or objections before the Local Authority and the Board.

Although, as before stated, the procedure under these regulations is admittedly complicated, it is well to recognise that the Act itself is responsible for most of their requirements, and that it will be possible, at an early date, to secure the modification of the more irksome requirements, and in view of Section 58 (2), which prescribes that no compensation can be claimed on account of buildings erected on or contracts made in respect to land included in a scheme after the time at which the application for authority to prepare the scheme is made, it is important that Local Authorities should put themselves in the position of controlling their districts by at least going forward so far as the stage of applying for such permission to prepare a scheme.

The National Housing and Town Planning Council have done a great deal of work in trying to persuade and help Local Authorities to attempt to make schemes, and the earnest desire of many Local Authorities to try and do something under the Act is made manifest by the following facts:—

Seventeen Municipal Authorities have asked for and obtained permission to try and prepare a scheme.

Notices have been given by eleven Local Authorities of their intention to ask for permission to prepare a scheme, and in this connection it may be added that the Scotch regulations do not require so many notices to be served as the English regulations do, and it would be well to get rid of much of the work in this respect.

Twenty-two Local Authorities are considering the giving of notices, and negotiations are proceeding between thirty-nine Local Authorities and the Local Government Board. Thus there are about ninety Authorities who have taken some official steps towards trying to get schemes approved, while there are at least an equal number who are anxious to take some practical steps when the ground is made more clear by the experience of others.

The two Local Authorities whose schemes are in the most advanced stage are the Birmingham City Council, which has scheduled three large areas containing in the aggregate about 4,000 acres, and the Ruislip-Northwood Council, whose scheme, covering 6,000 acres, seems to touch nearly every problem arising under the Act at present.

The following particulars as to this scheme will throw light on many interesting points in the working of the Act:—

The Ruislip-Northwood Town Planning Scheme is to a great extent a dual one, inasmuch as it discloses a general municipal plan for about 6,000 acres, comprising and surrounding 1,300 acres in the centre, which have been made the subject of a detailed owner's plan in order to secure the proper development of the Ruislip Manor Estate, belonging to King's College, Cambridge.

In order to obtain a good lay-out on the Ruislip Manor Estate a special Town Planning Competition was held last year, when sixty-two architects submitted designs. Sir Aston Webb and Mr. Raymond Unwin, the assessors, placed first in order of merit and suitability the design of Messrs. A. & J. Soutar, and this plan, with some modifications, will be the basis of the lay-out of the future town.

The plan provides improved means of communication between the Estate and the various main roads and other approaches to neighbouring towns and villages, as well as towards London.

Due regard has been paid to obtaining convenient access to railway stations; to limiting the number of houses which will be placed upon a given area, thus giving plenty of sunlight, fresh air, and garden space everywhere; to securing the largest possible proportion of houses which will have an approximately southern aspect; to the provision of adequate open spaces and sites for churches, schools, and other public buildings, as well as to the grouping together of dwellings for those who are likely to have common tastes and interests, and the preservation of objects of interest and natural beauty.

In arranging the character of the dwellings on the successful plan, the architects have divided it into four main areas, but while they state that the indiscriminate intermixing of large and small houses is not advisable, they agree that a judicious proportion of medium size houses may be distributed among the larger ones without depreciating the value of the latter. Roughly, they would give the following basis of calculation as to the average number of houses to the acre:—

Area No. 1—Three houses per acre (gross).
Area No. 2—Four-and-a-half houses per acre (gross).
Area No. 3—Eight houses per acre (gross).
Area No. 4—Ten houses per acre (gross).

The average number of houses to the acre over the whole of the district of Ruislip-Northwood, 6,000 acres in extent, will probably be settled at twelve by the Town Plan of the Local Authority.

The general estimate as to the allocation of the land on the Estate has been recently revised, and the figures are as follows:—

COPSE WOOD AREA.

Open spaces and timber preserved on	about 52	acres
Roads 40 ft. wide—5½ miles or	„ 26	„
Roads under 40 ft. wide (estimated)—2½ miles or ...	„ 7	„
Land available for use	„ 245	„
Total	330	„

PARK WOOD AND MANOR FARM AREAS.

Open spaces and timber preserved on	about 85	acres
Roads 60 ft. wide—2⅓ miles or	„ 19	„
Roads 40 ft. wide—9 miles or	„ 44	„
Roads under 40 ft. wide—(estimated) 4½ miles or ...	„ 12	„
Land available for use	„ 485	„
Total	645	„

AREA SOUTH OF METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

Open Spaces	about 18	acres
Roads 60 ft. wide—1 mile or	„ 8	„
Roads 40 ft. wide—11 miles or	„ 55	„
Roads under 40 ft. wide—(estimated) 4 miles or ...	„ 11	„
Land available for use	„ 208	„
Total	300	„

SUMMARY.

Open spaces and timber preserved on	155	acres
Roads 60 ft. wide—27 acres	182	„
Roads 40 ft. wide—125 acres		
Roads under 40 ft. —(estimated) 30 acres		
Land available for use	938	„
Total	1,275	„

Although it was at first feared that many of the advantages aimed at in the Company's scheme might be lessened, as in similar schemes elsewhere, by objectionable developments of the adjoining estates and districts, it was soon found that the Local Authority not only sympathised with the Company's Town Planning proposals, but decided to be among the pioneers in putting into force the new Housing and Town Planning Act, so as to secure Town Planning conditions for the whole of the 6,000 acres comprising and surrounding the Company's Estate.

Article 3 of the Town Planning Regulations requires that when the Council have decided to apply for authority to prepare a scheme, at least one meeting shall be held to which all powers, persons or Councils interested shall be invited, to hear an explanation of the scheme and to consider it. In the case of Ruislip-Northwood, this meeting was held on the 26th November, 1910, when Mr. F. M. Elgood, Chairman of the Town Planning Committee, who has done most admirable work in promoting the scheme, explained the powers and duties of the Council under the Act and the course of procedure which it was proposed to follow.

A map, consisting of an outline plan showing the areas included under the scheme, with shaded portions showing the areas excluded from the scheme, was exhibited on the platform.

The Chairman's explanation was followed by questions and a general discussion, in the course of which some of the principal owners expressed their approval of the scheme, only six out of 300 owners having sent any substantial objection.

On the 16th January, 1911, the Council applied to the Local Government Board for permission to prepare the scheme, and a Local Government Board inquiry was held on the 16th February, 1911, to receive the evidence of any persons interested in the land or otherwise in the making of the scheme.

At this inquiry the Clerk to the District Council described the district and gave the principal statistics affecting its growth and administration. He explained that of the 6,585 acres in the Urban District, 575 acres were outside the scheme for various reasons, and a portion coloured brown on the plan was 151 acres, leaving 5,859 acres net to be included in the scheme in the urban area, which, with the sixty-three acres in the Watford rural area, made a total of 5,922 acres to be included.

As practically the whole of the area was within a mile of one or other of the five railway stations, it could all be described as ripe for building within the meaning of the Act.

The Hertfordshire County Council and the Watford Rural District Council objected to the inclusion of part of their respective areas in the scheme, while

several owners objected for other reasons, but in the result the Local Government Board gave authority to prepare a scheme for practically the whole of the land included by the Council.

The inquiry seemed to establish the fact that the burden of proof for inclusion of land in the plan only rested with the Local Authority to the extent of showing the *prima facie* case, and that it rested with the owners as a rule to justify the exclusion of their land.

It also appeared that the details as regards roads and other provisions of the plan cannot arise at the first stage of the inquiry, which is only concerned with whether or not the land included should be the subject of a Town Plan irrespective of its contents.

The Council having obtained authority to prepare the scheme, served the notices at once, and approached the various owners with a view to ascertaining what lines of development they contemplated with regard to their respective properties, and several agreements have been entered into with owners settling the various matters which come within the scope of the plan. These inquiries and agreements are still going on, and at the same time adjoining owners are being brought together in several cases so as to induce them to adjust their scheme of development in order to fit in their respective roads with their neighbours, and by a system of give and take to avoid the necessity for compulsory purchase or other matters involving compensation on the one hand and the payment of betterment on the other.

Many conferences on these subjects have taken place between the representatives of Ruislip Manor Limited and the Local Authority. The scheme of the latter body is now practically completed, in skeleton form, and shows new and improved lines of roads, with the allocation of certain areas as open spaces, or for different classes of buildings, in such a way as to protect the amenities, residential and otherwise, as well as the convenience and proper sanitary conditions of the whole district. Upon and within this skeleton plan will be superadded the more detailed plan arising out of the scheme prepared for Ruislip Manor.

In order to secure a proper relation between the two schemes, it became necessary to revise the selected design of the Ruislip Manor Town Plan, and this has now been done so as to meet circumstances arising from :—

(1) The provision of a new railway station at Ruislip.

(2) The necessity for agreeing with adjoining owners for roads crossing their land and those of the Company.

(3) The deviation of existing foothpaths.

(4) The modification of the lines of certain roads owing to further information as to levels having been obtained than was available when the selected design was prepared.

(5) The provision in the Local Authority's Town Planning Scheme as to width and length of roads.

(6) The preservation of large trees and other objects of artistic value.

(7) Lines of sewers.

The general lines of the scheme have, however, been followed, and on the revised plan, which is subject to the approval of King's College, certain large open spaces intended for use as recreation grounds have been shown, amounting in area to eighty-two acres in all.

Owing to the existence of open spaces such as Northwood Common, fifteen acres, Northwood Golf Course, 120 acres, Poors Field, forty acres, and Ruislip Reservoir, forty-three acres, in addition to an area of about sixty acres on Haste Hill, which the Local Authority proposes to acquire as a Public Recreation Ground, it has been deemed inadvisable in the Copse Wood area and the upper portion of the Park Wood area, to provide open spaces in the woods, the difficulty of preventing such open spaces being used as a harbour for undesirable persons being another very strong argument against throwing these lands open to the public.

The sylvan character of the landscape will be sufficiently protected, as, in addition to roads being planned with a view to saving good trees, it is proposed to restrain the purchasers of certain areas from erecting buildings, other than summer-houses, etc., or from felling timber. These areas, situated generally, as they are, on the upper slopes of the hills, are too steep for utilising as lawns, and it would be no hardship for a purchaser to agree to preserve the trees thereon.

The architects also advise that a strip of open space should be provided along the banks of watercourses, so that the inhabitants may be provided with quiet walks along the streams.

The main lines of roads and the positions of shopping centres, public buildings, open spaces, factory sites, etc., have been generally agreed, but owing to the difficulty of forecasting the probable growth of the Estate, it would be futile at the present stage to develop in detail the blocks of land where minor roads may be necessary.

The first things to be settled were the line of roads, which, of course, are most varied in character. Several important main roads, requiring the consideration of the County Council and the Road Board, were laid down in order to give better communication between the large area to the north-east of Ruislip Manor and the district to the south-west, between which there is at present only one road through a long strip of country over four miles in extent, which, lying as it does like a bar between the two areas, involves a great loss of time and money in connection with all vehicular traffic.

Unfortunately, neither the Road Board nor the County Council were able to make any practical contribution to the carrying out of the scheme of improving communication for the principal roads which will be of County, if not National importance, and neither the Local Authority nor the Company possess sufficient funds to make such roads for the benefit of the outside districts.

It has been possible in the Ruislip-Northwood scheme, by a system of give and take, to provide necessary communication across the Company's land for adjacent owners and occupiers at a number of points, and in one or two cases similar access will be afforded to the Company over the lands of adjoining owners to roads and railway stations.

The key of the development of any district being the means of communication, it became necessary at an early stage to secure a railway station in the centre of the district, and arrangements have been made with the Metropolitan Railway Company to provide a new Halt, which will become a central station if the district grows on the lines of the Town Plan. From this station roads will radiate or otherwise diverge so as to link up with all parts of the district and a number of roads to other districts.

Roads of some half-dozen different types are being provided, varying in width from twenty feet to sixty feet, according to the amount of user that may be expected, and arrangements are being made to allow a lighter construction in the

case of purely residential districts in exchange for the giving up of certain areas of land for open spaces, either public or private.

All over the district of the Local Authority it may be assumed that efforts will be made to prescribe in respect of various areas that the number of houses per acre is limited to a figure corresponding closely to those mentioned in the proposed scheme for Ruislip Manor, and the maximum amount on any one acre will probably vary between twenty and twenty-four, while the average will work out at about half that amount.

It will be clear from the foregoing observations that in the absence of the Local Government Board's general provisions it has been somewhat difficult to know what to put in the scheme, but as the result of various conferences, above referred to, a number of general provisions dealing with the foregoing matters have been adopted by the Company's advisers as applicable to the development of the Estate.

It has been found necessary to make temporary arrangements for works proposed to be done during the period, which may be two years or more, which will elapse between the beginning of the scheme and its approval by the Local Government Board.

Building operations, under the temporary arrangement, are being commenced on and near the Ruislip Manor Estate, with a view to the erection of a number of villas and large houses, the building of which, coupled with the general growth of the district, will naturally require, both in the first instance and afterwards, the services, direct or indirect, of a number of persons in receipt of moderate or small salaries and wages, and as the existing housing accommodation at Ruislip for those last mentioned is both deficient in quantity and inferior in quality, urgent need exists for the provision of a number of decent healthy houses and cottages at reasonable rents.

In order to meet this need the Ruislip Manor Cottage Society Limited was registered on October 2nd, 1911, under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts as a "Society of Public Utility" within the meaning of the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, for the purpose of taking up land, and building, letting, or selling small houses and cottages under the Town Planning Scheme. Its rules provide that interest on capital shall not exceed 5 per cent., by which restriction it is entitled to secure from the Public Works Loan Board a portion, not exceeding two-thirds of the capital, required on loan for a period of thirty or forty years at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. respectively. The balance of the capital required has to be raised through investment by the tenant-members themselves and by others who are interested in the provision of cottages with gardens and pleasant surroundings on lines which give the tenants an interest in the property they occupy and cultivate, and at the same time provide a reasonable interest and first-rate security for the outside investor.

Schemes have already been approved for 100 small houses and cottages at a cost of about £30,000, to be let at rents varying from 6s. to 15s. per week, for those who are prepared to join the Society, and tenants will be entitled to a share in the surplus profits, thus giving an incentive to careful treatment of the houses and reducing repairs to a reasonable minimum.

It is proposed to provide facilities for all social and educational purposes, as well as for healthy recreation, and to encourage the formation of committees of the residents for preserving and increasing the amenities of the Estate.

Although most of the houses will be let under the profit-sharing scheme above mentioned, it is proposed to put into operation a plan for enabling persons of moderate means to become the owners of a freehold house under the safeguards

of the Town Plan. Thus, while securing the amenity and controlling the development of the Estate, encouragement will be given to individuals desirous of purchasing their houses who are willing to erect and maintain them in conformity with the general scheme of the Society, architectural and otherwise.

The great difficulty which seems to arise so far in regard to the provision of cheap houses is that as very little can be offered to owners as an inducement for laying out their land on Town Planning lines, they must in the main be guided by what may be called "enlightened self-interest." Some economies may be effected by permitting the construction of residential roads to be less costly than is required at present under the bye-law, but the value of this concession can be, and has been, often greatly exaggerated.

A number of the original bye-laws will be suspended in certain areas by agreement with those owners who in return for the benefits expected from this concession are prepared to give in exchange a certain amount of open spaces or road widening.

It will probably be found that the cost of making the roads of the ordinary bye-law width of forty feet will fall upon the owner as heretofore, and in the event of the Local Authority requiring greater width the extra land required will have to be bought wholly or in part, and the extra works required will have to be wholly paid for by the Local Authority.

The fixing of a building line, which is after all the basis of Town Planning, gives many opportunities to the Council for adjusting street widths and securing the proper lay-out of the district.

The depth of the building line from the centre of the road will vary from thirty feet to sixty feet, but for reasons of architectural effect it will be possible to permit owners who are dealing with an extensive frontage to allow some portion of it to project forward in proportion to the width between the houses for about one-fourth of the total length.

Other provisions have been found necessary to meet the case of corner plots, shop property, and roads where the contour of the ground or special circumstances make sewerage connection difficult or unduly expensive.

Owing to the spreading of the houses on the land it has been found necessary to lay out many of the houses in closes or quadrangles supplied by paths or narrow roads of inexpensive type in order to reduce the charge per house for sewers, gas and water pipes, electric mains, and other public supplies, the cost of which depends upon the length of roadway per house.

In order to secure plenty of sunlight, fresh air, and vegetation around the various dwellings the height of buildings will be restricted, and the amount of each individual curtilage to be covered by building will be limited.

In all probability about one-tenth of the area developed throughout the district will be given up as open space, but a difficulty has already arisen owing to the inability in some cases of the Local Authority to undertake the cost of laying out and managing such spaces if handed over to them.

Arrangements have also been made to prevent elevations being of a character likely to be injurious to the property of surrounding owners, and areas have been scheduled within which it will not be possible to erect certain types of building. For example, no buildings but private dwelling-houses may be erected in certain areas, and these only of a certain type. In other areas factories or workshops will be forbidden, and an attempt will be made by means of what may be called "negative restrictions" to mark out certain areas specifically for shops, factories, and other buildings which it is not desirable to erect in a purely residential area.

With regard to compensation, which is regarded in many quarters as a serious difficulty, it will be quite possible, by a system of give and take between the various owners and the Local Authority, to get such agreements through as will render unnecessary the passing of money either in the shape of compensation or betterment, and sufficient experience has already been gained to make it clear that the best way of working out a good scheme is to secure that such agreements may be entered into in nearly every case.

Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. F. E. Fremantle), commenting on the papers, said he was glad stress had been laid on the one-family house of England. They were particularly liable to be misled—if he might say so with all deference to the architectural profession—by people who were keen on developing the architectural standpoint of the magnificent houses and streets seen in foreign capitals. But if the question were gone into from the Housing standpoint, it would be recognised how superficial was the value of that development, how it was gained at the expense of the health of the people who lived there on the flat system, and how infinitely better off we were with the one-family house, in spite of all its architectural faults. What they wanted was to secure combination of the type which the advocates of Co-partnership had done so much to bring forward. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. C. HORSFALL expressed a desire to speak on those parts of the papers which bore directly on the relation of Town Planning to destitution. Mr. Shawcross had said there was a close connection between destitution and the manner in which a town was planned, but English people who had not carefully studied the conditions existing in foreign towns could hardly realise how strong was the influence on destitution of Town Planning. He asked them to exercise their imagination, and consider what would be the effect on destitution if they had residential streets not less than from seventy to a hundred feet wide, and at least two hundred yards apart; and if, in consequence of their great cost, the space between each pair of streets were covered with tenement blocks of great size, five or six storeys in height, and arranged round comparatively small, unventilated courts, the dwellings being back to back, and arranged tier above tier. Would they imagine also that, in consequence of the large use made of land, it cost from seven to eight times as much as at present, and that as a result of its high price and the great cost of the thick walls and large number of fireproof staircases needed in such tall buildings, rents were so high that dwellings with one or two rooms were all that the majority of the inhabitants could afford to live in; that many of those living in only one or two rooms had to take in lodgers; that the death-rate for people of all ages was half as high again as it now is, and that the death-rate for infants was very much higher, and that nearly all the children suffered from rickets. One effect of such a state of things would be an appalling increase of destitution. German experience proved that the wrong use of Town Planning, and especially its use for the purpose of making residential streets unnecessarily wide, would effect in this country all the bad changes he had asked them to imagine. Land in German towns was from eight to ten times as dear as land in corresponding positions in English towns of about the same population. In Berlin there were more than twice as many people per acre as in London; the average number of occupants per house was seventy-seven, as compared with about eight in London, and the average in a great many large German towns was over thirty per dwelling, while in most large English towns it was only about five. In Great Berlin, owing to the very high rents, it was said there were about 600,000 people living in dwellings of one or two rooms, in each room of which there were from five to twelve people. Figures published in 1910 showed that in Berlin itself, of about 525,000 dwellings, over 416,000 had less than two full rooms. In those 416,000 dwellings

lived about 1,900,000 of the 2,100,000 inhabitants of the town, which was more than 90 per cent. of the population. The existing evil was bad enough, but it was appalling to know that plans and regulations, which allowed wide streets and tall buildings for an area around the existing city eight times as large as that already covered, had been passed. It was said that the Germans paid annually £60,000,000 more for housing than they would have done if it had not been for the curse of the over-wide street. How many people would build houses in England for workpeople if the individual house cost from £10,000 to £20,000 as in Germany? Here we were able to build a house for £200, and a large proportion of the population had saved enough money to build their own, but in Germany impecunious people, who borrowed the money, formed a considerable proportion of the builders in large towns. One-third of the children in Berlin were sickly. Dr. G. Ley had lately made the statement that of one thousand children vaccinated for the first time in Berlin, 97.8 per cent. showed signs, more or less severe, of rickets. German social reformers were almost in despair, and felt their race would be doomed unless it could escape from the results of bad Town Planning. He believed English architects had made a contribution of great importance to the question of Housing, by showing how the narrow park road could be used in connection with workmen's cottages, and, having no heavy traffic to bear, could be made very cheaply.

Bad Town Planning acted quickly. Berlin, up to 1840, was a town of low buildings. There were many two-storey buildings for one family, and the tenement barracks only began to appear after the 'forties. But the building regulations and plans issued in 1861-63 made them the commonest type of dwelling in Berlin. The effect of wide residential streets in England would be worse than in Germany, because our population was less well-trained. Dr. Grotjahn, a German physiologist, came to London some years ago, and wrote a description of the East End. He was astounded at the terrible condition of the population, and said that the indifference with which high and low in England passed the semi-bestial but freeborn Briton was quite incomprehensible to the foreigner. But when he looked for specific signs of disease he was astonished to find how well the children were, the explanation being partly that the dirty little ragamuffins were constantly running from their living-rooms into a dirty court or street, where at least the air was fresh.

They must hold on like grim death to the system of small houses, if they were to have any chance of improving social conditions. (Hear, hear.) The good of foreign towns must be imitated, and the evil rejected. German towns had more family life than English towns, because the Authorities had been wise enough to provide wide streets. It was impossible to spend too much money to meet the needs of traffic, and a traffic street planted with trees enabled parents to take their children into the open air and spend the time pleasantly. In the workmen's quarters in our large towns that could not be done, and in some parts of Manchester and Birmingham there was little family life left. Children eat their meals in the street, and simply went home to get food and sleep. One of the first uses of Town Planning ought to be to ensure that there should be a small playground within reach of every home, and that there should at any rate be some pleasant open space where parents could take their children. The troublesome preliminaries which had to be gone through here in the preparation of a town plan were ludicrous. Sweden had made the greatest improvement in her population of any country in the world, partly by her intelligence in passing a law in 1874, which said distinctly that for all land over which it was intended to build a town plan must be prepared before a certain date. Why should we in England be compelled to go through troublesome processes before permission to prepare a plan could be obtained? Opportunity should by all means be given for interested parties to express objection at the right time, but it was wrong to create unnecessary difficulties. (Applause.)

Mr. Robert Lambie (Lanark County Council) said he represented a district which was the first to provide an opportunity for people obtaining their own homes in the early 'fifties. He believed the land question lay at the root of all progress, and Local Authorities were never before in a position to deal with the land as they were to-day. The value of the land in any vicinity now stood on record, and was known to the Local Authority. It was now possible to say to a landlord: "You have valued your land, or had it valued; if that is the case, we are coming to take a large area that we consider will benefit the community, and if it rises in value the community will get the advantage." That was a point which Local Authorities should take to heart and put into practice, and if that were done the Housing problem would be settled on

a basis of equality and fairness which had never previously been possible. It was the duty of Local Authorities to see that the housing accommodation of the people was worthy of their occupation, because in the long run it would pay to have good houses. A Bill was before Parliament which provided that a Local Authority might purchase compulsorily land within or in the neighbourhood of its area, which was undeveloped land and was not vested in any other Local Authority. The important point was that the price to be paid by the Local Authority should be the sum equal to the total value of the land as ascertained for the purposes of the Finance Act, 1909-10. Let England be the people's country, not in words, but in deed, and their efforts would not have been in vain. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. D. PEARSALL thought there was not the least doubt that tall residential buildings would be erected in England if there were no restrictions on the powers of owners, because buildings of that sort increased the ground rent. His experience of cottage building was that the question of light and sun was absolutely of supreme importance. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing which contributed more to the health and pleasantness of a house, and it was impossible to get it with the type of tall houses which had been alluded to, or even with the single-family houses which prevailed in London. With a row of houses half a mile long, it was impossible to get anything like the maximum amount of sun, nor did the builder make any effort in that direction. To get the maximum of light into houses, it was necessary to design with reference to the aspect. He would like to ask Mr. Thompson what was meant by "twelve houses to the acre" in connection with the Ruislip Estate. Was this the net acre or gross acre?

Alderman THOMPSON: It is net, I think.

Mr. PEARSALL: Deducting first of all the roads, there are twelve houses to the rest?

Alderman THOMPSON: Yes.

Mr. PEARSALL: And deducting also open spaces?

Alderman THOMPSON: I think so; yes. Roughly speaking, it is the net acre. I know it means that we deduct the roads, but whether we deduct the open spaces I am not clear. We deduct the large open spaces certainly, but as to the minor open spaces in front of the houses, I think not. So far as our scheme is concerned, it is six to the gross acre.

Mr. PEARSALL: I do not understand whether there are to be factories.

Alderman THOMPSON: Yes, at the southern end.

Mr. F. W. BLAKE (Wycombe Union) asked, if the land on the Ruislip Estate were required for the good of the community, would the promoters consider the community?

Alderman THOMPSON: If they could do it without going bankrupt.

Mr. BLAKE: Would you put the community before your own interests, if the land were required for the good of the community?

Alderman THOMPSON: We should sell it to them at a reasonable profit.

Mr. BLAKE: And put the community before your own interests?

Alderman THOMPSON: Oh, no, I think not. I understand our friend's position is this: Is it reasonable to ask landowners to give the community land at a lower price than they can get for it in the market? My own view is that so long as you get a reasonable profit you ought to be satisfied. "Reasonable profit" would not depend on the person who wants to sell or buy. If there is an absolute monopoly, it is obviously necessary that there should be some third authority saying: "You are entitled to a fair price for your land, and to a profit on it, and that particular price you ought not, in the interests of the community, to exceed." I do not expect to be robbed, neither do I expect to rob other people.

Councillor J. W. CROWTHER (Sheffield County Borough Council) said he thought the papers brought out four most important points—(1) as to the limitation of houses; (2) as to the provision of gardens in connection with houses, and not as allotments, because allotments were only palliatives; (3) as to the provision of open spaces; and (4) as to the acquisition of land by Municipal Authorities. Before Municipal Authorities could build, it was necessary that they should have land, and it was very difficult for them to buy land on a large scale at the present time, not because they had not the powers, but because it was difficult to persuade them to buy land under the powers they had. As to the limitation of houses, the chief bugbear was that it was an expensive process, but Mr. Raymond Unwin had knocked that bogey on the head. He had shown how little difference it made in the cost, and how, in fact, it was to the advantage of a landowner, broadly speaking, to limit the number of houses. As to the gardens themselves, there was not the slightest doubt it was

much better for a man to drop out of his back door into his garden at once. At the present time they had to go two or three miles to their gardens. It was said they could grow on an allotment of 400 yards produce to the value of £10 or £15 a year, but the financial side was not the best aspect of the garden question. Gardens took men from the public-houses to the open air, and very often their wives and children helped them in their gardening. (Hear, hear.) As to the provision of open spaces, in Town Planning it was an absolute necessity that open spaces should be provided, and in Sheffield they were doing that. They erected the houses in groups of twenty, and at the back there was a large open space where the children could play. He appreciated the great value of a Municipal Authority deciding how land should be laid out, and having an absolute veto on the class of houses erected.

Mr. J. E. NEVILL declared that no one reading the papers could avoid seeing how good objects were frustrated by owners asking an exorbitant price for land. Frequently Town Councils and other bodies desiring to acquire land found it utterly impossible to get it. The Bill which had been alluded to did not state the price nor the conditions upon which land could be purchased, and he desired to ask what authority fixed the price of land, so that a prohibitory price on the part of the owner should not frustrate the purpose of Town Planning? It involved a principle which ought to be clear to the minds of all interested in the matter. He remembered a case where a Council desired to purchase land at a nominal price, but when the purpose for which it was required came to the knowledge of the owner, the price went up nearly 1,000 per cent. That defeated the Council's object in purchasing the land for schools, and at the present moment the land was lying idle. Was there an authority which fixed the price of land, so that such beneficent objects could not be frustrated?

Councillor T. R. MARR (Manchester County Borough Council) thought that there was being emphasised in one part of the Conference a condition which, perhaps, was forgotten in the Housing Section, namely, that in regard to the prevention of destitution Parliament had put greater responsibilities on Local Authorities than ever before. They had now a National Insurance Act, and the Act said that in the end Local Authorities were to be financially responsible for the occurrence of preventable sickness in their localities. That was a point of the very greatest importance. The one point he desired to make in connection with Town Planning was that they could not afford to delay. Local Authorities were saying: "We will wait to see what Liverpool and Birmingham are doing." From the point of view of the Local Authority, he believed that to be a most unwise policy. (Hear, hear.) Scarcely any Local Authority realised how extraordinarily rapidly its own district was being built up. In Manchester it had been said that because the Town Council had asked the Local Government Board to sanction stiffer bye-laws they had interfered with the building trade and no building was being done; and a considerable number of people believed that to be an absolute fact. He had the curiosity to take out the figures for Manchester and Salford, and found that during the six years he had been a member of the Manchester Corporation there had been added to the area between 20,000 and 21,000 new houses, certified as fit for human habitation by the Local Authorities. In addition to the mere increase of houses, every large town added annually a considerable number of warehouses, manufactories, and places of that kind, and probably another six or ten thousand buildings had been put up for commercial purposes in Manchester during the period to which he had alluded. Although all those buildings were erected under modern bye-laws, it could not be said they were entirely satisfactory. There was a fairly high death-rate in the neighbourhood, very considerable preventible sickness, and the general conditions were not as good as they might be. If the future of towns were to be safeguarded, if they were to safeguard the pockets of the ratepayers, whose interests they were supposed to represent, it was of the utmost importance that there should be displayed a great amount of foresight. Town Planning schemes should be put forward as rapidly as possible, and pushed, not merely because they were likely to improve the amenities of the outside district and definitely improve the health of the locality, but because they would ultimately—and he believed at no very distant date—save the rates of the locality. They were told that the limitation of the number of houses, and the provision of open spaces, were so impossible that Local Authorities would not face the question. But Local Authorities had all along been paying ten times the amount they would have to pay under Town Planning schemes directly for street improvements, and indirectly through the Boards of Guardians for sick relief,

voluntary hospitals, and the Public Health Service. That money could be saved if decent Town Planning conditions were adopted. (Applause.)

Mrs. HASLAM (Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association) asked what the men paid for the allotments she saw on the railway near Chester, and if they were allowed to keep them as long as they paid the rent and kept them in good order. She was interested because in Dublin they were trying something of the sort.

Mr. EWART G. CULPIN (Garden Cities' Association) desired to correct the impression that towns had no power to enter into the question of Garden Suburbs. It had been practically done by Hereford, and there was no doubt municipalities had the power to purchase a whole estate away from their own town, and do what they liked with it. He had raised the question with Mr. Burns, and been informed that it was possible. Mr. Crowther had referred to the cost of land, but it had been shown that where twenty-eight houses were erected to the acre, at an average price of £500, 6s. 8d. a yard was paid for the land; but when the number was reduced to eleven, the cost was only 4s. 2d. a yard. The question must be considered from the point of view not only of the houses, but the health-giving characteristics of Garden Cities and the productiveness of the land. One lesson he hoped would have been learned from the discussion, and that was that they were not doing the best thing unless they arranged that houses got proper sunlight. (Hear, hear.) Recently he had spent some little time photographing backs and fronts of houses with back projections. He had secured photographs at all times of the day, with the shadow of the back projection extending right across the back part of the house, and was able to demonstrate that no direct sunlight could get into the back room—probably the living-room—at any time of the day. Although they might not be able to reject house plans because of the manner of their planning, he hoped at any rate they would be able to bring some pressure to bear by educating people, and showing that houses could be properly built just as cheaply as they could be badly built. (Applause.)

Mr. H. SHAWCROSS, replying to the discussion, declared that the great beauty of Town Planning was that it eliminated the necessity of codification of bye-laws, or their alteration by an Act. Existing bye-laws could be scrapped, and others substituted in the town plan which were suitable to the conditions. Manchester had perhaps been fortunate in getting houses built, but in every other town in Lancashire, except Liverpool and Bolton, people were not building new houses. In Rochdale they had only 1 per cent. added every year, and that meant that they were not in a position to close the bad back-to-back houses, because they had no others being built. Who was to provide new houses when private enterprise refused to do so? He believed it must be either the municipality or the State. (Applause.)

Mr. G. L. PEPLER, commenting on the remarks which had been made on the subject of houses being built by private enterprise, expressed the opinion that it was a wrong policy to put burdens on the landowner, because he could not be expected to build houses at a loss. Either things must be nationalised or municipalised at a fair price, or the work must be left to unfettered private enterprise alone. All burdens put on the landlord eventually came upon the tenant. In discussing the rents of houses, especially in rural districts, they had not to aim at cutting down the rent to meet the wages of possible occupants, but at raising the wages to meet a rent that showed a reasonable return on the capital expended. It was not suggested that if a municipality desired to town plan it should buy all the land in its area. The advantage of the Town Planning Act was that a great deal could be done without purchase. Good conditions could be obtained without the municipality going to the expense of purchasing land.

Mr. LAMBIE: Who settles the price?

Mr. PEPLER: A thing is only worth what you can get for it. In most parts of the country there is no shortage of land, and I think you will find the thing adjusts itself largely. The days of people sticking out for absurd prices are going. Failing agreement, the price would be settled by an Arbitrator appointed by the Local Government Board.

Alderman THOMPSON, answering the question which had been asked as to who fixed the price of land, said that if land were bought compulsorily, say, for schools, the assessment of the price was settled by a special jury, consisting very largely of property owners, and they naturally fixed the price a little higher than it ought to be. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Under the Housing and Town Planning Act there was a different procedure. The price had to be settled by a single Arbitrator appointed by the Local Government Board, who based his decision on the fair market value of the

land, and that worked better than the old system. As to the allotments at Chester, there were about five plots to the acre, let at about 10s. to 12s. per annum. That was about 6d. a rod, whereas in his district they were mainly 1s. a rod. He desired to enter a caveat against the widespread fallacy in the country with regard to the effect of the price of land upon rent. The main question in practice was not the price of the raw land, but the cost of building and of the works on the land. The cost of road-making came to something like £250 to £300 per acre, and often more, and it was not sufficiently realised by the public that in many cases greater economies could be effected in road-making than by reducing the price of the land. The Housing question was not alone a land question, and valuation and taxation of land would not solve it, although they were essential elements in its solution. With regard to Town Planning schemes, he hoped one day the State would come along at Ruislip Manor and say: "The Local Authority ought to do this work and to buy out this Company." Speaking from the national point of view, he believed it would one day be the policy to give every Local Authority an option agreement over the land in its district similar to that of Ruislip Manor in its main features. Such an arrangement would be profitable to the landowners, and would enable a Local Authority to take up land at an agreed price. There was nothing in law, so far as he could see, to prevent a company formed under such a scheme selling their undertaking to a Council. He asked the Conference to get hold of the idea of a Local Authority getting such an option agreement on land in their district, and seeing if Town Planning could not be better worked on those lines.

The CHAIRMAN: Does that mean an option of compulsory purchase?

Alderman THOMPSON: Yes, an option to take it, to compel everyone to enter into this agreement. A Local Authority may say: "We want to know on what terms we can take this land now or in the future." There would be an agreed price, much higher than the land is worth now, but it takes into consideration the future value and the present value, and the two parties, owner and Local Authority, would benefit by it.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Charles Bathurst, M.P. The subject discussed was RURAL HOUSING, and the following papers were taken:—

1.—*County Councils and Housing.*
By Mr. J. W. WILLIS BUND.

2.—*Rural Housing.*
By Professor W. J. SIMPSON.

3.—*Difficulties in carrying out Rural Housing Schemes.*
By Dr. J. C. THRESH, County Medical Officer of Health, Essex.

4.—*Rural Co-partnership Housing.*
By Lord HENRY BENTINCK, M.P.

5.—*Rural Housing and Parish Councils.*
By Mr. W. ST. JOHN HANCOCK.

County Councils and Housing.

By J. W. WILLIS BUND
(Chairman Worcester County Council, and of the Housing and Small Holdings Committee of the County Councils' Association).

WHEN the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, was before Parliament, the County Councils' Association made various attempts to get the Bill amended so as to make the County Council the authority whose duty it should be to see that the provisions of the Act were put in force and that steps were taken for providing better housing, both in the towns and villages in the country. The Local Government Board refused to listen to the County Councils. In their opinion, all the virtues resided in District Councils, so to them the administration of the Act has been entrusted. The County Council only has power to act if the District Council fail to do their duty. The result has been what was predicted—little has been done except to make matters worse than before. District Councils, especially Rural Disrict Councils, have only one real object in life, namely, to keep down the rates; to this everything else has to give way. As omelettes cannot

be made without breaking eggs, so housing reform cannot be carried out without increasing rates. Omelettes are superfluities, and can be dispensed with if the eggs are kept for hatching. So housing reform can be put off and a District Council chairman can make it his proud boast that he has not during his period of office, raised the rates by even the fraction of a penny. How much he has contributed to demoralisation and destitution is another matter.

A District Council can, however, do, or pretend to do, much under the Act which will not involve any considerable expenditure, and so cause no appreciable rise in the rates, and to some extent this class of work has been carried out.

Thus they have either made, or are in the course of making, the inspections required by Clause 17 (*i*) of the Act. But as the inspection is to ascertain if any dwelling-house in their area is dangerous or injurious to health so as to be unfit for human habitation—and this is a matter of opinion—the standard as to what dwelling-houses require to be dealt with under the Section varies in different localities. Some authorities, however, to show their zeal, have made orders closing certain houses, but such orders are really of no use—they simply intensify the evils in the villages by compelling the families who are ejected either to leave the district or else to find accommodation in houses already often more than full. It may look well in reports to say a certain number of closing orders have been made, but no mention is ever made of the other side of the picture, that for the families turned out in consequence of the orders no accommodation has yet been provided. This is no fancy case. In one county since the Act came into force the effect of the closing orders which have been made has been to turn out about 825 persons, but so far no provision has been made for the accommodation of these persons. They must live somewhere—they go into towns or accentuate the overcrowding of the country. Everyone who has the most elementary knowledge of social reform knows that one great cause of the immorality and destitution that prevails is the continuance of the present bad housing conditions. Everyone will also agree that it is not desirable to compel persons to leave the country for the towns, yet this is one of the effects of the District Council administration of the much-vaunted Housing Act.

Take the ordinary English village. One or both of the following classes of cases are continually occurring:—

(*a*) A cottage gets out of repair and becomes unfit for human habitation. The house is closed and the persons who lived in it have to go elsewhere. The chances are they get accommodation in the village. They are overcrowding the house that takes them in. If they do not, they go to the towns and add more units to the destitution which exists there.

(*b*) A couple marry and get a house with two, or at the most, three rooms upstairs. All goes on well at first, until the family begins to increase and grow up. Then the small children sleep with the parents, the older boys in one room and the older girls in another, if there are three rooms. If there are not, the parents and the small children have one room, and the other children the other. The mixed multitude may be any age from 8 to 16, and this arrangement does not tend either to health or morality. If a closing order is made (which in many cases is all that is done) the family has to go somewhere. The chances are that it only goes to assist in the development of destitution.

It does not tend to improve matters where such cottages as exist are in the hands of tenant farmers and let with the farms. The farmers are the District Councillors. They cannot see that there is anything to make a fuss about, and they

will not enforce the law against their neighbours, for if they do not their neighbours will not enforce the law against them. So matters go on, and people say, when at last some scandal arises, "How very shocking." No one who knows anything about English rural life but can speak to a number of such cases. The above are the simple cases. Complications may arise in two ways:—

(i) A closing order is made as to one cottage—the dwellers are turned out, the neighbours, who are kinder to each other than is generally thought to be the case, take in one or more of the ejected ones out of their good nature, with a result of an increase of immorality. It might be that the fact of relationship may have a restraining influence on the boys and girls of a family. It is quite clear when a person who is no relative comes there is nothing to restrain them; with the result that the girls begin the easy descent of Avernus.

(ii) One of the family—it does not matter of which sex—is weak-minded. In whatever it is deficient in one sense, it exceeds in some of the other senses, usually the sexual, so the weak-minded girl or boy is certain to commence the course that leads to destitution.

In fact, the breeding-grounds of destitution are the country cottages, and the bodies who are charged with looking after this state of things and legally supposed to prevent destitution are the persons who are encouraging it.

It will at once be said, Why are not more cottages built? Simply because it does not pay to build them. This arises from two causes:—

(*a*) The conditions laid down in many of the bye-laws of the District Councils are such that the cost of complying with them raises the cost of the cottages above a sum that will yield the owner any adequate return for his outlay. To speak generally, a single cottage cannot be built under £150 to £170, if it can be for that sum; a double cottage may be built for £270 to £300. For neither of them can an agricultural labourer afford to pay more than 2s. 6d. per week—say a return of £2 per cent.—but against this there must be deducted rates, taxes, and repairs, which will probably bring the return to 1½ per cent., and considering the trouble and bother of cottage property, such a return is not enough to induce a landowner to build. He can get more by leaving his money on deposit at his bankers, and be free from all trouble.

(*b*) The Housing Act empowers District Councils to say what number of houses shall be built to an acre. The provision is a right and proper one provided it is reasonably exercised, but the fear and dread of the District Council pervades the men who have what they call "a little independence," men of the class who used to be very fond of buying a piece of land and erecting cottages upon it. A row of cottages was a paying speculation to a builder or to a man with small means and brought him a good return for his money; now he finds that the limitation of the number of houses to the acre will prevent his building so as to make it pay, with the result that cottages do not get built.

Neither will the speculative builder build as he formerly did. His banker will not advance him so much money as formerly, for they cannot fix the value of the cottages, and so the amount of the advance, until it is known what number of houses will be allowed per acre, the difference between fifty and sixty making all the difference between profit and loss.

The District Councils have not the courage to prepare a scheme settling this matter. Any such scheme would cost money, and so they act on the principle of letting sleeping dogs lie. But, like the Pharisees of old, they have taken away the power of building, they will not build themselves and prevent anyone else doing so.

It will be said, If the District Councils have the power of building cottages, why do not they do so? Here again the answer is twofold. They do not want to raise the rates, and any scheme must be attended with extra expense which may have to be borne on the part of the district where some active member of the Council resides. He proposes the matter be postponed, and all are only too glad of this way of evading the difficulty, or (and here the Local Government Board are to blame), they say the scheme must be self-supporting. This involves cutting down the buildings and their construction so as to allow of reduction of the cost to a minimum, quite irrespective of whether the house is such as a self-respecting working man would care to pay for. The District Council have before their eyes the terror of voids and so keep putting off action from time to time. But they must do something, so they make closing orders, but do not carry out housing schemes.

What, it will be asked, is the remedy for this state of things? The President of the Local Government Board says raise the wages of the agricultural labourer. But with present prices can the farmer afford to pay increased wages? If he does he pays less rent, and the landlord will be less able to build. The real answer is clear. The remedy is to give concurrent power to County Councils and require them to carry out some comprehensive schemes. What is a heavy charge on a parish, or even on the area of a District Council, becomes a light charge, one hardly felt, when spread over the county area. When it is asked why should the County Council have power, the answer is, they are the only local body that are able to deal with the matter in a systematic way—to look at things from a national, as opposed to the parochial, standpoint. It may be said, what is their interest in the matter? Their interest is this, to have as little poverty and destitution as possible within their borders. If it was only possible to make local bodies see it, overcrowding leads to a charge on the county in the way of criminals, lunatics, defectives, and it is only by some large independent body dealing with matters that it will be possible to reduce destitution. A County Council is able, through its officers, and the information it possesses, to say what is the destitution in its area, and it also should be able to say what are the areas where destitution prevails, and to form some scheme for its relief. To take one point alone. The county could establish farm colonies fitted for the different classes with which it has to deal, settle at once the number of houses to the acre; on some areas it would be one number, on another a greater or less number, and on closing orders being made the people who were displaced could be sent to the farm colony best suited for them, so that they should really have a chance. It is only by some such method of dealing with families that any real good can be done, and it is only a County Council that can deal with the matter on a system. Doubtless there would be difficulties in carrying out the work, but the difficulties would soon disappear. At least, it is worth a trial to let a public body deal with the matter in a way that would not drive the rural people into the town, or accentuate the evil of overcrowding in the country, by providing a suitable place and giving a definite place to all the persons who require it. It is possible the system might not be successful in all cases, but at present it looks as if it was the only system that could really deal with the great scandal of destitution.

Rural Housing.

By Professor W. J. Simpson, c.m.g., m.d.

The Policy of the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association.

The Rural Housing and Sanitation Association was founded to improve the conditions of housing and sanitation in country working-class houses throughout England, so as to prevent the rural population from being drawn into towns by the inadequacy and unwholesomeness of their habitations.

It is recognised that there are other very powerful factors of an economic and social nature that are drawing the people from the rural districts into the towns of England, and to the agricultural lands of Canada and Australia. These, however, are political problems with which the Association does not concern itself. What it does concern itself with is that, notwithstanding the enormous wealth of England, acquired by its vast possessions, commerce, and industries, its rural population as it exists to-day is badly and inadequately housed, and that this fact increases the tendency to migrate from the rural districts.

The Rural Housing of To-day in Agricultural Districts.

To one like myself who has lived out of England for many years, the conditions relating to water supply, sewage arrangements, and housing of the working classes, which on my return I saw in the agricultural districts, came as a painful surprise. I knew that the villages in some parts of England had formerly cottages in a bad condition, for in 1885 I visited many and photographed a few, but I was under the impression that sanitary and housing laws had effected a great improvement. From a general point of view one is struck on a visit to the country with the small amount of garden, if there happens to be any garden at all, attached to the cottages, and the wide expanse of land around them, from which they are hedged off. Jesse Collins's three acres and a cow is a rarity for the country labourer. The absence of garden, unless the cottages are crowded together makes very little difference as regards the circulation of air around the cottage, but the garden is useful in lessening the expenses of the household. It also, if large enough, stands in the same relationship to the country cottage as the paving, drainage, and conservancy provided for by the Sanitary Authorities do to the town dwellings, and which have improved so much the environment and healthiness of the houses of the working classes in towns. The garden allows of the disposal of the refuse of the dwelling without nuisance and without danger to the well or tank containing the drinking water. Twenty-five years ago it was generally agreed that a sufficiency of land attached to the cottage was necessary to help the labourer to pay his rent and also to secure effective sanitation.

The old-world villages and hamlets, with their quaint cottages, are delightful to visit, and from an archæological and historical point of view are an interesting study, but from the point of view of comfort and health and decency the cottages are frequently the last habitation one would choose to live in. Viewed from a distance they often look charming, but closer acquaintance with inspection of the interior and the surroundings more often than not reveals varying degrees of old age and conditions inimical to health.

There are the picturesque and dilapidated cottages unfit for human habitation under any circumstances; there are few villages that do not contain some of these.

There are the cottages old, but not yet useless, which, if repaired, can fulfil their functions of shelter for a few years more. There are, perhaps, some fine old cottages with good accommodation and which are kept in good repair, but there are others, and they are in the majority, far from conforming with the twentieth century's ideas of health and decency. There may also be cottages few and far between of more modern date, but the rent is such as either to press heavily on the agricultural labourer or to be beyond his means.

Houses, like Individuals, have only a Limited Span of Useful Life.

Houses are like individuals, they grow old, and a time comes when their usefulness is over. Villages must necessarily decay unless new cottages are built to take the place of those that have grown old and have become uninhabitable. New cottages are as essential to the healthy maintenance of a village as new generations are to the life and maintenance of its population. The useful life of a cottage is, after all, limited; patch it how one will short of re-building, and if it is damp from the foundations, as a large number of these are, the only remedy is re-building.

If the cottages were everlasting and remained healthy, then with a dwindling population in the agricultural districts the Housing question would have settled itself. If the decline in population had taken place suddenly when the cottages were in good condition, or had only extended over a few years, then probably there would have been for the time being no Housing question. This is the case, I am informed, in some of the rural parishes of Scotland, from which large numbers have in recent years emigrated to Canada.

But the process which has brought about an England with 77 per cent. of its population in towns and only 23 per cent. in the country has been a gradual one, and has taken nearly 100 years. During that long period large numbers of cottages have from various causes been pulled down, others have grown so old that they have fallen down, and a large proportion are suffering from the effects of age, so that there is not sufficient healthy accommodation for even the smaller number of people who wish to remain in the villages.

There are no records or census that I know of giving the number of houses that have disappeared during the past fifty years or the state of the houses that remain, or the intensity in each parish of the scarcity of healthy cottages, but wherever one goes in the rural districts one hears the same complaint of the difficulty of getting a cottage to live in. The Select Committee on Rural Housing, in 1906, reported that they have had abundant evidence before them of the insufficiency of cottages in rural districts.

Housing in the Parish of Edgefield and the Value of its Record.

Just recently, however, a very interesting and illuminating record came to my notice. It appeared in a Cromer paper in November last. It was the report of an inquiry by a Committee of the Erpingham Rural District Council, held at Edgefield under the Act of 1909, into the housing accommodation of the parish. The Rev. W. H. Marcon, giving evidence, stated that there were not enough houses for the necessary number of people to cultivate the land, whether that land in the future was cultivated in large farms, small holdings, or allotments. In the last fifty years there had been, to his personal knowledge, a decrease of thirty to thirty-five houses in the parish. They had simply ceased to exist. Taking an average of four persons per house, that represented 120 persons to be provided for. The

population of the parish was 475 last census, and fifty years ago it was 480. The houses he had mentioned as disappearing had simply fallen down during the last fifty years.

The first applicant heard before the Committee was an agricultural labourer, and his evidence is interesting and valuable, as it represents fairly not an uncommon position among his class. He and his family lived with his father-in-law. There were five of them for one room. He had three children aged 10, 8, and 6, two of whom were boys. His house was one of the Sanitary Inspector's "overcrowded list." He should like to get a new cottage—no old one, thank you. He would rather pay for a new one. On the Chairman asking him what rent he would be prepared to pay, the applicant asked what would the Council think of charging? It was explained that was not the question. The idea of the Council in the erection of any houses was to provide not less than three bedrooms and suitable accommodation downstairs and about a quarter of an acre of land. The applicant said he thought that sort of house would do, but he would like more land. The more land he had, the easier to get the rent for all, and less to find out of his earnings. As for rent, he could go to £8 a year. Another labourer said he could pay a rent of £5 provided the cottage had a garden.

The example is valuable because there is a definite record owing to the clergyman having a personal knowledge of the facts. It is also instructive in that although there was no material decrease of the population, only the surplus that would naturally arise in fifty years having left, yet the housing is infinitely worse for the present generation than it was for the old, because the houses that still remain are fifty years older, and only some of the owners have done the best for their cottages, and because thirty to thirty-five have fallen down and could not be occupied. None of these villages have benefited from the prosperity of the country during the past fifty years. On the contrary, their condition has deteriorated from that of their forefathers.

Even the immediate replacement by new cottages of the thirty to thirty-five that have fallen down would not meet the requirements of the village nor bring it back to the accommodation it had fifty years ago, nor to the sanitary ideals of this century. It would only, with its present population, bring it to that stage when the active operation of the Housing Act of 1909 would become useful and effective. And this is an aspect of the housing question in rural districts that I want to emphasise.

The Value of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 and its Defects.

The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 is a most valuable Act, and it is going to do an immense deal of good in the way of improvement of the housing in urban and semi-urban districts and in the sanitary condition of reparable houses in rural districts, and perhaps in the provision of cottages in the place of those which are permanently closed by the enforcement of the Act. It is a great Act, and the Right Hon. Mr. Burns deserves the highest credit that can be given him for his success in placing it on the legislature. But it suffers from endeavouring to combine the solution of the housing problems of the town and country in one Act, as if the problems were the same or the conditions the same. It is in its present form not going to solve the problem of the inadequate housing of the working classes in rural districts, which is largely a matter of finance as well as of administration. And if this problem is not solved, the Act, as far as rural

and agricultural districts are concerned, will not materially reduce the overcrowding and the social evils which follow, and it will not check the emigration which is going on at the present time of the most intelligent from the villages and the concentration of the less sturdy, less energetic and keen in the villages to multiply among themselves. Such conditions are not favourable to the maintenance of a fine rural population, healthy both in body and mind.

Information regarding the Extent of the Scarcity of Healthy Houses is Vague and not Precise.

It has been already stated that there are no records of the actual loss in cottages in each parish nor at present of the condition of the remaining cottages in relation to the number of people that have to be housed. Everything is vague. Information is wanted to allow of analysis of the 23 per cent. of the population in rural districts. How much of it belongs to those villages and parishes near large towns and railway stations, and which are renewing their youth by the influx of town dwellers who still work in the town or have left the town owing to some new industry arising in these villages and for which private enterprise supplies plenty of houses? How much belongs to the villages and parishes of an agricultural character and away from railway stations, and how the last fare in regard to housing accommodation? There is only a general consensus of opinion to fall back upon, that the majority of rural parishes are suffering from inadequate cottage accommodation. When a record is brought forward, such as that of Edgefield, it is startling.

The Problem is too large to be solved by the Rural District Councils under the Act of 1909.

There are, I understand, some 13,000 parishes in the rural districts of England, and if only one-twentieth of these are in a similar plight to that of Edgefield, which is an estimate believed to be much below the mark, then the Local Authorities concerned are faced with the early provision of at least 20,000 cottages, and after that with the further provision of cottages equalling at least the number that are permanently closed under the Act of 1909, and which the owners may not feel inclined to replace with new ones. I am stating the problem as it appears to me, and not with the object of depreciating the value of the Small Holdings Act, which has provided alone over 1,000 houses, or that of the Housing Act of 1909, which the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association, and I agree with them, believe to be a great advance on other Acts relating to Rural Housing.

The Housing Act of 1909 has already proved most useful by

(*a*) Calling general attention to the subject in the rural districts and stimulating the Local Authorities to action;

(*b*) Simplifying the procedure by reducing the number of inquiries;

(*c*) Lessening the financial difficulties connected with former Acts by lengthening the period of the loan without any increase of interest;

(*d*) Compelling the appointment of County Medical Officers of Health, which has been advocated by the Rural Housing Association almost from its inauguration;

(*e*) Laying down the statutory appointment of the County Public Health and Housing Committee;

(*f*) Granting powers to the Local Government Board to enforce the carrying out of the provisions of the Act.

Further, the supplemental orders of the Local Government Board about the position of the Sanitary Officers, inspection of houses, and keeping records are most valuable.

It may be acknowledged also that good work has been already done under the Act, some 1,200 houses having been repaired under the threat of a closing order; fifty houses have been built in a mining district, and 100 in rural districts. Quite a number of Rural District Councils are also taking action; twenty-one have actually got schemes in hand.

Still, recognising all the benefits that may be derived from the 1909 Act in the course of many years, it does not include a remedy for the existing scarcity of cottages in agricultural villages and parishes remote from railway stations. It is the financial difficulty that obstructs the way. The Act will not provide the 20,000 or perhaps more houses that may be urgently required at the present time without taking into account the provision which will be necessary to make owing to the efficient working of the Act, and the closing of houses unfit for human habitation. The Rural District Councils, which are the Building Authorities, cannot as a rule tackle this primary difficulty. Their previous inaction was due largely to the lack of funds and a natural reluctance to increase the local rates, and even if they were willing to raise the rates to an intolerable height, they would not, in a large majority of instances, be able to build an adequate number of cottages, while at the same time they would be doing much harm to the people it was intended to benefit.

In connection with this, the figures supplied from Worcestershire by Mr. Willis Bund, in 1906, are valuable as showing the financial position of some of the Rural District Councils. "Out of seventeen rural districts, in no less than eight a penny rate produces under £100; in four districts a sum between £100 and £300; in four districts a sum between £300 and £500; in one district a sum over £500."

The financial aspect is an important subject for discussion at this Conference. I think the Select Committee made out a good case for the County Council being financially responsible for the building of cottages in the same way that the County of London has been responsible for the building of houses for the working classes.

Rural Housing is a Separate Problem from Town Housing.

There is a disadvantage in mixing up town and country housing questions and endeavouring to solve them by similar measures. The problems are different, and the solution of the one does not necessarily solve the other. In rural districts there is plenty of land, and the problem is how to obtain it cheap and build healthy cottages cheaply in localities where, owing to low wages, only a low rental can be paid, and where the local rates will not furnish the necessary funds except at a burdensome figure. In town districts the land is already occupied centrally, and it is a matter of rapid and cheap transit into well-planned and well-built suburbs, the land of which has been secured at a moderate price. Even connected with Rural Housing there are two problems to deal with; one relates to villages near large towns and railway stations and to large estates sold for building purposes. This is associated more or less with the ready acquisition of land, transit, town planning, open spaces, and the erection of houses of different classes. The supply of houses meets the demand, and there is usually no scarcity. It is here

that the Garden City Movement, if made generally compulsory, goes far to solve the problem of healthy development and healthy houses, and it is here the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 will be particularly beneficial. But the scarcity of cheap and healthy cottages and the building of an adequate number in villages and parishes away from a railway station and in agricultural districts is another problem. The supply will never be met by private enterprise. It is not a pleasant fact, but it is one that has to be faced.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, I would put in a plea for a more separate consideration of the Housing question in the rural districts, for an inquiry into the actual number of houses required in each parish, for a distinction between the scarcity of cottages in agricultural villages and parishes and that of parishes where fruit farming, vegetable growing, poultry rearing, dairy farming, and other industries are going on, and for information so as to compare the villages that are receiving town dwellers and those that are too remote for that purpose. I am also strongly of opinion that the County Councils are the only Authorities who can afford to deal with the building of cottages in rural districts to meet the scarcity. It may be open to argument that the Imperial Government should come to the assistance of the County Councils, and if it did so I would suggest that this could be effected by allocating out of the one-and-a-half million pounds to be given for the erection of sanatoria at least half-a-million to the County Councils for Rural Housing in agricultural districts and in those parishes away from railway stations that I have indicated. I believe that a certain number of sanatoria provided for the isolation of the sick and an ample provision of temporary shelters in villages will be useful for the treatment and prevention of tuberculosis. As pointed out by Dr. Newsholme, the treatment of a large number of the poorest of the consumptive patients in the community within workhouse infirmaries during a considerable portion of their total illness has borne an important share in bringing about the reduction of tuberculosis already secured. The value of sanatoria, with their open-air treatment, good food, and graduated exercise, is recognised. But I view all these measures only as adjuncts to the preventive side of tuberculosis. We must begin at the other end. Bring dryness, fresh air, light, sunshine, space, and accommodation into the cottages. For this purpose new cottages are required, for, apart from the scarcity now prevailing, nothing that may be done to large numbers of the old existing cottages will free them from foundation dampness and make them satisfactory from a health point of view, and I hold that more permanent and valuable results will be derived from action in this direction than in the treatment of tuberculosis and other preventible diseases.

Difficulties in carrying out Rural Housing Schemes.

By John C. Thresh, m.d., d.sc., etc.

(County Medical Officer of Health, Essex).

Having had a considerable amount of experience in connection with Housing schemes, the following notes may be taken as being based on actual observations, and not upon theories.

The first difficulty to which I wish to refer is that of proving that more cottages are really needed. Recently I have adopted the plan of consulting (1) the Parish Councils, (2) the ministers and the chief employers of labour in the parish concerned, and (3) the Assistant Overseer. Moreover, I get all the opinions expressed in writing, having ceased to place reliance on verbal statements which may be contradicted when a public inquiry is held. The Parish Councils generally express a definite opinion, and if this is to the effect that cottages are not required, no help can be expected from them. They may be depended upon to put difficulties in the way and to wreck any scheme proposed. The ministers and employers of labour may agree or disagree with the Parish Council, invariably they disagree amongst themselves. One may assert that a dozen cottages are needed, another thinks six would meet all the requirements of the parish, others say that none are required, and may even point out that there are several unoccupied cottages at the present time. They never point out, however, that they are unoccupied because for some reason or other they are unoccupiable. Assuming that several agree that cottages are required, it is usually stated that it is useless erecting them if the rent is to exceed 2s. 6d. per week. Or it may be that one person will advocate the erection of cottages if they will be conveniently situated for the use of his labourers, but he will not be in favour of erecting them if they are not so situated. As a rule ministers of religion are in favour of more cottages being provided if they have three bedrooms each, but I have known a clergyman oppose the erection of cottages when farmers have actually wanted them.

The Overseer's books generally reveal one most important fact, namely, that there are many farms without cottages or with an inadequate number, and in agricultural districts cheap cottages provided by the Health Authorities and paid for out of the rates chiefly benefit absentee landlords who refuse to provide houses for the labourers employed on their farms.

Is it to be wondered at that the Rural Authorities refuse thus to subsidise the defaulting landlord, or that the farming classes are beginning to claim that they should reap the first fruits of their labour and that the owner should be satisfied with a share of the surplus, if any.

The information obtained as above, however contradictory, is always valuable. It may be supplimented by actual investigation of the conditions under which the people live. There may be overcrowding, but generally this is very difficult to prove. There may be many persons waiting to be married and who cannot get a house. Unfortunately, these people are either very shy or very timid, as it is rarely possible to get them to make such a statement at an inquiry or to get them to put it in writing. The census returns of the total number of the population and of the number of inhabited houses almost invariably proves that there is no serious overcrowding. In many parishes where houses are badly needed the average number of persons per house is under $4\frac{1}{2}$, and in only one instance have I found it reach 5. As a few houses possess three bedrooms and a few one bedroom, the great majority having two bedrooms (and two living-rooms), these statistics afford no evidence of overcrowding, and are therefore useless. When overcrowding is found it is usually amongst a class who would not be allowed to occupy a decent cottage, and the provision of better cottages would not affect such cases.

The character of the cottages ought to be an important factor in determining whether more houses are needed, but usually the investigation simply proves that if more efficient sanitary control were exercised the cottages would be satisfactory.

They may be without coppers or sinks or even ovens, but these could be supplied if any Authority had power to compel their provision. The Medical Officer of Health or Sanitary Inspector may have grave doubts whether certain cottages are fit for human habitation or not. It is an exceedingly difficult matter to determine in many cases, and an appeal to the Local Government Board is feared. An Officer dare scarcely take the risk of having his opinion set aside by a Government official. To indiscriminately condemn cottages before others are provided for the dispossessed tenants to occupy is to accentuate the existing evils, and I am doubtful whether the ultimate result ever justifies such a course. Many old cottages could be made comfortable and healthy if Rural Authorities could take them over at their actual value and spend the necessary money in placing them in proper repair.

In very many cases the owners are too poor to do this, in others "copyhold" troubles prevent its being done. In other cases owners threaten to close the cottages and eject the tenants if any undue pressure is put upon them to spend a considerable amount of money in making the places really habitable.

Given an energetic Sanitary Officer, the need for cottages may be proved, but the next difficulty is to get them provided. There will be members of the Authority who will strongly object on the ground that if each owner of land provided a sufficient number of cottages for the whole of the labourers employed thereon, there would be no need for public money to be spent. In most rural districts this is the case, and the argument carries great weight. Others will urge that any expense incurred shall fall upon the individual parish, others that it shall be borne by the whole district, and a deadlock may ensue.

Assuming that these difficulties are overcome, the next encountered is that of obtaining land at a reasonable price in a convenient position. The landowners exhibit no anxiety to provide the land, even advertisements in the local papers may fail to obtain any offer, or any reasonable offer. If the Authority select a piece and approach the owner, it is unfortunate that the piece selected is so often the most valuable piece of land in the whole parish. If no excessive value is put on the piece selected, difficulties may arise because the estate is entailed, or because the owners or part-owners are travelling abroad and not get-at-able. There may be no actual opposition, but there is absolute apathy, and the inertia is so great that it is often practically impossible to overcome it. To me nothing has been more disheartening than the difficulty of obtaining land.

If land is obtained there is still great difficulty in providing cottages which will let at anything like a remunerative rent. If a Sanitary Authority provides cottages they are expected to build and maintain them on a higher plane than any builder or private individual, and at the same time they are expected to let them at a lower rent than that charged for inferior cottages.

If they are let at unremunerative rents, the rates have to be increased. A vicious circle is entered upon. Cheap houses mean cheap labour, and the provision of cheap cottages in agricultural districts means that the farmers will be able to get labour even more cheaply than at present, and that the landowner will command better rents for his farms. If the farmer could or would pay an economic rent there would soon be no Housing problem in rural districts, and the provision of cheap, rate-aided cottages is simply putting back the time when the agricultural labourer will receive sufficient wages to pay a reasonable rent.

In some districts a difficulty is cropping up owing to artisans in towns desiring to live in the open country around. Cottage rents in towns are often preposterously high, and to get more elbow room and more of God's fresh air a man

desires to reside outside the urban area. He then competes with the local labourer, offers a higher rent, gets the best cottages, and causes the rents to increase all round. The advent of the town artisan, under present conditions, is not an unmixed blessing. He could afford to pay an economic rent, but Rural Authorities are fearful of catering for him. The local opposition to the provision of cottages in the country for the town artisan is surprising. The local labourer objects because the artisan's advent has raised rents all round, the ministers and the wealthier classes object because his intrusion has interfered with their privacy, and because his presence may infuse a little more manliness and independence into the poor local labourer, who, through long ages, has had instilled into him his duty to continue satisfied with the conditions in which God has placed him. The one thing worth encouraging in rural areas is the provision of decent cottages at a reasonable rent for the artisans employed in the towns. The more town and country come in contact the better for both, and the better for the whole country.

Philanthropists provide free libraries, contribute to hospitals, and often do an enormous amount of harm by helping to pauperise the people. Why do not some of these well-meaning but often misguided members of the monied class help to rehabitate the country districts by providing really good cottages which could be let at a rent which might not be considered remunerative as a mere commercial speculation, but which would at least pay as good an interest as Consols and not be nearly as liable to their variations, and which would be a permanent benefit to the country.

If the philanthropist did not want to receive any interest, why not form a trust and let the rents collected go towards providing more cottages when required. Care would have to be exercised to guard against the danger of the interest being swallowed up in expenses of management. The work should be done through the existing Authorities whose interest it would be to undertake all the necessary business as economically as possible.

The desirability of erecting cottages where an economic rent is possible is being generally conceded, but different interpretations are being put upon the term. Some Sanitary Authorities are looking for a return in rent which will defray all expenses and interest and pay off the principal in fifty years. This is causing the tenants to purchase the cottages for the benefit of the whole district, and is neither fair nor reasonable. If the rent paid expenses and interest and 1 per cent. to a sinking fund, this would be truly " economic."

The difficulty is in securing such a rent in agricultural districts. In every parish there are a certain number of persons who would take better cottages at a reasonable rent. Their doing so relieves competition, and leaves poorer houses available at a still lower rent. There is a general moving up of the whole working class population, and the labourer has an incentive to be frugal in order to secure a better house. All classes are benefitted, from the poorest labourer to the best paid artisan.

The greatest difficulty of all is that of convincing the country that the best way of securing a healthy and contented working class is by securing for them decent houses and decent conditions under which they can live. Private doles and parliamentary doles, however disguised, are mere temporary palliatives, never reaching the root of the disease, or if they do, it is only to increase the vigour of its growth and to make the last condition worse than the first.

Rural Co-partnership Housing.

By Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P.
(President of the Rural Co-partnership Housing Association).

I have been asked to read a short paper on the principle of Co-partnership in regard to Rural Housing. The Rural Co-partnership Housing Association, of which I am Chairman, has been formed to deal with this, and I cannot do better than quote from their circular to give you an idea of its objects:—

> "The Rural Co-partnership Housing Association has been formed to apply the system of Co-partnership in Housing to the case of those who manually cultivate land, whether as small holders, allotment holders, or farm labourers. In this direction it aims at putting into full use the present partly unknown and neglected facilities provided by Parliament for improving the housing conditions of the working classes. Chief among these is that which allows societies that comply with the public utility requirements of the Housing and Town Planning Act, to obtain on loan from the Treasury, at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, two-thirds of the capital required for houses and land, the repayment of which loan can be spread over forty years. (The remaining third is secured through the issue of shares and loan stock to the public at 4 per cent. interest, and in order to help local societies in this matter, a central Investment Trust has been formed.)"

There is an important difference in the application of the principle of Co-partnership to rural and urban conditions. This is due to the fact that in a rural society there is available for investment a smaller amount of money than in an urban society. The tenant-members, in particular, are unable to provide much capital. In urban societies it is possible to build houses at rents verying from 5s. a week to £150 a year, thus simplifying the financial problem considerably, as a comparatively large sum is at once available for investment from the tenant-members.

Moreover, in the case of rural societies, it has been found desirable to let land with the cottages. This goes a long way towards enabling the tenants to pay their rents. At Otford, near Sevenoaks, about 160 acres have been purchased, and thirty cottages only are to be put up, so that some of these tenants will be practically small holders.

Perhaps the simplest method of explaining the operation of the Co-partnership principle is to give a typical case. In one case a number of allotment holders, whose land was in the market, feared the loss of their allotments. A Co-partnership society was therefore formed and thirty acres of the land purchased. Twenty-eight cottages are now being built at rents of 4s. 3d., 5s. 3d., and 6s. 3d. per week. This instance is taken from the Home Counties, where building is expensive, otherwise the rents might have been 6d. a week less.

It may be added that all the twenty-eight cottages were taken before building was begun, in fact many more cottages were subscribed for than could be allotted. The tenants are not all agriculturists, they include river workers and railway men.

The amount of land taken with the houses varies from a few rods to over an acre.

Here, as in most societies, each tenant-member has to take up five £1 shares in respect of his occupancy of a house, and one £1 share for each acre or part of

an acre of land. The tenant is not asked to pay this at once. The usual arrangement is that he makes a preliminary payment of 5s. in the case of the occupancy of the house; and the remainder is paid up at the rate of a penny per share per week with the rent.

The affairs of the society are controlled by a board of management elected annually by the members.

There is also a tenants' committee elected by the tenants themselves; the chairman and the secretary of this committee are *ex-officio* on the board of management.

It has been found by experience essential to form a strong tenants' committee before the society is founded, otherwise it is difficult to induce working men to subscribe to the scheme. For instance, in Long Sutton, where this was not done, the Co-partnership side of the scheme nearly had to be dropped for this reason, but it is now working satisfactorily. The society built eight cottages at an inclusive cost of £150 apiece. The cottages have a parlour as well as a living-room and three bedrooms. They are let at a rent of 3s. 9d. a week.

All such societies may be registered as Public Utility Societies under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. They are thus able to obtain two-thirds of the total value of land and houses from the Public Works Loan Board at a rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Houses and land remain always the property of the society, by which practice the general character and value of the estate is maintained unimpaired.

Each tenant-member enjoys undisturbed occupancy as long as he so desires, and he keeps the tenancy conditions. He can put little or much money into the society, as he chooses, and will be entitled to receive interest. Should he have to leave the district his investment will be returned to him, and he can quit his house at short notice.

Its rules provide all necessary legal safeguards to ensure right dealing with its funds. Every year the accounts must be submitted to publicly-appointed auditors, and a return of receipts, expenditure, funds and effects made to the Chief Registrar. Any member may inspect the books of the accounts of the society at all reasonable times.

Any profits remaining to the society after payment of interest on shares and loan stock has been made, and charges for the necessary requirements have been met, may be applied to the payment of a rent bonus to the tenant-members. The Committee, at its discretion, may make a payment from the profits of the society to a tenant-member who leaves the district to the estimated value of any planting or permanent improvement that has been effected by him.

The formation of Rural Co-partnership societies is necessarily difficult, but after the society is launched, there are still many obstacles to its success, and as some of these are remediable it may be as well to point them out.

The first difficulty to be met is the often crushing restriction imposed by local bye-laws which add so much to the cost of building. To give one example. In many districts the height of the rooms is rigidly fixed at not less than eight feet. Many experts think that all requirements for health are satisfied by sufficient cubic content. At Long Sutton the society proposed to erect cottages for which the lowest builder's tender was only £100 apiece. Although the plans had been passed by the Office of Works, they had to be dropped owing to the fact that they infringed the local bye-laws. I would suggest that all buildings of which the plans and specifications are passed by the Office of Works, and for the erection of which the Public Works Loan Board is prepared to lend money, should not be subject to

local bye-laws, providing that there is a right of appeal from the Local Authority to the Local Government Board in cases where special circumstances of soil, climate, or other local conditions render it undesirable that such houses should be erected. The principle of such exemption is admitted in Bye-law 2 (*f*) of the model bye-laws for rural districts.

Then, again, the present powers of the Local Government Board in connection with restrictive bye-laws, at any rate as applied, are inadequate. By Section 44 of the Housing and Town Planning Act the Local Government Board cannot interfere with local bye-laws unless it can be shown that these "unreasonably" impede the building of cottages for the working classes. The word "unreasonably" is the stumbling-block. The Board has no power to revoke a bye-law merely because it is unnecessary or because it merely impedes building. It was quite recently decided that a bye-law which involved an extra expenditure of £5 per cottage did not "unreasonably impede" building to such an extent as to justify the Board's interference, although it did cause unnecessary extra expenditure. It is easy to see that several such bye-laws, unnecessary but not unreasonable, each involving even a small extra expenditure, might very well put an end to cottage building altogether.

The second difficulty in the path of rural Co-partnership societies is that of raising sufficient capital. It is possible for these societies, as Public Utility Societies, to obtain two-thirds of the total value of land and cottages from the Public Works Loan Board. The rate of interest is $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. if repayable in forty years, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if repayable in thirty years. It is found very difficult to obtain the remaining one-third. As I have explained, the tenants' shares are paid for by instalments, so the money is not at once available for building operations. The remainder of the capital has therefore to be found by appealing to the general public to take up 4 per cent. loan stock, and shares bearing a dividend of not more than 5 per cent.

A suggestion has been made that would, if feasible, overcome this difficulty to a large extent. Section 3 of the Housing and Town Planning Act permits the Local Authority to borrow from the Public Works Loan Board the whole of the cost of cottages erected, and land purchased, under the Act. Not only can they borrow the whole amount, but they can borrow for eighty years at the minimum rate. The suggestion is that Public Utility Societies likewise might be permitted to borrow, if not the whole of the necessary capital, then three-quarters of it, instead of the two-thirds permitted at present. They might also be allowed to borrow for the longer term of years at the minimum rate of interest. The Select Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes Acts Amendment Bill, in their Special Report in 1906, recommended that the Public Works Loan Commissioners should be able to lend to Public Utility Societies 75 per cent. of the loan required, and at the lowest rate at which the Treasury themselves could borrow. It was an unanimous report by men of all parties.

The third problem for rural societies is the difficulty of letting cottages at an economic rent and so obtaining a return upon the capital expenditure. Nothing, therefore, is more important than a reduction of the cost of construction, and there is room for much useful experiment in the building of cottages. For instance, the possibilities of concrete for this purpose have not been properly tested. If it could be used with success the cost of construction would be greatly reduced, as gravel can nearly always be obtained on the spot, whereas bricks have frequently to be brought long distances. Wood, again, is a possible material for constructing cottages in some counties, but its use is generally prohibited by

bye-laws. The danger of wooden buildings is probably overrated, and experiments are being made in its use. The Fareham District Council in Hampshire is altering its bye-laws so as to allow of the erection of wooden cottages. It is calculated that the cost of building a cottage in that district will be thereby reduced from £250 to £120.

If all the difficulties I have mentioned were overcome, it would still only be possible to start a society in the bigger villages, where at least eight or ten cottages are needed. The Co-partnership method is financially unsound where but three or four cottages are required, and the movement will, therefore, have to leave untouched the smaller scattered villages.

Rural Co-partnership housing may be regarded as a compromise between the policies of the two great political parties: between that of tenants under a Local Authority, and that of small owners. It combines the advantages of ownership with a corporate spirit. The tenants have a direct vote at the annual meetings as shareholders, and are indirectly represented by the Tenants' Committee, through which each tenant can make himself heard. Everyone has a share in the success of the undertaking, and self-reliance is fostered by self-government.

It should be noticed (and this point is often neglected) that in many places where there is a dearth of cottages, even where it is difficult to build cottages which can be let at a rent available for the agricultural labourer, the fact of cottages at a higher rent being built eases the position. The people who can afford a higher rent move into them, leaving the cheaper cottages available.

Co-partnership housing thus helps to solve the problem of "rural exodus." In many parts of the country the exodus is helped by the fact that the labourer cannot get a cottage, and not being able to marry and make a home in the country, is forced into the town. Here he, too often, displaces the less efficient town dweller, and the latter becomes a victim of destitution. We can thus truly say that the solution of the Rural Housing problem would go far to help the solution of the greater problem of destitution.

Rural Housing and Parish Councils—With Special Reference to the Conditions in Wales and Building without Rate-aid.

By W. St. John Hancock, C.E.

(Honorary Consulting Architect and Secretary to the Welsh Housing Association).

The Association which I represent has occasion to be specially gratified that Wales is not left out of the purview of this Conference. I ask you to believe without proof that housing generally in Wales is much worse off than in England. This could be easily demonstrated, since the dwellings have increased much more slowly, and the total Welsh population has increased in the last decade more

rapidly (as 110 is to 100) than that of England. If doubts are expressed on this point it will be because many of the facts concerning Welsh population, housing, pauperism, and vital conditions are merged in the returns with those of "England and Wales." This has two effects—it worsens the English averages, and diminishes the apparent urgency of the Welsh conditions. When the Royal Commission on Housing, 1883, was appointed, it was enjoined to inquire into the conditions in "Great Britain." Not a line appears concerning Wales, nor does it appear that the Welsh sought investigation. It may be a consequence of this indifference that 82,000 persons were worse housed in 1911 than in 1881. Allowing generously for the large lodger element in mining districts, this shows that 10,000 separate families were involved in this house-famine.

The gravity of this statement lies in the fact that in the period named there has been a steady migration from the rural districts to England and emigration to the Colonies, nearly all of the migrants being the very pick of the population. This gives force to the observation one hears, as to filling the administrative bodies, that "it is *men* we want." These circumstances have induced some inquirers to examine the causes of this depletion of men among the rural population in a country where love of the home-land and the paternal hearth is more intense than it is even in France. We cannot overlook the economic causes, but extended observation, with every favouring advantage to the observer, shows very clearly that one of the most grievous causes of these abnormal conditions is the utterly wretched condition of rural housing.

The prime resisting factors which prevent remedial action are—

(*a*) The poverty of the working people and the habit of indifference to home refinement—not to be associated with personal refinements, the prevalence of which is quite normal and responds readily to good housing amenities where found.

(*b*) The difficulty and expense attending borrowing facilities for building.

(*c*) The lack of any disposition to pool funds and to co-operate.

(*d*) The utter dislike of parting with the old family roof-tree and the determined objection to building on leasehold land.

(*e*) The unwillingness of landowners to part with their land. One of the apparent effects of the Finance Act, 1910, may be noted here: the owners of land ripe or ripening for building hesitate to sell a portion lest the whole be valued on the basis of the portion sold at building site value. They will sell the whole or none.

(*f*) When that unwillingness does not exist, the price required is excessive.

Private enterprise in building has utterly failed both in urban and rural areas. We, therefore, conclude that collective action under the protection, and with the driving force (such as it is), of the law is the only means immediately available to increase the supply and to raise the home standard. Propagandist action alone will not create a healthy local public conviction that good home amenities mean better health, fewer working days lost, and increased physical efficiency, nor that these results will bring in their train increased earnings and a greater house-pride. Until someone enlightens us as to how the quarry worker with a family, who must content himself with £60 a year, or the rural labourers with £40, are to provide themselves with a dwelling, we must assume that the responsibility is to fall upon administrative authorities as a question of public health.

Before suggesting any course of action I propose to examine the financial and

other questions affecting building operations, and my figures will relate to a particular rural district in which quarrying and agriculture are the main occupations, and particurly refer to one constituent parish where the wage-earning classes are mainly quarrymen.

The rural district of X-Y has an area of 110 square miles and a present rateable value of £92,000, with a population of 28,000 in April, 1911. The district includes the approach to Llanberis Pass, with all the scenic glory associated with Snowdon. While we seek and get health and recreation in these Welsh uplands, there are, close at hand, hidden in the folds of the mountains, conditions of a nature that shall be nameless here.

During the last Censal period the total population has decreased by 1,600, of whom 1,100 were males, and the district has therefore been a nursery for town and Colonial workers. In spite of this decrease not a house is to be had in some of the parishes, while many ruins of erstwhile homes dot the land. In one village thirty-six houses, out of a total of 112, have been condemned lately, and vacated, and in others many are scheduled as unfit for habitation. A tour of the villages presents a pitiable spectacle, while land 700 to 1,000 feet above sea-level is held up for a rent of twopence per square foot for a ninety-nine years' building lease, with no financial assistance from the landowner. A third of an acre has lately been bought for a public library at the unconscionable price of £400 an acre. In thirty years the number of "separate occupiers" has diminished by 8 per cent., showing an increase in the lodger class. The birth-rate is only 18.8 per 1,000, while infant mortality is 118.7 per 1,000 births, against 67.56 for an adjoining rural district. The terrible meaning of the first pair of figures may not be apparent to all. Deaths from tuberculosis are 2.28, and from cancer 1.22 per 1,000; the illegitimate birth-rate is 4.9 per cent. of all births to nil for the well-housed district of Bettws-y-Coed. In the year 1910 there were but twelve new houses erected in this area of 110 square miles, while seventeen were built in the Conway rural district, having only one-third the area of X-Y.

This vast rural area is made up of eleven parishes; one, which we will call A-B, will serve to illustrate the housing difficulties almost throughout the mountain districts of Wales. The parish has an area of over 14½ square miles; the total population of 5,850 is over a 1,000 less than forty years ago, and 300 less than ten years ago. This is largely due to removals for want of houses. In 1881 there were 1,530 inhabited houses; in 1891, 1,499; and in 1901, 1,505, quite a substantial number of which were back-to-back and semi-cellar dwellings! Houses and buildings in this parish are rated at £18,389, while all the broad acres of the parish (fourteen square miles) pay rates only on £2,700, and the total gross estimated rental value is put down at £24,424. Comment is unnecessary. The other ten parishes of the rural district have a total rateable value of £70,000, therefore it will be seen that A-B is the dominant parish in respect of population, area, rateable value, and dwellings, and I admit myself responsible for the statement that this parish is being gradually starved out of that dominance through inaction due to defective legislation and administration.

For want of houses, quarrymen move to a parish so distant from the work centres, that in order to be at their benches at 6 a.m., the men have to be astir daily at 3 a.m., to which the time spent on the home journey must be added. These men are a highly intelligent class, who would use profitably a few hours of leisure. To receive an average monthly wage of £5 is to be comparatively well paid, and the consequence is that the best of the six-roomed houses in one congested part of the parish of A-B realise on an average but 18s. a month, paid

monthly, of which 1s. 9d. is for rates; this makes a gross actual rental (average) of £9 2s. a year per house. The gross rental income, minus ground rent, yields not more than £4¾ per cent. per annum. Capitalised to yield 4 per cent., the ground rents represent a freehold value of £31 5s. per plot, or £440 per acre for a mountain site one hour's walk from a railway station (with a gradient in parts of one in four), and only 5½ miles, as the crow flies, from the summit of Snowdon.

This short statement is typical of the economic building conditions in North Wales, and ink need not be wasted to argue that local private enterprise will make no effort with any expectation of adequate return. Therefore we arrive at this point, that collective action by the parish or district is imperative until such time as the wage conditions are improved. Such action must be undertaken by the ratepayers under the housing laws, because, with the most skilled assistance, there is not even a visible 2 per cent. profit for public utility societies.

I now set down for acceptance or discussion:—

(1) That in the present state of rural knowledge on public health, and the lack of public spirit, any proposal to burden those already housed with a rate-charge to provide wage-earners with dwellings, will be successfully resisted.

(2) That the State can neither enforce such action, nor afford to allow its constituents to degenerate through bad housing.

(3) That if the State is to move without actually building the houses (an unthinkable proposition), it must amend its laws and increase its facilities and assistance. A sumptuary law compelling higher wages would need another law directing the increase to be paid in rent; neither are possible nor desirable.

Have we, then, arrived at an *impasse* from which there is no escape? The writer thinks not; but before the reasons are given we must consider some of the other causes of inaction in the instance to which reference has been made, and almost every parish could provide similar instances.

While those housed will usually resist with success a rate-charge to accommodate those seeking shelter, in the particular instance of the parish A-B we have the rather remarkable circumstance that the parishioners are really prepared to be burdened to some extent, yet the statutory means of action present almost insuperable difficulties—public inertia completes the deadlock.

Twenty-nine housing laws have been enacted in fifty years. The number of those still-born have greatly exceeded that number. Some have been lost through mistaken judgment in the Committee stage, due to imperfect knowledge of rural conditions, and the attempt to apply universal rules to essentially divergent needs and circumstances. I will only mention one instance, but others are even less debateable. I particularly allude to the Report of the Select Committee of 1906. Section 65 (iii.) of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, was repealed almost directly in consequence of the advice of the Select Committee. The result is that the initiative rests with the Rural District Council. I submit that this is a capital mistake, and that the provisoes of the new Section 31, 1909, while circumventing Section 230 of the Public Health Act, involve greater parochial effort—certainly in Wales—than is likely to be found generally, where the Rural District Council is supine.

Parliament decreed in 1894 that a parish could supply itself with baths, libraries, open spaces, lighting, and many other services, but *not* houses. The 1890 Act decreed that it might also supply the latter, but that was repealed in favour of Section 31 (1909 Act), which is dependent on the definition in

the Public Health Act, 1875, of a "contributory place," and on the interpretation and practice of the Local Government Board. The 1894 Act made the Clerk to the Guardians, with his special groove and functions, also Clerk to the newly-created Rural District, planned to deal in new ways, with new needs and sanitary standards. Further, the double functions of the members—as Guardians and Councillors—impose too great a burden on their time for efficient administration, and it is the busy and business-like men only who are worth having. Rich and poor, agricultural and industrial, semi-urban and ultra-rural, parishes were thus combined, and to such divergent needs, interests and state of intelligence, was committed the fate of every housing effort in any particular parish. The result is, in regard to rural housing, that practically nothing is done, and I am again referring especially to Wales. The force does rest with the Rural District Council, but it is a *vis mortua*—a force that is doing no work in the direction of re-housing.

A sweeping statement such as the foregoing calls for an illustration. The parish of A-B in the rural district of X-Y will again serve. The total number of the Rural District Councillors is thirty-four, of whom A-B send three. Private and vested interests and other motives suggest to the members different paths and goals. A-B has a rateable value of one to three for that of the other ten parishes having thirty-one representatives. The parishioners of A-B, if they ask for a district rate to build dwellings, cannot get the support of the other ten parishes who have (so they *now* say) no building needs in *their* parishes. A-B then say they will rate themselves for their own need, but may not do so without the risk of sharing later in a district rate to assist one or more of the other parishes when these have been driven by mandamus, or have discovered the advantages of the building enterprise illustrated by the operations of A-B. This risk is really negligible owing to central control, but Burke's argument is as effective here as it was in regard to the Colonies—the people do not "see" the controlling body, and therefore distrust it. Thus, by their enterprise, the parishioners of A-B may (or wrongly believe they may) have to pay wholly for their own and partly for their neighbour's dwellings, while the 1894 Act says definitely that this cannot apply to parks, libraries, and washhouses, etc. Moreover, in the instance given, one ratepayer in A-B pays 14s. out of every 20s. of the rate, and might be the sport of the ten other parishes if not protected.

Here is the first seeming *impasse*.

Again, if A-B takes the risks and becomes responsible for any loss on housing enterprise, all the negotiations, contracts, loans, accounts, audits, rent collection, and management, *must* be left in the hands of the officials of the rural district controlled by the resolutions of the councillors from the other ten parishes who refused any rate contribution. The Rural District Councillors may delegate some of their minor executive functions, it is true, but experience shows that they will not do so. There is an appeal to the County Council and the Local Government Board, but the supposed futility of the mandamus is ever present, and the parish comes to the hopelessly mistaken conclusion that their own Rural District Council failing to act, much less will the County Council be prepared to take action? A complaint by four resident householders would have instant effect, but where are such persons to be found who will risk local retribution? Such action involves preparing a case for the inquiry, but the parish cannot secure £5 for initial expenses without the consent of X-Y, which will be refused for audit reasons, and such is the inertia of rural life (and the personal cost of this

action is considerable) that it has not been tried in Wales. The reasons cannot be publicly stated more explicitly.

I find myself therefore faced with certain conclusions and questions:—

(1) That the state of rural housing is responsible for removable ills.

(2) That economic conditions prevent supply by private enterprise.

(3) That the statutory powers and facilities are inadequate to enforce building by Local Authorities unready to act.

(4) That appeal to County Councils involves greater financial resources and combination from below than is possible to secure.

From these conclusions four possible courses seem to be suggested:—

(*a*) To confer greater powers on Parish Councils.

(*b*) To impose greater obligations on County Councils.

(*c*) To secure increased State aid for building which involves—

(*d*) Decentralisation in the supreme administrative control.

I dismiss these courses as involving fresh legislation, and I assume that the one great resisting factor which delays action is the objection to any addition to the rural district rates for housing purposes applied to "contributory places." Therefore the question arises:—

Is it possible, within the present housing laws, to so adjust the finances of building enterprise that the parish, or "specified contributory place" can, while engaging to make itself liable for any contingent rate-charge, supply itself with dwellings which shall, *prima facie*, and, in fact, involve itself in no rate-charge at all?

I answer this question in the affirmative, given certain conditions, as follows:—

(1) That the class limitation be that of the House of Commons Standing Order, No. 38 (workmen earning not more than 30s. per week).

(2) That the parish, or "contributory place," shall stand in the nominal relation to the rural district as lessee and building owner; fortunately the parish rating limit (6d. in the £) is over-ridden by the 1903 Act.

(3) That the Rural District Council shall be the site owner (or lessee sub-letting) leasing to the parish, retaining reversionary rights and imposing all reasonable covenants for maintenance, but not dilapidations.

(4) That capital charges and all outgoings shall not exceed the gross letting value of the dwellings.

(5) That the ground rent (or annual site charge) shall not exceed one-tenth the rack-rents.

(6) That any excess over the one-tenth due to price of land and cost of development shall be a district charge payable out of the district rate.

(7) That the parish may, for the first ten years, compound for all poor and district rates at 50 per cent. below rateable value, including "empties."

(8) That the Rural District shall provide out of its loan funds the actual cost (including preliminary and legal, professional and inquiry charges) of buildings erected according to plans and specifications approved.

(9) That the parish may sell to intending occupiers the houses so built on terms arranged between them and the Rural District, subject in that

case to the waiver of clause 7. All profits to go to a separate Parish Building Fund in the books of the Rural District.

(10) That the rents apportioned to three out of five (or other proportion) of the houses built shall be such as would be obtainable if erected under ordinary commercial conditions.

(11) That the rents apportioned to two out of five (or other proportion) of the houses shall correspond (within certain limitations) to the means of parishioners in ill-favoured circumstances, or in age, for whom such houses or tenements will be specially designed, but not of necessity specially isolated; the receipt of out-door relief to be no bar to tenants otherwise desirable, and able to pay the rent. (*Cf.* Sec. 63, 1890, and Sec. 46, 1909.)

(12) That each tenant shall have the option of a garden allotment, either attached to or separated from the dwelling (as may be found possible), and such garden allotments as are not cultivated or well utilised, may be taken away and added to that of other tenants desiring them, and paying a reasonable additional rent for the same.

(13) That the garden allotments, if separated, may be held by the Parish on a different tenure from that of the dwelling site, and managed without control by, or the responsibility of, the Rural District (Local Government Act, 1894).

(14) That (*a*) the Parish Council shall be primarily responsible for the proper management of the dwellings through a composite Management Committee; and (*b*) the district rate collector shall collect the rents, which he shall pay over to the Rural District Treasurer, subject to the latter's disbursements to the Committee for Management Charges, etc.

(15) That the Parish Council shall create a separate fund out of gifts or a parish levy to promote rewards, remission of rent, or bonuses to tenants for regular payment of rents, cleanliness of dwellings, economy of repairs, cultivation of gardens, floral or horticultural shows, or such other agencies as shall stimulate to greater care of the dwellings and gardens, and especially, the cultivation of a love of industry and nature study in children of school age.

(16) That the tenants shall not let the whole or part of any house without the consent of the Management Committee, nor take any lodger in excess of the sleeping accommodation fixed by the Medical Officer of Health.

(17) That subject to certain protective conditions, the tenants may, on good conduct, regard their tenure as secure during pleasure.

(The crudity of these suggested conditions will perhaps be excused owing to the need of condensation, and under other legislative conditions they would be greatly modified.)

As an example of the results likely to be attained on these terms, I will now take illustration from the actual circumstances obtaining in a part of the parish A-B, assuming it to be specially constituted a separate " contributory place," and because the cost of building and other circumstances make it one of the worst instances to select.

I take an available site of an acre and a half, costing £500, including transfer charges and low drainage and access charges. On this site thirty-five houses, containing 170 rooms, can be built (if in one contract) for £29 per room,

based on actual local experience. These would be built on Garden Village lines, in blocks of three, twenty-three houses to the acre, as perfectly sound and sanitary dwellings up to the full sixty year loan standard. They would thus cost £116 for a four-roomed house, inclusive of secondary access, fencing, and drains, with external appearance suited to the materials, surroundings, and locality. Three-fifths of the houses should be five- and six-roomed dwellings, and the total outlay, including professional services, need not exceed £5,050, but provision is made for a further outlay of £200. The local current rents obtainable are placed at 9d. per room per week, including rates.

The financial situation would then appear to be as follows, taking cost of site, principal access, sewer, and transfer at £500:—

RETURN AND COST TO THE LESSORS, THE RURAL DISTRICT OF X-Y.

	£	s.	d.
Ground Rent, as per Condition No. 3	30	0	0
Less Sinking Fund and Interest (first year on £500 for eighty years at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.)	18	13	10
Credit Balance	£11	6	2

This £11 increases to £30 in 81st year, and remains at that for eighteen years further. Capitalised at 4 per cent. this would yield £52 a year to cover loan management and rent collection. The value of reversion to the rack-rentals in ninety-nine years is treated as nil, since it is obvious that, whatever its value, it might be absorbed by dilapidations, and would not be claimed except in the interest of rehousing at that time.

RETURN AND COST TO THE LESSEES, THE PARISH.

Cr.	£	s.	d.
Estimated Gross Annual Rentals	307	10	0
Tenants' Share of Compounded Rates	24	10	0
Rent and Rates from 170 Rooms at 9d. per Room per Week ...	332	0	...0
Less Ground Rent (10 per cent. of £307), say	30	0	0
	£302	0	0

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Sinking Fund and Interest, £5,050, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., sixty years ...	202	8	0
Add all Outgoings*	71	12	0
	£274	0	0
Credit Balance First Year ... ... *(Credit Balance, Sixty-first Year, £230)*	28	0	0
	£302	0	0

Assuming further capital outlay of £200 (total, £5,250), without increased rent, the balance of £28 would be reduced to £20. No actual lessees' liability is shifted on to the lessor, but it must be clearly stated that some lessees' risks are

*The full details will be supplied on application to the author of the paper.

so transferred, and these must be inquired into in order to see if the solution is worth the risk. On examining the full balance sheet it will be clear that the credit side is over-cautious, and the debit side over-generous for a collective effort. The figures do not pretend to be those of a commercial enterprise, since factors come in then that do not at present apply, and because profitable ownership means businesslike (and paid) management.

Three facts emerge from these estimates:—

(1) That private enterprise for profit cannot in present circumstances supply the need by any stretch of ingenuity, constructional or financial.

(2) That even under present public loan conditions, site cost, building cost, wage circumstances, and statutory powers, it is possible for a Local Authority to build without immediate rate-charge, and with very remote risk for the future, providing the building group is large enough.

(3) That in the event of the better dwellings creating increased efficiency and earning power, they might even produce a quite substantial profit towards further enterprise, a contingency to be set against the suggested risk.

It remains to be seen whether the relation suggested of lessor and lessee has legal sanction. These transactions could be carried out by the Rural District, but in that case they would lose to some extent the effect of parochial emulation and local management interest. Obviously, all the operations from first to last must be conducted by skilled officers, without resistance from those in power lacking the requisite knowledge, or having opposing interests or prejudices.

The Rural District Council would, as the Statute requires, retain the commanding position as ground landlords, able to enforce care through adequate but reasonable lease covenants, and the collection of rents. They would be properly represented on the Management Committee to see that favouritism does not control the letting of the houses, and that persons dishoused by the action of the Council have a fair chance of accommodation in the parish property.

It is open to question whether the diversity of judgment found on councils and delegated committees is likely to produce the skilled management required, and it is submitted for discussion, having provided the dwellings with all the advantages of rate-protection and liability, whether they should not be leased *en bloc* to commercial undertakers on such settled minimum revenue terms as would yield the undertakers a profit worth the trouble and the rates no risk; that is, to adopt with houses the very common practice with tramways and municipal undertakings. The obvious objection is that private interests have been known to influence councils without conscious collusion. There are patent advantages both in favour of and against any system of house-farming such as is indicated, but, as is well known, where intermediate profits have not been carried too far, it has been the common and only possible housing-management system among great oriental labour communities in the past and present. The system has also been, and is now in South Wales, responsible for some of the worst public health conditions we know of.

Another aspect of the enterprise occurs. The tenants will have paid for both dwellings and site in eighty years by their rents. This will suggest to many to acquire them on instalment or club methods, and the provisions of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, are worth noting. Money so realised may be

reused for further building subject to an Inquiry. The occupier of a five-roomed house paying £24 down could become the "owner" after a limited number of payments of 3s. 6d. per week. With partial ownership, repairs, empties, and collection would all disappear from the account, and the old family link with the house and locality would be restored, to the great advantage of our village communities. Should misfortune or other circumstances make sale or removal necessary, the public body could easily restore the *status quo ante*, and return an adequate part of the purchase money paid by the occupier, who would in any event be at liberty to sell his interest if a profit offers, but not merely as a profit-making transaction.

It will be seen that too much is generally made of the price of land as a financial factor, though it still remains important, and that the real test of any housing enterprise is the financing and first cost of the buildings erected, but cheapness, as such, is false economy in building. It will also be seen that the cost varies greatly as the gross number of rooms provided. Also that in a small scheme a three-roomed cottage could not be built to let at 9d. per room per week, including rates; the building of blocks of five and six rooms dwellings, with a total effective floor space of 530 square feet to each house (while cheap at 4s. 6d. per week per house), enables other blocks providing two- and three-room tenancies to be built and let at the same rent-rates. These are a real necessity in rural parts for aged couples and single women, and for young married couples. Anything over two or three rooms involves heavy furnishing cost to persons starting life, and for aged couples means taking lodgers, with extra cleaning and cooking, which cannot be properly done. Therefore, while the six-roomed tenant helps to house the two-roomed tenant, he is not unfairly mulcted in doing so. The absence of rate aid-to-rent (which is really aid-to-wages) will help to restore to rural dwellers the self-respect and independence that is greatly lacking. Decent home conditions—kept so under condition 15, by a sense of neighbourly rivalry—will increase labour efficiency and, consequently, earnings. The process, by snowball action, will increase the demand for more or larger *room* accommodation, and help to stimulate private enterprise to supply the further demand. Hence, a well thought out parochial effort will serve as an object lesson in (*a*) type of building, (*b*) cost of erection, (*c*) improved site terms, and (*d*) amenities. With increased dwellings, the rateable value will grow, enabling Rural District Councils to give more generous attention to sewerage, water, and lighting supply, so as to make village amenities more attractive, and thus to stay rural depopulation.

Nothing in this paper touches the urgent question of isolated farm labourers' cottages. That is a problem involving wholly different conditions; for these it is probable that State loans would not be available; but by increased use of the cycle, present hamlet nuclei could be enlarged, with existing borrowing facilities, given the generous co-operation of landowners and agricultural employers. Failing such co-operation, the State must be invoked, as it seems obvious that such provision is outside rate-aid while the village communities are in their present condition.

I should assume that I had unfairly used my opportunity if my illustrations and arguments applied solely to one parish. They are intended to carry us from the particular to the general, and are so applicable, and also to promote a similar inquiry and effort throughout the rural districts.

Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Charles Bathurst, M.P.), in opening the discussion, reminded the Conference of the Bishop of Oxford's statement in his Inaugural Address, that the welfare of the country depended, and would depend more and more, upon life on the land. They would agree with him that that welfare could not be ensured unless steps were taken to promote life upon the land amid wholesome surroundings and in properly constructed cottages. (Hear, hear.) They had talked a good deal in the past of the rural labourer being the backbone of the nation, but one was inclined nowadays to question that statement, in view of the somewhat alarming reports recently issued by the Local Education Authorities as the result of the medical inspection of children in country districts—a matter which must profoundly affect the mind and the sympathy of everyone interested in the health of the rural population. They could not blind their eyes to the fact that this lamentable condition of things—because it affected at least 50 per cent. of the children in Elemenary Schools—must be attributable partly to the unfortunate ignorance of the parents of the children —(hear, hear)—but to a large extent also to the condition of the houses in which the children lived. One question which had very much agitated the minds of politicians lately was whether or not the Housing problem in the towns and in the country districts was an identical problem, which should be treated in exactly the same way, although the surroundings and conditions were different. He held the view that the two problems were distinct, and although Housing Acts might be passed through Parliament, it would be very difficult to do justice to both town and country if it were sought to adopt exactly the same methods in both cases. They were all aware that in towns the chief cause of complaint was the existence of slums. Slums also, unfortunately, existed in some villages, but he ventured to assert that that was not the most serious condition which they had to face. The difficulty was, in his opinion, rather the inadequacy than the insanitary condition of the housing accommodation —(hear, hear)—and recent legislation, so far from materially removing the defect, had done something through its administration to accentuate it. Closing orders, with which they had now become familiar, were no doubt sometimes desirable, particularly in overcrowded towns, but a closing order short-sightedly made in a country district might have the effect of reducing valuable accommodation and creating serious overcrowding, owing to those turned out of their homes having nowhere else to go. That was a difficulty which had been forced on the minds of those sitting on the Committee of the House of Commons to deal with Sir Arthur Boscawen's Bill. Then, again, bye-laws which might be very stringent with great advantage in densely crowded centres might prove to be somewhat unfair in purely rural districts—(hear, hear)—and far from encouraging the construction of houses, might have the effect of considerably retarding the process of extending rural accommodation.

Then came the most serious consideration of all, that whereas in towns housing accommodation should be regarded as what financiers would call an economic proposition, in the country districts that was unfortunately not so; and those who built houses, in view of the small return they got from them, generally built at a loss so far as investment of their capital was concerned. In addition, they had to face the fact that there were bad landlords, as well as good. There were sympathetic landlords and unsympathetic landlords, but a large number of sympathetic landlords were not financially in a position to provide housing accommodation at less than an economic rent. He did not think that mere abuse of landlords, although possibly deserved, would tend to solve the problem with which they were faced; nor did he think, with all respect to the President of the Local Government Board, that any assertion of self-sufficiency or complacency on the part of that department would satisfy those genuinely interested in improving the unfortunate conditions which existed in so many villages. Under the Housing and Town Planning Act it was sought to make a house-to-house inspection, so as to get a register or record of the state of the existing housing accommodation in the area under the control of every District Council—the Local Authority for the purposes of the Act. That process had been extremely slow in being carried out, and he believed the tardiness was largely due to the fact that the unfortunate sanitary inspector in many districts had too many other duties to perform, and was unable to give time and attention to the matter. In the county in which he lived the sanitary inspector was in some cases not merely the road surveyor, but also the rate collector. He had quite enough work to do as

sanitary inspector, if his duties were to be efficiently carried out, without other duties being thrust upon him, and he (Mr. Bathurst) hoped that the Local Government Board would see its way in most districts to restrict the duties of sanitary inspectors to sanitary and housing work, and not allow them to turn their attention to other matters which, although it was necessary that they should be efficiently carried out, were of less national importance. (Hear, hear.)

Might he say one word in conclusion with regard to the educational side of the problem? As he had stated publicly in the House of Commons, although it was necessary to provide sufficient ventilation and sanitary convenience in a rural cottage, it did not follow that the occupier would take advantage of them. When "air space" was talked about, it was often forgotten that air was one thing and space another, and it was quite conceivable that one might have a large room most inadequately ventilated, and a small room with windows that opened and a flue in the right place, in which the ventilation would be a great improvement on that of the larger room. All those things might be provided for cottagers, but, as he had said, it did not follow that the occupier would make use of them. It was not unusual in some houses to find the chimney bunged up and the window nailed up, owing to the superstition which existed amongst a certain section of the population that the night air was injurious to health. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) These were matters which could only be improved by education of the young people on the subject of sanitary and hygienic conditions. Improvement in education might also possibly affect the ultimate crux of the question—the wage of the agricultural labourer. Much still remained to be done to render education in rural districts a great deal more practical, and more suited to the work which the labourer would have to perform in after-life. If that were done—although agricultural labourers were not an organised body—he ventured to think, from what was to be found in the lowlands of Scotland and elsewhere, that they would be able to command a higher price for their labour, and to pay an economic rent, *i.e.*, the true value of the cottage which they occupied. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Chairman, Somerset County Council) desired to make only three practical suggestions, which would not be developed in any detail, and would certainly be open to criticism to any extent. One was that the Local Government Board should be strengthened by having a rural side. (Hear, hear.) His experience of Government Departments was that, as a rule, they were much better acquainted with urban conditions than rural, and he thought it not sufficient to appoint an Advisory Committee on Rural Conditions. The advice of Advisory Committees was often not taken by the Department concerned, and it was far better to have in the Department executive officers of authority, whose duty it would be to scrutinise any new laws or regulations or administrative Acts directly from the rural point of view. (Hear, hear.) He did not think much progress would be made with housing and other questions until the Local Government Board were equipped with more knowledge of rural districts. The second suggestion he believed had already been made by Mr. Willis Bund and others, that County Councils should have not only the power, but the duty, of providing the necessary cottages in the rural parts of their county. (Hear, hear.) When cottages were shown to be necessary, the Councils might be put in motion, not necessarily by poor resident householders, but by their own Medical Officers of Health, and proper inquiries would have to be held in order to satisfy them that the houses could not be provided by any other means. Steps should then be taken, as in the case of new schools or small holdings, to provide the houses required for the health of the population. The Councils must necessarily have powers for compulsorily acquiring land, and it was most desirable that they should have power to charge a portion of the cost on the parish benefited. Finally, there should be an appeal to the Local Government Board by any individual interested, or by any parish interested, against the action of the County Council, in order to decide whether in a particular case it was necessary or desirable to build cottages. Otherwise, the powers of the County Council ought to be very wide. The third suggestion was made to the larger owners of land and houses. It was that they should charge an economic rent for their cottages, in the following manner: Supposing the present uneconomic rent of a cottage was 3s. a week—and often it was very much lower than that—and assuming the economic rent to be 5s., 2s. a week should be added to the rent of the cottage, and if the person inhabiting it was in the employ of the owner, he should be informed that an equivalent amount would be added to his weekly wages. If he worked for one of the owner's tenants, the

position became a little more complicated, but still it could be easily met. The owner could say to the employer: "This cottage is let at a rent of 5s. a week. I will ask you to add 2s. a week to the wages you at present pay your man, and in consideration of that I will make an equivalent deduction from your rent." That would be as broad as it was long, and put things on a much sounder footing. Greater complications would arise in certain cases he could mention, but if the principle were adopted it would set an example, and might encourage more building by private persons in the future. In any case, he was sure the whole of this difficult problem could only be solved by a combination of public and private effort. (Applause.)

Dr. W. G. SAVAGE (County Medical Officer of Health, Somerset) thought all the speakers had taken the standpoint that nothing was being done in rural districts in connection with housing, by which they really meant that nothing had been done as regards the provision of additional houses where they were required. He would like to point out that that was not the whole of the question. The Housing Act dealt with two distinct things as regards rural housing. There was the provision for an adequate inspection of existing houses, and the provision for the erection of houses required. Before a Council could deal with the provision of houses, they must ascertain the parishes and districts where those houses were required. He was unaware of what had been done in other parts of the country, but had made personal inquiries in the county of Somerset, which was largely rural, to ascertain how far the Act on its inspection side, was being put into operation. The population of the county was, roughly, rather under 400,000, and the number of houses was under 100,000 in the whole county, urban and rural. During 1911, in the urban districts, 2,695 houses had been inspected, and proper records made and entered on the forms in the manner required by the Local Government Board. Of those houses, only 107 were reported to be unfit, but 1,136 were defective although not unfit. In the rural districts, 5,947 houses had been carefully inspected, of which 120 had been reported as unfit, and no less than 3,574 as defective, but not sufficiently so to make the houses unfit. A very good work was being done in the direction of dealing with houses defective, but not so defective that they could not be made fit. Defects such as windows not made to open and the absence of guttering were the most prominent. In the urban districts of Somerset 773 of the defective houses had been rendered fit, and others were in hand. In the rural districts, of the 3,574 reported as defective 1,602 had been made fit. That was very valuable work which should not be lost sight of. He drew attention to the 120 houses in rural districts which had been reported as unfit, and most of which had been closed. That raised an important question: Should a Rural Authority close those houses that were grossly unfit, or should they wait until other houses were provided? It was a matter which certainly had two sides to it, and he was inclined to advocate that the wisest course, and the best in the long run, was to deliberately say: "This house is unfit for human beings to live in," and then to close it whether there were other houses for the occupants to go into or not. He was afraid they would never get the improved rural housing they desired unless they took that rather drastic course. As to the question which had been raised of the too great stringency of building bye-laws in rural districts, he took the stand that it was necessary to have bye-laws. He would remind them that in a great many rural districts there were no building bye-laws. That seemed an extraordinarily absurd position. The Housing Acts required inspection, but if there were no bye-laws they were allowing bad conditions to be perpetuated, though the other part of their work required that bad houses should be got rid of. He thought the provision of bye-laws in every rural district should be absolutely compulsory. Another point mentioned in the paper by Dr. Thresh was the great practical difficulty of proving that there was an insufficiency of houses. He had made inquiries in a number of villages, where he was certain in his own mind there was an insufficiency of houses, but it was an extremely difficult matter to prove it. They could not get people to come forward because they were afraid of the consequences of opening their mouths. Even if they could be persuaded to do so, and an inquiry were held, they would then often say they now had a cottage or that they had been mistaken. He did not propose to enter into the question of the provision of houses further than to say that, in the county of Somerset, while the work of inspection had been going on satisfactorily, he was unable to say the number of added cottages had been progressing hand in hand with it, though in one rural district a great step had been taken. In two parishes they had acquired land, and in one houses had been built. Six houses were nearly finished, and the foundations of six others had been laid by the

Rural District Council. They had in this case the advantage of being able to charge an economic rent of 4s. a week, because there was a certain amount of gloving done in the village. In his opinion it was not so difficult to provide cottages in a rural parish if the question were regarded in the proper way. It was usually the case that if houses were closed, the tenants would very likely be paying quite small rents—1s., 1s. 6d., and 2s. a week—and it was often assumed that if cottages were provided they would have to be for those tenants at these rents. He did not think that need be the case at all. (Hear, hear.) He had, for example, recently inspected very carefully a large parish in which a number of the houses were quite unfit, the rents of the unfit houses being very low. He was persuaded that if six houses were built and let at an economic rent of 3s. 6d. or 4s. there would be at least six people in the parish willing to pay for them. They would be quite willing to vacate their houses. The vacated houses would be occupied by others, and in this way suitable houses at a low rental would be available for the occupants of the closed houses.

Miss CONSTANCE COCHRANE (Rural Housing Association) felt strongly that the only sound solution of the rural housing question was to charge an economic rent. State grants, though perhaps a palliative, would prevent private enterprise, and ultimately reduce the number of cottages, because the money would not be anything like sufficient to do what was necessary, and the only solution was an economic rent. A great deal of fault had been found with the Local Government Board, and she proposed to say a word on the other side. (Hear, hear.) Since the passing of the 1909 Act there had been an enormous awakening all over the country in connection with the Rural Housing question. The Association she represented had means of obtaining reports of the meetings of Rural District Councils all over the country. At the present time there were twenty-one building schemes in hand, and fifty-nine under discussion, and the Local Government Board did not encourage schemes which would incur a charge on the rates. In the schemes of which they had exact details, the rents came to about 3s. a week, and were just about self-supporting at that. When one Rural Council built houses another was stimulated to do the same. It was not fair to say that, because a large number of houses had been condemned, they ceased to be occupied. Since the new powers of inspection had been acquired by Rural Councils, the owners of houses had to a very large extent repaired their cottages. In the district she represented, no houses had been pulled down, though some were condemned. She hoped no discouragement to Rural Councils to continue their work would be offered by telling them that they would get a State dole. If the schemes were to be self-supporting, she saw no reason why Rural Councils should have so much objection to building. She would like to see County Councils have power to put buildings up without it being considered a slur on the District Council. As to ventilation, she hoped nobody would reduce the present low minimum of 300 cubic feet for persons over 12 years of age, and 150 feet for children under 12. Because some people would not open their windows was no reason why they should not supply sufficient cubic capacity for those who wanted fresh air. She hoped they would not waste time in talking about what ought to be, and trying to get legislation that would not come. Let them set to work and encourage and support the Rural Councils, and if they wanted a little nudging, by all means let them give it. (Applause.)

Mrs. VICTOR BRANFORD (Rural Co-partnership Housing Association) thought the instances brought forward by Mr. Hancock showed the urgency of removing rates from houses and placing them on the land values. In many districts the question of rates made all the difference between the possibility and impossibility of erecting cottages to bring in an economic rent. On the question of housing grants, it was, of course, most desirable to obtain economic rents, but they had been waiting fifty or sixty years in the hope that wages would go up and make that possible everywhere. Could there not be a housing grant, which would be confined to districts where the wages were, say, under 16s. a week? Such a grant should be made, not only to Local Authorities, but to Public Utility and Co-partnership Societies, which limited their interest. Co-partnership Societies could not without a grant build down to the wants of labourers with 12s. a week, but it was possible now for such societies, where there were people willing to pay an economic rent, to meet the need for new cottages, and the labourers could move into the cottages thus left vacant. The Rural Co-partnership Housing Association was collecting information as to new methods of cheap construction, and was at present engaged in an experiment in concrete buildings. The inventor claimed that his system would save 25 to 40 per cent of the

cost of building cottages. If successful the full advantage would be secured for Co-partnership Societies only. It would be a desirable thing if the Local Government Board would undertake such investigations and experiments, and place the results at the disposal of all interested.

Mr. WILLIAM R. LESTER (United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values) contended that the problem of Rural Housing was only part of the much greater problem of the poverty of the agricultural labourer. How was it possible for a private builder to erect a house at a rent which a labourer earning 13s. or 15s. a week could afford to pay? There was no special Housing Problem, any more than there was a special food problem or a clothing problem. Labourers' houses were bad for the same reason that their food and clothing were bad. If they wanted to go to the bottom of the problem, they must deal with the question of wages. Under the present system of rating, rates were piled on houses and cottages in proportion to their rental, and land which was desired for building but was not available was allowed to escape altogether. By heaping all the rates on the structure they were adopting an artificial method of raising them. The root of the Housing problem could never be reached unless at the same time they tackled the Land problem. Both problems were one, and a simple practical method of dealing with it was to alter the basis of the system of rating.

The Rev. R. B. TOLLINTON (Tendring Rural District Council) admitted there was a good deal of indifference in Rural District Councils as regarded the Housing problem. Many of the members who constituted those bodies had naturally a not unwholesome dread of doing anything which raised the rates. He was not at all convinced that farmers could afford to raise the wages of agricultural labourers. He devoutly wished they could, but very much doubted whether it was economically possible. He was inclined to doubt also whether County Councils were the best people to look after housing. They had already a great deal to do, and did not possess local knowledge. If greater activity by the Local Government Board in rural matters could be secured, and they would stir up Rural Councils, better results would be attained than by piling fresh duties on the shoulders of County Councils. Children's health was affected to a far less degree in the country than in towns by the housing conditions, and where health failed he believed it was far more a matter of food than housing. His Council avoided as far as possible demolition orders. In certain cases they said to owners: "As long as your present tenant is in, we will leave the house as it is. As soon as your tenant changes, the house as it stands will not do." Generally speaking, they had found owners willing to do what his Committee advised, and a request in connection with one house encouraged the owners of others. In his opinion it was untrue to say that the work which could be done by Rural Councils was not worth doing. One Section in the Housing Acts gave them power in certain cases to do repairs and recover from the landlord. If that were universal, it would simplify procedure very much. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. A. DAY disagreed with Mr. Willis Bund's suggestion that concurrent power should be given to County Councils, because even if they had the power they would not go a bit further than Rural District Councils. They were just as careful in not spending the rates as the members of District Councils. He would like to see a great many Co-partnership houses built all over the country, and he did not believe in working men having to pay sinking fund on the capital cost of the houses to the District Council. The difficulty was that a man earning 13s. or 15s. a week could not pay a rent of 4s. Their wages should be raised. (Hear, hear.) If that could not be done on a friendly basis all over the country, Wage Boards for agricultural labourers should be established. (Hear, hear.) He agreed that farmers were giving all they reasonably could for their land, and he was afraid the increase in wages must come compulsorily from the landowners. The time had now come when Parliament should take steps to see that every agricultural labourer got a living wage. (Hear, hear.) That was one solution, and the other solution was in connection with the land. Complete compulsory powers for Councils to purchase land at the actual present value wherever they wished must be obtained, and the land should be resold at the same price to private enterprise in the shape of Co-partnership Societies or builders. The two great questions in connection with housing were that decent wages should be paid to labourers, and compulsory powers secured for the purchase of land. Of course, the Public Works Loan Board was always a difficulty. They refused absolutely to make any loan to a public body unless the full interest for and the annual repayment of the capital cost of both house and land were included in

the rent. He felt the time had come for Parliament to step in and say: "You are appointed by the public; the public must have control of you." (Applause.)

Dr. T. EUSTACE HILL (County Medical Officer of Health, Durham) contended that County Councils could, if they wished, do a great deal more, both as regards the closing of insanitary houses and the erection of workmen's dwellings, than appeared from what had been said that day. His Council some time ago did its best to persuade the local Sanitary Authorities to do their duty, but they would do nothing. Section 45 (1) of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, was then put into force, which enabled the Council, when it appeared to them that a Rural District Council had made default in carrying out the Act, to step in and deal directly with the owners. Three thousand houses had been dealt with, and in the great majority of cases it had not involved closure, but only reconstruction and improvement. As a result of that action, the question of the need for houses reached an acute stage, because owing to insufficient housing accommodation if houses were closed there were no other dwellings available for the displaced tenants. In one rural district the County Council held an inquiry on the complaint of a Parish Council under the Local Government Act, 1894, and came to the conclusion that a case had been made out for the erection of workmen's dwellings. After making every effort to get the District Council and the colliery owners to do the work, but with no response, they applied to the Local Government Board for powers to initiate a housing scheme. Great opposition was encountered, but finally they got their order, and the scheme was for the erection of 100 houses on a site of five acres, of which fifty were erected straight away. The effect on the District Council which had opposed the application was that not only were they converted, but were themselves now carrying out a scheme for another fifty houses in an adjoining township, in addition to taking over the County Council's scheme and completing it. (Hear, hear.) As had been said by Mr. Burns, it was not fresh legislation that was wanted, but the enforcement of existing Acts. He agreed with the suggestion of "moving up" tenants. When better class people moved into new houses, they made room for people less fortunate, and in that way the Housing problem was more or less solved. He deprecated Miss Cochrane's suggestion that 300 cubic feet of air space was a reasonable allowance per head in ordinary dwelling-houses. That was the figure laid down for common lodging-houses, where the living-rooms were not allowed to be used for sleeping accommodation, but for the industrial population they wanted something very much higher. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. HERBERT JONES (Medical Officer of Health, Hereford Combined Districts) said it was a relief to find a member of a County Council admitting that County Councils could not do everything. He believed it would be the greatest mistake possible if the work done by District Councils were taken away and given to County Councils. It must be remembered that it was not until they were compelled to do so that many County Councils even appointed a County Medical Officer of Health, and if the work of the best County Councils was to be taken as an index, then the index of work done by District Councils must also be the work done by the best of them. (Hear, hear.) If that were done, it would be found that District Councils were doing a large amount of work. The suggestion that the existence of bye-laws prevented houses being built must not be laid down as a general rule. In the seven rural districts with which he was concerned, only two had bye-laws, and they were practically the only districts in which there was any building going on at all. The problem in rural districts was that where labourers received only 12s. or 15s. a week, they ought not to pay more than 2s. a week in rent. Houses could not be built at a less economic rent than 3s. or 4s. a week. Where was the difference to come from? His experience was that if a cottager were taken from a bad house, for which he was paying 2s., and put into a good house at 3s. a week, somehow or other he managed to get the other shilling. There was one other way of getting the extra shilling. In most rural districts, some part abutted on an urban district, and in one part of Hereford they could build cottages and let them at a profit of 1s. or 1s. 6d. a week, because they happened to be next to Malvern; but five or six miles away they had to lose a shilling a week. If houses could be built all over a district the profit from the houses near the urban area would cover the loss on the others.

A DELEGATE: Most unfair!

ANOTHER DELEGATE: That is Socialism!

Dr. JONES, continuing, said the loss must be spread over the whole county, and then there was no loss at all. It had been said that, if there were a loss, it must be

borne by the State or the rates, but in the suggestion he made any apparent loss was counteracted, because it was adjusted between one tenant and another.

Mr. ROBERT LAMBIE (Lanark County Council) said it had been proved there were great difficulties in settling the question of the rural housing of the people. One thing, however, must be admitted, that the labourer was worthy of his hire. If the tilling of the soil of Britain could not give something to the tiller, there was something wrong, and the first charge on industry was to pay the labourer. Some houses could be made very much more sanitary than they were, but even if they were built like palaces, and people were put in occupation who would not take care of them, they would be in an insanitary condition in a very short time. (Hear, hear.) The Housing problem would not be solved by any single individual or Council, but by the combined efforts of the people in applying the principles of equity and justice. They had now a solution in the fact that they knew the value of the land, and its increased value or the unearned increment should go into the pockets of the ratepayers.

Mr. RICHARD L. REISS (Rural Co-partnership Housing Association) thought it should be clearly recognised that societies such as that with which Lord Henry Bentinck was connected could not be formed in any district in the country, but generally only near an urban district or a small country town. Where they were able, however, to get plenty of land, and let a tenant have an acre with his cottage, it was possible to form societies and build even in the heart of the country, because the land would go a long way towards paying the rent. Some people minimised the difficulty of getting land. He had visited a village in Dorset where there was an acute housing famine, and where the people would be prepared to pay 7s. a week in rent for cottages, but could not get them. The only land available was over a mile from the village, and had no frontage on the road, and was to be sold at £100 an acre. The amount of loans which had been granted to Rural District Councils by the Local Government Board was very small indeed, and of the £29,000 granted in the last fifteen months for rural districts, a large proportion was to house miners. To say the Act was being put into force in rural districts was to ignore the facts of the case. (Applause.)

Mr. J. G. HARRIES (Pontardawe Union) agreed that the people should be educated on the subject of housing. He believed it was possible to carry out the principles of the Town Planning Act without carrying the Act actually into force, and they were doing that in his district. They had convened a meeting of the landowners and District Councils, at which the landowners and their agents personally attended, and they all agreed to draw up a plan of their building land and produce it to the District Council, and have another conference to go over it. He lived in a rural district comprising five or six large centres. In one district four houses had been condemned out of a total of 1,1000. In another district six houses had been condemned out of 1,400; in another district, four houses out of 1,600; in another, thirty-two out of 1,700; and in the last, eighteen out of 1,800. The District Council had already commenced to build twenty-eight houses, and had got land to build another twenty-eight, in the district where thirty-two houses were condemned; and in the district where there were eighteen condemned houses out of 1,800 there were about fifty houses now in course of erection by private enterprise. In the district where there were four condemned houses a Garden City Company had already passed plans to build 150 houses on the spot. He recommended District Councils to make use of the Act.

The CHAIRMAN said he felt assured that the different views which had been expressed would enable them to go away very much enlightened, because the speakers who had given them the benefit of their experience had come from every part of the country. (Hear, hear.)

Third Day, Thursday, June 13th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Alderman G. K. Naylor, L.C.C. The subject discussed was THE OLD PARTS OF EXISTING TOWNS, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Overcrowding and Slum Clearance in London.*

By Dr. A. H. HOGARTH, County Medical Officer of Health, Buckinghamshire.

2.—*The Clearance of Slums: Owners and Ratepayers.*

By Mr. J. S. NETTLEFOLD.

3.—*Some Results of Housing Operations in the City of Liverpool.*

By Dr. E. W. HOPE, Medical Officer of Health, Liverpool.

Overcrowding and Slum Clearance in London.

By A. H. HOGARTH, M.D.

(County Medical Officer of Health, Buckinghamshire; lately Honorary Medical Officer to the Mansion House Council on Health and Housing).

FOR the last ten years the density of population per acre in London has been steadily decreasing, and now is only excessive in a few areas where there are large block dwellings. On the other hand, owing to the existence of innumerable empties in all parts of London during the past five years, density of population per room has advertised itself as a new and pressing problem.

In 1885 the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes came to the conclusion that in England all progress in the better housing of the working classes depended upon (1) an addition to the existing supply of houses; (2) a more effective supervision of the construction and sanitary arrangements of such houses; and (3) a higher standard of comfort and civilisation among the lower section of the working classes. In 1912 the problem is quite different. So far as London as a whole is concerned, and apart from local conditions, the first two requirements have been fulfilled. The third ideal is not yet realised. Nevertheless, the London Housing problem is more complicated than these conclusions would appear to indicate, and has been fully dealt with in the various publications of the Mansion House Council. In this paper we are only concerned with one aspect of the London Housing problem, "Overcrowding and Slum Clearance."

Overcrowding per room is more serious in London than in provincial towns. It is common in nearly all the nine Boroughs comprising the Central zone (except in the City of London). In the Middle zone it is mainly confined to small areas of old-established poverty in certain localities, *e.g.*, parts of Deptford, North Lambeth, Vauxhall, S.W. Battersea, Wandsworth (near the Wandle River), one or two streets in Fulham, Hammersmith (near the river), Nottingdale, and Hackney Wick. The inhabitants of these small areas are for the most part costermongers or casual labourers, some of whom are engaged in neighbouring factories. Amongst them are often included some very undesirable members of society—habitual drunkards, unemployable, wastrels, etc., as well as a large number of men working for a very low weekly wage, insufficient to procure adequate accommodation. They cannot move, nor can they afford higher rents, and they are the very class which so far has not been materially benefited by philanthropic building operations. A few who are in stable employment, earning a very small wage and improperly housed, might be persuaded to move further afield by reasoning and by knowledge of more suitable empty tenements at cheaper rents. This could be done by a system of advertising suitable empty dwellings. The beneficial effects would be twofold: those who moved would be better housed, and decentralisation would be increased. The most insanitary dwellings could then be closed as unfit for habitation, and there would still be sufficient accommodation of a better type for all those who from necessity remained behind.

In short, it is not more houses, but better and cheaper housing accommodation that is required. Fundamentally, this is not a Housing problem, but one which ultimately depends (1) upon the decasualisation of labour and the securing of a sufficient wage for all workers, and (2) upon the gradual elimination of the unemployable and wastrels. These are not insoluble difficulties, but are crucial points which should be settled before any new housing schemes *upon a large scale* are undertaken for the working classes.

There are two more immediate remedies. The first is the fixing and enforcement of a common standard as to the number of persons per room. At the present time abatement orders for overcrowding are only a make-believe. The tenants are "hunted from pillar to post, from one wretched home to another."* The result is that many Authorities, although aware of overcrowding, do not enforce the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, or the bye-laws made thereunder for limiting the number of persons in occupation. "Overcrowding enables the landlord to get more rent and the tenants to pay less." This economic aspect of the problem has recently been emphasised by a writer in the *Times*, who refers to an unpublished report of the London County Council showing that "private owners allow on an average nearly double as many persons per room as the Council allows," and the L.C.C. standard is certainly not high. "The Council allows two adults per room, counting a child between 5 and 10 as half an adult, and not counting a child below 5 at all. It is therefore quite possible for two parents and seven or eight young children to live in a two-room Council tenement, all sleeping in the one small bedroom. Low as this standard is, the standard in privately-owned properties was found on the average to be nearly twice as low."

The first of the two immediate remedies would therefore lie in fixing a common standard and enforcing it, in spite of the many and serious hardships that must ensue. "The present abundance of empties throughout London offers a golden

* Mr. Foote, Chief Inspector, Bethnal Green.

opportunity for ending an evil which the former dearth of accommodation possibly originated."

The second of the immediate remedies takes account of the crucial problem of rent and wages, which must be regarded rather in the light of a social and economic than of a Housing problem, and suggests a scheme for effecting a reduction in rents below current prices, *as a temporary and hygienic expedient for a few small areas and with a special purpose in view.*

The principle is not altogether economically sound, but it is not therefore to be dismissed without further consideration, and perhaps it might recommend itself to semi-commercial and philanthropic building trusts, which should more especially bear in mind the needs of the poorest working classes. In this number we do not include the unemployable, wastrels, or the criminal classes, who must be left to gravitate to the common lodging-houses or to the Poor-Law. But we speak of those in stable employment earning a small weekly wage, and of casual labourers and the " unemployed " with wife and children. Many of this class of the community can be found living together under terrible conditions of overcrowding in certain well-known slum areas.

The suggestion is that, while we are waiting for a more effectual solution of the problem of rent and wages, these properties might be purchased or leased by philanthropic Housing Trusts, and should in the first instance be placed under the direct personal management and supervision of trained workers; that the rents should be reduced, if possible, to the rate of 2s. a room in the Central zone and 1s. 6d. in the Middle zone (or, say, 5s. for a self-contained tenement of three rooms); that payment of rent should be in advance; and that the houses should be gradually adapted and improved in sanitary arrangements. Certain facilities might also be afforded to the tenants in the way of obtaining coal, etc., at reduced prices, as is done by the Guinness Trustees. The advantages of such an undertaking are twofold. It ensures the avoidance of arrears and a definite income, with regular expenditure on outgoings—a much better system than prevails at the present time in these areas. At the same time, the general standard of comfort and living is improved, the tenants are educated up to a knowledge of better things, and there is a gradual elimination of the worst families with a total disappearance of small " plague spots " and of overcrowding. At the end of a short period the better tenants might remove to improved dwellings in the neighbourhood, or to tenements reconstructed out of middle-class houses, which, as has been shown, can be profitably let at slightly lower rents than newly-built houses or tenements. In this way, then, a general levelling-up of the poorest working classes should be the result, and if, at the same time, some steps are taken to solve the closely connected problems of casual labour and unemployment, better social conditions should generally prevail.

We do not advocate the general reduction of rents on a large scale, but a reduction in certain small areas of old-established poverty, combined with personal supervision and control as a means towards the gradual abolition of insanitary dwellings and of overcrowding and towards the education of the poorer tenants.

Under this scheme also it may be suggested that, provided the houses are well-lighted, well-ventilated, and sanitary, the exact letter of the law as to overcrowding should not under all circumstances be stringently enforced during the short transition stage. Overcrowded insanitary dwellings are harmful; but, provided that the tenants are clean and healthy, and know the value of the open window, healthy dwellings, though technically " overcrowded," are not so harmful as badly ventilated, ill-lighted, and insanitary houses which contain no

more than the maximum legal number of persons but which ought to be closed as unfit for human habitation.

Under existing conditions, however, overcrowding tends to make slums; for it enables owners to let slum property which otherwise would remain unlet. If the overcrowding problem could be solved, the few remaining slum areas in London could be readily cleared by the Borough Councils under Part II. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.

The Tabard Street area in Southwark is possibly the last of the large insanitary areas to be dealt with by the London County Council under Part I. of the Act. During the past twenty years there has been a wholesale clearance of large slum areas. So that so far as London is concerned little remains to be done in this direction. On the other hand, the serious attention of all Sanitary Authorities ought to be turned to the clearance of small insanitary areas, *e.g.*, a number of houses or dwellings not exceeding ten which are to be dealt with by the Metropolitan Borough Councils pursuant to Section 72 of the Housing Act, 1890. It is the duty of Local Authorities to prepare schemes for the demolition, reconstruction, and rearrangement of small insanitary areas the houses of which have been closed by closing orders; and it would not be difficult to name two or three dozen slum areas of this description which still require to be dealt with.

The existing law is fully adequate if administrative activity was not lacking. *Vigilantibus non dormientibus succurrunt leges.* The Local Government Board and the majority of local Sanitary Authorities are asleep—a point fully recognised in the Housing of the Working Classes Bill recently introduced into the House of Commons. It is proposed in the Bill that the Board should appoint certain Housing Commissioners to act as an expert department to supervise the activities of Local Authorities under the various Housing Acts.

Failing the preparation of schemes for the clearance of these small slum areas, the policy of adapting existing houses as an alternative to a new building must be considered. Three distinct schemes of adaptation have been advocated, and each proposes a different—but not an exclusive—method of securing better accommodation for the poorest slum dwellers. The first, originally suggested by Mr. Ruskin and carried out by Miss Octavia Hill, aims at educating tenants occupying old and dilapidated dwellings in the worst areas by means of close personal supervision and management, and incidentally leads to adaptation and improvement of the houses simultaneously with improvement in the tenants. The second deals with a similar kind of slum property in a different way. The houses are reconstructed and renovated throughout, and they may or may not be reserved for their previous tenants. The third scheme is concerned with the conversion of empty houses originally built for one family into two or more flats or tenements for the working classes. The important point is that experience shows that these schemes can be made financially profitable (though the third has scarcely been tried on a large enough scale to warrant a final conclusion), and at the same time they fulfil a very distinct social and hygienic requirement. These three methods of dealing with small slum areas and the inhabitants thereof were fully described in a special report of the Mansion House Council published in 1908.

So far as the clearance of large slum areas is concerned, a great advance in the problem was made in 1908, when the London County Council applied to the Local Government Board for leave to supply rehousing accommodation, in suitable cases, in districts other than those in which the population was displaced. This application appeared to be a direct outcome of the discussion at the annual meeting of the Mansion House Council in November, 1907, at which members of the

County Council and of the Housing Companies, as well as members of Parliament, took part. Previously slum clearance implied an obligation to rehouse the displaced inhabitants on or near the same site. Now it is possible to do otherwise and the above-mentioned correspondent to the *Times* has written: "One of the best features of the great clearance scheme in Southwark is that more than half the cleared area, instead of being covered with block dwellings, is to be made into a park for an entirely parkless district." This is a great advance, and embodies the idea of Town Planning on a minute scale.

We must end this paper with the time-honoured conclusion of the Mansion House Council that it is high time for those concerned in any way with housing in and around London to confer and combine so that the housing of the future, whether commercial, philanthropic, or municipal, should be carried out on a reasoned, foreseeing, and definite plan.

It is probably the duty of the London County Council to call such a conference, but a few years ago they seemed unwilling to do so. Want of funds alone has prevented the Mansion House Council from undertaking the task.

Clearance of Slums: Owners and Ratepayers.

By J. S. Nettlefold.

There is no more fruitful cause of destitution than bad housing conditions. Looking at it from a purely business point of view, it is economically unsound that a large proportion of our population should live in houses that are unfit for human habitation owing to their not getting enough light and air or to other causes. Our slums cannot all be suddenly cleared away, but they can be slowly but surely reformed. The questions at once arise: (1) How shall this be done? (2) Who shall bear the cost—owners or ratepayers? In Birmingham it has been decided that it is the duty of property owners to keep their houses in proper repair at their own expense, and I will explain presently how this policy has been put into practice, but before doing that it will be useful to explain shortly the methods that are adopted when the cost of slum reform is thrown on the general body of ratepayers.

Part I. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, enables Local Authorities to buy up insanitary areas, demolish the existing houses, and build new ones. This results in the ratepayers giving far more for the old property than it is worth, thereby rewarding owners for neglecting their property. It also results in many houses being demolished that might quite easily be made fit to live in. And further, very few of the displaced tenants live in the new houses provided. But perhaps the greatest objection is that this method is so costly that no Local Authority is rich enough to deal on these lines with all the property within its boundaries that requires attention, and further, Local Authorities get so busy with work which they ought to leave to others that they have no time to attend to the important business of seeing that landlords of small house property do their duty by their tenants. In Birmingham, ten years ago, an insanitary area known as the St. Lawrence area was scheduled to be dealt with under Part I. of the 1890

Act, and referred to the Housing Committee. This Committee went very fully into the matter, and in March, 1902, recommended that this area should be dealt with under Part II. of the 1890 Act, which lays the cost of repairs on the owners instead of the ratepayers. There was, as usual in such cases, considerable opposition from the property owners and their friends at the Council House But in spite of these and other difficulties the area was dealt with far more quickly than would have been possible under Part I. of the Act, and at a cost of £2,000 to the ratepayers, as against £250,000, which is a conservative estimate of what would have been spent on wholesale purchase, compensation, demolition, and reconstruction.

The following views of tenants in the area are interesting:—

A. "Most of the tenants live in the same houses that they lived in before they were turned out for the houses to be repaired."

B. "All the tenants that I know are very glad of what the Housing Committee are doing."

C. "Most tenants have no objection to paying more rent if their houses are made more comfortable and better to live in. They are less tempted to visit the public-house in the evening. If the rents are unduly raised the houses are left empty."

Every housing reformer knows of the notorious instance where it cost over £100 per head of the population to deal with an unhealthy area under Part I., a great deal of which was paid as compensation to the owners of insanitary property, and when the work was completed none of the old tenants were to be found in the new houses. As far as I can ascertain every other Local Authority using Part I. of the 1890 Act has had similar, if not quite such disastrous, experiences. The Birmingham policy results in about one-half of the insanitary houses dealt with being demolished, and not replaced in the centre of the city as is required under Part I., which in the early days led some people to fear that a house famine would be created. This has not been the result in Birmingham. There are to-day in the centre of the city more small houses void than there were when the Housing Committee began its work. This is due, among other causes, to tramway extensions, and if the Housing and Town Planning, etc., Act is administered by Birmingham with the same regard to economy and efficiency as has been exercised in our Slum Reform work, then this exodus to the suburbs will be still further encouraged, with the result that there will be less fear than ever of causing any house famine in the centre of the city.

In Slum Reform Birmingham has adopted and put into practice the following policy and methods: Part II. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, and Section 17 of the 1909 Act enable Local Authorities to close houses unfit for human habitation, and keep them closed until they have been thoroughly repaired, thereby putting the cost of repairs on the owners and not on the general body of ratepayers. This method is much fairer; it is also more economical for the ratepayers, and there is the additional advantage that owners are encouraged to keep their property in good order, with the result that large numbers of houses are repaired without any interference by the Authority. Many owners of small house property spend the least possible on repairs, and ignore the more economical policy of a "stitch in time." Even from the purely business point of view this is false economy, and from the point of view of the habits of the tenants upon which the commercial success of small house property so largely depends, it is suicidal. If tenants see their landlords neglecting the "stitch in time," or unduly limiting repairs, they in their turn will adopt the same methods, and neglect

instead of taking care of their houses. In addition to which Sections 14 and 15 of the 1909 Act will no doubt strengthen Local Authorities in their action with regard to *all* owners of small house property who do not keep their houses in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation.

The Birmingham policy of calling upon owners to repair their property at their own expense, instead of at the expense of the ratepayers, has met with much opposition from some owners of slum property who endeavoured to get off with the least possible expenditure. The methods advocated by them are known as "slum patching," whereas the Corporation have insisted on "thorough repair." For landlords as well as tenants, "slum patching" is very bad business. Owners who adopt this method get bad tenants in their houses, and have far more changes in tenancy than those who do up their houses properly. They may save a little money at the moment, but in the long run they spend more and get less rent. It pays much better to thoroughly repair the houses, so that no further radical repairs shall be necessary for some time to come.

The principle of Thorough Repair having been settled, a great deal still depends on the manner in which it is carried out. The Birmingham methods are:—

Where houses are huddled together in obscure, unventilated courts, with outhouses close to the front door and living-room, one or more are pulled down and the outhouses rearranged so as to let light and air into the houses that remain. For this work compensation is paid to the owner for removal of obstructive buildings under Section 38 of the 1890 Act.

With regard to the houses themselves we ask:—

(*a*) That when quarry floors have to be taken up because quarries are broken or the floor is damp, the floor shall be relaid on concrete. It is essential to have a solid floor to prevent damp rising into the house from the ground underneath.

(*b*) For the insertion of damp courses except when a house is evidently dry.

(*c*) That all dirty wall papers be removed, no matter how many layers there may be, and the plaster where necessary made sound and good.

(*d*) That insanitary brick settles or sinks, which always cause damp and bad smells, be removed, and an earthenware sink, with water supply, provided, so that tenants may be able to wash without having to go to the yard tap.

(*e*) That handrails be provided to staircases.

(*f*) That filth, when found between floors and ceilings, where it is always highly dangerous to health, be removed, and floors and ceilings be thoroughly repaired.

(*g*) That roofs be repaired in such a manner that unless some accident occurs they will keep out the rain for some years to come.

(*h*) That windows be made to open top and bottom, and the woodwork be made waterproof.

(*i*) That doors be made waterproof.

(*j*) That matchboarding be removed from walls where it is found to hide damp or harbour filth.

(*k*) That where fresh paint is required, two coats shall be put on.

(*l*) That brickwork be raked and pointed where necessary, and where unsafe be pulled down and rebuilt.

(*m*) That ventilated food cupboards or pantries be provided to all houses.

(*n*) That cellars be filled in where it is found impossible to prevent them being a cause of damp and bad smells.

From 1902 to 1911 the following amount of work has been done :—

Number of houses represented	5,790
Number rendered habitable	2,819
Number demolished	2,138
Number converted to workshops	80
Number undergoing repair	156
Number pending lapse of notices	597
Courts opened to the street	147
Obstructive buildings removed	338

All this has been accomplished at a total cost, including compensation and administration, of £26,085, which works out at less than ¼d. rate, and with the majority of property owners and their agents we are on the best of terms.

This paper would not be complete without a reference to the habits of the tenants. Some say the sty makes the pig, others say the pig makes the sty. There is truth in both sayings. But neither saying contains the whole truth. We must work at both difficulties—bad houses and bad tenants. They act and react on each other, and no plan of reform will be satisfactory which does not deal with both sides of the problem; otherwise the condition of the untouched side will tend to nullify any improvement in the other. Miss Octavia Hill was the first to put this principle into practice, and her work has been a "light to guide" all subsequent reformers. It is not my place to give a detailed explanation of Miss Hill's methods. She has developed and worked a system to take small areas singly, and in these areas to deal personally with the tenants. It requires infinite tact, infinite patience and pains; but she has met with great success, because she has spared no pains to take into account the human factor. She treats her tenants as human beings, not as mere rent-producing animals. If house agents would work more on these lines we should hear far less about the bad habits of the tenants. But when the mere rent-collecting animal meets the mere rent-producing animal the results for landlords as well as for tenants is not satisfactory.

Some Results of Housing Operations in the City of Liverpool.

By Edward William Hope, M.D., D.SC.
(Medical Officer of Health for the City and Port of Liverpool).

The insanitary dwellings dealt with from time to time by the Housing Committee of the City Council of Liverpool are of a special type, consisting of three rooms, placed one above the other, connected by a narrow staircase. The houses are placed back to back and side by side with each other, and are, consequently, without through ventilation or yard space, and, as a result, the air of the dwellings becomes foul and stagnant.

They are situated in narrow, confined, and sunless courts, and the inadequate closet accommodation provided takes the form of a trough closet, which is used

in common by the occupiers of the several houses, no provision being made for the separation of the sexes.

The water supply is obtained from a stand-pipe placed in the court, used in common; the receptacles for refuse are fixed at the entrance, or top end of the court, and are also used in common.

The entrances to many of the worst courts, which have been demolished, were built over, converting the entrance into a tunnel, which led to the confined courtway, which varied in width from 3 ft. to 16 ft. By lapses of time and by neglect the houses became structurally dilapidated, the internal woodwork defective, the plaster work bulged, cracked, and stained, and there is marked evidence to prove that, although, comparatively speaking, a fairly high rental was obtained for these houses, and that they were seldom unoccupied, the minimum amount was expended in maintaining them reasonably fit for human habitation.

In the year 1864 it was then estimated that there were existing 22,000 houses in Liverpool which were more or less structurally insanitary. Why Liverpool possessed so many insanitary houses at that time admits of a simple explanation. The exceptionally rapid development of the city at a time when no Parliamentary or other powers existed to control the erection of dwellings, when there was no educated public opinion to support the City Council, when the conditions of labour rendered it necessary for labourers to live near their work, and when wages were low, explains the whole thing.

The need for manual labour at the docks increased, and in order to accommodate the labourer and his family, who were compelled to live near their work, a large number of insanitary houses were erected, many of them on the back gardens or yards of existing houses. The conditions were further intensified by the increasing demand for accommodation of the cheapest kind, owing to the fact that many thousands of people came from Ireland in consequence of the potato famine of 1854 and settled in Liverpool.

In the absence of legislation, no control was exercised over the erection of houses, each builder did as he pleased; and a study of the old Ordnance maps of Liverpool shows how the maximum number of houses was erected on the minimum ground area, regardless of all health requirements. These courts became the haunts of typhus fever, immorality, crime, and drunkenness, and the cause of an exceedingly high death-rate.

Since 1864, 18,000 insanitary houses have been demolished, partly owing to commercial developments, partly by the Corporation for sanitary reasons. These have been replaced largely by cottages erected by private enterprise, and the Corporation have erected 2,665 dwellings for the residuum of dispossessed for whom private enterprise could not cater.

These new dwellings are situated in different parts of the city, and consist of one, two, three, and four-roomed dwellings, let at rentals varying from 1s. 9d. to 6s. per week. The great majority of these dwellings are reserved for persons dispossessed, and it is necessary for the applicant to show that he formerly resided in an insanitary house or insanitary cellar, or was dispossessed from an overcrowded sub-let lodging-house. Before granting a house, all applications are carefully investigated by officers of the Public Health Department. The advantage of living in a Corporation tenement is fully realised by the tenants, and many applications are made by persons who are not living under insanitary conditions, but these applications are not complied with.

The death-rate of the insanitary areas, prior to being dealt with, averaged forty to sixty per thousand per annum, in various areas, mainly due to the

insanitary conditions of the property, although squalor, bad habits, and extreme poverty of the tenants were powerful factors in contributing to cause this high rate of mortality .

Many years prior to any general legislation in respect to the housing of the working classes, Liverpool obtained special powers, and under an Act of Parliament of 1854, it was made illegal to construct the court houses of the worst type, and this prevented an increase of the then existing evils. In 1864 the Corporation of Liverpool obtained additional powers for the acquisition of insanitary property, and the further erection of the insanitary type of houses practically ceased. Under this Act of Parliament some thousands of insanitary houses were presented by the Medical Officer of Health as unfit for human habitation, and were subsequently demolished; the last presentment was made in the year 1904.

Up to 1902 practically the whole of the work had been carried out under the local Act of 1864, and it was estimated that the number of structurally insanitary houses which existed at that time (1902) was 9,943; the cost of demolishing these houses was estimated at £342,000, and that to accommodate the dispossessed people would involve a further expenditure of £350,000. Up to this time 842 houses had been erected, or were in course of erection, by the Corporation. The first two unhealthy areas to be dealt with by Liverpool under the Housing of the Working Classes Act (1890) were at this time scheduled; this was the first scheme under that Act.

The largest number of tenants from any one area that have availed themselves of the accommodation provided by the Corporation were from the Hornby Street area—71 per cent. becoming tenants in the new dwellings. The only conditions that are required of tenants entering the new Corporation dwellings are that they must behave themselves, pay their rent, and maintain a certain standard of cleanliness, and, generally speaking, these conditions are observed.

When these insanitary areas were condemned, reliable statistics were available to show that the death-rate ranged from forty to sixty per thousand, and the incidence of phthisis amongst these people resulted in an annual death-rate of approximately four per thousand. These people are now re-housed in sanitary houses, on the same areas, which have been transformed by the widening of streets, provision of ample open space at the rear of the dwellings, and suitable playgrounds for the children, which in many instances have been provided with gymnasia.

Under these new conditions the general death-rate has fallen by more than one-half, and the average annual death-rate from phthisis has fallen to 1.9 per thousand. During the past year, out of 2,601 cases of phthisis which have been under observation at their own homes, only thirty-three were found to reside in the dwellings erected by the Housing Committee of the City Council of Liverpool, and from the reports it appears that in the majority of these instances the disease existed before they entered. The duration of the disease was frequently greater than the period of tenancy, and in several instances the patient was previously under observation at another address.

It is extremely gratifying to notice the improvement in the habits and cleanliness of these people, as indicated by the appearance of their dwellings. The changed conditions can only be appreciated by those who are conversant with the localities prior to the operations of the Housing Committee of the Liverpool Corporation. A walk round these improved districts during the day or night will indicate the atmosphere of quietness and comparative comfort which prevails,

and the well-lighted rooms of the tenements present a cheerful appearance. The improvement extends beyond the immediate vicinity of the dwellings, and affects the general condition of the neighbourhood. The number of prosecutions for drunkenness and assault have decreased; there is a general feeling amongst the occupiers of the Corporation tenements that it is a privilege to dwell in them, and although in many cases they are the "poorest of the poor," there appears to be an endeavour to make an effort to improve the internal arrangements of the dwellings.

It is also interesting to note that there is a higher moral tone; self-respect is more in evidence, and a keener love of home prevails. The condition of the children who formerly resided in courts shows a very marked improvement; they are better cared for, suitably clothed, and are being trained and reared in an environment which is bound to be productive of much moral and physical good.

Discussion.

The CHAIRMAN (Alderman G. K. Naylor, Chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council) said that it had not been his good fortune to be present at the previous discussions of the Housing Section of the Conference, and he was really not conversant with many details of what had taken place, but with regard to the clearing of slum areas, the subject appealed to him as one that required a policy which must be educative, constructive, and progressive in character. That policy was specially distinct from the policy of Town Planning and Garden Cities, and the distinction lay in the fact that the latter methods were meant to operate with a view of preventing the evils of bad housing remaining a permanent feature in localities where large numbers of people dwelt, whereas the clearance of slum areas necessitated a policy which would deal with evils already existing; and it created some of the most complicated problems of social life that modern statesmanship was called upon to deal with. The evils themselves were accentuated by the many intricate questions and varied interests with which the position was fraught, and, whether it were dealt with on charitable, private, or municipal lines, it required very careful handling. The existence and influence of a slum area in the midst of a relatively low-grade or labouring community was productive of much that was seen in the way of vice, uncleanliness, drunkenness, and poverty. While not attributing to environment everything that was sometimes charged against it, it remained a potent fact that environment was largely responsible, in the case of slum dwellings, for much of the harrowing conditions observed within their spheres of influence. What impressions of the better side of life could it be expected that children would have who were born and reared in such squalid surroundings? Education no doubt played a relatively vital part in determining much of the future of the rising generations, but if educational policies could only be supplemented by rigorous application of sanitary housing accommodation, relatively free from unnecessary congestion, then would our educational system have a better appreciative value, and a greater power of discrimination, and desire would be given to growing children to choose good instead of evil, cleanliness instead of filth, and, in many cases, virtue instead of immorality.

Unfortunately, the difficulties were many, and the remedies, while perhaps fairly apparent, presented very difficult phases which municipalities and other public bodies had to deal with. There was the factor of casual employment, which carried with it the necessity in a large number of cases of men residing near their work, and the consequent incentive to put up with what, in ordinary circumstances, they would not tolerate. Then, again, there was the low average wage of the worker in the country, and his consequent inability to pay for what, in a better state of life, would be regarded as decent accommodation. The difficulty of rehousing people who were displaced by a clearance scheme was one of the many factors which created a little

hesitation sometimes in the minds of those interested in the Housing question, and in some districts where insanitary conditions prevailed, and there was vacant accommodation of a better character, not at a prohibitive rent, he had found great difficulty in persuading people to remove into the next street. All those phases of the question made the problem a far more difficult one than it appeared on the surface, and philanthropic effort often fell short of attaining a mere tithe of what was hoped for when any particular scheme was embarked upon. Another important phase was the responsibility of Local Authorities, when they were embarking on any scheme involving expenditure upon the rates. In many instances Authorities who desired to do certain things were afraid to carry them out because of the responsibility that would attach to their action. He had found in many cases a possibility, from the contiguity of business premises, that unfit habitations would be bought by private enterprise for the purpose of extending their business premises, and that factor had very much modified the wider and bolder policy of dealing with such questions at once in the proper way. One point he would like to particularly impress upon the Conference which had struck him since he had been connected with the Housing question. He believed some modification would have to be made in the law, or in some other direction, because it did not appear equitable that Local Authorities—or even the Imperial Exchequer if it were a national question—should have to pay for purchasing dilapidated property, which had been persistently allowed to fall into a disreputable condition, often for the very purpose of realising its value at the public expense. But they must be careful to discriminate on the question, because, though there were bad landlords, there were also a great number of good landlords to whom an insanitary house was distasteful. While modification of the law was necessary in that respect, yet they must be very careful, in seeking to punish those who deserved it, that others who were not at fault were not also punished. (Applause.)

Miss M. Carey (Women's Industrial Council) said the subject of Dr. Hogarth's paper interested her as a Sanitary Inspector with great experience of overcrowding. As to the suggestion that property of the slum type should be purchased by philanthropic trusts, it was better, wherever possible, that that class of property should be bought by a Borough Council, if they could be persuaded to do it, because otherwise there was apt to be friction between the employees of the society and the officers of the Council. The agent of a society had no right of entry, and made a great point of the fact that an Englishman's house was his castle, and the fact that there was a kind of official on the place who was not always working in sympathy with the officer of the Council increased the difficulty very much. In districts of the slum type the supervision of the Sanitary Inspector should be constant and unhindered. As to the necessity of an absolute standard of overcrowding, a few years ago she would have agreed that there should be a definite limit, but was not sure now that the indefinite way in which the law stood was not on the whole more helpful. The conditions of different rooms varied considerably, and in the case of many tenants, if they were compelled to take more rooms, it meant forcing them into the workhouse. Where there was a good room, with windows occupying probably more than half the area of the room, and the tenant was clean, the harm done was not great, and it was a good thing when Sanitary Inspectors were able to use a certain amount of discretion. Again, there were many rooms technically not overcrowded, in which the damage done was great because of their construction or of the loss of cubic area in the height of the room. Height above nine feet was an absolute waste, and as the law stood they could deal with such a room if the Medical Officer took it upon himself to say it was so overcrowded as to be dangerous. Overcrowding should be more generally regarded as a question of domestic sanitation, and dealt with more by women officers. It was necessary to inquire very carefully into the details of the family life, the condition of their health, and the amount of income earned by the various members of the family, and if the officer were a woman she was generally in touch with a great many societies, and was often able to bring assistance to a family when obliged to enforce the overcrowding notice. The law should be carried out, but in the kindest way possible, and she therefore advocated the appointment of women Sanitary Inspectors all over the country, giving them discretion as well as power.

Councillor J. W. Crowther (Sheffield County Borough Council) thought that if some of the remedies suggested in the papers were carried out they would go a long way towards removing the difficulty of the slum question. He knew the slums of Birmingham fairly intimately, and in the Floodgate area five years ago the state of things was absolutely intolerable. But wonderful improvements had been effected,

and the whole moral stamina of the district raised. There was, however, still a great deal to do, not only in Birmingham, but all over the country. In Sheffield they had tried Part I. of the Act at terrible cost to the ratepayers, and been obliged to beg the Local Government Board to let them off some of their responsibilities. They were compelled to put up tenements where nobody wanted to live, and it would have paid them better to build houses in the suburbs and allow the tenants to live rent free. What might be done in the first place was to have Town Planning in the centre of the city. A great deal was heard about Town Planning outside, and owners of land all over the country were beginning to see the advantage of Town Planning, but in the centre there was great reluctance on account of the cost. In all great cities, however, there were opportunities of running wide streets through the slums, which eventually would be a source of profit to the next generation, if not to this. These improvements ought not to carry with them the necessity for rehousing all the people, because it was far better by means of a splendid traction service—such as most cities now possessed—to carry the workers to the outside of the city, and there was a preference, especially amongst newly-married people, to live in the suburbs. That meant that houses in the centre of a city were being emptied, and the rents were going down, and people could go from the slums to those older houses which had been vacated. The next remedy would be to try to improve the slum areas. In some cities slum houses were not badly built. In Sheffield one slum area was cleared, and jerry-built houses were put up in the suburbs. He had no objection to the jerry-built house if the sanitary conditions were good, beacuse as a rule it was well ventilated, and the occupants were compelled to have fresh air whether they wanted it or not. (Laughter.) The third remedy was to make slum property unprofitable, and now they had a weapon in their hands. Under the Town Planning Act they had not to go before a magistrate. The practice in Sheffield was to send first of all particulars of the repairs they wanted executed, and if the owner kicked they simply sent a closing order, and that brought him to his senses. As to letting property at less than its market value, he could not agree with that, because by that means they would attract people with low wages, and give the sweater an opportunity for getting cheap labour.

Mr. FRED KNEE (Workmen's National Housing Council) advised the London County Council to pay a visit to Lambeth. It was true the slum areas which still existed in London were not of the size of the Boundary Street area or the Tabard Street area, but they did exist; and though he sympathised with Mr. Nettlefold's plan of picking out houses here and there, and making the people pay who ought, yet that process in some cases would appear rather too lengthy, and certainly would involve in many instances the clearance of whole streets, which the Borough Councils did not care about taking in hand. Moreover, large clearances ought to be a county charge, or, better still, an Imperial charge. It was not the fault of the present generation of administrators that slums existed, and he thought they should give a good measure of support to Sir Arthur Boscawen's Bill, under which it was proposed that a sum of money should be voted from the Imperial Exchequer for the purpose of assisting Housing Authorities. He felt somewhat at variance with almost every delegate who had spoken. It seemed to him they were trying to get away from or wink at the prime difficulty of the whole matter. Landlords would build houses well, and keep them well, if it paid. Philanthropists would build houses for the workers if it paid. Local Authorities did build houses for the well-to-do artisan class because it paid; and they would do it for the very poor if that paid too. It was all very well to say they must encourage the workers to ask for more wages, so that they might be able to pay more rent, but they had to make up their minds to do the thing in a straightforward way. There were millions of people in this country who could not afford to pay any rent at all, and yet when a minimum wage was asked for it was refused. The very people who said they must first get a higher wage, when they attempted to do so said it was uneconomic. That Conference would only evade the issue. On the question of slums, he believed the self-respecting workman did not want too much inspection, he was resentful of inspection; and while he liked a decent place to live in, if the execution of repairs was followed by the landlord putting up the rent, they would find that resentment very apparent. He thoroughly agreed with Miss Carey's remarks on the subject of philanthropic bodies buying up small or large areas for the purposes of reconstruction. He would rather that the Borough Councils, who had plenty of power, should do it.

Dr. HOGARTH: They will not do it.

Mr. KNEE said that some of them had done it; Kensington and Camberwell had done a little. But if the Borough Councils would not do it, the electors had only to do their duty and the Borough Councils would be compelled to do theirs. It was all very well to complain of the Borough Councils being composed of property owners, but that was the fault of the electors. Borough Councillors were appointed by the very people who lived in the slums, and they ought to know better than to send men to represent them on the Borough Councils who did not in the least represent their interests. (Applause.)

Mr. FRED HUGHES (Birmingham N.C.P.D.) entirely agreed with Mr. Knee that they were not likely at that Conference to solve the Housing problem, but that was not because they would not face it, but because they could not possibly face it by dealing with it as a single feature. He could not see how, by giving a section of the people houses rent free, they were to deal with the root of the trouble, and was of opinion that partial schemes for housing people at less than the cost would tend to depress the wages of the rest of the working class in the district concerned. The most they could hope to do was to lift the lower end of the social scale without correspondingly depressing other sections. Assuming all their theories of political economy were correct, and assuming it was true that there was no lack of houses in particular districts, how was it that the supply of houses being in excess of the demand had not brought the rents down to the level which the people could pay? The difficulty could not be got over by saying: "We must buy out the people who own this property, in order that we may reduce the rents." He was not sure they were not in a fair way to getting Town Planning in the centre of towns, which, in conjunction with Town Planning on the outskirts, might possibly give a solution of the problem. He understood the Health Committee in Birmingham had made a departure in its method of house inspection, and concentrated upon the wards which showed the highest death-rate, and made a special investigation of the housing conditions. The result was that in the first ward they tackled they found there were very few people living in the ward at all. (Laughter.) He was hoping for a closer co-operation between the Health Committee and the Town Planning Committee; in that direction lay the best way out of the difficulty that could be seen at the moment. In Birmingham it was not the provision of more houses that was wanted, but the provision of better houses in the right places, and increased facilities for enabling people to get to them.

Miss ELLIOTT (Southwark Health Society) thought the real problem was that of not driving away altogether the lowest classes when they attempted to improve housing. The Tabard Street area, for instance, was being cleared, and the houses to be put up there were to be of a better class, but none of those poor people would go to the County Council houses, even if the rents were as low as they were before. One result of clearing a district was to fill up the worst of the houses that were left. There was, of course, the real technical overcrowding, which could be dealt with more or less by enforcing the law, but there was also another form of overcrowding which she would like to mention. In the large buildings in her own area there were about 730 families living on two and a half acres. The buildings were run up to seven storeys without proper ventilation of the courts below, which smelt like a bad room. The buildings had been inspected, and reported as substantially well built, and though the result of the overcrowding was extremely bad, there was nothing which could touch it in the present law. People who had notice to leave premises in consequence of overcrowding would not go into better rooms, but into another house of the same type. A way of getting over technical overcrowding sometimes adopted by tenants was to say their children slept with a neighbour, but she knew that some of the neighbour's children slept with them. (Laughter.) The real difficulty was that such people had not an income which would enable them to pay more rent. She believed the solution for overcrowding was to try to enforce overcrowding rules, and then ascertain how many families could not live under them, and endeavour to do something to help their position. Respectable people would always live in a decent dwelling, and the real problem of Housing centred around the class for whom it was necessary to do something to lift them into an altogether different position.

Councillor C. E. BROWN (Tottenham Urban District Council) said that he had been very much disturbed throughout the Conference because there had been no opportunity afforded to men like himself to grapple with the evils placed before them by Mr. Knee. That afternoon it was intended to pay a visit to the Hampstead Garden Suburb, which had done much good for the better class of artisan, but the better

class of artisan was capable of looking after himself. As Mr. Knee had said, Housing reformers of all classes would do anything that was going to pay, but if they did not intend to grapple with the question of the man who could not pay rent at all there was an end to the usefulness of the Conference. (Cries of "No.") If they were going to legislate to prevent destitution, they had to do something to lift the people out of the mire. Let Conferences of that character actually do something by which they could satisfy their consciences, and be proud that they had made a real attempt to grapple with the problem. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. WADDINGTON (Leicester Union) claimed that Leicester had fewer slums than any other town in the kingdom of its size, and he believed they also had a better class of workmen's dwellings. Their health record was one of the best. It was impossible to travel out of Leicester by rail or road without seeing on both sides large areas of allotments; the trams ran to the allotments, and the town had extended on all sides very considerably. The class of house being built was let at 6s. to 8s. a week, and in all those districts it was exceedingly difficult to find a house empty for more than a week. The allotments were provided partly by the Corporation, and partly by the owners of the land in the neighbourhood, and as the town had developed the owners of estates had met the Corporation liberally by giving land for open spaces. He was sure that the mere erection of a superior class of house for some of the working classes would not entirely solve the Housing difficulty, which depended so much on the character of the people themselves. Great good might be done by lady visitors, whose efforts should be directed not so much to inquisitorial visits as to sympathetic interviews with the wives of the tenants. (Hear, hear.)

Councillor T. R. MARR (Manchester County Borough Council), commenting on the points raised in Mr. Nettlefold's paper, said the Birmingham policy was really the Manchester policy in possibly a slightly improved form. (Laughter.) He could not say whether or not that was the best method for London, but for a number of the great provincial cities—and probably for smaller provincial cities—the method which Mr. Nettlefold had described was undoubtedly the one which enabled the work to be most rapidly done, and at the least expense. He believed a Corporation should build when it got a chance, but in Manchester they had been met by the argument that their existing housing schemes did not pay. Under the powers of a private Act of Parliament they had been able to deal, on an average, with over 1,000 houses a year. Of that number, rather under 50 per cent. were closed, so that the rate of demolition in the slum areas was nothing like so great as if the Corporation were taking action under Part I. In Manchester it was more often found necessary to demolish parts of buildings than to resort to complete demolition. They had many houses with back projections, where it was impossible to get light and air without slicing off a part of the structure. That work had been done for the last six years at the cost, not of a farthing rate, but of about ½d. in the £. During that period they had not given one penny by way of compensation to an owner for the alteration of his property. The Corporation spent a considerable sum of money in remedying bad conditions in some of the slum areas under the order for the provision of water-closet accommodation, because they felt that, having required the installation of the pail closets, it was only fair to owners of property that they should be reimbursed for the necessary alterations. He believed that when a fair policy was set out, which could be appreciated by owners of property, the experience of Local Authorities was that the great majority of decent owners and their agents fell into line, and would help the Authority to carry out the work. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. J. WIDGERY (Exeter County Borough Council) expressed the belief that the great element in the vast social problem of Housing, if the movement was to be successful, was from the beginning to the end the humanistic element, because the existence of an Act of Parliament was one thing, but its administration was entirely another matter. A poor Act could be made highly successful by sympathetic and proper administration. There were thousands of men in England who were not what were commonly known as working men, who were as much in sympathy with working men as any man could be. The so-called educated classes made considerable sacrifices to help others, and both were comrades and citizens of the same country, and if many of the working men Borough Councillors would only step into public life with a little more appreciation of those with whom they were thrown, he was confident they would secure better results. He deplored the type of feeling brought into public debates by representatives of working men. If those men would only extend the hand of real sympathy to those who were with them, they would find no

better friends of the working classes than men who had the money to spend, the heart to give to it, and the desire to do for others as well as for themselves. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. MAUD PAUNCEFOTE (British Women's Emigration Association) asked if it had not occurred to members of the Conference that seven millions of people in one town was too large a number to deal with? That was to her mind the root of the whole thing. It was morally impossible to house decently and attend to such an enormous mass of human beings. For many years the population was larger than that of the whole of Canada, and even now Canada had only nine millions of people all over it. People spoke of Leicester, Leeds, and London as if they were the only towns belonging to the British people. Two towns a week were born in Canada alone, and not springing up by accident, because they had a regular trained profession called "site finders," who, as the railroads crossed the continent, went forth and sought out the most suitable places. Why not help Britons to go where wealth and happiness awaited them, instead of herding in insanitary conditions whole families in one room?

Mr. ST. JOHN HANCOCK pointed out that on many public bodies there were men who really would act, but there was a large number who desired not to take any steps. He would like to put a question, and get an answer from Mr. Nettlefold. A very large city in the West was overcrowded, as many as two families occupying each room of a house. The Medical Officer of Health was totally nonplussed, because there were no houses to be had, and appealed to him (Mr. Hancock), as a member of a society endeavouring to do something, and asked what he would advise. Would he advise acting relentlessly under Section 17 of the Act, and issue closing orders, or would he temporise with the circumstances until the Council moved? At the moment he did not feel able to answer the question, and his question to Mr. Nettlefold was—should they not endeavour to support the reformers on various municipal bodies by advising, and insisting upon, the production of a crisis in a particular town? His own belief was that in the particular town to which he had referred, until they could produce a crisis which would cause a public scandal (but also very great suffering to a considerable number of the working classes) the Corporation would not move at all. There was nothing to compel them, and in the end his advice to the Medical Officer was to act under Section 17, as was his statutory duty, and let the consequences take care of themselves. (Hear, hear.) He did not want to cause suffering to the working classes by throwing them out of their insanitary houses, but he did desire to see something done by Municipal Authorities; to create a crisis would compel them to act.

Mr. EWART G. CULPIN (Garden Cities Association) reminded the Conference that that was the last meeting the Section would have amongst themselves, and in the name of the Organising Committee thanked the delegates who had so regularly attended the meetings and contributed to the debates, and also the writers of papers.

Dr. Hogarth had suggested that there was not much overcrowding per acre in London; as a matter of fact, there were plenty of places where there were a thousand people to the acre. That could not be a healthy condition, and the close aggregation of people was itself an evil. It seemed to him that they could not do as Mr. Brown desired, and provide houses at a rent which the poorest people could afford to pay. There was no way out of it other than getting wages raised. It was not so much sympathy that the working man wanted, but something more of his rights. (Hear, hear.) He certainly believed that the book which Mr. Nettlefold was largely instrumental in publishing in the earliest days of Town Planning had a very great deal to do with influencing and focussing the mind of Local Authorities in this country on what had been done in another country.

A DELEGATE: Are they still perpetuating the back-to-back houses in Birmingham?

Mr. NETTLEFOLD, replying to the discussion, said no new back-to-back houses were being built in Birmingham, though some of the old ones were being repaired. Some people might think it was heresy, but for those who had to live in the centre of the town he would prefer back-to-back houses in a terrace to tenement buildings five storeys high, and an Authority had to choose between one and the other if they were to produce houses at rents which the people could pay. If he might tell them a secret, it was Hull and Miss Octavia Hill between them who inspired him to set to work on the lines he had adopted in Birmingham. Reference had been made to the fact that rents had become rather higher in Birmingham where houses had been repaired. That was true in many cases, but not in every case. The Corporation had been very careful to watch the supply of houses, and see that there were always more houses than

were required, with the result that the property owners had not been able to put up the rents. That, in fact, was one of the chief causes of offence that he and others in Birmingham had given to the property owners. In the early days there was a rise, but the average was something under 1s., and the people were in most cases perfectly ready to pay the increased rent, because the houses were better and more fit to live in. Provincials regarded London as a special problem. It was the greatest problem there had been since the world began, and he hoped there would never be such another. (Hear, hear.) With regard to Mr. Hancock's question, it was a little difficult to give an opinion that was worth much without going to the particular place in which the question had arisen. But as a general answer he would say that, when they started work in Birmingham, they were told the same sort of thing, that if they insisted on bad houses being mended or ended they would create a house famine. He and his colleagues used to be called the Unhousing Committee, but they described themselves as the Unhovelling Committee, and the result of their efforts had been that there were more houses than ever. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Alderman G. K. Naylor) said that Mr. Hancock had asked a very difficult question, and one upon which it was impossible for anyone unacquainted with the local conditions to express an opinion, except in a general sense, but if there were statutory powers to act he certainly thought Mr. Hancock was justified in acting according to the dictates of his conscience. With regard to the Hon. Miss Pauncefote's suggestion, he thought they should take into consideration every possible source of help which the Empire afforded. London, with its seven million inhabitants, was small in comparison with the potential possibilities of the Empire. With regard to the immediate settlement of the terrible question of slum areas, the mere fact of carrying people over to the Colonies did not help in dealing with the evils which existed here, but he would regard it as a kind of parallel policy, a kind of Imperial Town Planning by which would be prevented the recurrence of the unfortunate position in which some of our own people lived. Although it was sometimes necessary to demolish slum areas, it was not always necessary to rehouse. He had found a considerable number of empty tenements within the prescribed half-mile radius of the place where the demolition was to take place at an even lower rent, but generally those tenements had been based on a price per room, whereas in the place where the congestion occurred—owing to the larger number in a single room or tenement—it worked out at less per person, but more per average room, and in a good many empty houses they hesitated before taking in a family who wanted to live five or six in one room. The Housing question was of a national and Imperial character, and though national policies must be influenced by local conditions—and the localities were best qualified to judge what was necessary—he thought there should be national strength and Imperial support behind the housing policy all over the land, so that a Local Authority need never hesitate when a great evil had to be got rid of. He was glad to see that the policy of the Birmingham Corporation had been thorough, and he might say that in London that renovating policy had been carried on indirectly, by compelling landlords to carry out alterations. But unfortunately, in a great number of cases, owing to the original construction of the building, the renovations were rendered almost nugatory from the standpoint of a complete remedy. The only way in London was to clear the areas as much as possible. Dr. Hogarth had suggested that under the present jurisdiction of the London County Council it was possible for a mother and father and five or six children to live in one room. That was an entirely impossible position, so far as the London County Council was concerned. The London County Council had built 2,600 houses, containing 9,000 rooms, and in those rooms 8,000 people were living, including women and children, which represented rather under one person to each room. The average rent of those rooms was 2s. 5d. a week. With regard to block dwellings, they had 140 blocks with nearly 16,000 rooms, and in those rooms they had only 22,726 people, including women and children, so that on an average there were only one and a half persons per room. On no account were more than two and a half persons allowed to occupy one room. In spite of the great number of people the County Council had displaced, they had rehoused under the various Sections of the Act an excess of over 14,000 people beyond the number which had been displaced. Although those results were nothing to what could be attained, he thought as a general policy of housing by a Public Authority they should be regarded as very satisfactory.

Fourth Day, Friday June, 14th.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.)

The Chair was occupied by Sir Francis Champneys, the President of the Public Health Section. The subject discussed was THE HEALTH VALUE OF GOOD HOUSING and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*Housing Problems in Agricultural Areas.*

BY DR. C. E. TANGYE, Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire Combined Districts.

2.—*Slum Environment and the Public Health.*

BY MR. E. E. HAYWARD.

3.—*The Causal Relation between Health and Housing.*

BY MR. F. E. FREMANTLE, County Medical Officer of Health, Hertfordshire.

(The papers taken at the above Joint Session, together with the discussion which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Public Health Section, pp. 124-155.)

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL REGULATION SECTION

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Presidential Address.

By Mr. SIDNEY WEBB.

We meet, as a Section on Unemployment and Industrial Regulation, in troublous times. Ever since we separated, a year ago, there have been almost continuously strikes and rumours of strikes; and, during the whole twelve months, the subjects with which our Section deals have filled the newspapers and vexed the Government to an extent unparalleled within our recollection. Whatever may prove to be my shortcomings as your presiding officer, I have at least, on this occasion, one paradoxical qualification for writing a Presidential Address. Of all that has been taking place in the United Kingdom since the Section last met, I know, by personal experience, nothing whatever. During practically the whole period I have been, so to speak, at the ends of the earth, as far as possible removed from the industrial storm and stress of the England of the past twelve months. Immediately after the National Conference last June I sailed from Liverpool, in the last ship that got away unaffected by the then imminent Shipping Strike, and the sailors and firemen went on to their surprising victory whilst I was in the awesome silences of the ice-swept Atlantic. The great Railway Strike I heard of vaguely amid the wheatfields of Saskatchewan, where it was gravely reported in the newspapers that St. Paul's Cathedral was occupied by troops, and that Lord Haldane was holding down London by armed force. The hotly contested Insurance Bill (with its little noticed but momentous official consecration of the Common Rule and the Standard Rate, to be enforced virtually by the Board of Trade throughout the whole engineering, building, and shipbuilding trades) came to me only in faint murmurs in the tea-houses of Japan. It was in the forests of the Nepaul Border that I heard of the argument the present Cabinet put forward only last February in the debate on the Address, with the concurrence of nine-tenths of the House of Commons, that a legal Minimum Wage was economically unsound, industrially impracticable, and socially inexpedient. I think it was in the Khyber Pass that

the news of the Coal Strike came to me, with its extraordinary revelation of the conversion of public opinion to the expediency of the legislative Regulation of Industry. Imagine my surprise when, amid the dead cities of Rajputana, I read the Prime Minister's speech introducing, with almost universal concurrence, a Minimum Wage Bill which, only six weeks previously, every Minister and ex-Minister, every business man and every specially enlightened Member of the House of Commons had honestly believed to be as impracticable as it was unwise.

But, not unnaturally, this legislative regulation, confined to a single industry, did not secure peace to any other industry. On my return to London the other day I found it impossible, anywhere in the whole city, to renew my wardrobe because all the tailors were on strike, against the manifold irregularities of their occupation; whilst the whole trade of the world's greatest port was momentarily paralysed, and the daily victualling of the Capital seriously jeopardised, because of the absence of any clear and universally obligatory Common Rules for the industry of the Thames. It may be of interest to you to learn how the position appears to one who has had no part or lot in any of the current controversies, and who has, for a whole year, been in an entirely different mental atmosphere.

The country to which I return strikes me, in many ways, as intellectually a new England. The common ideas about the organisation and control of industry have changed. There has evidently been, in the twelve months, a tremendous education of public opinion. What the workmen are demanding is something much more than a mere rise in wages. The readers of the *Daily Mail* welcome the most revolutionary proposals for collective control. The readers of the *Spectator*, aghast at a vision of a cold grate and empty coal cellar, can only dumbly acquiesce. Even the House of Commons, which is about the last place for facts or ideas to penetrate, seems at one moment to have realised, as in a flash, the depths of its own ignorance, and the impotence to which it had actually come. And though the lobbies quickly recovered themselves, as soon as it was seen that the miners would be persuaded to go back to work, and the Ministerial Tapers and Tadpoles tried to put a brave face on it, the House appears to me still a little conscious of the sorry figure that it has cut in the various labour troubles of the year, still uneasy at not having in its agenda anything bearing on the problem—perhaps a little ashamed of the sudden revelation of the Governing Classes as being no longer Governing Classes at all—so that it now chants its commonplaces about Labour in a minor key. In short, though we in England have by no means become wise, we are perhaps all of us, through our humiliation, in a healthier state of mind.

One interesting result of the change which has come over public opinion is the submergence of the old landmarks. At a moment of crisis nothing seems too heterodox, too unconventional, or too audacious. The historian of the future will notice that in March, 1912, it appeared to everybody quite a simple matter for the Government to impose on every coalowner in the Kingdom, without compensation, and as a condition of being allowed to use his own property at all, the obligation of paying a Legal Minimum Wage, over the fixing of which, even though it might stop his income and destroy the value of his mine, he had individually and personally no control. And in marked contrast with every previous piece of Factory Legislation for a hundred years, there was practically no opposition. Apart from the merely tactical action of the Labour Party, the votes against the Third Reading of the Minimum Wage Bill hardly amounted,

in a House of 670 members, to a beggarly score. No jurist, no economist, uttered a protest. The strident voices of the British Constitutional Association and of the Liberty and Property Defence League were silent. Not a newspaper screamed. We may, indeed, with some ground, speculate (incredible as, after the event, it now seems to us) that if, at the psychological moment, Mr. Asquith had brought in a Bill to nationalise the coal mines and retire all the coalowners as State Pensioners, it would have been as readily acclaimed by the electors, as easily swallowed by the House of Commons and as blindly accepted by the House of Lords as was the Minimum Wage Bill.

This consideration is worth bearing in mind as regards the future. The Minimum Wage Bill, be it remembered, was not a treaty, or a collective bargain. It imposes no legal or even moral obligation on the miners to accept employment or continue at work at the Minimum Wage. If the Joint Board arrangements, under which the miners and the railwaymen are now working, prove to be unsatisfactory, a renewed stoppage in either industry will bring the Cabinet for the time being face to face with a new situation, from which they will have to find a new issue. We may hope that in such an emergency our governors and directors will act with all knowledge and with all wisdom. But what has been demonstrated during the past year is that, at such a crisis, in choosing their solution, they need be in no fear of being in advance of public opinion. There is nothing that would be deemed too revolutionary. The individualist Mrs. Grundy is dead.

Perhaps the most striking change in public opinion, as compared with a year ago, is the substitution, as the dominant idea, of the " Regulation of Industry " for the " Relief of the Unemployed, or the Under-employed." This shifting of emphasis, which has found recognition in the alteration of the title of our Section, is of good augury. An epidemic of cholera has its advantages in stirring up the public, but it is a distinct gain to get their attention off the free distribution of diarrhœa mixture and the provision of temporary hospitals, on to the more prosaic subjects of drainage and water-supply. We do not want merely to relieve disease, we want to prevent it. So with Unemployment and Sweating as diseases of society. We do not want, in any way, to " make up " a proper family income to those victims whose unremitting toil does not bring them decent conditions of existence or a subsistence wage, or to provide hospitals for their wounds. What we have to do is so to alter our existing regulation and control of Industry as peremptorily to put a stop to any conditions of employment which are demonstrably injurious to the community. We are apt to forget that the coming of Unemployment always means, in the concrete, some change or interruption of the normal state of industrial life, the dismissal of some workman from his job, the cessation of the income on which a family is depending for its subsistence; the entire dislocation, so far as the disease exists, of that household life out of which alone the national life is made up. It is the evil Discontinuity itself—not any consequential or relievable accompaniment of it—which constitutes the disease. What we have to discover is some way of controlling the industrial world so that these evils of underpayment, overwork, unhealthy conditions, unemployment, and under-employment shall as far as possible be prevented.

Now the field open to the President of this Section is a wide one. But as you will not want to listen to me at great length I propose to confine myself to one narrow point. It is not that the Legal Regulation of Industry will solve all our difficulties. It is no sort of panacea for what is called the Labour Unrest. It

will not prevent all Unemployment, still less provide for the Unemployed and the Unemployable. It will not even relieve us entirely from strikes and the fear of strikes, if indeed it were desirable (as in my judgment it is not) that we should ever be so relieved. On all these matters there is much to be said, and a whole pocketful of projects and programmes are available, of different degrees of practicality, which I might impose on you. For the moment, however, I count it a gain that public attention—and with it the deliberations of this Section—should be focussed on Industrial Regulation : on considering not any relief of the evil consequences and manifestations of industrial irregularity, but the possibility of altering, by one or other form of legal regulation, some of the irregularities themselves.

We must, of course, not shut our eyes to the fact that the marked alteration in public opinion, this willingness to co-operate in the better regulation of industry—perhaps even the willingness of this Section to concentrate attention on the subject—does not spring exactly from intellectual conviction. What made the House of Commons pass the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act in March, 1912, when only in the preceding month it had scoffed at the very idea of such a measure, was not any quick growth of economic knowledge, or sudden change of heart, either in the Cabinet or in the rank and file. That measure, as we all know, was put on the Statute Book simply because England could for six weeks obtain no more coal, and because no one in authority could devise any other way of getting the supply resumed. It does not seem a statesmanlike proceeding to neglect legislation in quiet times, when the subject can be considered at leisure ; and to yield in a panic as soon as a whole industry has been paralysed, and the Kingdom put to great inconvenience and loss.

We draw the wrong moral, however, from the inglorious capitulation of the House of Commons over the Minimum Wage Act, if what we blame is the passing of the Act. By common consent of practically all our governing personages at the time, there was, at that moment, nothing else to be done. Where the Cabinet and the House of Commons have lost credit is in what we now see to have been their failure to deal with the situation at an earlier date. The successful results of a Legal Minimum Wage have (as I shall presently remind you) been demonstrated by half a generation of actual experience. That the legal enactment of Common Rules for an industry as a whole, far from lessening production, would, as compared with each employer managing his business as he thought best, actually be an economic advantage to the industry, has been the teaching of Political Economy for the whole of this century. The miners' grievances, and the sufferings to which their families were sometimes exposed, owing to the lack of really enforceable Common Rules on this point of earnings, were as real and as acute in 1910 and 1911 as in 1912. The grave evils to national health and character which they involved, notably in such places as Ayrshire and Somerset, and especially South Wales, have been doing as much harm to the community throughout the whole of the past decade as they were this spring. Yet not only was the matter left, by our rulers and governors, year after year undealt with. There was, as we now know, neither in the Home Office nor the Cabinet, neither in the House of Commons nor in the House of Lords, in the beginning of 1912, any idea or intention of dealing with it at all.

Similarly with regard to the sudden " tie-up " of all the trade of the Thames. It is now officially declared that the men have serious grievances for which they could get no redress. It is equally admitted that the employers had, owing to the absence of proper regulations of the Industry, grievances on their side,

which they had also failed to get redressed. Yet neither the Prime Minister nor the President of the Board of Trade, nor even the grandly named "Port of London Authority," had, a month ago, the least intention of doing anything to remedy these evils. It does not even seem to have occurred to them that they had any duty or responsibility in the matter. Must it always require the complete stoppage of a great industry, with all the loss and suffering that this involves, to get the Government Offices, the Cabinet and the Legislature, to give their minds to industrial evils? *Punch* once suggested that the best way to stop railway collisions was to fasten a railway director on every engine. We shall perhaps not succeed in convincing our Governors and Directors that these matters are of more urgent importance to the nation than those with which they habitually occupy themselves, until we arrange to stop the salaries of the whole Cabinet and the House of Commons for each day that any great industry remains paralysed by an industrial dispute.

The urgently needed step to which the recent developments in the industrial world all point, is, to my mind, a wise and prudent use of Legal Regulation of the Conditions of Employment. To the public this is summed up in the Legal Minimum Wage, and great are still the apprehensions aroused thereby. Yet all that a Minimum Wage Law enacts is that, whilst employers and workmen are left quite free to work or not, as they choose, and quite free to bargain for what terms they will, the law prescribes that there shall be a minimum, to be fixed, under public control, by certain representative bodies for the several districts, below which, so long as he is employed at all, and properly diligent in his work, the workman's subsistence shall not descend. This is merely one more example of our century-old factory legislation. We have, in fact, for a whole century been prescribing by law the Minimum Conditions of the Wage-contract with regard to one item after another, and thus regulating, in the public interest, by a hundred successive statutes, the conditions under which industry shall be carried on. The coal trade, perhaps the most flourishing of all our industries, has long enjoyed the advantage of being in this way one of the most highly regulated by law. And everybody admits this legislation to have been eminently successful in its results. Not even the most reactionary M.P. ever tables a Bill for its repeal. And the scope of the legislation has steadily broadened. For a long time our Factory Acts confined themselves in the main to the enactment of a Legal Minimum of Sanitation and Safety in the workshop and the mine, insisting, for instance, that, whether or not profits were being realised, employers should provide healthy workplaces, properly warmed and ventilated, free from noxious effluvia, sufficiently protected against accidents, and adequately equipped with sanitary conveniences. From that our code went on to prescribe, for all boys and girls, a Legal Minimum of Education, requiring parents and employers to forego the help in industry of children below a certain age, insisting that such children should be in attendance at school, and now gradually enlarging the sphere of the Local Education Authority so as to ensure that no child remains below the prescribed National Minimum of Nurture in any respect whatever. Meanwhile our Labour Code was laying down also a Legal Minimum of Leisure and Rest by prescribing a maximum working day, insisting on proper intervals for meal-times and holidays, limiting overtime, etc.

All these successive interferences with the employer's "right" to "manage his business in his own way" were resisted on the ground that they involved additional expense, increased the cost of production, just as much as if the rate of wages had been arbitrarily raised, and that they thereby made it impossible

for the most hardly pressed businesses to be carried on. That they amounted virtually to a confiscation of property was repeatedly asserted. It was, as an eminent Conservative Minister declared in the House of Commons, "Jack Cade Legislation" which robbed the capitalist of some of his income for the assumed benefit of his workpeople. It was accordingly nothing more in the way of Jack Cade legislation than that to which we had long grown accustomed, when the Legislature of Victoria, in 1896, added to the various minima already required by its Factory Code, a Legal Minimum Wage. This was adopted for the United Kingdom, so far as regards our selected trades, as long ago as 1909; and it is significant that the Legal Minimum Wage was then carried, both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, with scarcely a dissentient voice. Three years afterwards the same thing is done for the coal trade. It is true that for a long time each successive Factory Act and Mines Regulation Act was looked upon as an exceptional outcome of our special pity for the sufferings of some particularly weak and ill-treated class of wage earners—at first the parish apprentices, then the children and young persons deprived of their playtime, then the women bound all day to the steam-driven loom, amid the noise and heat and dust of the mill, then the poor miners imprisoned in the bowels of the earth, then the down-trodden shop assistant, and so on. But though the sentimental public, and the merely empirical Member of Parliament still takes this view, every economist, and, indeed, every educated statesman knows that we have long since passed beyond that point. It is now seen that, in carrying his successive Factory Acts for one class after another, laying down a legal minimum for one condition after another of the wage contract, Lord Shaftesbury was "building better than he knew." What was at first empirical has become scientific. "And so the Factory Acts," to use the words of the late Duke of Argyll as long ago as 1867, "instead of being excused as exceptional, and pleaded for as justified only under extraordinary conditions, ought to be recognised as in truth the first legislative recognition of a great Natural Law . . . . destined to claim for itself wider and wider application."

Now what has converted our Political Economists and Statesmen to Factory Legislation in its completest form is the discovery that the enforcement, from one end of an industry to another, of the appropriate "Common Rules," applying to men as well as to women, to subsistence as well as to sanitation, below which competition may not descend, is necessary for the welfare of the community itself. Let us be quite clear as to what the Factory Acts and Minimum Wage Laws really enact. They put no compulsion on any employer to engage any person whatsoever, or even to open his works at all. The employers, singly or collectively, are left full liberty to "strike" against their workpeople for better terms. But if any employer chooses to open his works, and engage in the industry at all, he must do so within the limits fixed by law—he must, that is to say, so arrange that none of his workpeople work with less than the prescribed Minima of Sanitation and Safety, Education, Leisure and Rest, and now finally Subsistence. Equally the workman is not obliged to accept employment on any conditions whatsoever. He, like the employer, is left quite free to "strike," individually or collectively, against the employers for better terms. But if he does accept employment in that industry, the law sees to it that he shall not do so, even if he would wish it, without the Minima of Sanitation and Safety, Education, Leisure, and Rest, and now finally Subsistence, that have been deemed indispensable in the interests of the community as a whole. Observe that what is prescribed is not the rate or amount of wages,

or the number of hours or of water-closets, but only the minimum in each case below which the conditions shall not descend. Accordingly, this is not the fixing of wages by law, any more than the Factory Act Minimum requirements in the way of sanitation fix the health and decency and comfort of the arrangements made by all good employers. Moreover, what the law prescribes is (as in all Factory Legislation) a Minimum, not a Maximum. It ought not to be necessary to point this out. But the ignorance and stupidity of people calling themselves educated is, in this matter, beyond all belief. Nearly every day I am told, or I read, that this Minimum Wage legislation is merely a revival of the mediæval fixing of wages by the Justices of the Peace, or the eighteenth century fixing of wages by the Tailors Acts or the Spitalfields Weavers Acts which had, it is asserted, such disastrous consequences. I wonder how long it will take before such people (journalists not excluded) will realise that they are, in making such statements, simply making fools of themselves, revealing an ignorance of the subject so abysmal as to put themselves beyond the pale. The ancient legislation to which they refer, by definitely prescribing the actual rates to be paid, fixed maximum wages, not merely a minimum. There is no sort of resemblance or analogy between prescribing that the workpeople shall under no circumstances get more than a specified rate, and merely enacting that they shall under no circumstances get less. The whole economic and social consequences and results of the two types of legislation, and their effects on employers and on industry are as different as chalk from cheese.

Now in this matter of the Legal Minimum Wage the sixteen years' actual experience of Victoria is full of instruction. Victoria, which is a highly developed industrial State, of great and growing prosperity, had long had Factory Acts, much after the English fashion. In 1896, largely out of humanitarian feeling for five specially " sweated " trades, provision was made for the enforcement in those trades of a Legal Minimum Wage. Naturally, this was opposed by all the arguments with which we are familiar—that it was against the laws of Political Economy, that it would cause the most hardly pressed businesses to shut down, that it would restrict employment, that it would drive away Capital, that it would be cruel to the aged worker and the poor widow, that it could not be carried out in practice, and so on and so forth. Naturally, too, all sorts of criticisms have since been levelled at the administration and working of the law ; and over and over again eager opponents, both here and on the spot, have hastened to report that it had broken down. But what has been the result ? In the five sweated trades to which the law was first applied sixteen years ago, wages have gone up from 12 to 35 per cent., the hours of labour have been invariably reduced, and the actual number of persons employed, far from falling, has in all cases, relatively to the total population, greatly increased. Thus the Legal Minimum Wage does not necessarily spell ruin either for the employers or the operatives. But, of course, it is open to any theorist to urge that we do not know how much better off these trades might have been without the Act. The only test here is what the people say who are directly concerned, who see with their own eyes the law actually at work, and who are forced daily to compare the trades to which it applies with those to which it does not apply. First, let us notice that the Act of 1896 (like our own Trades Boards Act of 1909) was only a temporary one. It has during the past sixteen years been incessantly discussed ; it has been over and over again made the subject of special enquiry ; it has been repeatedly considered by the Legislature ; and, as a result, it has been five successive times renewed by consent of both Houses. Can it be that

all this is a mistake? Still more convincing, however, are the continuous demands from the other trades, as they witnessed the actual results of the Legal Minimum Wage where it was in force, to be brought under the same law.

Provision is made for this extension by resolutions which have to be passed by both Houses of the Legislature. The first trades to which the law was applied were those of bootmaking and baking (employing mainly men), clothing, shirts, and underclothing (employing mainly women) and the very troublesome furniture trade, in which the Chinese had gained a secure footing. It naturally took some time to get the law to work, to overcome the inevitable difficulties and to demonstrate any results. Accordingly for four years there was no extension. In 1900, however, we had the brickmakers coming in, and the butchers, the cigar makers and the confectioners, the coopers and the engravers, the fellmongers and the makers of ice, the jewellers and the jam trade, the makers of millet brooms and the pastrycooks, the plateglass manufacturers and the potters, the saddlers and the tanners, the tinsmiths and the woodworkers, the woollen manufacturers and, perhaps most significant of all, the strongly-organised printers, including the compositors in the great newspaper offices. In the following year 1901, so far from there being any signs of repentance, there was an equal rush of extensions of the law to industries of all kinds—the aerated water makers and the manufacturers of artificial manure, the brassworkers and the bedstead makers, the brewers and the brushworkers, the ironmoulders and the makers of leather goods, the maltsters and the ovenmakers, the stonecutters and the workers in wicker. For three years there was then a pause, the Legal Minimum Wage being only demanded by and extended to the dressmakers in 1903. In 1906 came another rush of trades, the agricultural implement makers, the cardboard box makers, the candle makers, the cycle trade, the farriers and the flour millers, the milliners and the paper bag makers, the manufacturers of starch, soap and soda, and the makers of waterproof clothing. In the following year, 1907, only the glassworkers and the picture frame makers came in. 1908 saw the application of the law to bread carters, the hairdressers, the manufacturers of ice and the wireworkers. Next year, 1909, came the carpenters, the carriage builders, the carters, the drapers, the electro-platers, the grocers, the ham and bacon curers, the dealers in coal, wood, hay and chaff, the makers of men's clothing, the organ builders, the painters, the manufacturers of polish, the plumbers, the quarrymen, the makers of rubber goods, and that mysterious craft the tuckpointers. During 1910 there came in the boilermakers, the boot-dealers, the bricklayers, the coalminers, the electrical engineers, the factory and mining engine drivers, the gold miners, the hardware makers and the hotel employees, the marine store dealers, the plasterers, the stationers, the teapackers the tilers, the watchmakers, the slaughterers for export, the undertakers and even the lift attendants. What occupations were left to come in during 1911 and 1912 I do not yet know. Now, in this remarkable popular demonstration of the success of the Act, tested by the not inconsiderable period of sixteen years, extending over years of relative trade depression as well as over years of boom, some features deserve mention. First, the extensions have frequently —indeed, it may be said usually—taken place at the request or with the willing acquiescence of the employers in a trade, as well as at that of the wage-earners. What the employers appreciate is, as they have themselves told me, the very fact that the Minimum Wage is fixed by law and therefore really enforced on all employers: the security that the Act accordingly gives them against being undercut by the dishonest or disloyal competitors, who simply will not (in

Victoria as in the Port of London) adhere to the Common Rules agreed upon by Collective Bargaining. We must notice, too, that the application of the law has been demanded by skilled trades as well as unskilled, by men as well as by women, by highly paid craftsmen and by sweated workers, by the strongly organised trades as well as by those having no Trade Unions at all. One is tempted, indeed, to believe that little remains now outside its scope except the agricultural occupations and domestic service! Nor can it be said to be confined to industries enjoying a protective tariff, for there are no import duties to shield the gold miners or the quarrymen, or the "slaughterers for export"; and no fiscal protection helps the carters or the butchers, the drapers' assistants or the engine drivers, the newspaper printers or the potters, the grocers or the hairdressers, the hotel employees or the lift attendants. And it is difficult to believe that the enforcement of a Legal Minimum Wage in all these ninety-one different industries, employing 110,000 persons (being, with their families, more than a quarter of the entire population of the State), has interfered with the profitableness of industry, when the number of factories has increased, in the sixteen years, by no less than 60 per cent., and the numbers of workers in them have more than doubled. Certainly, no statesman, no economist, no political party, and no responsible newspaper of Victoria, however much a critic of details, ever dreams now of undoing the Minimum Wage Law itself.

Now, England is not Victoria, and prediction is notoriously hazardous. But my own impression is that we are, in the United Kingdom, in this particular matter, going along the same road as Victoria. It is less than three years since our own first Minimum Wage Law was passed, like that of Victoria, good for only three years, and applicable, like that of Victoria, only to a few specially selected industries. By its extension to the coal-mining industry, it has already grown as much within three years as the Victorian Law did in ten. Presently we may expect to see, as in Victoria, along with the continuous desire for other extensions of the Factory Code, a steady demand for the application of the Minimum Wage Law to other trades, skilled as well as unskilled, organised and not organised, male as well as female. The demand will come from the employers as well as from the wage-earners, because, in reality, the enforcement of standard minimum conditions is advantageous to both classes; and it will, we can foresee, be welcomed and supported by a public opinion which is tried of the anarchy brought about by competitive sweating.

The problem of English statesmanship is how this rapidly extending legal regulation of industry shall come about. Shall we do it wisely and carefully, with deliberation and a well-thought out plan—putting our Civil Servants and our Statesmen to what Coleridge called "the intolerable toil of thought"—or shall we do it suddenly and spasmodically, at just those points only at which our hands are forced by some paralysis of industry? Our existing Factory Code, though, of course, much better than nothing at all, does no credit to our legislature. It is, indeed, a perfect monument of intellectual inconsequence, full of partialities and omissions in which no trace of principle can be found. We give the most elaborate legal protection to trades and sections of trades which are powerful enough to do without it, and we deny it to others whose weakness subjects them to the worst horrors of sweating. We intervene to protect the community in this case and that; whilst in other trades evils of far graver import are left unremedied. We restrict some comparatively healthy trades to little over fifty hours per week, and leave others, often very injurious in their effects, free to work for nearly twice as long. We insist on securing a full school

life for some of the children in the United Kingdom, whilst our law leaves others free to be employed in certain occupations without any schooling, at any age, for hours absolutely unlimited, and without any conditions as to sanitation or safety. We insist on some trades taking elaborate precautions against accidents, and providing most expensively for decent and healthy conditions of work, whilst we allow other occupations to be carried on under conditions degrading to humanity, and so dangerous as to levy on their unfortunate workers a perfectly monstrous toll of life and limb. And now we are enforcing a Legal Minimum of Subsistence in some trades, and leaving others, in which many thousands of men and women are demonstrably being subjected to slow starvation, without any such protection. The situation is full of peril. We cannot safely stop at this point. The economist warns us that, whilst the systematic enforcement of Common Rules in every industry, and the universal prescription of a National Minimum of Child Nurture in the widest sense, of Sanitation and Safety, of Leisure and Rest, and especially of Subsistence, will undoubtedly promote national prosperity, yet to intervene in this way only partially, dealing with some industries and not with others, is fraught with considerable danger. This casual and haphazard application of our Factory Code is unfair on particular sections of employers and on particular sections of workpeople. It interferes with the most profitable distribution of the nation's brains, labour and capital among the different industries, and thus makes us all poorer than we need be. And, most important of all, it leaves unhealed those open sores in which, in this trade or that, to use the classic words of the House of Lords Committee on Sweating, "earnings barely sufficient to sustain existence; hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods almost of ceaseless toil, sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public," are draining away the vitality of the nation.

I will end with a definite practical suggestion. During all the coming autumn, with an excited House of Commons sitting right up to Christmas, the Cabinet will plainly be too busy to give any thought to industrial matters. Yet we cannot afford to lose time. Would it not be well to put someone else on the job? I do not mean, on any roving and dilatory investigation or inquiry, going in search of new truth. What is needed is merely the carrying out of principles which the nation has already adopted. Would it, perhaps, be possible to entrust to a small Executive Commission, working under a very precise and imperative reference, the task—to be completed during the autumn—of generalising and systematising our existing Labour Code, without adding or adopting any new principle whatsoever—taking the present Factory Acts and similar legislation (including the Trade Boards and Minimum Wage laws), and merely extending the existing provisions, by appropriate technical clauses, to those forms of employment which are at present omitted from their scope, in such a manner as to make illegal in every industry the evil conditions which are now prohibited in some industries only. And I would compose that Commission in quite a novel way. I would keep out all members of the Legislature (who will have to deal with the matter at a later stage), all lawyers (who would naturally be employed by the Commission as draughtsmen), and all Civil Servants (whose assistance would be available in other ways). I would ignore all claims to representation on the Commission of places, industries, sexes, classes, races, parties, or religions. I would make up the Commission of three great captains of industry, of the type of Sir Hugh Bell, three leading Trade Union officials, who might be designated by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union

Congress, three women acquainted with the conditions under which women actually work, three prominent Medical Officers of Health, and, quite irrespective of their opinions on Tariff Reform, three Professors of Political Economy. I would tell this Commission not to bore us with their opinions, but, obtaining all necessary expert assistance and advice, to do the job—the job of preparing for the consideration of the Cabinet and Parliament in January next, a properly codified Factory Bill which, without adopting anything that is not already on the Statute Book, should really make effective from one end of the industrial world to the other, a National Minimum of Child Nurture, a National Minimum of Sanitation and Safety, a National Minimum of Leisure and Rest, and a National Minimum of Subsistence.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Webb for his Presidential Address, said that all present at that meeting were, she felt sure, delighted to see and hear Mr. Webb amongst them again. As they knew, since he was at their last annual Conference, he had put a girdle round the earth, and he had come back to them perhaps even fresher to " strike his finger on the place " and tell them what ailed them; and also, with his usual courage and resource, to suggest a remedy. It was very enheartening for that Section, which was entering upon extremely difficult and responsible labour, to be shown in that fashion the way, and also to have criticism of the existing situation from one who had come back to find an England so changed in a few months. The difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable a year ago presented a very different aspect now. When they considered that, of the two kinds of minimum wage regulations which Mr. Webb had put before them in his very eloquent address, one had been obtained by the action of the community on behalf of those who were too weak to act for themselves, and the other by the combined action of a great organised industry, she thought they might well take heart. Those who had most strenuously supported industrial regulation had long felt, she believed, that industrial regulation must go forward to secure a legal minimum subsistence, because it was the attainment of a living wage which lay at the root of our future industrial well-being.

Alderman D. J. DAVIS (West Ham County Borough Council), in seconding the vote of thanks, said that it was his privilege to hear Mr. Webb for the first time that day. He knew something about miners, having been taken into a coal mine in South Wales, when he was only 8 years of age, and worked in the mine until he was compelled to go out owing to his eyesight. For the last twenty-five years his life had been lived amongst the dockers in West Ham. The question of unemployment was a very real matter there. They had it not only in the winter, but also in the summer. It was only just a matter of degree. Further, he would like to say he hoped that the powers that be would take some notice of Mr. Webb's paper, particularly the suggested remedy, and if that remedy did not appeal to them, then they must find something else. If in the present dispute the employers succeeded in pressing back the dockers, either by starvation or by the aid of blacklegs, they would only drive them back to gather further strength. He was connected with the Trade Union movement, and had been entrusted by the men with their confidence as a member of the West Ham Town Council, and he could assure that gathering that the time had arrived when the docker as well as the miner had begun to realise that he was something more than an automatic machine, something more than " a penny in the slot and the figure moves." It was not a mere fight for an extra penny or two an hour, or whether men should work two hours less during the week, but the right to live decent lives. (Hear, hear.) He said without fear of contradiction that there were many men, and a good many dockers amongst them, whose wages did not average 15s. a week. It was a shame to see that in a great country, and something must be done, and done speedily. Therefore, he hoped that the ideas contained in that paper would be got hold of, and that something would be done in regard to the suggested remedy which had been put before them.

The resolution having been carried, the meeting was adjourned.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Sidney Webb, President of the Section. The subjects discussed were THE TRADE BOARDS' ACT, and the WAGES OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Work of the Trade Boards.*
By Mr. J. J. MALLON.

2.—*The Wages of Women in Industry.*
By Miss DOROTHY M. ZIMMERN.

The Work of the Trade Boards.

By J. J. MALLON
(Secretary, National Anti-Sweating League).

IT is unnecessary to show the ultimate dependence of social reform upon the reasonable remuneration of the worker. Except in so far as they raise the wages of the very poor, schemes of public improvement are destined to fail, and justice and expediency are alike served by their failure. Yet the conditions of our life are so dreadful that efforts at reform must go on. We are driven, therefore, necessarily to consider the question of low wages.

Admittedly the question is complex. Education, character, skill, are part of it. A non-controversial assumption, namely, that low-paid workers might help themselves if organised, and are at present too poor and helpless to unite, will serve my purpose.

The sweated worker is one who has been knocked down in the industrial struggle. A legal minimum wage is an attempt to pick him up and to keep him standing. It need not be a high wage. It is enough if it puts solid earth beneath a Trade Union in the trade, and lays a foundation on which it may build a proper superstructure. This does not mean that a minimum rate should remain unaltered. The rate will itself release forces making for its progressive increase. As the best employers in the trade voluntarily advance wages, or the Trade Union in areas where it is strong compels advances, the minimum can be raised to make the partial advance general, or where it is general, to " prop " it, as on an incline a block can be thrust under a wheel.

If we agree that the minimum rate may be of relatively humble dimensions, and of a kind calculated to release, stimulate, and support Trade Union activity, we shall have to consider the basis on which it should be determined. Shortly, the possible bases are two. In the first place, there is the cost of living; and, in

the second, the amount of wages that the trade can bear. Neither basis will, by itself, prove satisfactory.

When one talks of the cost of living, one has to decide the kind of life that is in question. A " fasting " man now touring the country and visible to anyone who thinks the spectacle worth twopence, claims to live for forty days at a spell on cigarette inhalation and water, and we all know the vegetarian who demonstrates that life is possible (and presumably desirable) on a food expenditure of sixpence a day. Nor does the slightly more ample " efficiency " standard of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree help us in striving for a minimum that would appreciably improve the low levels of existing wages. Against the adoption of this or any similar basis for a minimum, there is the consideration that, if adopted at all, it is adopted for all trades, and (except as cost of food stuffs may rise) for all time. But, as has been shown, the minimum should be progressive; it should also be variable as between trade and trade, for existing standards of comfort vary, and what would seem a satisfactory minimum to one set of workers, would be spurned by their perhaps more skilful and better educated fellows engaged in other industries.

If, on the other hand, we attempt to ground the minimum on what a trade can bear, we shall get results contradictory in many cases of those obtained from the application of the cost of living principle. This method of fixing would, moreover, seem likely to give advantage to the inefficiently conducted trades, which would always show a relatively small margin of profit.

In practice, it will be found necessary to keep both principles in mind, to think, in the first place, not only of the material needs of the operative or of his physical efficiency as a worker, but of his complete life as a human being; and, in the second place, of the danger, if the trade in which he is engaged is disrupted or injured, of making his last condition worse than his first.

There are two other points of general principle which must be dealt with at the beginning. Should the minimum be fixed universally for all towns and villages, or should it vary with the circumstances of the different areas, and, the second point, should it be the same for male as for female workers in each trade?

Ideally, the case for district variation of the minimum is conclusive. Rates vary now, and the imposition of a " flat " minimum will mean upset. A sweated wage in the town may be a fair wage in the country. So far as trades are carried on in rural places, away from the ports and the great markets, the inducement must largely be low wages. If wages are equalised between rural places and the great towns, will not all trades migrate to these latter, with consequences of acuter congestion there? The plausibility of all these and other such arguments may be conceded. The practical considerations on the other side outweigh them. It is true that rates vary now, but they vary on no ascertainable principle. Where they should be low, as in, say, Yeovil, they are sometimes high, and where they should be high, as in London, they are low. While, generally, it is true that cost of living is highest in large towns, there are many exceptions. Leeds, for instance, is a " cheaper " town than Ipswich. As to whether, if a universal rate is fixed, trade will forsake the rural areas, one has doubts. If trade is centralised, there must be more workers at the centre, and female labour is not so mobile that it will light-heartedly forsake its rural environment where, it must be remembered, the work of the woman is only a fraction of the activity of the family unit. A deficient supply of labour in the centres (which some of them complain of even now) would presumably send up wages there and restore

to the rural places their old advantage. The consideration of importance, however, is that the amount to be fixed being a minimum amount, the forces, whatever they are, that have operated to determine the relative payments of different districts, will in time re-establish that relation. If they should fail, then, at the last resort, on the workers of any area making out a case, the minimum for that area can be reconsidered. To begin with, a universal rate is probably best.

The men and women difficulty is a difficulty of statement. Whatever rate is fixed must be a time rate, so much per hour or per week. To fix the same time rate for women as for men could not fail to lead to much loss of employment by the former, while, on the other hand, there is grave objection to different rates being fixed for the sexes as such. But the principle to keep in mind is that of equal payment for equal work, with which a differential time rate for the sexes is not necessarily in conflict. In factories and workshops women almost always perform the lighter and simpler operations; where there is sex overlap, the man is found, by reason of his greater output, to merit a higher time rate.

From these general principles we must now pass to an examination of the minimum wage in practice. The Trade Boards Act was passed in 1909 without opposition, but with some misgivings, and, on the understanding that it was to be regarded as of an experimental character. It may be admitted at once that the experimental period is not yet at an end, and that all that is offered in this paper is an interim and incomplete statement, which may have to be revised later on when fuller experience has been gained.

To begin with, let us glance quickly at the provisions of the Act. It is to be applied to the scheduled trades and thereafter by Provisional Order to trades in which rates of wages are " exceptionally low." For each included trade a Trade Board has to be constituted, consisting of representatives of workers and of employers in the trade, and of " Appointed Members " numbering three to five representing the Board of Trade.

The work of the Boards is to fix minimum rates of wages for their trades. To that, to the furnishing of reports upon matters which may be submitted to them by a Government department, and to work connected with the enforcement of the rates they fix, the Trade Boards are limited. Any additional power, as the power to limit learners in any factory, they have had to claim as consequential upon the fixing of rates. It is enjoined that a minimum rate must first be published, and objections to it considered at the end of three months. When it is fixed it remains for six months in " partial operation," during which an employer may pay a worker less than the minimum, provided he has the worker's consent in writing thereto. At the end of six months the Board of Trade, in the absence of any special reason for delay, will issue an order making the rate obligatory upon all employers who, thereafter, will be liable in respect of each offence under the Act to a fine not exceeding £20.

Notice now the trades to which the Act is applied: (1) Ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring, (2) paper box making, (3) machine-made lace and net finishing, (4) certain kinds of chain-making.

In lace finishing, carried on mainly in Nottingham, and in chain-making, carried on mainly in Cradley Heath, we have to deal, almost entirely, with home workers who live in contiguous streets and form communities as solid and separate as are workers in factories and workshops during their hours of employment. These workers are engaged in few and simple operations, and this simplicity, and the concentration of the trades, is of material assistance to the work of the Board.

The larger trades scheduled contrast perfectly with these two. They are

widely dispersed. Their organisation is intricate, their processes numerous and varied. In these large trades, moreover, though home workers are plentiful, they are in the minority, and industry is carried on chiefly in workplaces ranging from the very small shop, in which the workers may be three or four, to huge, well-equipped factories, in which they may be three or four thousands.

The question of foreign competition is of very different seriousness in these four trades. Chain-making is free of such competition, while the lace trade is competed with vigorously by at least three Continental countries.

The heaviness of freight charges gives the manufacturer in the paper box trade virtual protection in respect of large rigid boxes. On the other hand, he alleges a keen competition in small, and also in folding or " collapsible " boxes, which are expected in the future to eliminate their " rigid " rivals. The tailoring industry has been marked during recent years by a rapid and splendid growth. It holds the home market in its hands, and, in addition, has a rapidly-increasing export trade of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000. But some of the exported clothes are of the wretchedest possible kind, and in this section of the trade, in which wages and general conditions are of the worst, there is competition in neutral markets.

Taken together, it will be agreed that the trades are representative, and, as a whole, supply an adequate test of what can be accomplished by Trade Boards. If, in respect of them, minimum wages can be fixed and enforced, they should be capable of general fixation and enforcement.

In all the trades the Boards have now fixed minimum rates for time work, an obligation under the Act, and in the two smaller ones they have fixed also general minimum piece lists, as to which they have an option.

In fixing, the Boards have been hampered by the lack of exact tabulations of existing wages. The Coal Mines Act gives power to the local Boards to ascertain what wages are being paid. The Trade Boards have no such power, and in default of definite information have been forced to content themselves with statements put in by the representatives of employers and of workers, reinforced in the case of the tailoring trade by the figures of the Board of Trade Inquiry of 1906.

Likelihood of error was not great in the small trades, in which the rates of wages were fairly well known.

All women chain-makers, and most of the men who work out of the larger workshops, have been, in the past, very badly paid, the women earning wages of 6s. or 7s. a week for full time, and the men 12s. to £1. In this trade, after a brief but vigorous resistance on the part of some of the employers, a time rate of 2½d. an hour was fixed for women, and rates of from 5d. to 7d. for men, these sums yielding, for a full week's work, 11s. 3d. in the one case and from 22s. 6d. to 31s. 6d. in the other. At Cradley Heath, however, it is the piece rate that is important, and " on piece," workers of ordinary capacity will have no difficulty in exceeding the sums stated. But the main value of the piece list is as a help to administration. The chain-makers, with a copy of the piece list on their walls, are aware of the legal price for each thickness of chain, and are in a position to check any evasion. To begin with, evasion was attempted, but the appetite for it died out when an offender was mulcted in penalties exceeding £30. It has not revived.

In Cradley, therefore, the success of the experiment is assured. The workers are getting rates that, in the cheapest qualities of chain, give them increases of

from 50 per cent. to 100 per cent., and they are now applying for an enhancement of the rate.

The Trade Board has led to the complete organisation of the workers of both sexes, and the satisfaction of the women with their changed condition is indicated by the voluntary increase of their Trade Union payment from 1d. to 3d. a week, partly in order to assist the organisation of other badly-paid groups of workers in the district.

The effect of the Trade Board upon these badly-paid groups is one of the most striking features of the experiment. "Hollow-ware" and brick makers, to whom organisation was unknown, have both been organised during the past twelve months, and hollow-ware employers, under threat of a strike, have been compelled to concede an improved list of minimum piece work prices. There is, indeed, no element lacking in the triumph at Cradley Heath. The women seem different beings from the inert and sunken people who attended meetings in pre-Board times, and the proprietors of shops in the district will tell you how their sales have expanded under the genial influence of the new rate, greatly insufficient as we may admit it to be.

Nottingham lace finishers number from seven to ten thousand, and for these a minimum time-rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$d. per hour (11s. 11d. per week) is now in obligatory operation. As with the chain-workers, it is the piece list that matters. The improvement of piece prices is indicated by the transference to the workers of the list on which previously the best houses in the trade paid the middlewomen. These middlewomen, numbering seven hundred, had sole power to decide what their services were worth, and in practice they took from the employers' payment from one-third to half of the whole. The whole goes now to the workers, the middlewomen claiming an extra 20 per cent. for their services from the employer.

Not only the rates have been altered. The Trade Board has served to call attention to a great many small abuses under which the women groaned, and the removal of these will, by itself, substantially ameliorate the conditions that have existed.

Nor has the monstrous poverty of most of these women made organisation impossible. As at Cradley Heath, an office of the Federation has been opened and some 2,000 women are already on its books. The workers seek constantly for advice and for assistance, and their general recognition of the usefulness of the Union may be expected in time to bring them all into it.

As, where home workers are retained in employment at increased piece rates, the increase must be a dead-weight addition to cost of production, the question arises of how, at Cradley Heath and Nottingham, the increases are to be met. A simple change, desirable in itself, will meet the greater part of them: the removal from the trade of the middlewoman. In future the large employers will tend to give work out from their own premises and thus save the considerable commission that the middlewoman is demanding.

Let us turn now to the paper-box trade, the most decentralised of the four, employing nearly 30,000 workers. In this trade and in tailoring, District Committees are established throughout the country, consisting of representatives of the employers and the workers in the district, together with one or two members selected from each side of the Board. The meetings of District Committees occupy much time, and it was only after some eighteen months of consideration that a minimum rate of 3d. an hour for all parts of the country was agreed upon. The relation of this to previous wages in the trade cannot be given exactly. Figures furnished by employers on the Board, and said to cover 9,000 women, show that

there are three grades of women operatives in the trade indicated by payments of about 15s., 11s. 6d., and 8s. 6d. a week. The minimum (52 hours at 3d.) is now to be 13s.

In this and in the tailoring trade, no general minimum piece list has yet been compiled, the employers alleging that any such compilation is impossible. In the interim, the employer will fix his own piece rate, which must yield the time rate to the "ordinary worker" in the trade. This phrase has been the subject of protracted debate, and the Trade Board has agreed, pending an authoritative interpretation of it by the Courts, upon a working rule to the effect that the piece rate must yield the minimum or more to 85 per cent. of the workers employed thereon. As these workers differ considerably in quickness, the great majority of them should exceed the minimum and earn weekly wages of relatively large amount. The men in the paper-box trade are, for the most part, organised and able to look after themselves. The workers on the Board strove to establish the principle of a 7d. hourly minimum, yielding rather more than 30s. for a full week's work. They were out-voted, and a rate of 6d., yielding 26s. a week, eventually fixed for men aged 21 years or over.

Largest and most complicated of the scheduled trades, ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring, employs some hundreds of thousands of workers, and in it wages vary so greatly from place to place and employer to employer, that it seemed impossible to get any rate that would be applicable to all its areas and operatives. A rate of 3½d. an hour, yielding about 15s. per week, was at length proposed for female workers in the trade, but produced so much outcry from employers in all parts of the country that the Board was induced to modify it to 3¼d.—13s. 10½d. per week of fifty-one hours. In this case the Board of Trade figures supply a basis of comparison. According to the 1906 Inquiry, female persons over 18 years of age in the trade were being paid as follows:—

In receipt of less than 8s. per week, 10 per cent. In receipt of less than 10s. per week, 24 per cent. In receipt of less than 15s. per week, 70 per cent.

Thus the rate, though intensely disappointing to the workers after the first proposal of 3½d., should substantially improve the lowest wages in the trade.

As in the paper-box trade, "ordinary worker" is to be for the present interpreted by a percentage clause, under which the employer's piece rate will be required to yield the minimum to at least 80 per cent. of pieceworkers.

A fact not yet stated is of the first importance. As Trade Board rates are fixed "clear of all deductions," it follows that the expenditure of box-making home workers on glue and paste, amounting often to as much as 1s. 6d. per week, and of tailoring workers on "sewings," sometimes very much more, will in future, except where the mininmum is exceeded, be a charge upon the employer.

For adult male workers in the tailoring trade the minimum time rate is to be the same as in the paper-box trade, 6d. an hour.

A few remarks must be added about the treatment of young people in these trades. Briefly, the workers, believing that in all industry there is now division and sub-division to an extent destructive of apprenticeship in the old sense, were against the fixing of special rates of wages for "learners." A demand that young workers in the trade should be given 13s. or 14s. a week could not, however, be pressed, and finally "learnership" arrangements were come to in each of the trades, the general principle being periodic increase of wages until, on attainment, in the case of women of 18 and in the case of men of 21 years of age, the full minimum is to be paid. Having thus created a class of learners, the workers

were anxious to have them, as far as possible, learners in fact, and they have done something to ensure this, and prevent exploitation of young labour.

Thus learners are to learn at least two processes of the trade, and are not to be employed in undue proportion. These provisions are not sufficiently drastic, but in some degree they should favourably affect the wages of adult workers now in the trade, and the quality of the workers who will succeed them.

To sum up. The Trade Boards have fixed minimum rates of wages substantially better than the precedent rates. In one of the trades the minimum is operating with perfect success, and in the other similar trade a like result will follow as soon as inspection in the district becomes adequate.

In the large trades, having regard to the nature of the work done, the minimum rates are less satisfactory, and in these, until a general minimum piece list is established, the difficulty of administration among home workers will be very great. To the increases in mere wages must be added the removal of trade abuses, like, for instance, the debiting of the worker with the cost of sundries necessary to her occupation. Further, the limitation of the employment of young people in the trades, and the control of the conditions under which they work, will react beneficially upon the young workers and upon the trade. The Boards, too, have given an immense impetus to organisation, noticeable mostly in the localised trades, but very appreciable also in the larger ones. Add indirect effects, like the organisation of the hollow-ware workers or the general demands for higher wages in factories where only the box-making department is affected by the new rates. All this, taken together, seems justification enough of the Trade Boards Act. It is further justified by the new tidiness and efficiency that it is bringing into a thousand factories and workshops. Tailoring and paper-box manufacturers are now overhauling their establishments, improving plant and removing waste.

The sole reason for dissatisfaction is in the comparative lowness of the new minimum rates which, notwithstanding what was advanced at the beginning, should, and could, have been higher. The thin end of the wedge consideration affords some solace, and the thought that Trade Unionism in the four trades is become a reality, and is already going about its work.

The Wages of Women in Industry.

By Dorothy M. Zimmern, m.a.

Estimates of women's* wages, giving either a general average for all industrial women or averages for particuuar trades or groups of trades, are to be found scattered in many books and articles dealing with social and industrial questions, but statements of actual fact of recent date are lamentably few.

In order to obtain an average wage which can be considered to represent the facts and to yield, in combination with others, accurate statistical results, we must base it upon a large number of reliable individual cases; this is especially necessary in industries where there is nothing of the nature of a Trade Union

* Throughout this paper the word "women" is intended, for the sake of brevity, to include "girls," unless otherwise stated.

rate, and where there are in consequence considerable divergences from the average. The large majority of women are employed in industries where this condition prevails.

All those who have any experience of industrial investigation know how difficult—I might almost say impossible—it is for any private person or group of persons to collect sufficient accurate information upon which to base general conclusions; and facts about wages are the most difficult of all to collect. There are two possible sources of information—the employer and the worker; but lucky indeed is the investigator who can use the one to check the other. If you desire to obtain the facts from the employer, you must begin by establishing sufficiently friendly relations with him to enable you to cross-question him on what is a particularly delicate subject. The most—indeed, strictly speaking, the only—satisfactory method of obtaining information is to get permission to copy out particulars from the actual wages sheets. Obviously this will only be allowed when the employer considers his wages good, at any rate, by comparison with others in the same trade. The usual course is for the employer to tell the investigator what he believes to be the average wages of his "hands." Now he knows that his visitor has come because he or she has the welfare of his workers at heart, and would consider the payment of what might be thought starvation wages reprehensible. Can the employer be expected to resist his inclination to represent the facts as favourably as possible, as, for example, to persuade himself that the earnings of a quick worker are those of an ordinary one? For the same reason, the employers who pay the lowest wages will probably refuse to give information altogether. The facts which are obtained in this way cannot fail to represent the level of wages as higher than it really is.

If one wishes to go to the workers of a particular trade for details about their wages, the first step is to obtain a comprehensive list of them and of their addresses. Only an employer who has no reason to object to investigation and whose clerks, moreover, have a good deal of spare time, will be ready to provide such a list himself. In most, if not all, cases the names must be obtained in any way that may suggest itself to the fertile mind of the investigator, through friends, clubs, outworkers' lists, directories, etc. Of the number of workers thus obtained, a considerable proportion will have removed from the address given and will be impossible to trace; others are at work all day, and can only be seen during a few hours in the evening; often they are out and must be looked up several times before they are seen. When the interview finally takes place, unless the wages book can be produced, there is considerable danger that the investigator's impression of the average wage received throughout the year or even during the busy season will not correspond with the facts. For the wage earned last week, or an exceptionally high or low one, is apt to loom so large in the worker's mind as to prevent the conversation revealing anything else. It is clear that facts obtained in this way can only be small in number and questionable in accuracy. Hence no really sound statistical conclusions are possible from this method of investigation. The facts which I have been able to bring together in the short time at my disposal from the reports on trades by the Women's Industrial Council have been collected with as much care and regard for accuracy as possible; but they can only be accepted with considerable reservations. A Government department alone possesses the machinery necessary for collecting and publishing information of wages suitable for statistical purposes.

Amongst official publications, the first place must be assigned to the very valuable Report of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours

of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom. But here, too, there are several important considerations to be borne in mind. The information was collected through the employers; the return of the schedules was voluntary, and the Reports express satisfaction that particulars of about one-third of the workers have been received.

It may also be fairly assumed that it was the good employers who performed the self-imposed task of filling up forms rather than the bad ones.

The average wages given relate only to one particular week, which is selected as being representative. An attempt is also made to calculate the annual earnings of the workers, but as the figures produced are based upon the earnings of men, women, boys, and girls, they do not give an idea of the actual earnings of any one of these classes; nor is it possible to tell into how many individual pockets the annual sum really flows, for unless the workers are engaged definitely for the year we have no idea how many different ones are employed during the time and share in the yearly wage. In fact, any calculation which aims at estimating the yearly income of wage-earners depends as much on the average amount of unemployment and slack time as on the wages, and the problem is one of extreme difficulty.

The figures which I quote at the end of this paper represent the earnings of those workpeople who worked full time. The average of those who worked more or less than full time is almost invariably lower.

The Earnings and Hours Inquiry must also be considered from the point of view of the amount of information which it gives about wage-earning women. Volume I. (Cd. 4545), dealing with the textile trades, is very satisfactory, for the figures relate to about 44 per cent. of the females returned as textile workers in the 1901 Census, and a good many of the wages are based on agreed rates.

Volume II. (Cd. 4844) is occupied with what is mainly a woman's trade, namely, clothing. Here the returns cover only 23 per cent. of the number included under "Dress" in the Census. This is due to the large number of women working in these trades either at home or as employers or on their own account, who are all excluded from the scope of the Inquiry.

Volume III. (Cd. 5086), relating to the building and woodworking trades, contains information about 3,656 women, but the trades investigated are almost entirely men's trades.

Volume IV. (Cd. 5196), Public Utility Services, tells us to the extent of 99 per cent. about men and 1 per cent. about women.

Volume V. (Cd. 5460), Agriculture, deals only with able-bodied male adult labourers in regular employment.

Volume VI. (Cd. 5814), Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Trades, relates to 30,043 women, who are 4 per cent. of the total number dealt with.

Volume VII. (Cd. 6053), Railway Service, has information about the earnings of seventy-nine women and girls.

An eighth volume on Miscellaneous Trades is in preparation.

The following table shows the total number of men and women of whose earnings we are made aware through the Board of Trade Inquiry. The Census figures beside them can only be roughly compared, as the grouping of trades is not always the same, and the Census includes employers and those working on their own account as well as employees. But the totals show that we have information respecting about one-third of the persons employed in these industries.

Industry.	Number dealt with in "Earnings and Hours Inquiry."		Order in Census.	Number returned as occupied in Census of 1901.	
	Men.	Women.		Men.	Women.
I. Textiles ...	218,822	293,776	xviii.	492,175	663,222
II. Clothing ...	62,337	161,830	xix.	414,637	710,961
III. Building and Woodwork ...	176,815	3,656	xii. & xiii	1,275,864	25,294
IV. Public Utility Services ...	265,858	2,580	—	275,000*†	2,600*†
V. Agriculture ...	78,377	—	vii.	1,071,040	57,564
VI. Metal, Engineering and Ship building ...	714,514	30,043	x. & xi.	1,280,402	76,219
VII. RailwayServants	401,437	79	vi. 1	351,911†	1,441†
	1,918,160	491,964	—	5,161,029	1,537,301

* These figures have been inserted, as the numbers dealt with in the "Earnings and Hours Inquiry" are said "to cover a large proportion of the total number employed."

† The Census figures under the headings included in these columns are smaller and are not therefore really comparable. The difference is not, however, large enough to affect the conclusions based upon the totals.

Thus of the persons returned as "occupied" in the Census tables, the trades selected for investigation include 50.8 per cent. of the men, and only 36 per cent. of the women, while 3.5 per cent. more men are employed in the Government and defence of the country under well-known conditions, as compared with 0.5 per cent. women. Put another way, the proportion of all the occupied men to women is, roughly, ten to four; in the selected trades it is ten to three.

Again, the actual individuals whose earnings are classified amount to 19 per cent. of the occupied men, but only to 11.8 per cent. of the women, and the proportion of men to women is as ten to two and a half. The Board has been successful in obtaining particulars of 37 per cent. of the men, and only of 32 per cent. of the women in the industries investigated, while the greater prevalence of fixed rates in men's trades makes the figures obtained of their wages of wider application.

The other Board of Trade publications dealing with earnings or rates of wages yield even less material from our point of view.

The volume Standard Time Rates of Wages in the United Kingdom at January 1st, 1912 (Cd. 6054), contains a list of trades almost entirely confined

to men, except for the textile trades, as to which we have the additional assistance of Mr. G. H. Wood.*

Moreover, when, for example, particulars are given about boot and shoe operatives, amongst whom there are 38,979 women, according to the Home Office Returns of 1907 for Non-Textile Factories and Workshops (Cd. 5398 and Cd. 5883), the words "adult males" after the name of the occupation renders our search for knowledge fruitless.

Again, the Annual Report of the Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom for 1910 (Cd. 5849) raises hopes of obtaining details about women's wages, since the heading "Clothing Trades" appears in the index; but on referring to the text we are told that "the *recorded* changes in wages in this group of trades mainly affected workpeople in the boot, shoe and clog-making trades (*in which* 70.6 *per cent. of the employees are males*). As regards certain other sections of the clothing group, *e.g.*, dressmaking, the absence of general district rates of wages makes it almost impossible to collect particulars of any changes in rates of wages which may take place." (The italic words in brackets are mine.) This last remark has a place in each Annual Report; in these also then the information relates almost entirely to male workers.

The reason for the paucity of the material about women's wages is not far to seek. In the chapter on "Illustrations of Method," Section III., in "Elements of Statistics," Mr. Bowley gives an illuminating description of the methods by which the statistical work of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade has been built up. Correspondents were found in every town, who were good enough to fill up forms relating to the industries with which they were familiar; no one is more suitable for the task than the local Trade Union secretaries or similar persons continually engaged in discussing rates of wages and similar questions throughout their districts. It is, therefore, through channels of this sort that a stream of accurate facts flows monthly into the pigeon-holes at Gwydyr House. But who is available to send in similar returns for the unorganised and badly-paid army of women workers? There is ample work in dealing with the material which is continually being collected, especially when a general railway strike and a general coal strike in one year rivet public attention upon the earnings of adult male workers and create a demand for official figures to explain their occurrence. The Department can hardly be expected to go into the highways and hedges for material with a view to increasing the already heavy burden laid upon it by the community. There is one source of information for rates of women's wages to which I have not yet referred, and which will certainly become increasingly valuable, namely, the minimum rates fixed under the Trade Boards Act; but as the whole subject is being dealt with in another paper I will do no more than mention it here.

In view of the large number of women unrepresented in these Reports, amounting to 64 per cent. of the occupied women or 2,634,450 persons, it is important to realise in what occupations they are mostly to be found. By far the largest number are indoor domestic servants, 1,330,783 in all, about 5,338 of whom we possess many useful particulars in Miss C. E. Collet's Report on the Money Wages of Indoor Domestic Servants (Cd. 9346), which the Board of Trade published in 1899. The other large groups are as follows:—

*See History of Wages in Cotton Trade, also articles in the Journal of the Statistical Society, April 1902 and 1910; also Appendix A, 1st edition of History of Factory Legislation, by Hutchins and Harrison, 1903.

Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging	299,518
Paper, Prints, Books, and Stationery	90,900
Dress—	
Employers	15,113
Working on their own account	188,730
Working at home (a very rough estimate)	50,000
Charwomen	111,841
Laundry work at home	73,046
	829,148

Although we do not possess any official figures as to the earnings of these groups, there is no doubt that, with the possible exception of the dressmaking employers, they are lower—how much lower it is impossible to say—than those in the industries already discussed, for the wages are known to be less and the times of slackness and unemployment longer. One thing therefore unfortunately is certain, namely, that there are women, whose number can be counted in hundreds of thousands, whose earnings suffice for no more than to keep body and soul together.

To return to the recorded facts, I have little to add to the appended tables. The average wages given are those earned by the better-paid working women, and yet the percentage of those earning less than 10s. is by no means inconsiderable. The average amount earned nearly always falls short of what is required to lead a decent, not to say complete, existence, even for a single woman; yet 20.6 of the women employed in factories and workshops in the clothing trades and 27.8 of those in the textile trades are not single, but married or widowed.

A bright gleam of light is thrown on the way a working woman spends her money by the very detailed "Budgets of Expenditure of Thirty Wage-earning Women and Girls" (Cd. 5963), recently published by the Board of Trade. One of the most striking traits which is revealed, to my mind, by the budgets of these thirty women is thegenerosity with which they gave: presents, subscriptions, collections are ever-recurring items. Yet very few of the women who earn their own living can really afford this luxury.

For the fact that a woman's wages amount, roughly speaking, to one-half those of a man, a good many reasons are assigned, to which prominence is given according to the temperament or political creed of its exponent. Each of them can be illustrated by examples, but some of them do hardly more than state facts which themselves require further explanation. They are, briefly, as follows:—

1. That women's wages are fixed by custom, and that it is customary to pay women a lower wage.

2. That in the absence of counteracting circumstances, women's wages are governed by the "Iron Law," and have reached the level of bare subsistence.

3. That women have less strength, skill, "potential ability," or "net advantageousness to their employer" than men.

4. That the majority, if not all, of women workers are "mean time" wage-earners only. Women have a double work in life, and cannot ever devote all their energy to their wage-earning occupation.

5. That there is a body of "pocket money" wage-earners, partially supported by relatives or friends, who are not obliged to earn a living wage, and who are enough in number to affect the market.

6. That there is a large body of women (widows, deserted wives, and wives of unemployed men) whose needs are so great that they are ready to accept any wage, however low.

7. That women's standard of living is lower.

8. That women's education in "public spirit" is only just beginning, and that Trade Unionism is still very weak.

9. That women have inadequate knowledge of the labour market and of the wages they might demand.

10. That women have not got any political power.

Like all economic problems, the lowness of women's wages depends on a large variety of circumstances, and can therefore be attacked from a great many sides. It is not for me to discriminate in favour of any one method, but rather to encourage the workers in every field by pointing out the urgency of the problem and the value of every effort to solve it. Nearly all women, except the favoured few, are wage-earners at one time or other of their lives, most frequently between the ages of 14 and 20-22, a critical time in the building up of the constitution, and sometimes a second time on widowhood. Any improvement would, therefore, affect directly a far larger number of women than those who are counted as occupied on a given day for Census purposes, and if once the conscience of the community is touched by the knowledge of the actual facts I do not believe that improvement will be long deferred.

Tables relating to the Earnings of Women over 18 employed on the employers' premises paid wages in each Industry in the last pay week of September, 1906, when working full time. Compiled from the Earnings and Hours Enquiry:—

Trades.	Av'ge W'kly Earnings.	Percentage of Women earning per week.				Av'ge Rate of Wages earned per hour in pence.
		Under 10/-.	10/- & under 15/-.	15/- & under 20/-.	20/- & over.	
I. Textile.						
Cotton	18/8	3.0	20.9	35.4	40.7	4.0d.
Woollen and Worsted	13/10	10.7	55.6	24.7	9.0	3.0d.
Linen	10/9	41.7	49.1	8.5	0.7	2.3d.
Jute	13/5	6.2	66.4	25.9	1.5	2.9d.
Silk	11/2	38.9	47.8	11.4	1.9	2.5d.
Hosiery	14/3	14.5	44.4	30.3	10.8	3.2d.
Lace	13/5	18.1	49.3	25.1	7.5	3.0d.
Carpet	13/8	15.3	49.8	28.2	6.7	2.9d.
Hemp	10/11	47.1	39.6	10.5	2.8	2.4d.
Smallwares	11/5	32.2	53.0	13.7	1.1	2.5d.
Flock and Shoddy	12/3	10.9	75.9	12.8	0.4	2.6d.
Elastic Web	11/8	21.8	65.5	12.3	0.4	2.6d.
Hair	9/4	51.9	45.3	2.8	—	2.1d.
Other Textile	13/7	18.3	44.5	30.3	6.9	3.0d.
Fustian and Cord Cutting	10/10	47.1	41.7	6.8	4.4	2.3d.
Bleaching, Printing, Dyeing, and Finishing Textile Fabrics ...	12/4	27.0	51.6	15.6	5.8	2.7d.
All above Industries	15/5	13.3	38.8	26.9	21.0	—
Omitting the Cotton Trade ...	—	21.3	52.6	20.4	5.7	—
II. Clothing.						
Dress, Millinery, etc. (workshop)...	13/10	28.0	36.2	21.1	14.7	3.1d.
Dress, Millinery, etc. (factory) ...	15/5	12.6	39.5	30.5	17.4	3.6d.
Shirt, Blouse, Under-clothing, etc.	13/4	22.2	46.0	23.5	8.3	3.2d.
Tailoring (bespoke)	14/2	15.4	42.4	29.3	12.9	3.1d.
Tailoring (ready-made)	12/11	24.0	46.6	22.5	6.9	3.0d.
Boot and Shoe (ready-made) ...	13/1	12.4	58.9	25.2	3.5	2.9d.
Boot, Shoe, and Clog-making (bespoke) and repairing	12/6	21.4	51.8	17.9	8.9	2.8d.
Silk and Felt Hat	16/4	8.1	35.0	32.3	24.6	3.5d.
Leather Glove	12/1	25.5	51.1	21.5	1.9	2.8d.
Corset (factory)	12/2	28.8	48.3	19.9	3.0	2.8d.
Fur	16/7	9.4	29.0	34.4	27.2	3.8d.
Straw Hat and Bonnet	19/10	10.4	17.5	21.6	50.5	4.3d.
Other Clothing	12/11	26.3	41.4	24.5	7.8	2.9d.
Dyeing and Cleaning	13/10	9.3	55.3	27.7	7.7	3.2d.

Trades.	Av'ge W'kly Earnings.	Percentage of Women earning per week.				Av'ge Rate of Wages earned per hour in pence.
		Under 10/-.	10/- & under 15/-.	15/- & under 20/-.	20/- & over.	
Laundry (factory)	12/10	20.5	52.0	21.1	6.4	2.8d.
Laundry (workshop)	12/9	12.2	63.8	20.5	3.5	2.9d.
All above Industries	13/6	21.6	45.1	23.2	10.1	—
III. Building and Wood Working.						
Sawmilling, Machine Joinery, etc....	12/5	25.0	54.1	18.4	2.5	2.8d.
Cabinet-making, etc.	13/1	17.1	51.2	25.0	6.7	2.9d.
IV. Public Utility.						
Road, Sanitary, etc., Services—(1) Borough and Urban District Councils	14/6	14.0	37.9	27.7	20.4	3.2d.
V. Agriculture.	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI. Metal, Engineering and Ship Building.						
Tinplate Manufacture	14/9	9.3	40.8	38.0	11.9	3.4d.
Engineering and Boiler-making ...	13/1	17.1	53.8	23.5	5.6	3.0d.
Ship and Boat Building and Repairing	14/8	6.8	36.9	47.8	8.5	3.3d.
Railway Carriage and Wagon Building	14/9	8.0	39.6	44.8	7.6	3.3d.
Light Iron Castings, Stoves, Grates, etc.	10/-	52.1	40.5	5.8	1.6	2.2d.
Various Metal Industries—						
Section A	14/1	11.4	48.2	35.1	5.3	—
Section B	*	30.6	50.4	15.9	3.1	—
VII. Railway Servants.	11/5	33.3	48.5	7.6	10.6	—

* No general average given.

Compiled from Miss Collet's "Money Wages of Indoor Domestic Servants" (Cd. 9346).

Percentage of Female Indoor Domestic Servants at each Age Period in 1891, and the Average Wage at each Age Period :—

Age Period.	London.		England and Wales (excluding London).	
	Per cent. of Servants.	Average Wage.	Per cent. of Servants.	Average Wage.
		£		£
Under 15 years	4.1	7.2	8.4	6.7
15 and under 20 years ...	27.9	11.9	33.4	11.2
20 „ „ 25 „ ...	26.5	17.0	24.3	16.1
25 „ „ 35 „ ...	23.3	21.6	17.8	20.2
35 „ „ 45 „ ...	9.1	27.9	7.0	23.5
45 years and upwards ...	9.1	26.8	9.1	25.1
	100	18.1	100	15.7

Average Wages of Female Domestic Servants (at selected Age Periods) according to class of work :—

Class of Work.	Age Period.	London.	England and Wales (excluding London).
	Years.	£	£
Between-maid	19	12.4	10.7
Scullery-maid	19	13.7	13.0
Kitchen-maid	20	16.6	15.0
Nurse-housemaid	21 and under 25	14.9	16.0
General	21 „ „ 25	14.9	14.6
Housemaid	21 „ „ 25	17.5	16.2
Nurse	25 „ „ 30	21.0	20.1
Parlour-maid	25 „ „ 30	22.2	20.6
Laundry-maid	25 „ „ 30	27.3	23.6
Cook	25 „ „ 30	21.8	20.2
Lady's-maid	30 „ „ 35	28.1	24.7
Cook-housekeeper ...	40 and upwards	41.6	35.6
Housekeeper	40 „ „	34.3	52.2

Average wages in certain Trades investigated by the Women's Industrial Council :—

Trades.	Average Weekly Wage.	Remarks.
Artificial flower-making ...	9/- to 10/-	For slow workers.
	15/- ,, 22/-	,, competent workers.
	25/- ,, 40/-	,, exceptional workers for all the year round.
Box-making	£1 and over	Highest wage.
	10/- to 15/-	Average wage.
		Workers hardly ever get a full week's work.
Children's Nurses—		
Head Nurses	From £40 a year upwards	
Single-handed nurses ...	From £18 a year upwards	
Under-nurses	£16-28 a year	Good under-nurse.
	From £10 a year	An inexperienced girl.
Nurse-housemaid ...	£16-30 a year	Trained girl.
	£8-10 a year	Quite inexperienced girl.
Cigar-makers in Liverpool.	9/- ,, 14/-	
Embroidery—		
Gold and silver	15/- ,, 18/-	Usual wage.
	20/-	Good wage.
	25/- ,, 35/-	Exceptional wage.
		The work is regular.
Worsted	12/- ,, 16/-	Less skilled work.
French polishing ...	14/- ,, 20/-	Good conditions, but dirty work.
Jewellery—		
Piercing	14/-	Medium hands.
Polishing...	12/-	Slow hands.
	15/- to 18/-	Average hands.
	£1	Good hands.
Jewel-case making... ...	10/- to 12/-	Slow workers.
	15/-	Moderate workers.
	18/- to 20/-	Good workers.
	25/- ,, 30/-	Exceptional workers.
Laundry—		
Sorters and Packers ...	10/- ,, 20/-	Average.
	25/-	Highest.
Washers	7/- to 9/-	
Calender hands	7/- ,, 17/-	
Ironers	£1 and over	Best workers.
Machining—		
Mantlemakers	12/- to 20/-	Very seasonal. Slackness twice a year.
Buttonholers	20/- ,, 23/-	

Trades.	Average Weekly Wage.	Remarks.
Finishers	16/- to 18/-	Unskilled work.
Ironers	15/-	
Fine Underclothing ...	20/- to 25/-	Skilled work.
Millinery and Straw Hat making—		
Designers	25/- „ 30/-	
Other workers	15/- „ 25/-	
Pen trade in Birmingham...	12/7	"For best third."
	9/8	For the rest in one factory.
Forewomen	15/- to 18/-	
Boxing and packing ...	9/- „ 13/-	
Straw plait	£1 „ £2	In the season.
Tailoring	15/- „ 20/-	In factories.
Forewomen	30/- „ 40/-	
Wire-mattress weaving ...	12/- „ 15/-	Average.
	20/-	High.
	25/-	Exceptional.

Discussion.

Mr. Ernest Lesser (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association), in opening the discussion, said that what he had to say related chiefly to Miss Zimmern's paper, but there was one rather important point which was only incidentally touched upon by Mr. Mallon which was specially interesting to himself as being one of the delegates of the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association. That was the effect which the passing of the Trade Boards Act was likely to have with regard to juvenile workers in the trades affected. When the Trade Boards Act had been passed it suddenly occurred to them that there was a chance that it would act prejudicially against the interests of juvenile workers. It was obviously, as they knew, to the interests of employers to have as small a wage bill as possible, and it was unfortunately the fact that there were many employers who were by no means averse to exploiting child labour and employing as much child labour as they possibly could. Therefore, it seemed to them that if a minimum rate was going to be fixed, it was obviously to the advantage of employers to employ as many workers as possible at that rate, and many of those workers might be juveniles. He personally had been very much relieved to hear from Mr. Mallon that apparently that danger was to be averted, and that where the Trade Boards Act was operative it undoubtedly would have the effect of preventing employers employing an undue amount of child labour where they ought to employ the more efficient labour of adults. He hoped that in any amendment of the Trade Boards Act this would be made quite clear, and that some provision would be introduced which would make it absolutely impossible for the Act to be used at any time by unscrupulous employers in that very prejudicial way. As regarded Miss Zimmern's paper, it occurred to him that possibly some of them might be interested to have some statistics as to the wages earned in Germany by women. He was always loath to trouble audiences with figures, but as it happened it was much easier to get reliable information on that sort of subject in Germany than in England, and the reason why it was easier was that in their National Insurance scheme there were graded classes of contributors, the classes being divided into wage classes, and therefore, the different insurance agencies

knew the limits of the wages which were being earned by different contributors. Some of the Sickness Bureaus went still further and divided their contributors up into more classes than the Act really required. The figures coming from Leipsic, a town which might be taken as a fairly representative type of a large German town, showed that there they had a sick fund which was one of the largest and one of the best managed in Germany. It had a total membership of 180,000, and a women membership of 55,000, and the returns in that respect might be taken as fairly representative. From those returns they saw at once that there was the same phenomenon in Germany as there was in England, only he was afraid the disparity of wages as between men and women was even more conspicuous than it was in England. For example, they found that whereas no less than 86 per cent. of the men were earning 3s. 6d. per day, only 5.5 per cent. of the women were earning over 3s. 6d. per day. No less than 90.8 per cent. of the women were earning between 1s. and 2s. 6d. a day. If one came to particular trades, one found that the lowest wages to women were paid in agriculture and gardening. No less than 75 per cent. of the women earned something between 1s. and 2s. a day. Then woodwork was a trade in which the wages were very low, and next came clothing and laundry work. Those engaged in metal work trades were also very poorly paid. The textile returns were not much better. They showed that only 54 per cent. of the women were earning between 1s. and 2s. a day. The best wages were to be found amongst the few women who were engaged in some of the subsidiary branches of the building trade, and amongst hotel and refreshment employees and women engaged in some of the minor metal trades, such as instrument and apparatus making. Those returns showed desperately low wages paid to German women, and were borne out by returns from places so wide apart as Dusseldorf, Carlsruhe—which was only industrial in a secondary sense—Strasburg and Lübeck. In Dusseldorf, Carlsruhe, and Lübeck the majority of women only earned between 1s. 6d. and 2s. a day. It seemed to him a rather curious thing, but as far as one could make out the wages in south Germany were rather lower than the wages in north Germany. On the other hand, in the textile trades, taken as a whole, it would appear that there was not so much disparity between the wages of German women and English women. He thought he would be right in saying that there was not much more than a difference of about 6d. a week between the earnings of the two countries in that trade, and it was a curious thing that in one respect the German women earned more than the English women. He referred to the silk trade. The worst paid trades, as compared with the English trades, would appear to be the clothing and the laundry trades. On the general question of women's wages, it seemed to him that the three remedies were organisation, the promotion of emigration, and, lastly, the admission in more trades of the principle of the minimum wage. It had always struck him as a great reflection on the educated women of this country that they had not taken in hand more assiduously and energetically the question of organising female labour. There was not likely to be any appreciable increase in the wages paid to women until they were organised, and he thought that not enough attention had been paid to the subject of emigration when we had a surplus of over a million women in this country. He did not think that a philanthropist could spend £100,000 more advantageously than in promoting the emigration of some of our surplus women into the colonies. That would ease things, and enable women to obtain better wages to a considerable extent. The lowness of women's wages was to a very large extent owing to the abundance of the supply of labour. Then they had heard lately of a number of women who took up work for the purpose of getting pin money, or a little money to supplement their own allowances. He was a little sceptical of allegations of that kind, but it was obvious they would deal a blow at that sort of practice by the establishment of a minimum wage, because the tendency would then be for the employer to prefer to take on women who were prepared to do their full share of work rather than the women who simply came on to do a certain amount of work for an inadequate wage. He therefore hoped to see, particularly in the women's trades, more and more Trade Boards established. (Applause.)

Mr. P. J. Reid said that it seemed to him that if there was to be any general application of Trade Boards all over the country for the different occupations which needed them, it would be a matter of twenty to twenty-five years before anything very substantial was done. Was it possible to speed the thing up? What he should like to ask Mr. Mallon was this: If there was a national minimum wage, a statutory rate, would that hinder or help the work of those Trade Boards? It seemed to him

that Mr. Mallon and his friends had done most excellent work in the way in which they had taken up the grievances of the sweated workers in those trades and occupations, and where they got those Trade Boards adopted they should push on, and by steady pressure get the minimum raised, and so on. That was all very good indeed, but why should the onus lie on Mr. Mallon and his friends to prove that? Why should not the onus be on Society? It seemed to him it was more desirable that they should have the employers pressed to come and prove why they could not pay instead of their having to take it up in the way they did. With reference to the lowness of wages, he thought there was an instance in the tailoring trade applicable to Norwich and the East of England where the Trade Board fixed a rate at so much—he believed it was 3½d.—and the employers replied and got it reduced to 3¼d., or something like that. In any case, it was a reduction, and the employers in that tailoring trade said that they made trousers for Kaffirs, and the rate fixed by the Trade Boards was such that they could not continue to make those trousers at that price. Of course, there was no point in his question at all if he shirked the inquiry as to what was meant by a national minimum wage. What he meant by a minimum was something that would be equivalent to £1 a week for a man and 15s. a week for a woman.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH said that she had wished to speak specially on the point raised by Mr. Mallon as regarded the position of the young worker under the Trade Boards, but Mr. Lesser had already dealt with that in his speech. Mr. Lesser had also stated that in the textile trades the difference between the earnings of English and German women was not so marked. Well, she supposed the English make would be taken to include Irish, and she would like to say that amongst the textile workers in Belfast the rate was as low or lower than the textile rate in Germany. For instance, spinners' wages averaged about 11s. a week, so that there they had not very much to congratulate themselves upon. Coming to the question of the young worker, Mr. Mallon had pointed out that the Trade Boards were doing something to safeguard the position of that class. A new danger had arisen, she thought, as regarded the position of the young worker, and especially the young girl worker, from the situation about to be created under the Insurance Act. She was not going to discuss the good or the bad points of the Insurance Act, but there was a question which affected very largely the industrial worker, and that was that the graduated scale was not going to apply to workers under 21. And that was largely a woman's question. A very large number of women in some of the clothing trades, and in laundry work, would be affected by the graduated scale, and there they had, she would not only say a direct temptation, but in many cases a kind of competitive compulsion put upon the employers to employ the younger and the lowest paid of the workers. When the girls reached the age of 21, if their wages then entitled them to come under the graduated scale, and the employer who had been paying for them at the rate of 3d. for insurance suddenly found his share of the weekly sixpence raised from threepence to fivepence, the temptation to dismiss them in favour of younger workers would be almost irresistible. Managers of limited liability companies who had to do their best to make dividends as high as possible, would be specially subject to pressure in this direction. Therefore, they had a fresh argument, she thought, for extending Trade Boards in all those trades which largely employed women, so that they might gradually force the wages up and bring fewer and fewer women under that graduated scale when they got to mature years and had more experience in the trade. At the same time they had every inducement to further organisation, and organisation should begin amongst girls at a very early age. Indeed, when they considered the enormous proportion of girls who were employed in all trades between the ages of 15 and 20, it was essential that they should get them into an organisation at that age. If they did not get them between those ages, there was not very much hope of doing so afterwards. Mr. Lesser had suggested as one solution of the problem that emigration should be supported, and had spoken of the large amount of surplus women labour. It might be true, and undoubtedly was true, of some classes of women and with regard to certain employments, but she was inclined gravely to doubt whether there was that large surplusage of woman and girl labour in industrial employment. It seemed to be clear from the returns of Labour Exchanges in various parts of the country that there was a shortage, especially in the skilled industries, such as dressmaking, skilled weaving, skilled ironing, and so forth, and so, perhaps, for that class of worker what they had to look to was not so much getting them out of the country, but teaching them how better to earn their living in it. (Hear, hear.)

She thought they must look to better education, to the keeping of girls at school and out of industry long enough to enable them to take advantage of openings in the way of training, and also to awaken in them ambitions of becoming really skilled craftswomen, instead of taking up their living in some employment that could be learned in a few weeks.

Mr. HERBERT NORTH (Keighley Union) said that so far as he had understood the discussion that afternoon it had all tended to deal with the way in which the employer should pay his employee. From his point of view, it was necessary that they should find some source in which the labourer might find a market for his labour. It seemed to him that the whole subject turned upon the question of competition, and he gathered from the discussion that the best way of dealing with the problem was believed by many to be emigration. Why, he asked, should they have emigration if there was work sufficient to be done in this country at certain wages, and if that work was to be supplanted by foreign labour? Germany was paying its workers less than England, and naturally, if there was emigration, those workers would come here. Under the present rules, if a man was in poverty he was shut up in a workhouse, and even if his name appeared on the Labour Exchange register, his chance of getting employment was interfered with, because an employer looked upon a man who was in the workhouse as unfit. Mr. North was proceeding to criticise the Poor Law administration, when he was called to order by the President, who reminded him that it was the question of women's wages they were discussing, and the question of the Poor Law administration could not be introduced in that discussion.

Mr. T. H. BEDFORD (Leicester Union) said that the work of the Wages Board since its establishment had, no doubt, been largely one of organisation. He remembered the struggle at Cradley Heath when that place was absolutely at its worst. He was engaged at that time in making a report to the Anti-Sweating League in connection with the trade he was connected with in Leicester, and he thought the work of the Trade Boards in raising the wages of the women in Cradley Heath had a good effect in other places. It also extended to the Nottingham lace trade and to the glove stitchers in Leicester. He had often heard it said that women ought to have a living wage, and he believed that by organisation they could. He did not mean by that a wage which only meant a common life. He thought the minds of women could be equally developed to those finer points and luxuries of life that men loved so much, and he thought the wage question of to-day ought to include those little luxuries which benefitted a woman's mind and gave her sympathy with those who surrounded her in her common daily life. The women of Leicester, whose report he had the pleasure of signing, a report which was made to the Anti-Sweating League some years ago, then got the handsome wage of three farthings an hour, and the report of the Anti-Sweating League enabled those women to obtain a wage of 2d. an hour. He wondered sometimes whether the Anti-Sweating League would not have a better influence on the women engaged in making garments for the Government contractors. A better wage would not mean that an article would cost a greater amount, and we need not fear foreign competition. He remembered that the clothing trade used to be threatened with extinction if the workers asked for an advance of wages, but such was found not to be the case. What they wanted to do to get proper wages was to organise the women right and left. Wherever women worked they should organise so that their power would be felt. Women should demand a fair wage for the work they were doing, and he did not think it was right for Boards of Guardians to subsidise the work of women in sweating workshops by assisting them in the way of relief. One conclusion he had come to with regard to women's labour was this, that where work was done in the home, where it was given out by middlemen or middlewomen, they would always have sweating. That he considered a great curse. The organisation of women should not extend only to the factories, but should govern the work done in the homes. When that had been controlled women's wages would become higher, and there would be a better and a brighter outlook before them.

Alderman FELDMAN (Hull County Borough Council) said that the discussion that afternoon would lead one to infer that the whole of the employers of this country were sweaters. He knew a large number of employers, and he knew from personal observation and experience that there were a large number of employers who were very generous to their men and who had given higher wages than were paid by other employers without any request having been made by those whom they employed.

They agreed that the working classes of this country should be paid a living wage, and he was satisfied that the Trade Boards would help to decide what was a living wage. But when that was done they had another aspect of the question. Although they fixed a standard rate of wages in this country, it would not altogether solve the difficulty, because the standard rate of wages in other countries was considerably below that of this country. He suggested that strenuous efforts should be made by the Government of this country to induce Governments of other countries to follow on exactly the same lines as this country and endeavour to secure a universal standard rate of wages for the whole world, so that all countries should be absolutely on equal terms with each other. Then there was another phase which he thought should be taken into account, and that was the lack of continuity of employment. In Hull they were face to face with the problem of unemployment. A large percentage of the out-of-works were casuals or men employed at the docks. During a portion of the year those men had a fair amount of work. When the weather was fine they were regularly employed, but during the winter months there was a slackness of trade, and those men were practically starving. The unfortunate part was that they did not earn sufficient during the busy time to maintain them during the whole of the year. He should be very glad if the Chairman's skill and ingenuity could devise a scheme whereby that could be prevented. His view was, without dealing with the political side of the question, that if a Royal Commission was appointed to deal with the conditions under which manufactured goods came into this country to the detriment of our working classes, he was sure the results that would follow would be advantageous, and there would be an entire alteration of the system. With regard to emigration, experience had convinced him that we had not men in this country whom we could spare who would be accepted abroad as suitable for those particular countries and, therefore, he would not encourage people to go to other countries to find employment. The consideration of that question was one that would involve considerable change, and he hoped that the results of that Conference would be the means of introducing a system whereby continuity of labour could be secured, and whereby some method of a standard rate of wages would be provided.

Mr. EASTMAN said that bad as were the conditions of the men, he thought Miss Zimmern had proved that the conditions of the women in industry were infinitely worse. He noticed that that lady in her paper seemed to rely to some extent upon the conscience of the community, but he would advise her not to put too much faith in the conscience of the community. He suggested that an appeal should be made to the pocket, an appeal to something which was not quite so elastic as a conscience. He hoped that as a result of their deliberations that afternoon they would do something in the practical way that had been suggested by the President in his address that morning, and that a scheme would be formulated to tackle that difficulty, which was a very real one.

Councillor A. CALLIGHAN (Jarrow Borough Council) said that there was one point he should like to make, and that was that the Trade Boards Act should be applied to trades in which women were employed rather than to those in which men were employed. He came from an area where the supply of female labour was very small, but where the wages paid to female labour were exceedingly low. That Act should be applied on the grounds that they could not organise the female labour in that particular industry because the workers started at the age of 14 or 15 to help to keep the family going. Of the women engaged in that industry about seventy-five out of every 100 ultimately left to get married. For that reason there was a difficulty in organising women workers, and they ought to demand from the State that a minimum rate of wages should be fixed. He thought that point had been overlooked in the discussion.

Councillor W. A. BYRNE (Leeds County Borough Council) said he did not know whether they were trying to find out if it would be better or detrimental for the nation as a whole to have a fixed minimum wage. He should like to see the Trade Boards fix a minimum rate of wages in all trades and in all professions. He knew of instances where girls over 13 years of age worked in a factory in Leeds for 2s. 6d. a week; and in other cases where girls had been incapable of working their parents had sought poor relief, and had obtained for those girls as much as girls able to work could earn in factories. It was not right that a girl mentally equipped for work should be paid only as much as was allowed for a girl who was mentally deficient. The attention of that Section was directed to finding a means of preventing destitution, and he declared that more money was being spent to-day in

pauperising people than in trying to prevent destitution. He criticised the system under which women had to work in workhouses, and stated that in those institutions some women had to work in laundries a full eight hours a day, and all they got for that was imprisonment. Laundry work within the workhouse was just as valuable as laundry work outside. Then the system of woodchopping in workhouses was unfair to those who had to do the work, and it was also unfair to those humble people who were engaged in a similar occupation outside, and who suffered through the competition of the work done by inmates of workhouses. Proceeding, he said that he knew of a case where a woman earned 10s. a week in a rag shop and had several children to support. A Board of Guardians allowed that woman 2s. 6d. a week to help to support her, because she was not earning enough at the place where she worked. It was unfair that the Board of Guardians, as a Public Authority, should be called upon to contribute a portion of the 12s. 6d. which was to be regarded as a minimum wage.

Mr. BOOKER (Clerk to the Guardians of the Sheffield Union) said that he came there as a humble learner to find ways and means to assist him, if possible, as a Poor Law administrator in preventing destitution. The delegates were told quite plainly when they assembled last year that the Poor Law was not to be discussed at those meetings, neither the merits nor the demerits of the Poor Law, and he hoped the time had arrived when the President would put a check on statements and suggestions as to the maladministration of the Poor Law or otherwise, or else would give those who were Poor Law officials an opportunity of saying something in reply. There were other representatives of the Poor Law besides himself, and if the Poor Law administration was to be discussed, they would take an opportunity of saying what could be said in defence of it.

The CHAIRMAN replied that any attack on the Poor Law as such, or any defence of the Poor Law as such, would clearly be out of order at that Conference. On the other hand, he could not rule out of order any reference to the Poor Law if it affected wages.

Mr. H. LEONARD HUMPHREYS (West Ham Distress Committee) said that those who were on Committees of Boards of Guardians and Labour Exchanges knew how many of the women in the workhouses had at last to go there because of the wretched conditions of sweating. He was surprised to hear one delegate, who spoke of his acquaintance with employers, justify the present rate of women workers' wages because the scale was lower in Germany than it was in this country. Surely starvation scales in other countries could be no justification of such scales in this country. He certainly agreed with Miss Smith as to our Labour Exchanges showing there was a dearth of skilled workers. It was not a fact that an over supply of skilled women workers in any sense explained the low rates of pay. He was strongly convinced that the lack of skilled workers among women lay in the lack of training of the all-round girl in the Elementary Schools. The fact that the low scale was not due to the over supply of skilled labour was all the more reason for our securing that that skilled labour should receive adequate reward. They knew only too well that there was a great mass of women workers of the unskilled type who constantly kept the rates of wages low owing to their inefficiency. He affirmed that the great need in the question of women's wages was organisation of the women workers. That feature was remarkably lacking in spite of the active work of so many who were interested in the movement, and who had been untiring in their efforts during the last decade.

Mr. WALTER T. LAYTON (Camberwell Union) said that the difficulty he felt with regard to the minimum wage was that employers might weed out workers who failed to come up to a certain standard of efficiency, and he would like to know whether, if a minimum weekly wage was adopted in certain trades it would be possible to prevent those not quite up to the ordinary standard being driven into the ranks of the unemployed. Mr. Humphreys had said that the starvation scale of wages in Germany was no justification for paying low wages over here. Of course, there was this to be said, that in the present condition of affairs manufacturers over here had to compete with foreigners whose goods were made on the starvation scale; and without going into the vexed question of fiscal reform, some alteration in our economic relations with other countries seemed necessary unless there could be an international minimum wage, which would have to be expressed in relation to the cost of living in different countries. As regarded women's wages, he should very much sympathise with any movement for raising them. In his experience as a

Guardian of the Poor, he was constantly meeting with revelations of low wages paid to women—widows and deserted wives—who had to support families. And they had in many cases to subsidise those women. He remembered on one occasion, at a Relief Committee meeting, a Local Government Board Inspector was present, and when they granted relief to a woman who earned about 10s. a week and had several children to support, the Inspector told the Committee that they were subsidising low wages, and ought to offer the woman the house. It was all very well to discuss fine-spun theories, but Guardians had to deal with cases, and they could not theorise so calmly when dealing with flesh and blood. He was afraid that the idea of an international minimum wage was not likely to be realised in the immediate future but he would like Mr. Mallon to give them some idea of what could be done to prevent willing workers becoming unemployed because of inability to keep pace with others. He was whole-heartedly in favour of a minimum wage which would enable workers to live respectable and cultured lives, but he had fears that legislation in this direction might cause an increased amount of distress from unemployment.

Alderman SHEPPARD (Bristol County Borough Council) said that he should like to ask Mr. Mallon whether there was any explanation in regard to a number of complaints from men working in the clothing industry in consequence of the establishment of a minimum under the Trade Boards. Suggestions had been made to the effect that, in consequence of the passing of that minimum wage in the tailoring trade the tailors could sub-divide their work, and that to a large extent little girls of 14 years of age could, after six months, become as efficient in the work they were put to as ablebodied women. The result had been rather a development of the smaller girls being employed in the factories instead of full-grown women. As to whether there was any truth in that statement he was not in a position to say. He was connected with the boot trade, and he was anxious, if there was any advantage to be got out of the Trade Boards Act, that it should apply to the boot trade as well as the tailoring trade.

Miss MARY PHILLIPS asked Mr. Mallon if he could inform the gathering whether there was likely to be any extension of the Trade Boards Act, and what trades it was likely to be extended to, so that those present, in the various towns and organisations which they represented, might be able to help in any such extension.

Miss PRICE said that it was difficult to organise the home workers because they could not be easily got at. That was a very serious point, and they should try to do all they could to remedy it. It would be for the good, not only of the home workers themselves, but of the rest of the industrial community if those people could be organised.

Mr. H. R. WALKER said he should like to ask if the Trade Boards had put courage into the hearts of the workers. Mr. Mallon had said that those Boards had served to deal with smaller abuses, and he (the speaker) thought it would be interesting if Mr. Mallon would touch upon the point of whether the Trade Boards were able to go directly to the question of wages.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Sidney Webb) said that it was difficult to deal, in that Section, with all the points. Perhaps it would be well if, at the future Conferences, they provided an extra day for "any other business," in order that suggestions which did not come strictly within the scope of the different Sections might be dealt with. The subject they had been considering that afternoon was only one small branch of a large subject, and they could only deal with the problem by dividing it up. Miss Zimmern's paper had brought home to him that however wise and just men might be, yet they never could remember all the points which women remembered. It was, for instance, news to him that the Board of Trade's statistics were more imperfect on the side of women's wages than on the side of men's wages. That showed the need of more feminine light on the question, and it proved that those matters could not be dealt with by men alone. He hoped that Miss Zimmern would go on pressing her point so that the Board of Trade might give as complete statistics in regard to women as to men. When he was in Victoria some time ago he spent a lot of time investigating the Trade Boards there. Many people thought that an increase of price must follow a rise in wages. Well, in Melbourne the Trade Boards had raised wages, sometimes by 50 and 70 per cent. beyond what the women had been getting before, and he had satisfied himself that there was no increase in the price of the finished article at all as a consequence of the rise in prices. Yet the employers were not bankrupt. The explanation was that when the higher wages had to be paid the industry was carried on in a more efficient way than when the

employers paid low wages. For the increased wages they paid they saw to it that they got more efficient work. Thus the labour was not more expensive to the employer although the workers received more. Then the question arose, what would happen to the old worker and the weak worker and the slow worker, those who were not worth the minimum. Mr. Mallon had answered that in anticipation by pointing out that what was fixed was nearly always a piece-work rate, and the piece-work rate met the difficulty to a large extent. In Victoria they had dealt with it in a mixture of ways, partly scientific and partly humanitarian. In some cases there had been introduced a system of "permits," by which Factory Inspectors allowed particular people to work for less than the minimum wage because they were inefficient. Looking at the question apart from the humanitarian aspect, a manufacturer employing 100 people or thereabouts would usually take care to see that he got full value out of them. He naturally preferred to have only the most efficient workers; but as business did not fall off he would employ no fewer people. The only thing that happened was that all the employers competed with each other in striving to reject the "tail" of his workshop and take on better workers. There would not be a smaller number of workers employed in any one workshop, and therefore, although there might have been a shifting round, there would still be the same number employed in the industry. In the aggregate no worker would have been thrown out of work. The effect of fixing a legal minimum wage in every industry would be that those who were not up to the standard of any particular industry would automatically drop into that trade for which they were best suited; and as the aggregate numbers employed would not be lessened, the shifting could not be said to cause unemployment. As to the question of a national minimum wage, if that was adopted it would probably have to be something like 2d. or 3d. an hour for women, and it might be 5d. an hour for men. It would be of little gain to anybody to have such a national minimum wage declared by Parliament. It would be far better to let each trade go for the best minimum it could get.

Mr. J. J. MALLON, replying to the discussion, said that Trade Boards had contributed to the organisation of the women concerned by meetings which had been arranged by Government agents, and it had been an immense help to get women together in various industrial places. At Cradley Heath every one of the women engaged in the chain trade was in the Union, and in Nottingham 2,000 of the poorest workers in the country were organised, and were taking an intelligent interest in the law governing their wages and conditions. To the women affected Trade Boards had given the wages question an urgency and simplicity it did not previously possess. He was asked what he meant by the "other abuses" which the Act had enabled them to deal with. Take as an instance paper box manufacture. In that industry home workers had to pay for glue and sundries. But all the Trade Boards' rates were fixed "clear of all deductions," and the result was that not only were the wages raised but all those small charges were transferred to the employer. Then in a great many factories girls were kept waiting about for work, which meant that they lost money. Under the new conditions employers were endeavouring to regularise work. One lady speaker seemed to have the impression that he was concealing something in connection with the work of the Trade Boards. As a matter of fact, there was nothing to conceal; the Trade Boards principle had only been applied to the four trades he had mentioned, and there was not the slightest reason to doubt that it would succeed decisively in all of them. An antagonism between Trade Boards and Trade Unionism had been suggested, but there was no such antagonism. The things were complementary to one another. The Trade Board gave the basis and stimulus from which organisation would arise. With regard to what Mr. Sheppard had said, there was an obvious mistake. The minimum rate in the tailoring trade could not possibly have done the harm attributed to it, for the simple reason that it was not yet in operation. In the trades where the rate was in operation, there had been so far no considerable dismissal of slow workers, and serious trouble under this head need not be anticipated. As to foreign competition, the real answer was that it paid to pay well. Competition existed between this and other countries, but also between district and district, and the prosperous districts were invariably those in which high wages were paid. Something had been mentioned about the slowness of the Trade Boards. They were slow because they were dealing with big trades. It was impossible to take hold of a big and involved trade and fix everything in a week or two. As to young workers in the scheduled trades, many of them had been put to a single process on entering the

trade and had never left it. In paper box making, for instance, there were cases of girls beginning at 13 or 14 years of age to put glue on paper, doing nothing else for seven, eight, or nine years, the most sensitive and impressionable of their lives. That sort of thing was going to be impossible under the new conditions, and the employers would have to see that in some measure girls in their employment were trained.

Miss ZIMMERN, in the course of a brief reply, regretted that her statements had not been disputed, for that tended to show that the facts were as black as she had set them forth. She thought that some solution to the problem might be found if men's wages were raised to such a point that they could maintain their families at home. If that was done, a large number of married women, who were about 20 per cent. of all women employed in factories and workshops, would not need to go out to work, and the withdrawal of their labour would help to improve the wages of others. It must also be remembered that a very large number of women were industrially engaged from 14 to just over 20 and then got married, and that therefore a far larger number of women were affected by the conditions of women's work and wages than were set down as industrially employed on the census night.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was taken by the President of the Section, Mr. Sidney Webb. The subject discussed was THE FACTORY ACTS, WEIGHT CARRYING, SPELLS OF WORK, TRUCK, ETC. The following paper was taken :—

Some Necessary Amendments to the Factory Acts.

By MRS. DEANE STREATFEILD.

Some Necessary Amendments to the Factory Acts.

By MRS. DEANE STREATFEILD.

BEFORE entering upon the subject-matter of this paper, I must ask leave to correct a technical omission in the title. Among the questions set down for discussion is that of truck—those fines and deductions from wages which play so important and oftentimes so depressing a part in industrial life. But the Truck Acts, although administered by the same department as the Factory Act, are not part and parcel of them, and the heading of this paper, to be strictly correct, should have run as "Some Necessary Amendments to the Factory and Truck Acts." I will ask you to take it as if it had been so printed.

Eleven years have elapsed since the last general revision of our factory legislation. Since then we have had the amending Act of 1907, dealing specially with a single industry, the laundry industry, and acts which, like the Notice of Accidents Act, 1906, and the Employment of Children Act, 1903, have important bearings on industrial life and labour; but there has been no opportunity of bringing before the legislature proposals of a general character in respect of such features of employment in factories and workshops as are included in the syllabus for this morning's discussion. Meanwhile, evidence has been accumulating of the need which exists for fresh legislation on all these points. Not only the Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories from 1902 to 1910, but the exhaustive Reports of the Departmental Committees on Truck and Accidents, and the revelations on the subject of weight-carrying which are to be found in the evidence given before the Accidents Committee and the Departmental Committee on the Use of Lead in the manufacture of China and Earthenware have abundantly proved that our existing law requires amendment at certain points, and that such amendment has been for some time overdue.

I will deal first with the question of the spell of work, a question arising in many trades, and affecting a large if uncertain number of workers. Of all the questions before us, I am disposed to consider it most serious in its bearing upon

the health of the worker; and health, being the capital asset of any person who depends for livelihood on physical strength and capacity, must always be the worker's first consideration. The most disastrous result of inadequate wages consists in the fact that, by rendering it impossible for the worker to obtain full satisfaction of his needs, they depress his earning capacity and so condemn him to sink inevitably lower and lower in the industrial scale. It is because my personal experience convinces me that long unbroken spells of work, and especially a period of employment in a day divided into two five-hours' spells, constitutes a strain upon bodily and nervous strength which is deeply injurious to girls, that I desire to see an alteration of the law which shall render such an arrangement of working hours illegal in future.

In the textile trades no spell of work, without a break for a meal, may extend beyond four and a half hours. But in non-textile factories and workshops the limit is five hours, and practically in every trade there will be found some employers who take advantage of this provision of the law to get through their day's work in two five-hours' spells, with the single break for dinner. The practice is commonest in the laundry industry, in tailoring, and dressmaking, and confectionery works. Of these, the first and the last involve working for the most part in a standing position—in itself a severe strain on the women and girls employed; while the sewing trades are not infrequently carried on under bad atmospheric conditions in crowded and ill-ventilated workplaces. Laundry work in nearly all its branches is hard work. Ironing rooms are hot; washhouses are frequently steamy. In cases where the actual manual labour is not heavy, as in that of the girls engaged in attendance on calenders and other of the ingenious machines which have made the modern laundry a place of peril, the continual watchful attention required, not only for the proper performance of the allotted task, but for the avoidance of personal injury, imposes a strain which, while it differs from that due to muscular effort, is probably even more exhausting. It is the long *afternoon* spell which does the mischief. Coming fresh to their work in the morning, most women can sustain apparently without injury the five hours' continuous work which precedes the break for dinner; but in the afternoon, where this is not broken by any " time off " for tea, the bad effect becomes very marked. If we could follow the worker to her home, possibly an hour's journey distant from her place of employment, we should see the signs of exhaustion manifesting themselves even more plainly. For six hours she will have been without food, and for five-sixths of this time engaged in work making calls either upon muscles or nerves, and in many cases upon both; during the remaining sixth she has been occupied in travelling homeward, weary and unfed. It is not surprising if we find laundry women whose period of employment is thus laid out, turning into public-houses on the homeward journey; and girls, grown dull in the vitiated afternoon atmosphere of the workplace, becoming inattentive, and so meeting with serious accidents which the unthinking like to ascribe to " carelessness." Where the attention is maintained to the end, especially by the very young girls to be found in such large numbers in laundries, it is as the result of an effort which entails severe wear and tear upon the stretched and flagging nerves. Sometimes it cannot be maintained, and then there is an additional risk of accident. In her evidence before the Accidents Committee, Miss Squire expressed an opinion " that girls were more liable to accident towards the end of a five hours' spell, and when working overtime three nights in succession."* The curiously large proportion of accidents which, in the cotton trade,

* Report of the Accidents Committee, 1911, p. 15.

occur on Friday, according to the analysis published in the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for 1908, would seem to support the view that there is a connection between fatigue and a high accident list.

It would not be difficult so to amend the Act as to do away at once with the evil of the five-hours' spell. All that is required is to assimilate the regulations governing the employment of women and young persons in non-textile factories and workshops to those which govern such employment in textile factories, by an alteration of Sec. 26 (4) in the sense of Sec. 24 (6), thus prohibiting equally for both classes of workers continuous employment " for more than 4½ hours, without an interval of at least half an hour for a meal." The only argument which can be brought forward against such an amendment (one clearly in the interest of the worker), is the alleged advantage to the employer of the five-hours' spell as a more economical system. But there is no trade touching which it can be contended that the two five-hours' spell system is necessary, seeing there is none in which it is universally used. And as regards the argument for economy, many employers are of the opinion that it does not hold good. It is in the final hour that the test of profit lies, and those who are responsible for management often find that it is the break for tea which enables the women to do a real hour's work at the end of the day. So great is the craving for some refreshment before the second five-hours' spell comes to an end, that forewomen—doubtless moved in any instances by kindly feeling, but also not uninfluenced by the consideration of getting the expected amount of work out of their girls—permit tea to be more or less surreptitiously made and handed round among the workers as they sit or stand at their machines. This practice, however welcome it may be to the tired workwoman, is not without its risks from the employer's point of view, where nice work has to be done or delicate fabrics handled.

Much attention has been drawn within the last two or three years to the second subject on our list. The carrying of weights by women, young persons and children, was very fully considered by the Accidents Committee, which reported in 1911; and the carrying of excessive weights by young persons in the Potteries received attention from the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the dangers arising from lead and dust in the pottery trade. The Accidents Committee was so much impressed by the importance of the evidence tendered to them, especially in regard to the danger of internal injuries to women from lifting heavy weights, and the overloading of young persons and children with burdens far too heavy for their undeveloped strength, that, while recognising the difficulty of making detailed and definite provisions on the subject, they offered certain recommendations which are well worth consideration.

In the matter of limiting and controlling the weights that may be lifted by women and young workers, this country lags behind some of her Continental neighbours. In France, for instance, an Order of December, 1909, lays down absolutely the number of kilogrammes which may be carried, lifted, or pushed by young workers under 18 or women of any age in any or every kind of industrial employment, whether within or without their workplaces. The limit differs for each year of age, and for a boy and a girl at the same ages. This, as we should expect in the case of an Order made by a French department, is logical; but is it altogether practical? Not only do young persons and women, as individuals, vary enormously in their weight-carrying capacity, but the fashion in which the weight is to be handled may rightly be considered in determining the actual number of pounds which the worker is permitted to carry. For instance, the question whether the weight-carrying is continual or occasional only is an

important one. Constant carrying of a comparatively light weight would prove a greater strain than a heavier weight dealt with now and then. If weights have to be carried upstairs the actual amount of weight has at once to be considered more rigorously than when carrying over a level surface is alone in question. Again, if the weights handled have to be hoisted to any height—on to shelves above the head or even on to high trolleys—a stricter limitation of amount becomes necessary.

Our own attempts at regulation of weight-carrying are of comparatively recent date. A statutory provision of the Employment of Children Act, 1903, forbids the employment of a child to lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child; and in the Fruit Preserving Order of the Secretary of State, made under Secs. 41 and 58 of the Factory Acts in 1907, a similar provision was inserted in respect of young persons employed in cleaning or preparing fruit when the factory is working under the special exception allowed by Sec. 41, which suspends the general provisions of the Act as to period of employment, meal-times, and holidays. This provision with regard to young persons represents the only regulation of weight-carrying in connection with the Factory Act itself; Sec. 3 of the Employment of Children Act was not intended to apply to factories, although it has, happily, been found that it does in fact so apply. Reports of the great weights habitually handled in some places where jam is made, and of accidents in connection with them, dispose to doubt as to whether these vaguely worded provisions are proving efficient even within their limited scope. If the spirit of Sec. 5 of the Fruit Preserving Order had been observed, such a deplorable event as the death of the young boy not long ago fatally scalded in a fall occurring when he was carrying two buckets of boiling jam weighing 40 lbs., would not have had to be recorded.

The only real existing check on weight-carrying by the younger workers lies in the practice of certain Certifying Surgeons, who make use of their power to qualify certificates of fitness by adding to them a condition as to the amount of weight that may be carried. But this power is, as yet, only sparingly used.

The suggestions of the Accidents Committee do not go further, as regards women, than the recommendation of a general provision with regard to women similar to that in Section 3 (4) of the Employment of Children Act with regard to children. But they think it would be desirable to fix by law maximum weights for children and young persons under 16, and to instruct Certifying Surgeons that this maximum is only for fully developed and healthy children, and that lower weights should be specified in the certificates of fitness when the child does not reach a fair average of development, when the weights to be carried are awkward in shape or size, or have to be carried up or downstairs, over long distances or slippery floors. This Committee had before them much evidence of the excessive weights carried by children in textile factories (children of 12 found carrying 18, 26, and 39 lbs., and girls of 13, 18, and 29 lbs. in Bolton; children in Burnley carrying 14 to 20 lbs. from loom to warehouse). The Certifying Surgeon for Burnley thought the carrying of pieces by children upstairs was a cause of heart strain.* The Departmental Committee on the Pottery Trade had to face still more distressing facts, especially as regards weight-carrying by boys in sub-employment. In these cases little or no control appeared to be exercised by the employing firm. Numerous instances were brought to the notice of the Committee in the course of their visits to potteries in which the weight of clay carried was so great as to be almost certainly injurious to those carrying it.

* Report of the Accidents Committee, 1911, p. 33.

The case of a boy, who only weighed 63 lbs. himself, carrying a lump of clay of as much as 70 lbs., was given in evidence by one of the Factory Inspectors. This Committee proposed that in general girls under 16 and boys under 15 should be prohibited from carrying clay at all; that young persons over those ages should only be allowed to carry such weights of clay as the Certifying Surgeon may certify to be reasonable in each case; that 30 lbs. shall be the maximum carried under a certificate; and that periodic re-examination by the Certifying Surgeon shall be required in the case of clay carriers until they are 18. They also framed a general recommendation in respect of all carrying and lifting work, to the effect that no young person or child should be employed in such work without a certificate from the Certifying Surgeon specifying what weight he or she may carry, "having due regard to the nature of the proposed employment." Here, also, they fix the maximum weight at 30 lbs. for anyone under 16, and would impose the rule as to periodical medical re-examination.

A combination of these two sets of recommendations appears desirable; but it would probably be wise, in drafting an amendment, to omit the definite fixing of a maximum weight, since such a maximum tends almost inevitably to become the minimum.

This proposed extension of the Certifying Surgeon's power brings into fresh relief the crying need for another amendment to the Factory Act—one which should render compulsory the making at every factory suitable arrangements for the examination of workers by the Certifying Surgeon. It is well known that Certifying Surgeons themselves feel acutely the absence, in many cases, of such arrangements. No examination for certificate can be of any real value which does not include stethoscoping of heart and lungs, and for this operation partial stripping is necessary. When examination of girls for certificates takes place, as it has been known to do in an office of the factory occupied by boy clerks, it is obvious that such examination must be formal and ceremonial only. In the case of the dangerous trades, proper accommodation for the Certifying Surgeon and his patient becomes of even more pressing necessity.

If the Factory Act requires amendment in the light of our growing knowledge of industrial conditions and our rising standard of industrial hygiene, study of wage questions and a more intelligent understanding of the purchasing power of wages urge quite as strongly the amendment of the Truck Acts. Four years have now elapsed since the drastic Report of the Truck Committee, with the voluminous evidence on which that Report is placed, came into our hands; and yet nothing has been done to remedy a state of the law which, by the confession of the late Under-Secretary* for the Home Department no longer ago than last year, is "abominable." It is difficult to know to what cause this lack of action in the matter of a reform so urgent is to be attributed. It is certainly not due to the fact that the Truck Committee published both a Majority and Minority Report, the latter advocating the abolition of fines and deductions from wages, while the former recommended their retention in a severely limited form, for both Reports were uncompromising in their condemnation of the existing system. The recommendations of the Majority Report included—

(1) Extension of the Truck Acts to outworkers;

(2) Total abolition of fines in the case of young persons of 16 and under in all employments;

(3) The maximum fine or accumulation of fines in any one week not to exceed 5 per cent. of the worker's wages;

* Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.

(4) Payment of a fine to be made only in the week of its imposition, and no claim for arrears of fines to lie;

(5) Courts of Law to have power to decide whether the bonus system is being used by an employer as a means of evading the law;

(6) Prohibition of deductions in respect of materials which go into the substance of the article made, such as glue, thread, paste, twine; also in the respect of the use of tools, machinery, light, heat, standing rooms, etc.;

(7) Prohibition of deductions in respect of charges for mess-rooms—such charges to be by way of separate bargain and payment only;

(8) Enforcement of the Truck Acts in regard to fines in shops by the Shop Hours Inspectors of the Local Authority;

(9) Inspection of living-in establishments by the same Inspectors.

Had these recommendations been carried into effect, not only would much suffering among the poorest classes of workers—and particularly of women workers, for it is these who feel most painfully the pressure of fines and deductions—have been averted, but a rankling sense of injustice would have been removed. There are few abuses which stir to resentment so sharply as an excessive fine. Under the existing Truck Acts, contracts are allowed which are outrageous to common sense as well as to humanity, and, provided that it can be alleged that they are only occasionally enforced, magistrates do not take exception to them. A good example in this kind occurred last year, when one of the most respected of the London stipendiaries dismissed the prosecution taken against a firm which exacted a fine of 1d. per minute for lateness from girls whose wages were from 6s. to 8s. per week, on the ground that the fines had been "tactfully administered." The custom of fining is curiously strong in certain trades. The Lancashire weavers, although powerfully organised, still suffer from fines, and in the pottery trade there are "customary deductions," accepted with more or less resignation by the workers whose wages they seriously reduce, which would not be tolerated in other districts and industries. It is probably the number and range of these customary deductions which have made it possible for certain employers in the Potteries to impose upon their workers charges in connection with the special rules made for the dangerous processes, obliging them to bear themselves the cost of floor-sweeping and overall-washing. We even find workers in one part of the factory paying for damage which has been done to their work in another part, in the course of a process with which they are not personally concerned at all. It is clear, I think, that where custom is so strongly entrenched as this, only legislative action can be expected to work a satisfactory reform. In pressing for that reform, on the lines of the Minority Report, support may be had from the example and experience of an increasing number of employers who have voluntarily abolished fines and deductions, both in the textile and non-textile industries, and have not found the discipline or prosperity of their business thereby impaired. On the side of the workers there is a growing preference, very frankly expressed in girls' clubs, for a system of warnings, to be followed by dismissal on failure to amend, in place of the present system of fines. Fines, it is generally recognised, do nothing for the reformation of the offender, who feels that her penny or twopence paid, she has fully atoned for her offence and is free to offend again on the same terms. In the matter of deductions, which frequently make so serious a difference between the nominal wage and the wage actually received, the principle of the Trade Boards Act, which requires the minimum rate to be paid "net and free from all deduction," points the way to their abolition in industries other than those at present scheduled under Trade Boards.

The foregoing suggested amendments to the Factory Acts do not constitute by any means an exhaustive list. There are others, only a little less important, which I might have put before you; some of them, I doubt not, will be suggested in the course of the discussion. But these are the amendments which present themselves to my own mind as most urgent, and likely to have the widest effect in improving the conditions of industrial life.

Discussion.

Councillor C. A. GLYDE (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) expressed opposition to a number of recommendations in the Majority Report of the Truck Committee. He desired to see the abolition of fines altogether, not only in regard to children under 16 but in regard to all workers. If they were to have a system of fines it should apply all round—to Cabinet Ministers, members of Corporations, and all others, because they all made mistakes, and people who never made a mistake never made anything. He was also opposed to all bonus systems in connection with the wages of the workers. Practically all bonus systems were, he said, an evasion of the law and a deliberate attempt to rob workers of advances of their wages. Another recommendation in the Majority Report to which he was opposed was that with regard to the living-in system. To that system he was opposed altogether, and it was, he said, a deliberate attempt on the part of shopkeepers to get assistants at a cheaper rate of wages by making profit out of them by boarding them and providing them with bad food. If Mrs. Streatfeild recommended the Majority Report, he disagreed with two-thirds of her recommendation.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Glyde had misunderstood Mrs. Streatfeild's paper—that lady did not recommend the Majority Report.

Mr. GLYDE said he was sorry that Mrs. Streatfeild had not included the Minority Report, because that would have met the views of many of the delegates who would prefer it to the Majority Report. He did not believe in trying to patch up grievances, and what they wanted to do was to remove the evil. They were not going to remove the evil by the inspection of living-in establishments. They should go for the complete abolition of living-in. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. A. GREENWOOD said that according to the Factory Acts young persons in textile factories might work fifty-five and a half hours per week, whilst in non-textile factories and workshops they might work sixty per week. If, however, a young person were employed under the Shop Hours Act, he or she might be employed for seventy-four hours a week including meal times. That seemed to him to be one of the greatest anomalies of our industrial regulations and one which should be swept away unless sound reasons could be given for such differences in the length of the working day. Personally, he thought that whatever reason there might have been in the past for a differentiation of hours of labour, there was no justification for it at the present time. What was worse, probably, was the fact that there were still large numbers of people who were under no sort of regulations whatever with regard to hours of labour. They had the iniquitous system of young people (such as van boys) working eighty, ninety, and 100 hours a week. This was so even with lads supposed to be under the protection of the Shop Hours Act. Not long ago the case of a butcher's boy, who worked over 100 hours a week for two years, came before his notice. A further point to which he would like to draw attention was that whilst in certain industries night work for young persons had been prohibited, it was allowed in glass works. As a general proposition, he would say that the welfare of children, young persons, and women must be considered before the exigencies of any particular industry. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEN TURNER (West Riding County Council) said that Mrs. Streatfeild, in her paper, mentioned that under some circumstances the hours of labour were divided

in two five-hour spells. He wanted to urge that four and a half hours was a sufficiently long spell, and was in fact half an hour too long. Two four-hour shifts a day were quite enough for anybody to work, either in textile or in non-textile mills. After forty years' great advancement in scientific and engineering skill there ought to have been a bigger reduction in the hours of labour in those factories than there had been. He worked in a factory forty years ago, and he remembered that the hours of labour were at that time fifty-eight per week. They were only fifty-five and a half now, and surely there should have been something more than a drop of two and a half hours in that time. Considering the speed of machinery, people ought not to be allowed to work more than forty-four hours, or at the outside forty-eight hours, a week in the textile mills. There were many industries in which reform in the number of hours worked was urgently needed. He knew, for example, of a place where a girl started at seven o'clock in the morning and had to have her breakfast before she went to work. She had to hurry through her breakfast at a quarter past six in the morning, and then, working a five-hours shift, it was not until twelve o'clock that she was able to get her next meal. Before dinner time came she was half famished, then when she went home to dinner she was rather past her food and was not as ready for the meal as she should be. The five hours was much too long for the non-textile worker or anyone else. Besides, the second part of the day was a bit too long also. If there were two breaks in a day, opportunity would thus be afforded for clearing the atmosphere a bit. He should like to see improved regulations of that kind apply to men as well as to women. He believed in Women's Suffrage, but he believed in Manhood Suffrage as well, and he thought that if it was good for a woman to have regulations in the hours of labour, it was good for men as well. Therefore, he wanted equality in the law in regard to industrial workers, whether male or female, in that direction. It seemed to him that after all those years there should be some regulation of the hours of labour. With regard to weight carrying, there were, he said, more people killed yearly by that than people were aware of. Where he came from, at Dewsbury and Batley, there were a large number of women employed in the rag warehouses, and day after day those women were to be seen tugging two hundredweight bales of rags about and straining themselves by hard work of that kind; and what was worse, there were young fellows from 18 to 20 who had to carry wet pieces weighing 300 to 400 pounds. With regard to Certifying Surgeons, in one borough that he knew, the authorities had made the Medical Officer of Health the Medical Inspector of Schools, and had also made him the Certifying Surgeon. There was a good deal of wisdom in that, because he examined a child in school, and when that child started work the person who had a knowledge of previous examinations seemed to be the person who ought to some extent to have the medical oversight of the child who was to begin working in the factory or the workshop. That officer had a knowledge of the child, and he made the inspection a complete one. Medical examination to-day was not as complete or as thorough as it ought to be. If they appointed the Certifying Surgeon in that way, he would have the record more thoroughly and would be able to prevent many who ought not to be sent to work in factories from being sent there. On the question of fines, fining a man or a woman or a lad or a lass for damaged work was, to him, blasphemy. If it had pleased God to make every one of us perfect, there might have been some justification for fines, but as man was fallible and not infallible there was no justification for any such system as that. Fines were nothing less than highway robbery. Nor were they any corrective in themselves; workers bought absolution by paying the fines, but that did not make perfect workmen and workwomen. He supported the abolition of fines, and declared that there should be no half-way house. He thought also that it was time they abolished half-time labour, and considered that no person under 14 years of age should be employed. If there was to be half-time, let it be from 14 to 18, and let it be by Trade Schools and education mixed together. Another thing he considered they should abolish was the two-shift system in cases where it was not needed for continuous process. The two-shift system avoided the building of mills, and therefore the avoidance of rates and taxes, and that he did not consider fair to a town. It was never intended that man should be a slave at night, but that he should sleep. Another thing he should like to see abolished was overtime. In these days of unemployment it was unfair to work some people until they fell and let other people fall for want of work. All these things needed to be regulated, and until labour had become humanised and the system of labour was more fair and square

for those who had to work, evils of that kind would militate against the development of the industrial classes both physically and mentally.

Councillor JAMES SEXTON (Liverpool Distress Committee) asked what was the use of extending the Truck Act when the present Act was not worth the paper it was printed on so far as the workers were concerned. It was a most difficult thing to get legislation of that kind, and often when they got it it was of very little use. He knew cases where people had been deliberately robbed for twelve years, and their only remedy was for twelve months back. The Truck Act was largely an imaginative Act. It allowed employers to build houses and stipulate that workmen employed by them should live in those houses as a condition of their employment. If an employee did not accept the conditions of these employers and came out on strike, the employers could bundle him out in the middle of the road. What they wanted to do was not to extend the present Truck Act, but to make a new one that would remove the evils complained of. That might be a large order, but there were larger orders coming about and being completed. In connection with the Factory Act, they wanted some system by which practical men with practical knowledge of the work would be appointed to administer the Act. Up to the present the Inspectors under the Act were largely men who had obtained their positions by influence, and had no qualification for the work.

Miss N. T. F. DE CHAUMONT (Independent League of Women Sanitary Inspectors) discussed the matter from a sanitary point of view. She said that she had been working for a great many years as an Inspector of Workshops, and she came across various conditions which were conducive to ill health and which were not touched by the Factory Acts. There was one special point with regard to laundries which had been referred to so far back as 1894, namely, overhead drying in small laundries. She had in her district a very fair proportion of small basement laundries, which were ordinary houses, in which ironing was done and in which the ceilings were almost at a level with the road. There was no special drying room; the clothes were all hung across the room, and the ironers ironed amongst the wet clothes. The majority of those rooms were not more than eight or eight and a half feet high. There they were ironing the whole day long with damp clothes hanging around them. That was not very conducive to health. She should like to see something done to prohibit drying in a room where people were at work in that way and which was less than nine feet high. She knew how disagreeable it was to her to fight her way amongst wet sheets to find people there, and one could easily imagine how much more disagreeable it must be to those people who had to work under such conditions. With regard to the temperature of workshops, that at present was a difficult point, because ventilation was a matter for the Local Authority, while temperature was one which rested with the Home Office. It was not an easy thing to divide temperature and ventilation, and that was where the difficulty, as far as she was concerned, came in. She, as a Sanitary Inspector, could prohibit a stove that was bad for a room, but she had no real power to order another stove. Of course, it could be done by persuasion with the employer. It seemed to her that heating and ventilation were points that should go together, though the Home Office should have a controlling power in matters connected with health administration. Then with regard to infectious diseases in workshops, she did not know whether those present realised that there were only two special diseases looked upon as infectious under the Factory Acts—scarlet fever and smallpox. Where the work carried on in any workshop was done absolutely for the employer it could not be stopped on account of infectious disease, and it was extremely difficult to deal with establishments under those conditions. She had personal experience of that a short time ago in the establishment of a draper. The establishment was a large one, with millinery and dressmaking departments, and the employer's child fell ill with diphtheria. She (the speaker) had no right to stop any of the work in that case. Although the workers lived in the house she could not force the people to send the child to the hospital; it took two hours' conversation with the father and mother, and it was only by appealing to their pockets that she was able to do it. The work could be stopped under those circumstances if there was scarlet fever, but it could not in the case of diphtheria. Another point she should like to see something done in connection with was the matter of light. In many establishments where one part of a room was comparatively light the workers at the other end had to have artificial light or else they had to strain their eyes. There should be, she thought, a fixed standard of daylight in all rooms. It seemed to her that if regulations were made

for underground dwellings, regulations should also be made for underground workrooms. Some of the conditions of underground workrooms were deplorable. Another point was with regard to counting-houses in big businesses. It seemed to her to be an extraordinary thing that while all sorts of regulations should be made for women workers nothing whatever was done with regard to women clerks in counting-houses. There was considerable overcrowding in some places, and the matter was a serious one.

Councillor W. H. MILES (Swansea County Borough Council) supported the remarks of Mrs. Streatfeild with regard to fines. He said that in Swansea there were young women working in business establishments whose salaries were not sufficient to provide them with the necessaries of life, and who in some cases had to submit to the impositions of fines sometimes amounting to 6d. Deductions of that kind were made for most trivial things, and as far as that Conference was concerned it should endeavour to make that system of fines and deductions illegal.

Councillor W. A. BYRNE (Leeds County Borough Council) stated that they ought to concentrate their attention upon the idea of getting legislation to protect women and girls who worked in factories from lifting heavy weights. He declared that the curse of the whole system in regard to factory inspection and such like matters was that when legislation was brought about it did not remove the trouble in any way. It simply added more Inspectors and resulted in overlapping. The only way out of the present difficulty was for all concerned, employers and employees, to act as they were—like human beings. The factory system must be humanised and Christianised, but that could not be done at present because of the overlapping of Inspectors and the position the working man found himself in. They should aim at having a Factory Act which would bring about a more human system; and if they could not do that by mutual agreement they must do it by capturing the legislative machine.

Miss DOROTHY M. ZIMMERN said that she would like to see an amendment of Section 130 of the Factory Act in connection with the supply of information. That Section provided that every three years at least all the owners of factories and workshops should send to the Home Office returns showing the numbers of persons whom they employed. To that return had been recently added a voluntary return as to the marriage state of the women—how many were single, married, or widows. As it was most desirable to know the marriage state of women workers, this return also should be made compulsory.

Alderman FELDMAN (Hull County Borough Council) said that while he was in cordial agreement with some of the suggestions which had been made that day with regard to some of the anomalies, he should have preferred that charges made against employers should not have been of a general character. During the past few years marked progress had been made in constructing factories thoroughly up-to-date, and in studying the comfort, the hygiene, and the happiness in every other respect of the employees. It was recognised that in order to secure efficient work from employees it was desirable that every thoughtful consideration should be extended to them, and in the main the employers, as far as he knew, acted generously. The question they were considering that day was whether amendment of the existing law was desirable, and personally he regarded some amendments as necessary. But would such amendment, if carried out, be the means of increasing employment? The danger which faced employers of labour who endeavoured to act most generously to their employees was that they had to compete with firms, especially foreign firms, who had not acted with the same generosity, and in that competition they had no assistance from the State. Without introducing the question of Tariff Reform, he was satisfied that the only remedy was by the legislature imposing on manufactured goods coming to this country, which were not made under the same conditions as in this country, some sort of tax. That would be a remedy for unemployment.

Councillor P. FLANNAGAN (Hull County Borough Council) said he wished to dissociate himself from the remarks of his colleague Alderman Feldman. The impression he (the speaker) had been given was that we must wait until the other nations could come up to our standard. If we had to wait for that there would never be any progress made. The best thing we could do would be to educate other nations up to our standard and at the same time endeavour to attain perfection ourselves.

Mr. W. H. EASTMAN (Sculcoates Union) said that he was in hearty agreement with the suggestions that Mrs. Streatfeild had made, and he was to a very great extent in favour of Mr. Sexton's suggestion that what we wanted was not so much

an amendment of the present Act but a new Act altogether. The present Act was so deficient that to attempt to patch it up seemed almost an impossibility, yet there were some amendments that would be of advantage, and those they should be willing to accept for the time being until the community had come to the conclusion that a different state of things, based upon principles altogether different from those of the present Act, was what was required. He expressed himself in hearty sympathy with the delegates who had gone in for the abolition of fines, and stated that he was once a very great sufferer through the system of fines. He once worked for a firm, and at the end of one week, instead of receiving wages he was told he owed the firm some money. (Laughter.)

Alderman F. SHEPPARD (Bristol County Borough Council) said there was one point he desired to draw attention to, and that was that the Factory Act ought to be more rigidly applied with regard to factory workers and also with regard to home workers. A great deal had been said during the discussion about the competition from abroad, but if he was right, in Germany at the present time the Factory Acts were so arranged that every young worker between 14 and 16 could not work more than forty-eight hours a week. It seemed to him that the Factory Act should be amended so as to make it illegal for boys and girls to enter factories and work over and beyond a limited period. If that could be done it would go a long way in the direction of preventing unemployment. In some of our large factories the proportion of juvenile labour was far over and above what it ought to be. And not only did it affect men in those particular trades, but in some trades it affected youths about 16 or 17 years of age. Take, for instance, the printing trade. Boys and girls were employed in that trade as layers on, an absolutely unskilled occupation, and then at 16 or 17 years of age they were turned into the street. If a limitation of the hours of labour was made compulsory by an alteration of the Factory Act, and boys and girls were not to be employed for so long, it would create more channels for employment. He lived in a district where a considerable number of women did home work; and where home work existed it seemed to him that the Factory Act should be altered so that they might have at least a considerably larger number of inspectors. Those inspectors should be enabled to inspect the homes where bootmaking, tailoring, and other things were being done. A large number of men took work from their factories to their homes, and they employed no end of children, including their own children. It seemed to him that it ought to be made absolutely illegal for any parents to allow their children to work for them and assist in the making of boots or clothing of anything of that kind during school hours. The district he was speaking of was a district not far from Bristol. It was the district of Kingswood, and they had no end of difficulty in getting anything like fair wages observed. The manufacturers themselves would like to see an alteration in the Factory Act which would make home labour impossible as far as the bootmaking industry was concerned. They could not expect decent manufacturers to compete under fair conditions while they allowed a man to sweat members of his own family. The time was ripe for drastic legislation to be passed making it absolutely illegal for men who were working in the mines for eight hours to come home and turn to the boot industry, and by working at home drive down the pay of those men who were dependent upon the trade for their livelihood. It was nonsense for men in some industries to agitate for the shortening of hours of labour if they were going to take advantage of those short hours to enter into competition with men in other industries. That existed in London, and particularly in the East End. If all the work of this country was done in properly equipped factories, with proportionate hours of labour and the restriction of the hours of young people, it would do a great deal towards solving the problem of the unemployed.

Mr. HERBERT NORTH (Keighley Union) said he did not know how they could reasonably bring about the abolition of night work, as had been suggested by one delegate. He did not, for instance, know how they were going to abolish the night police, neither could he see how they were going to abolish the night trains. They must not simply say they were going to prohibit night labour if there was not going to be some other form of provision. They were allowed to introduce protection for those who worked in the mines by giving them eight hours, but when it came to a man patching his own boots or those of his neighbour, or a miner growing a few cabbages and selling them to his neighbours, it was rather hard on those men to go in for prohibition of such overtime work. If they were to protect themselves from their neighbours they should certainly protect themselves from foreign competition.

Miss IRENE COX (Industrial Law Committee) said that in discussing possible amendments to the Factory Acts there was one point concerning meal-times which she would be glad to bring to the notice of the Conference. It was in reference to the dinner hour given to many woman workers, particularly in London. Under the Factory Act, 1901, one and a half hours were allowed for meals in non-textile factories and workshops, and of this one hour (not necessarily all at one time) must be given before 3 p.m. Many workers, whose fixed daily period of employment was from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 in the evening, did not actually commence work until 8.30 a.m. Thus half of the hour to be allowed before 3 p.m. had already gone, and it was only necessary to give a further half-hour for dinner. She understood that large numbers of workgirls in London only got half an hour for dinner, and that was a serious evil from a health point of view. She quoted the instance of a firm employing a large number of girls where only half an hour was allowed for dinner, and where there was very grave complaint on the part of the workers, many of whom suffered from indigestion and anæmia through having to hurry and scramble over the most important meal of the day. A petition was now being circulated among London workgirls asking that the right to one full hour for dinner should be given them by law, and she hoped that this matter would be dealt with in any future extension of the Factory Acts.

The Rev. W. H. CHILD (Plymouth Distress Committee) said that what seemed to him to be immediately pressing was the regulation of child labour and the absolute prohibition of child labour up to a certain age. The State already took possession of the child up to the age of 13, and insisted upon its going to school and also upon the kind of instruction and education the child was to receive at that school. It was not unreasonable to expect the State to go a step further, and instead of letting a boy or girl go at the age of 13, to exercise some kind of supervision over that boy or girl, say until the age of 18. No employer ought to be allowed, in his opinion, to take a child at the age of 14 into employment at all. If he took a child into employment he should be compelled to give a certain amount of time to the instruction of that child. The instruction should not be given in the evening when the child's work had been performed and its mind was fatigued, but should be given during the hours when the child was capable of profiting by the instruction given, so that when it came to the age of 18, it might be better equipped for the battle of life.

Mr. W. SMITH (Edinburgh Distress Committee) said that he could not agree with what they had heard upon the question of fines. In his opinion the abolition of fines could not be brought about without some qualification. If they had two men or two women working upon the same material and intending to produce the same cloth, and one did much better work than the other, if the employer was forced to pay the same for both, then it meant fining the employer instead of the worker. In his opinion it would not be fair to do that. Piecework was done with a view that the worker who had the ability should earn in accordance with that ability. There must be some rule with regard to the quality of the work produced, and without that he thought it would be decidedly unfair.

Miss MARGARET BONDFIELD (Women's Labour League) said she wished the reader of the paper could have seen her way to be more emphatic with regard to the adoption of the Minority Report. There seemed to be every reason to suppose that at least the part relating to the fines would have received some attention. With regard to the distributive trade, the remarks of the last speaker as to the hardships of fines did not apply at all. Fines inflicted were in the nature of irritating punishments, and were entirely out of proportion to the offences committed. There were shops where a fine of 3d. was enforced for the loss of a duster which did not originally cost 1½d. Then in some places a fine of 6d. was inflicted if a person was a few minutes late, and some of those who were so fined did not receive in cash wages more than five or six shillings a week. They were not approaching that question from a sentimental standpoint, but from the point of view of the efficiency of commerce and efficiency of the workers. When they had the example of large firms who had voluntarily abolished the system of fines and found they got better discipline, that was proof that a business house which maintained the system of fines supported a bad practice and one that should be ended. Then something had been said about the abolition of living-in. Inspection might be better than nothing, but it was absolutely impossible to inspect properly the bedrooms in connection with the living-in system. Inspectors going through the empty bedrooms in the daytime did not smell the disgusting atmosphere of those rooms about 5 or 6 in the morning after a

number of girls had been sleeping there all night. But apart from that, the essential evil of the living-in system was that it prevented the development of character and sense of responsibility on the part of the employees. It was the same old thing as happened in the days of slavery in America. There were shopkeepers who had a good living-in system, and who gave their employees the benefit of carpets and pianos and libraries. At the same time those who had to live in were robbed of certain attributes of manhood and womanhood that they could never recover in after life. It was a survival of the system of payment in kind instead of cash, and it prevented the assistants from the cultivation of that sense of self-reliance which they should have.

Mr. F. KEELING said that the Leeds Education Committee recently published a report on the number of hours of labour of young persons in attendance at the Evening Schools, and he was surprised to find from that report that one of the largest textile firms in Leeds only allowed three-quarters of an hour for dinner. He mentioned that fact in confirmation of what Miss Cox had said on the subject, and to show that the evil with regard to meal times was not confined to London. Further, the report of that Authority showed that it was not uncommon for young girls in non-textile factories to have to work very long hours. He had heard of one instance where a little girl of 13 worked regularly from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 in the evening for five days, and from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon on Saturdays. In other words, the non-textile factory worker was now in certain respects behind even the shop assistants as regarded the hours of labour. Another point he should like to mention was the enforcement of the 9 o'clock rule under the Employment of Children Act. As a matter of fact the portion of the Act relating to general employment was a dead letter in the greater part of the country. Even in towns which had made bye-laws under the Act there was in many cases no provision made to enforce them.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Sidney Webb), before calling upon Miss Constance Smith to reply on behalf of Mrs. Streatfeild, who had had to leave the meeting, said he should like to add a few words to what had been said. Some people might have thought they had been wasting their time over details that morning, but quite apart from the effect of the Factory Acts on unemployment, if they removed unemployment there would still remain many causes of destitution arising from evils of industrial life. It was the sort of paper that Mrs. Streatfeild had read which brought to their notice the numerous little loopholes in the law which were extremely important. What they had to do was to stop those loopholes. No doubt the great majority of the employers were fair and honourable men, but the whole object of law was to deal with the wicked minority. Those speakers who instanced hard cases were quite right to mention them. It was not unfair and useless to bring forward hard cases so long as the law allowed them to exist at all. Because the majority of the employers might be fair and reasonable, it was no reason why they should not bring the law to bear on the minority. He had noticed a little note of impatience at the number of Inspectors, but they could not have it both ways. If factory legislation was to be effective they must have Factory Inspectors, and he was eager to have more Inspectors than there were at present, rather than fewer. No one wished to have an Inspector for every man's house, but they were so far short of that at present that a great mass of workshops never got inspected at all. Even factories went for years without receiving a single visit from a Factory Inspector. Therefore, he thought there must be the more officials, and if they were to have more Inspectors he hoped that many more of them would be women. Women made better Inspectors than men. When he was coming back from India all the passengers had to be medically inspected at Suez. The male Inspector who examined the men did not earn his money at all; he merely ticked off the list without looking at the men. But the lady doctor who inspected the ladies insisted on really examining every lady passenger. Whatever may have been the utility of that inspection, if it was paid for it might as well have been done conscientiously, in the case of the male passengers. Women Inspectors had been an unqualified success, both in the Factory department and the Local Government Board department, and he thought they would be glad to have more of them. With regard to the question of competition, unfortunately they never could propose additional factory legislation without someone imagining that this involved an additional burden on the English employer. That employer complained of restrictions from which he always believed that his Continental competitor was free. Upon that they could take comfort on several points. It did not mean

ruination to the English employer. We in England were not so far ahead of other nations in factory regulation as we fondly imagined. In that respect England had lost the honourable lead which it had for so long retained. It did not insist upon so many regulations as Germany, Switzerland, or France. Moreover, experience had shown that those regulations did not really handicap industry. What they did was to stand in the way of the bad employer grinding a little more profit out of his workpeople, instead of making his industry more efficient, and getting his profit that way. As a matter of fact, English employers were making more profit at the present moment than at any previous period. The income of the nation was larger, and had been larger for the last few years, than it had been in the whole history of the world, and if English industry could not stand the regulations necessary to prevent the ill-health and destruction of young lives, he thought we in this country had better set our house in order. The law was not amended merely because sufficient steam was not put into the agitation. He was sorry to say that those districts which suffered most from the evils complained of were not the most eager to put pressure on their Members of Parliament to get the law altered. He hoped that those who went away from that Conference would bring the points of Mrs. Streatfeild's paper before their respective Members of Parliament with a view to those matters being attended to. It was four years since the Truck Act Commission reported, and even the Majority Report had not been adopted. There had been nothing done during those four years merely because there had not been sufficient agitation. There was another point he would like to bring to their notice. Under the new Insurance Act, which was a rather mixed affair, there was a provision that the local Insurance Committee might call the attention of the Government whenever through the default or neglect of any Authorities there was excessive sickness or disablement. Well, he wanted that provision used to put pressure on one Authority, namely, the Home Office itself. Councils and local Committees might insist upon using the figures of lead poisoning and of industrial accidents in their districts, and bringing them before the Government as evidence of default of the Home Office itself, which was the Authority responsible for preventing industrial diseases and accidents. The Home Secretary was responsible for seeing that industry in this country was carried on under healthy conditions, and the Home Secretary himself was to blame whenever any worker was suffering as a consequence of improper conditions. They might thus use the lever of the Insurance Act in order to bring pressure on the Home Office to make its factory inspection more efficient, or rather on the Treasury to allow the Home Office to have an adequate staff. He did not suppose the Home Secretary would be fined a large sum under the Insurance Act for his default, but that did not matter. The mere fact that the local Insurance Committee reported that the Home Office was in default and that it had, owing to imperfect enforcement of the Factory Acts, caused anthrax or disablement or the breakdown of young people, would wake up the Home Office and make it carry out the law much more effectively in the future.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH, replying to the discussion, said that, as regarded amendment of the Truck Acts,, Mrs. Streatfeild desired her to say in an unqualified manner that she supported the Minority Report in its entirety, and the reason why she had devoted a considerable amount of space to the statement of the proposals of the Majority Report was because she wished to show that, even in that limited and restricted form, very drastic proposals had been made, showing a sense of the need for amendment of the Truck Acts as they stood. With regard to the bonus, Mrs. Streatfeild had an opportunity of attacking it under the Truck Acts in Ireland, but owing to the action of the lawyers, she was unfortunately unable to carry out the reforms she hoped would have been possible under the existing legislation. She (Mrs. Streatfeild) fully agreed that the bonus system was a general means of lowering wages and evading the Truck Acts. The question arose whether bonuses could by law be prohibited. It might be held legally impossible to debar persons from offering money as an extra payment. Therefore the remedy against the system seemed to be the remedy of organisation on the part of the workers. The workers should refuse to accept or tolerate the bonus system. As regarded " living-in," the Minority Report advocated sweeping it away, and it did not seem necessary to elaborate the Report's proposal because it was inclusive and final. She gathered that objection was taken by some of those who might be held to speak from the employers' standpoint to the proposal, on the ground that the alleged evils of the living-in system did not exist. But because some firms made satisfactory arrangements for

those who lived in, because there were good employers, it did not follow that there were not bad employers who did not make such arrangements, and, as the President had pointed out, the law was to restrain the minority. With respect to fines in shops, inquiry showed that they were frequently imposed. A few weeks ago she came across a case in which a girl made a slight error in bookkeeping, an error which was detected within an hour. For that mistake the girl was made to pay 1s. a week for a number of weeks in order to "teach her to remember." Proceeding, Miss Smith said that Mrs. Streatfeild wished to support most strongly the suggestion of Mr. Turner with regard to co-ordination of medical inspection and medical responsibility by combining the offices of Medical Officer of Health, Medical Inspector of Schools, and Certifying Surgeon. Such co-ordination would be of great value, especially with regard to the health of young people. Then a statement had been made by Mr. Turner that he would like to see regulations for men as well as for women. Well, there was at the present moment proof in London that they were on the way to such regulations. They had an International Commission sitting with regard to the hours of labour in continuous processes, and it was hoped to arrive shortly at an international convention establishing a three-shift system, and so do away with some of the arduous labour for men. There was a movement in favour of international regulation, and a certain amount of actual achievement in regard to the establishment of international labour agreements which had remedied, or were about to remedy, throughout the whole of Western Europe, certain evils, and were preparing the ground for further international labour improvements. In a little over two years all night work for women would have ceased to exist in the western countries of Europe. The International Commission was dealing with the hours of men working in continuous processes only, but this was a first step towards dealing with the hours of adult labour in general. It was in the direction of international action that they must look for the solution of many of those difficulties of foreign competition which had been urged in the past.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.)

The Chair was occupied by Sir Francis Champneys, President of the Public Health Section. The subject discussed was HEALTH CONDITIONS IN FACTORIES AND OTHER WORKPLACES, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Use of Underground Rooms as Workplaces.*

By Dr. F. J. ALLAN, Medical Officer of Health, Westminster.

2.—*The Workmen's Compensation Act in Relation to Industrial Disease.*

By Mr. A. D. STEEL-MAITLAND, M.P.

3.—*Health Conditions in Factories and other Workplaces.*

By Dr. SIDNEY S. LAWRENCE, Medical Officer of Health, Edmonton.

*(The papers taken at the above Joint Session, together with the discussion which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Public Health Section, pp.*76-96.)

Third Day, Thursday June 13th.

MORNING SESSION.

(Joint Meeting with the Education Section.)

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Sidney Webb, President of the Unemployment and Industrial Regulation Section. The subject discussed was THE CARE AND TRAINING OF JUVENILE WORKERS, and the following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Function of the Juvenile Advisory Committee.*

By Mr. R. A. BRAY, L.C.C.

2.—*The Organisation and Aim of Continuation Classes; with special reference to recent developments in Edinburgh.*

By The Rev. W. MAIN.

3.—*The Present Position of Opinion as to the Labour of Adolescents.*

By Mr. R. H. TAWNEY.

4.—*The Medical Supervision of Juvenile Workers.*

By Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

5.—*The Industrial Employment of Girls.*

By Miss CONSTANCE SMITH.

(The papers taken at the above Joint Session, together with the discussion which took place, are given in the proceedings of the Education Section, pp. 225-265.)

Fourth Day, Friday, June 14th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was taken by the President of the Section, Mr. Sidney Webb. The subject discussed was THE REDUCTION OF THE HOURS WORK, AND THE LIMITATION OF OVERTIME. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Limitation of the Hours of Work.*
By Mr. G. N. BARNES, M.P.

2.—*The Limitation of Overtime.*
By Mr. ALEX. GOSSIP.

3.—*The Limitation of Hours of Work from the point of view of International Legislation.*
By Miss SOPHY SANGER.

The Limitation of the Hours of Work.

By GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P.

I BASE the claim for reduced working hours, first, on increased productivity of labour, and, secondly, on the need for workmen having more leisure.

On the first it should be quite unnecessary to dwell. The facts are within the knowledge of everyone who has eyes to see and a mind to understand everyday life. In my own trade of engineering, and in my own time, machinery has doubled the product per head. In other industries, such as the manufacturing of boots, the increase has, I believe, been even more marked. The introduction of the linotype and monotype into the printing trades may be given as other instances, and these might be duplicated from pretty well any industry which might be mentioned. Methods of production have been brought to a high degree of efficiency, and the trouble of manufacturers now, in fact, is not so much in the production of goods as in finding a market for them when they are produced.

But, instead of machinery easing the lot of labour, it has been used merely as an additional spur to workmen. It has intensified competition by increasing the difficulty of finding markets. Even the sharpened wits of the workers have been brought to play in increasing the competition between them. It is a time, so to speak, of intensive cultivation in the workshop. Increased output has brought no relief, but rather increased the strain. When labour is released from its daily round it seeks relaxation and is fit for little else.

Machinery and science, then, have but increased wealth and subordinated labour. I give no figures because I do not want to confuse. Figures might be

used in illustration, but after all, figures may be used to illustrate anything. I rely upon the common sense and observation of intelligent men and women.

But now I come to the second point. Labour is getting increasingly restless. It is a restlessness, however, largely unguided—sometimes misguided. Labour is becoming conscious of its wrongs, but as yet unable to fathom their cause or apply a remedy.

I advocate reduction of hours because I want for the worker more time to think. The solution of industrial problems is becoming more urgent because discontent increases day by day, and the community lives more from hand to mouth, and is therefore more vulnerable to attack on the part of a section. Poverty at the bottom of the social scale is being left to breed disease and disorder quicker than legislation is being introduced to deal with them, and improvements in condition of the better-off worker only whets the appetite for still further improvement. Education has brought new wants into view, and they will have to satisfied somehow. People are no longer content to live in small, badly-constructed houses, to be shut out from the beauties of the field or the treasures of literature. The average workman is rightly and instinctively conscious of wrong, and he is searching for the means of rectifying it. He will find those means sooner or later, and there will be changes and improvements. But a great deal depends on time and temper. Industrial organisation hitherto has been his main mode of seeking betterment. But political power is a weapon in his hands for good or ill. It will be used for the good of the community in proportion to the time the average man has to give to the discharge of social duties. That, to my mind, is the strongest argument in favour of an eight hours' day.

Recent unrest is quite justified by the facts, but has had, as yet, but little tangible result, excepting that it has perhaps stimulated public opinion to some hard thinking. Increased wages have resulted in some cases, and easements in labour conditions have been obtained as a result of better organisation; but in the industrial field of action these can be held only as a result of still better organisation, and a sustained and alert pressure in the struggle of life. In other words, they can only be held by an increasingly bitter industrial warfare in which the disputants will be blinded by passion, in which the proceedings will be characterised by further waste, and during which the incidental suffering must be shared by the community and will fall most heavily on women and children.

I suggest a better way. I submit that labour, aided by public opinion, should now turn its attention to two things—a legal minimum standard of comfort, and a legal standard table of hours of labour. I leave the first for others to deal with, and devote my remaining time to a consideration of the second.

The reduction of the hours of labour is still often put forward as a panacea for unemployment. In regard to that, let me say that I make no such suggestion in advocating limitation of hours of work.

It is true, however, that increase of number employed would follow reduction of hours in the transport and non-competitive or non-exporting trades and callings. Shortened hours of labour on the railways or on the municipal trams and other services would have the effect, and indeed already have had the effect, of increasing the number of men employed. Here it is in the essence of things that, in some grades, there is no increased efficiency per hour, and therefore the number of men employed varies inversely with the number of hours the men are on duty. Cost may increase with additional men, and is borne by lessening or eliminating profit or increasing fares and freights. Municipal enterprise has already done a good deal in this way in respect of local services, and, now that

debts are largely wiped off, I think that the time is opportune for municipal bodies to take a further step by introducing an eight hour day. By that means there might be a considerable absorption of surplus labour.

The same applies to railways. But the question of the railways is, of course, one for Parliament. For my part I believe the only solution is nationalisation. I see no reason why the same beneficial results would not follow as have followed the municipalisation of tramways. There would be increased efficiency by the prevention of overlapping and a saving to the community by the elimination of profit, which might be used in reduction of hours. By these means the hours of labour might be reduced without much, if any, additional burden.

An uniform number of hours would not, of course, be possible for the men on the trains or for those at country stations. But I feel sure that even in these cases there might be a readjustment on the basis of a considerable reduction.

There are, however, scores of thousands of men in railway employment whose work is just as easy of adjustment to a weekly standard or maximum as is that of the textile worker who is protected by a legal limit of $55\frac{1}{2}$ hours or the miner who can now work only 48 hours per week. In fact, limitation of hours in railway shops would present less difficulty than limitation in mines. The railway shops employ probably a hundred thousand men. Each of these shops, of which there are about a score, are under separate management, each of them quite capable of yielding better results if placed under unified control. They could all be quite well worked on an eight hours' basis.

Now I turn to the competitive trades. Here it is in the essence of things that cost of production shall not be materially increased by shorter hours unless, at the same time, the means are provided whereby cost may be lessened by removal of existing burdens. I believe, *first, that no great increase of cost would be involved even with shortened hours of labour,* and, *secondly, that there is a method by which increased cost, if any, would be neutralised.* I will take the points in the order as stated.

It is true that shortened hours of labour, other things being equal, must be accompanied by increased productivity per man per hour if price is to be maintained at about the level as before the reduction. Experience has shown that this increased productivity has always followed, and that, indeed, long hours with cheap labour are generally accompanied by slovenly management and lack of organisation. Long hours and low wages benefit nobody, because they relieve employers from the necessity of proper organisation and of the use of machinery and scientific appliances. As wages are increased or hours lessened employers immediately begin to increase output by the introduction of labour-saving methods and appliances. That is why the best organised trades are also the most productive and successful trades, the improved methods more than making up the relatively high labour cost. As instances of this, one might cite the textile industries which have been subjected for many years to legislation as well as to the pressure of strong trade unionism. As a result, industry has been organised on such a high plane of efficiency that it has now become one of the staple industries of the country, and exports into the markets of the world in competition with long hours and low wage countries. The same might be said of the ship-building industry. The ships produced for the whole world are produced, as regards nearly 60 per cent., from the shipyards of these islands. These results have been brought about by the spur of strong Trade Unions supplemented by some protective legislation.

But now in spite of these object lessons, working hours are not, unfortunately,

being reduced in anything like proportion to the increased efficiency or productivity of labour. It is true that certain powers have been given to the Board of Trade in regard to railway monopolies, as a result of which some slight improvement has taken place. It is also true that the hours of labour of Municipal employees have been reduced and their number enormously increased as the result of the extension of municipal activity. But in most of the staple industries of the country hours have remained pretty much the same for the last forty years.

A personal reminiscence might not be inappropriate. I went to serve my apprenticeship in an engineering shop in Scotland forty years ago this year. I started in the beginning of the year 1872 working fifty-one hours per week. To-day the hours of labour in the engineering industry in Scotland are fifty-four per week. Throughout the whole of the United Kingdom hours have remained nearly stationary during the whole of the period, being slightly lengthened in Scotland, as before mentioned, and slightly reduced in certain places in England, especially in the Government centres. Yet in the period in question the industry has been enormously extended. In the year 1871 engineering products exported to the world from these islands amounted in value to £5,966,000; last year they amounted to £30,977,000, and, moreover, values in 1871 were much higher than last year, so that the actual difference in volume of output for abroad is even greater than would appear by the figures above quoted. In view of such figures it is idle to say that the industry could not stand a reduction of the hours of labour, even were it now organised to its highest point of efficiency.

But it is not. I take the time of starting and interruption of work for the day.

Work begins at six in the morning and before the worker has had breakfast. It begins therefore when the worker is not at his best. He has in most cases had a long walk or a tram or train journey on an empty stomach. Moreover, he is sullen and discontented. He knows that six o'clock is not the starting time of the office staff, and but seldom of the superintending staff; and he feels somehow that there is something wrong in his having to start at such an unreasonable time, which, as I know, haunts him and prevents his taking part in educational or agitatory work in the evening because of the physical need for sleep. Then the absence of managers, and in many cases of foremen, in the early morning offers temptations to slackness and, as a matter of fact, many workmen spend the time from six o'clock till breakfast time without producing either the most or the best of which they are capable

Then comes breakfast time and a break of half an hour with further needless waste. This interruption of work in a factory is something like the stopping and starting of a railway train or a steamboat. Work does not cease in a twink from top speed, it tapers off more or less gradually till the time of actual stop. And similarly it does not begin in a moment at its normal activity. It gradually gets under weigh, just as a ship leaves a jetty or a train leaves a station platform.

This interruption occurs twice a day in the average factory or workshop, viz., for breakfast and for midday meal, and in quite a few places there is a stop, more or less regularised, in the afternoon as well.

These stops, beyond what is necessary, involve a stupid waste of time. They are the chief cause of the six o'clock starting time and they are the chief obstacles to shorter hours of labour. I speak with some knowledge of workshop life, based on over twenty years experience of it, and I have no hesitation in saying that, if the working day were shorter and interrupted by only one break for one meal, the workman would work with more good-will and probably produce nearly as much as in the longer working day with two or more interruptions.

Moreover, the work is more regular day by day. Under the six o'clock starting time there is always a temptation to "sleeping in." To start after breakfast time, for two or three mornings a week, is a habit with many workmen, and, I should like to say here in parenthesis, that I am not blaming them. But the absence of some disorganises the work of all and is a cause of lessening output.

Another advantage of the shorter working day would be that the working charges would be less. The two first hours of the present working day are the least productive and, at the same time, the most expensive. They are the hours when the cost of lighting is heaviest. Artificial light has to be supplied in the winter as from six o'clock, and this might be wholly or partly saved by a later starting time. Moreover, power has to be generated over a longer period, part of which might be saved by a shorter working day in the factory.

These considerations are not altogether theoretical. They have appealed to some of the best employers in some of the staple industries, and have been successfully applied in practice. It has been found that there has been increased productivity per hour owing to greater personal interest and good-will on the part of the worker, and there has also been a lessening of cost of production through lessening on cost charges for light and power. As a result, price has not been materially increased by the adoption of the shorter working day. Sir William Mather, of Manchester, and others have for many years worked the eight hours day with entire success in the engineering industry, and the same has been tried with like results in printing, chemical, and other works.

The Salford Engineering Works, of which Sir William Mather is the head, adopted an eight hour day nearly twenty years ago. The hours are adjusted on a basis of a forty-eight hours week, and the system has worked with distinct success.

In printing I give as an instance the Co-operative Printing Society, with works in Manchester, London, and Newcastle. The whole of the printing done in the Co-operative Movement is on the eight hours basis, but I leave out the works of the Wholesale Society, because it might be said that they get business largely on Co-operative sentiment and they work only for affiliated Societies. But the Co-operative Printing Society works for the ordinary market and it gets its contract in competition with other printing establishments in which the hours are about fifty to fifty-two per week.

Its hours are from eight-thirty in the morning till six-thirty in the evening for four days in the week, and from eight-thirty to six on Monday, with one break, and from eight-thirty till twelve on Saturday without interruption.

For many years it has shown increasing prosperity while working on this system, and, at the present time, is doing a business at the rate of over £100,000 per year.

Mr. A. W. Tyler, the London Manager, writing me on May 6th, 1912, says:—

We were established in 1869, but, of course, I cannot go back so far and give my practical experience for so many years ago. But for the last twenty-two or twenty-three years I can assure you that we have always worked less hours than those usually observed in the printing trade. For instance, when the working hours were fifty-four we worked fifty-two. They were reduced from fifty-four in the printing trade to fifty-two and a half, but we, for nearly twenty years, have adopted the forty-eight hours system, and since adopting these hours I am glad to say we have had no cause to regret our action.

The trade has greatly increased, until our three works are now doing a turnover of £100,000 a year, a very large amount of which is by tender.

Personally, I think the printing trade is not by any means one of the healthiest, and forty-eight hours fair work in a printing office is quite enough for any man. Our

overtime is very little, and our lost time, I am glad to say, is infinitesimal, more especially since we adopted the forty-eight hours.

Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co. might be cited as another instance of successful operation of the eight hours day.

Mr. Brunner has been good enough to supply me with the following:—

THE EIGHT HOURS DAY AND ITS EFFECTS.

Prior to November, 1889, the shift men worked for 11 hours in day time and 13 hours at night, involving a 22 hours shift on Sundays to change over. In November, 1889, however, the Company introduced a third set of men, and reduced the hours to 8 per day, making the Sunday shift 12 hours. Wages were then reduced to the extent of 10 per cent.; but in January, 1891, they were restored to the rates paid for the old 12 hour shifts. Prior to the change, shift men worked on an average 84 hours per week: since the alteration their hours have fallen to 56.

In the early days of the Company's existence day men worked from 6 o'clock to 12 (with half an hour for breakfast), and from 1 to 5.30, for 5 days a week. On Saturday they worked from 6 to 1 (with half an hour for breakfast), making 56½ hours per week. In June, 1891, 12 noon was substituted for 1 o'clock on Saturdays. This still left a week of 55½ hours. In July, 1895, the breakfast half-hour was done away with, and the day started at 7.40 for labourers, and 7.45 for tradesmen, on 5 days, and at 7 for yard labourers on Saturdays, thus reducing the hours to 48 for tradesmen, and 49¼ for labourers. Wages were in this case left untouched.

Holidays. For over 27 years the Company has given a holiday of one week in each year to every man and boy who has kept good time, and has been in its employ all the preceding year. The fundamental reason for giving holidays is to enable the employees, by refreshing their minds and bodies, to make themselves capable of rendering thoroughly efficient service in the following year.

The average time lost during the 20 years up to the end of 1911 has decreased from 10 days to 2 days per year. At first the rise in the wage cost was 22 per cent. on the same weekly wage being paid for the less number of hours worked. Since then, the wage cost per ton of production has steadily fallen until it is now at the level at which it stood at the time of the long hours before the change.

I am not aware of any experiments in the textile trades except that of Messrs. Thomson's, of Huddersfield. It may be that the cotton and jute trades present some special difficulty owing to present high pressure, dependence on foreign markets and narrow margins. But they are piecework trades, and I cannot but think that reduced hours would show increased output per hour as has followed the adoption of the eight hours system in other trades.

Of course, provision would have to be made in fixing the normal working day at eight hours for extra time being worked in cases of urgency and emergency, especially in trades such as engineering, which has to do largely with keeping other industries going in times of stress or break down. That is a detail into which I need not further enter.

But now I come to the second point. It may be that there would still be less production per normal working day under the eight hours as compared with the output of the present working day. In most cases profits could, I believe, well bear the loss. In some it would be put on price and so spread over the consumers. But I believe an eight hours day would hasten a much-needed and long-overdue readjustment by which industry would be relieved. At present it carries a double burden of economic rent and public charges. Of course, rent and rates cannot both enter into price, but they both figure in the calculation of employers.

Many factory owners probably pay from 10 to 20 per cent. of gross profit for site rent and then pay rates on buildings and plant amounting to as much more. I should turn the rates, in part at least, and as speedily as possible, on to the site owners.

It may be said that the factory owner may be also a site owner. In which

event he is also a landlord, and in many cases enjoys an advantage over competitors. In any case he cannot divest himself of obligations which attach to landlordism. Or it may be said that there are factory owners on the margin who pay no rent. But they pay rates which in justice should be assessed on rent instead of buildings and plant, and if they pay no rent neither should they in justice be called upon to pay rates. These should be charged to the higher rents. This is a bald statement of the theoretical position as I conceive it, although, of course, I know there is at present no ascertained basis of land value upon which to proceed even partially, much less wholly, as I have put it. But it is being ascertained under the provisions of the Budget of 1909. We shall have it ere long.

If improvements in methods and machinery of production are becoming exhausted, employers will then soon find out a way of relief. The temptation to rate land values would be irresistible under the pressure of a keener competition arising from a larger wage bill. Of course, landlords would talk of confiscation, but the community is just as much entitled to draw increased share of public charges from landlords as from users of sugar or consumers of any commodity which from time to time has to bear additional taxation because of public necessity. At present urban rent is, in a social sense, being thrown away. It is clearly social in its creation, but it is allowed to filter away into private channels. To the extent by which rates can be drawn from rent instead of buildings and plant, then to that extent industry would be relieved and prices—other things being equal—might be lessened.

The same considerations apply to mine rents and mineral royalties. Taxation should be imposed upon them and industry relieved.

The Limitation of Overtime.

By Alex. Gossip

(General Secretary, National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association).

If it is necessary, as I believe it is, in the best interests of all concerned, to shorten the working day, it is of equal importance that the question of overtime should be seriously considered, and everything that is possible done to reduce it, or, better still, abolish it altogether.

To reduce the hours of labour and to still allow unlimited overtime is simply to take away with the one hand that which has been given by the other, and I hope to be able to show that it is not an impossible task to get rid of it to such an extent, at least, as to make it a negligible quantity.

In the first place, however, it may be advisable to consider the evil effects of overtime, and, these being understood and recognised, should make us energetic in trying to get rid of the cause.

It Intensifies the Unemployed Problem.

It should not be necessary to expose the fallacy of those who argue that what is wanted to solve the unemployed question is to increase the output, and most people who are not blinded by prejudice and selfishness will readily admit that

for one man to work long hours means that his brother will have less chance of earning his livelihood.

To the man in the street who has been tramping from one shop to another in search of employment, it is no pleasant sight to see the windows of the workshop lit up at all hours of the night, and the picture is one which makes the iron enter into his soul.

To the earnest and thoughtful workman who is compelled to work late it is degrading in the highest degree, and he goes home at night with the blush of shame on his cheek, feeling that he has betrayed his brother.

Even one hour's overtime, in a workshop of eight or nine men, means one man on the streets eating out his heart in idleness, and misery and starvation in one household.

To the credit of the average workman be it said, that notwithstanding statements made to the contrary, he hates overtime, and willingly supports his Trade Union in its endeavours to minimise the evil, and few have a good word for the man who is on the lookout for extra time.

In brief, they are ashamed of themselves when working overtime, recognising, as they do, that it means taking the bread out of the mouth of a fellow-workman.

In this respect the working class compares more than favourably with the professional and shopkeeping classes.

It is detrimental to the Health.

In addition to the extra hours of work, with all that this means in an unhealthy atmosphere such as usually obtains in workshops and factories, the invariable accompaniment of overtime is a feverish unrest and unhealthy excitement due to the pressure which the foreman nearly always brings to bear upon the workmen. In too many instances this means a resort to alcoholic stimulants, with all their evil effects upon the tired and weary worker, and life is made unbearable through time.

The joy and the pride which the highly-skilled artisan can have in his work when working under proper conditions is nowhere visible where overtime is being worked, and the feeling of depression which is the natural resultant helps still further to make one fall an easy prey to the various diseases and troubles which are so conspicuous amongst the members of the wealth-producing class.

It is nearly always unnecessary.

The bulk of overtime, if not all, is entirely unnecessary, and, what is more, is not conducive to the gathering in of profits, the getting of which is the main reason the capitalist has for entering into business.

There is no good reason whatever why work should be kept back until there is a rush, though this is often done with the idea that the worker will be infected with the fever of hard work, and the jobs be turned out in less time than under normal conditions.

The employer knows well how to exploit this well-known tendency, and quite recently the writer had it forcibly brought under his notice in another way. A member of the Furnishing Trades' Association, who had met with a severe accident and had been in receipt of compensation, restarted work before being fully recovered, being pressed by the insurance company to do so, and after working a week the firm lodged a complaint with the insurance company to the effect that, as the man was not able to push on at his work, his presence in the

workshop was having a demoralising effect on the other men, who had materially slackened down, and were producing less than formerly.

The feverish excitement engendered by overtime undoubtedly increases the output for a time, but the inevitable reaction soon sets in, and the wiser and more far-seeing of the employers give overtime a wide berth.

It must be noted that a good deal of the overtime worked is due to the thoughtlessness and selfishness of people (mostly the gentler sex, I am sorry to say), who rarely give a thought to others. A wealthy lady desires a new suite of furniture or a new hat or dress, and after making up her mind as to the particular style, etc., she jumps apparently to the conclusion that the sun will cease to shine unless they are delivered at her home in a ridiculously short space of time. The poor workman or workgirl is worried and harassed needlessly; and if the thoughtless and selfish customer only knew how she is cursed, she might think twice before adding to the misery and suffering of her less fortunate, but more useful, brothers and sisters.

There is also this important fact to bear in mind, that work so rushed is badly done, mistakes occur, parts have to be pulled to pieces and patched up again; and it is a well-known fact in every trade that work done under those conditions is scamped.

The writer heard of a case a year or two ago, in which a near relative of his was involved, in which a well-known member of Society (with a capital "S") sent an order for five dresses to a West End dressmaker, to get some altered and some made during a time of national mourning, and the whole lot had to be home in an incredibly short space of time, though it was scarcely possible for her to wear all the five at once. Needless to say, this meant the sweating and overworking of several pale, anæmic girls, who were paid a few paltry coppers per hour (in one case twopence) for working Saturday afternoon and all Sunday. The blame in this case rested mostly on the shoulders of the wealthy lady who occasionally figures as a patron of the philanthropic societies, and is held up as a pattern for others by our snobbish journalists.

Restrictions.

It is true that laws have been placed on the Statute Book of the land to restrict overtime for women and young persons, but it is an open secret that these are more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and are ofttimes openly and flagrantly violated. The Factory Inspector has his attention called to the fact that illegal overtime is being worked in a particular shop. He makes a raid one night on the factory, only to find in most cases that he has been outwitted, and no girl or young person is to be found, they having been hurriedly locked up in some out-of-the-way lumber room, or similar place, until the coast is once more clear.

It might be asked why the girls work this illegal overtime when they know they are breaking the law by so doing; but anyone who is at all familiar with working-class conditions knows perfectly well that no mercy is shown those who dare to refuse, and woe betide them if they are suspected of giving information to the Inspector.

Not only does the law require strengthening in this respect, but more Inspectors are needed, whose duty it ought to be to keep a sharp look-out for all likely infringements of the law, and not simply wait, as at present, until some complaint is lodged before paying a surprise visit.

Of equal, if not of more importance, however, is the need for strong organisa-

tions of the workers themselves in this class of work, to see that the law is strictly observed. The difficulties in the way of organising female labour are too well known to require repetition here, but it must be done.

In all well-organised trades a penalty is placed on the working of overtime by the exaction of extra rates of pay for all time so worked, a common rate being time-and-a-quarter for the first two hours, time-and-a-half for the next two, and double time for the remainder up to the usual time of starting in the morning.

There is a strong feeling, however, becoming very prevalent, that if overtime is to be worked at all, the rate ought to be not less than time-and-a-half for the first two hours, and double time thereafter; or, as is the case of the Building and Furnishing Trades in London, that no less than double time should be accepted.

About fourteen years ago, owing to the excessive and systematic overtime which was being worked in several of the cabinet-making districts in Scotland, the Trade Union determined to place further restrictions upon its working, and were successful in reducing it to a maximum of five hours per man per week, irrespective of the number of hours he might have put in during the regular recognised working hours of the day. This was found to be very successful, and many of the employers told the writer afterwards that it had been a good thing for them, as they had been forced to adopt better methods and look a little more ahead than they had previously been in the habit of doing, thereby admitting that the previous systematic overtime had not been necessary at all.

The following excerpt from the working rules of the London Wood Carver members of the Furnishing Trades' Association shows how overtime can be worked if the employer so desires, but at the same time preventing the exceeding of the normal working week should there be 1 per cent. or more of the members out of work at the time :—

> " That all time made after the termination of the usual working day be charged for at the following rates : First two hours, time and half; after which, double time until the recognised time of starting in the morning. Should the members continue working after that time, double time to continue until a break of *at least* nine hours has intervened. Sundays, Bank Holidays, and Christmas Day to be charged at double time. If notice has been given the previous day, extra rates not to commence until each full day has been completed.
>
> " Where no notice has been given, extra rates to commence at the termination of the usual working day.
>
> " Where only a portion of the shop is working, extra rates to commence at the termination of the usual working day.
>
> " Any shop where a member, portion, or all the members are requested to work overtime, they be entitled to do so, but must not make more than 48 hours (or the recognised hours of the shop they are working in) per week, if 1 per cent. of their fellow members are on the unemployed book.
>
> " In the event of overtime being worked, a responsible delegate shall attend Branch *before* the termination of recognised hours of the period, and every day following until the finish of said overtime, and, in the event of more than 1 per cent. being unemployed, overtime to immediately cease until less than the prescribed number are on the books.
>
> " Ten working days at least without overtime must elapse after finish of said overtime before being again allowed to work.
>
> " The recognised hour on which the books shall be examined to be 5 o'clock p.m., and in the event of same being cleared, such clearance shall

only qualify for the overtime worked on the next day (next day to mean up to 12 midnight).

"Members who may have completed the full hours of the period at any time before the end of the working week, and although the unemployed books may have registered below the 1 per cent. during the making of said hours, they must, should the percentage for the rest of the week be 1 per cent. or over, cease work, or looking for same, immediately.

"When a member starts upon a job on any day other than the commencement of the ordinary working week, the ordinary number of working hours from said day of starting to the end of the normal working week to constitute his full week.

"*Example.*—If a man starts on Wednesday, and the working hours of the shop are nine per day, and the end of the working week is Friday, the member's working hours for that week would be twenty-seven hours."

It will be noted that the foregoing rules provide for cases of emergency, inasmuch as no restrictions are placed on overtime until the worker has made his full number of hours per week—that is, he can work right on after the usual stopping time, provided the extra rates are paid, until his forty-eight hours are completed, with just such resting times as Nature's law demands. In this respect these rules differ considerably from those in operation in the Scottish Cabinet Trade, to which attention has already been drawn, and the stoppage of all overtime whilst 1 per cent. are unemployed, has the effect of inducing employers who are pressed for time to send to the Trade Union for all the unemployed members in the district if they desire to have their men working overtime.

Another method frequently adopted in shipyards and in several cabinet shops in different parts of the country, is the institution of a night gang or shift, one set of men working whilst the others are resting; and although most men prefer to work during the day, the two shifts system, when necessary, is much to be preferred to that of overtime, inasmuch as it gives an opportunity of earning their livelihood to those who would otherwise be on the unemployed list, and also prevents the injurious effects to health which inevitably follow in the wake of overtime.

It may be urged against the night shift system, or against that of the Wood Carvers, that it necessitates sometimes one man starting on the job of another with all the consequent loss of time in picking up a job which has already been started by another; and that there is such an inconvenience at times no one would deny who had any knowledge of intricate work, but this could be, and is, minimised as much as possible; and, after all, if people demand things in a hurry, they must be prepared to pay and accept the consequences.

Generally speaking, however, when a rush of work does come, it is easily arranged that different sets of men should have different jobs. Of course, there are many trades and occupations in which one man can easily pick up the job where another man has left off, and this difficulty does not crop up unless in the more highly skilled and intricate trades, and even these latter are gradually coming more and more under the operation of the sub-division of labour system which is rapidly destroying the craftsman and taking away all interest and joy and pride in workmanship.

And now to sum up. Overtime is bad because it intensifies the unemployed problem. It is bad because it is highly detrimental to the health of the operative. Not only is it bad, but it is unnecessary, except possibly in a very few and rare cases of breakdowns which might endanger life and limb. No one can say it

is a necessity to have a new dress home by a certain date. It can be, and is already to some extent, restricted and made as prohibitive as possible, and ought to be still further restricted, and finally done away with wherever possible. We, if we desire to be really and truly men and women in the highest sense, must work for all we are worth to bring this about, and make use of *both political and industrial weapons*, considering only the best interests of the people as a whole, and not be afraid of being denounced as agitators, and have hard and nasty things said about us by the flunkeys of the capitalist press.

If a trade cannot be carried on without extreme danger to those engaged in it, let us learn to do without its products; but if common sense is exercised—and we recognise that the commonweal is of more importance than the selfish and exacting demands of a few—we will find little or no difficulty in getting rid of most of the troubles of to-day.

The Limitation of Hours from the International Point of View.

By Miss Sophy Sanger.

Ideas change. The worthy gentleman who, in 1830, stated in a letter to the *Leeds Intelligencer* that the long hours worked by children in woollen and worsted mills (twelve and a half and thirteen hours) were "rendered a comfort by the regular hours of rising from and retiring to bed," would not venture to lift up his voice in public to-day. It is now generally recognised, not only that excessive hours of work are detrimental to physical health, but also that reasonable leisure is essential to working men and women if we wish them to be both moral and intelligent, quite apart from all questions of their own individual happiness. But the main object underlying the regulation of hours by law has usually been the protection of physical health —the prevention of physical deterioration. We see this idea compelling industrially young countries, such as Japan, to compromise with the alleged economic interests of her budding industries, by regulating the employment of women and children in factories, if only in a half-hearted way. The preamble to the Factory Bill (which passed into law on March 28th, 1911) refers to the excessive hours prevailing for women and children (sometimes from fifteen to seventeen hours a day), and then proceeds: "Even though the work appears to be less fatiguing to the body and mind of the Japanese worker and no such strict discipline prevails in the works as in other countries, at the same time the number of those who continue for a long time at the work is small, and one finds a rapid change in the working staff. Undoubtedly the long working hours are the cause of serious injury; after a few months the bodily strength of the workers begins to fail." An investigation carried out in the chief centres from which the workers are recruited for Japanese factories revealed the fact that, out of 5,358 women who returned to their homes after a period of factory work, 877 were sent home on account of illness, 102

fell ill after returning home, and 254 died shortly after their return. The Imperial Statistical Bureau has also issued statistics of death-rates in different trades, which indicate likewise the evil effects of unregulated factory labour. (See " Bulletin of the International Labour Office," German edition, Vol. IX., p. 10. The corresponding number of the English edition will appear shortly.) This injury to the national health is driving the Japanese to make a beginning, at least, with the protection of women and children, which has always been the first concern of industrial legislation.

In our own country, until very recently, we neglected the men entirely, but in others—perhaps where Trade Union activity was less developed, so that the need for protection was really greater—we find men's hours regulated as well as women's. Thus the United Kingdom, originally the pioneer in these matters, has had to learn from others the principle of legislative interference in the interests of men, and may also now find abroad examples of reform as regards the very long hours allowed by our Factory and Workshop Act to women and young persons. The principal European countries which regulate the hours of employment of men in industrial occupations (usually factories and large workshops) are France, Switzerland, Austria, and Russia. In France the Legislature seems to have taken account of the risk of injury to the economic interests of working women if their hours alone are limited. The Labour Code accordingly provides that where men are employed with women or young persons, their hours must be the same (*i.e.*, ten hours a day). But where no women or young persons are employed, the men's hours may extend to eleven hours a day, exclusive of meal times. In Switzerland, the Factory Act of 1877 (§ 11), fixes the normal working day for men and women alike at eleven hours, or ten hours on Saturdays and the eves of holidays (exclusive of regular meal times). The Austrian Industrial Code likewise limits the maximum daily hours of workers of both sexes in works classified as factories to eleven a day, exclusive of breaks (§ 96*a*). In Russia, legal limits are set by an Act of 1897, which allows a working day of eleven and a half hours, or ten hours on the eves of holidays. But here the workman may apparently " contract out."

The hours of work of men in mines are more generally regulated. A table giving the essence of the laws of Austria, Belgium, France, Holland, Spain, and the United Kingdom on this matter, was published in Vol. I., p. 14, of the quarterly *World's Labour Laws*, issued by the British Association for Labour Legislation. But since an exact comparison is impossible, owing to complications arising from different definitions of the points of time when the legally limited shift shall be held to begin and end, it would hardly serve a useful purpose to describe these laws here. It is enough to note that in Europe the principle of regulation is more widely accepted in this industry than in others.

As regards non-European countries, the most interesting legislation is, in some respects, that of New Zealand, where the normal hours of men are fixed at eight and three-quarters a day, exclusive of meal times. But the overtime of men is not restricted, beyond a requirement that certain minimum rates of pay shall be allowed for overtime. In India, the Factory Act of 1911 regulates the hours of men in textile factories, where no person may work more than twelve hours a day. But in other classes of factories regulated by the Act, only the hours of women and children are limited.

In Germany, the hours of male persons over 16 are not restricted, but the Industrial Code requires all large works (where more than twenty persons are

employed) to draw up and affix on the premises "rules of employment" (Arbeitsordnung), stating, *inter alia*, the hours of beginning and ending work, and the meal times fixed for adult workers. Without reducing hours, this provision must tend to make them regular, and incidentally it makes it, comparatively speaking, an easy matter in Germany for the inspectors to compile information as to actual working hours in any district or trade. Advantage has been taken of this possibility of recent years in connection with iron works. German ironmasters were, in 1908, required by a Notification of the Federal Council to keep a record of the exact amount of overtime worked by each workman, so that the inspectors have been able to supply in their annual reports very exact information as to the hours worked. This notification also prescribed breaks in work amounting to not less than two hours in every shift lasting longer than eight hours, and a period of at least eight hours rest before the beginning of a period of work in accordance with the rules of employment. This was an indirect admission of the desirability of intervening in the matter of hours of work. It was hoped that these requirements would tend to reduce the very long hours in the trade. But it seems that the desired result has been by no means obtained. It may be well to note, incidentally, that the system of fixing the hours of the beginning and ending of a period of employment, within the legal limits, by "rules of employment" differing for different works, applies usually to the work of women in foreign countries, instead of any hard and fast rule such as that laid down in our Factory and Workshop Act.

As a general rule, then, we may say that, in industrial occupations, the hours of adult men are either not regulated at all, or, though nominally limited, are allowed to be so long that no provision is made for reasonable leisure. The hours of women are, indeed, regulated, but here again the hours of work are much too long, the shortest general legal day prevailing in Europe being ten hours actual work, with a shorter Saturday, making a fifty-eight hour week (Germany and Holland*). But there is, in addition, a tendency to be noted in European countries to introduce by administrative order, limitations to the working day in unhealthy trades in the express interests of health. For instance, the latest amendment to the German Industrial Code (dated 27th December, 1911) adds a new Section (120*f*), which empowers the Federal Council, or in certain cases other authorities, to reduce the hours of daily work in occupations in which the health of the workers is liable to be injured by an excessively long working day. In Switzerland, by the Factory Act of 1877, the Federal Council is given power to reduce hours in occupations injurious to health, or where existing conditions or risks make an eleven hour day dangerous to life and health (§ 11). In Austria, we understand that similar provisions are about to be incorporated in the Industrial Code. The Norwegian Factory Act of 1909 provides, in Section 29, that an eight hours day may be imposed by the Government for work involving special risks to health, life, or limb, or which is liable to cause over-exhaustion. The International Association for Labour Legislation, at its Conference of 1910, recommended the general adoption of this method of restricting hours in unhealthy trades by administrative order. If these somewhat vague powers were extensively applied and industries involving very heavy work, or even very long hours (*e.g.*, twelve hour shifts in continuous processes) for instance, were held to come within the definition, here we should be able to see the beginnings of a legal limitation which might take us a very long way. But this method would

* The ten hour day and 55½ hour week under the British Factory Act applies only to textile factories.

be, at best, slow and uncertain, and will probably only prove of value as applied to the question of very substantial reductions in hours in very unhealthy processes, somewhat after the manner of some of our own regulations for dangerous trades, which prohibit employment for more than a certain number of hours at a time at particular processes, without directly limiting the total working day.

The question of health, then, plays at present a leading part in the regulation of hours. We do, indeed, find in Germany and some other countries, provisions purporting to give married working women time on Saturdays to attend to household needs. But that is a mere detail. A general eight hours day, enforced by law in the interests of leisure, is far from the sphere of practical politics in most States at present. It would appear only reasonable that Governments, of whatever party, should be anxiously desirous of giving the great mass of working-class electors the necessary leisure for understanding the very complicated political and social problems on which they are expected indirectly to vote. Each party believing itself right, must necessarily desire greater intelligence on the part of the working man, so that he may be able to see the falsity of the doctrines of other parties. Humane people, too, of whatever party politically, are concerned for the happiness of overworked industrial toilers. But in spite of this, and in spite of the fact that experience has shown how greatly the behaviour, as regards sobriety, punctuality, regularity etc., of the men improves when hours are reduced to reasonable limits, we find the economic objections of the employing class outweighing all others. Thus we find men working twelve hour shifts, seven days a week, with a twenty-four hour day every fortnight in changing shifts, in the American iron and steel industry. As regards the German iron trade we read, in inspectors' reports, of day workers working overtime on the top of a twelve hour day, and we are informed, from the same official source, that 191,000 men in continuous processes in iron and steel works work twelve hour shifts as against only 2,300 on eight hour shifts. The *Soziale Praxis* has, in a recent issue, given figures showing the fearfully long hours met with in other industries in Germany; for instance, in saw-mills, men have been found working nineteen hours on end, and in brick-fields, the working day has been noted in some districts as ranging from thirteen to eighteen or even twenty hours. These are only isolated instances met with in two countries, which happen to have come to notice, and which merely indicate part of an evil which extends to all industrial States more or less. Pounds, shillings, and pence are indeed at the root of most objections to reform. We have read of cotton manufacturers a century ago prophesying ruin to themselves and to the whole trade if the appalling hours of tiny children and women were reduced by one hour. We have heard the argument repeatedly since, and we hear it, modified according to circumstances, constantly now. Is it really a valid objection? If so, how can it be overcome?

It is impossible to make any general statement as to the influence on cost of production of reduced hours. The problem differs too widely in different trades and circumstances. In the first place, we find trades where only one set of persons normally work during the day. To reduce the hours of those persons reduces the actual daily period of manufacture, involving, other things being equal, loss in the form of less output in proportion to standing charges and in proportion to wages (we must assume that the daily rate of wages is not to be reduced). Against this loss there may be two factors to set off, namely, the proportional increase in the output of individual workers, on account of improved health and freshness, and also we may find that the stress of legislative requirements may bring to light further ingenuity in the matter of technical improve-

ments. In the second place, we have processes which are technically continuous, *i.e.*, carried on day and night without any interruption. Here the alternative is, as a rule, between two shifts of twelve hours and three shifts of eight hours in the twenty-four. No reduction in the period of manufacture is introduced, but assuming the daily rate of wages to remain unaltered, one half as much again must be paid out in wages in order to remunerate the third shift of workmen. Here again we may find that increased skill and quickness and improved technical conditions counterbalance this apparent loss. The classic examples of Messrs. Mather and Platt, who introduced the eight hours day in their engineering works without reducing weekly wages, and of Messrs. Brunner, Mond and Co., who published the results of their change from twelve to eight hour shifts in continuous processes, may be quoted as illustrations of these two classes of enterprise.* In between there are many others, semi-continuous industries—*i.e.*, carried on only for several days or weeks at a time without interruption, either to save cost or because it is customary to do so. As an example of this we may give the woollen and worsted mills of Yorkshire. Conditions differ, too, in a thousand other ways, according to the needs of a trade, so that it is impossible to say offhand what the result would be of reduced hours in any particular case, and the economic objection—*i.e.*, the fear of foreign competition—must be given due consideration. Especially where the hours are, after reduction, to be still very substantial, probably there will be economic loss anyhow for some years to the individual manufacturer, who is, in fact, in such cases making illicit gains at the cost of the nation. Thus the Japanese Government, in their preamble to the Factory Bill referred to above, were probably right in thinking that, if they wished to avoid (in any case temporarily) loss to their manufacturers, they must be "large-minded" in their regulations. And so they certainly have been! They point out that the serious injury to health resulting from excessive hours "has long been recognised by the manufacturers, but only a few have decided to shorten the working hours . . . from fear that their profits might be reduced. As they are able to obtain fresh hands without any difficulty, they find it to their advantage to keep the worker as long as his strength will permit. . . . It can hardly be assumed that any great losses will be entailed by the manufacturers from the proposed restrictions. For in spinning mills and textile factories, where the workers frequently have to work fifteen or sixteen hours, as also in other classes of factories in which the work is not so injurious to health, or in which only easy and simple work is carried on, the working hours under certain conditions . . . may be extended to fourteen hours. In no country in Europe or America are the legal provisions so large-minded and generous." (Translated into English from the German translation in the Bulletin of the International Labour Office, Vol. IX., German edition.) Here we see the economic argument working in full vigour, and overcoming the most obvious necessities of national hygiene.

To come back to Europe, we find the fear of international competition a continual hindrance. In Norway, when the Factory Act of 1909 was under consideration, the Manufacturers' Association went into the question of the

* Sir William Mather published in 1894, in pamphlet form, the results of "A year's experiment and its result at the Salford Iron Works, Manchester." Sir John Brunner also published some years ago the results of the change to eight-hour shifts. Further information on the matter was kindly supplied to the British Section of the International Association for Labour Legislation by Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., in 1908. The British Section's report on the subject presented to the Central Office was printed in German for the use of delegates to the International Association for Labour Legislation's Conference of 1908.

introduction by law of three eight-hour shifts in continuous processes. (The Bill contained a clause to this effect, but it was defeated.) The members of the Association, circularised on the matter, were almost unanimous in maintaining that the proposed reform would materially increase cost of production, and also in admitting that no injury to the industries concerned would be involved if the change could be introduced simultaneously in competing countries as well. Here we find the key to the situation. In general, the fundamental difficulty in reducing hours without reducing wages is increased cost of production. Admitting for the sake of argument that, even allowing for better and quicker work and for technical improvements, there would be some economic loss, we see a solution of the problem in international co-operation. In recommending this line of advance, it may be well to refer to the success of the International Conventions signed at Berne in 1906. The Convention most akin to the subject under consideration was that by which the Signatory States agreed mutually to prohibit the employment of women at night—*i.e.*, between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.—and to provide by law for a night's rest of eleven hours. This indirectly regulates hours, since it leaves only thirteen hours out of the twenty-four for work and meals. Incidentally it has resulted in further reductions of actual working hours. For instance, in Germany, in bringing the Industrial Code into conformity with the Convention, the Legislature took the opportunity to reduce the hours of women to ten per diem. Other States which have amended their legislation in order to conform to the Convention are Austria, Belgium, Hungary, Portugal, and Sweden. In Belgium and Portugal, the new legislation, introduced for this purpose, marks the first step in the regulation of the hours of adult women. In the United Kingdom, only very slight modifications of the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 were necessary in order to bring it into line with the Convention (see the Employment of Women Act, 1907). The success of this Convention is a hopeful augury for future developments in a similar direction. By itself it is not nearly sufficient. The International Association for Labour Legislation, which exists mainly for the purpose of bringing about conventions of this kind, and to whose exertions the Berne agreements were almost entirely due, is now proposing that the Night Work Convention shall be supplemented by another regulating the actual working day of women and young persons. The lines recommended are that their hours should be limited to ten a day, the only exceptions being those contemplated by the Night Work Convention, viz., a suspension of the regulation in cases of *force majeure* and in industries dealing with very perishable materials, and (presumably) overtime to a limited extent in seasonal trades on sixty days in the year (the Berne Convention allows the night's rest to be reduced by one hour on sixty days in the year).*

But the hours of women are still only half the question. To regulate women's hours alone has often been alleged to be detrimental to their interests as wage-earners. Be that as it may, it is clearly detrimental to the men, both physically and intellectually, to allow them to work the obviously excessive hours with which one meets in a variety of trades in all countries. The ultimate aim, then, would seem to be a reduced working day (say, eight hours) in the interests of health and leisure, and a treaty to introduce it internationally in the economic interests of the industries concerned. The International Association is now at work seeking the line of least resistance towards something of the sort. They

* The texts of the Berne Conventions of 1906 are printed in the Bulletin of the International Labour Office (English Edition), Vol. I., p. 273.

propose to begin with the continuous trades, where the problem is slightly simplified by the fact that the actual period of manufacture is not to be reduced, and where the need is specially great in view of the prevalence of twelve-hour shifts and excessive periods of employment (usually twenty-four hours) in changing from day to night shifts. The exact method of defining continuous work is still under consideration. A specially appointed international committee of the Association is sitting in London this month (June, 1912) to consider the whole question. One proposal put forward would enforce eight-hour shifts wherever work was actually carried on at night, whether for technical necessity or for convenience. It is pointed out that this would tend incidentally to put a check upon the objectionable practice of working quite unnecessarily at night. If this is thought to be too big a proposition to cope with at one step, it may be decided to limit the Association's recommendations to one or two obviously "continuous" trades—*e.g.*, blast furnaces, chemical processes, etc. Whatever the first step may be, clearly the ultimate goal must be something more general, and it will be well for us all to be considering in the meantime what lines a treaty of the kind suggested should take. What exceptions would it be essential or expedient to allow? This question cannot be answered with any certainty without considering the details of many occupations, and particulars of exceptions actually allowed, whether for men or women, would not be much guide, since they are so often affected by purely local conditions and indeed by the influence which any particular interest involved is able to exert upon administrative authorities. But certainly, on the face of it, it appears as if the exceptions contemplated by the Berne Convention are the only ones in any sense essential, namely, cases where very perishable goods must be dealt with immediately to prevent serious damage and emergencies due to *force majeure*. A certain amount of elasticity would certainly be necessary here, although if the moment of the arrival of perishable goods at a workplace can be foretold, organisation ought to be able to meet the difficulty. It is, again, questionable whether the need for overtime in seasonal trades, provided for in practically all industrial laws and contemplated in the Berne Convention, would really be found so insistent, were industry regulated internationally. Forethought can cope with difficulties of this kind, and exemptions are accordingly only granted in favour of less efficiently organised enterprises.

To sum up, it seems that our aim should be an International Convention to enforce a reasonable working day, allowing systems of shifts to be fixed definitely, where necessary, by binding "rules of employment," and restricting overtime practically to emergencies. There is no need to enter into the relations between this question and the broader one of destitution and unemployment. If some such system as that outlined could be introduced with the aid of an international agreement, we believe that it could be enforced without serious difficulty, and also that the improved health, happiness, morality, and intelligence of the working people concerned would lead automatically to a solution of many of our distressing social problems.

Discussion.

Mr. H. BARRASS (Edmonton Urban District Council) said that he had been working under the eight-hours system ever since 1894 in a Government factory, and he might mention he was one of those who took a great part in the bringing about of that system in the Government factories. After that system had started the manager decided to time the men and to find out strictly the hours they made and the money they received. They took six weeks working under the nine-hours system and six weeks under the eight-hours system. After that had been done, the manager stated that the men had made more regular time, that the wages had been greater, and that the expenses for fuel and light had been much reduced under the eight-hours system compared to what they had been under the nine-hours system.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you explain how the wages were greater? Do you mean that the men produced more?

Mr. BARRASS explained that the greater portion of the men were on piecework, and when they worked under the nine-hours system they very often lost an hour in the morning, but when they only had eight hours in which to do the same amount of work they left off losing an hour and made the full time. That system had been in vogue ever since 1894, and he had asked some few weeks ago what was the percentage of lost time with the men to-day. He was told that it did not amount to ½ per cent. of the workmen employed in the factory, but under the nine-hours system the loss of time had been 5 or 6 per cent. The men were now more contented at being able to do the work in quicker time and to get away for recreation and to take part in municipal affairs. If it acted like that in a Government factory, it would act similarly in private firms. When the system was introduced in the Government factory the whole of the rates of the men were raised so as to bring the amount of the day rate money up to the amount under the nine hours, and it was an understood thing that if any of the pieceworkers found that through working only eight hours they could not earn the same amount of money as under the nine-hours system, it was to be reported to the officials in order to be investigated and the price raised to bring it up to that amount. But although there were 3,000 men at that time at work, not one of the pieceworkers applied for his piecework rate to be raised, so it did not entail any extra amount in price. The eight-hours system had given him the opportunity of taking an interest in public life, and had enabled him to sit on the Urban District Council of his district. He would not have been able to do that if he had continued working under the nine-hours system. It had also enabled him to become a member of the Middlesex County Council. The officials and the Government had come to realise that it was necessary for workmen, even if they had to lose time, to become members of those bodies. At one time they were not allowed to lose time in the day to attend those bodies, but owing to different men becoming members of the Urban District Council an order was issued that if any man was sitting on any Local Authority he would be allowed time to attend their meetings provided that he was prepared to lose that time. After he had served on the Urban District Council, the workmen had thought that he ought to go a step further, and they elected him on to the Middlesex County Council, and he applied for four and a half hours in each week to attend to the duties. That application was granted, although, of course, at his own loss of time. Therefore, the eight-hours system, if it could be brought about—not that he believed it would solve the problem of the unemployed, because they knew it would not—would brighten the lives of the workers, and would give them more opportunity for studying and working for the emancipation of themselves and to bring about better conditions and brighter lives. (Applause.)

Mr. A. A. WATTS (Poplar Union) said he was a compositor, and he did not think it could be said that the compositors would be able to produce more in less hours. Of course, he knew there was speeding-up and that the screw was put on tighter, especially when extra wages or other concessions were granted, but he did not think the hand compositor could be speeded-up much more. He was not one of those who advocated the limiting of the hours and the production of just as much in those shorter hours as in the longer hours. A man would certainly have to give far more of his vitality during those eight hours if he had to do as much work as was previously done in nine hours, because an hour of very hard work was certainly more exhausting than two hours of steady, easy work. The limiting of hours might do something in absorbing some of the unemployed, but it could not do that if the same amount of

work had to be accomplished in the limited number of hours as in the longer number. A linotype operator, to take a fair average, could do the work of four compositors. The standard for a compositor was one thousand ens per hour. A compositor easily did a little more than that, but that was the standard, whilst the average operator of a linotype machine was able to do about four times as much as that, and some advertised 5,000, 6,000, or 7,000. In America they were supposed to be able to do 10,000, 12,000, or 15,000, but he was inclined to doubt it. In a great many trades where machinery had been introduced it had meant doing away with the skilled man and the substitution of the employment of labour which had been previously unskilled. The experience in the printing trade had been to the contrary, and that was because they had had a strong Trade Union. They had demanded that no one should be put to the machine unless drawn from the ranks of the compositors and having better terms. They had been able to force that, but if the Employers' Association had been sufficiently strong, there would have been no reason why they should not have trained outside men as linotype operators; they could train them to understand and work a machine in twelve months, and then pay them only 25s. a week, whereas they were now paid £2 5s. or £2 10s. He was dead against overtime, both as a workman and as an overseer. It produced a certain amount of selfishness in the men who worked overtime, and it caused very bad feeling when there were half a dozen or so men in a room who were always ready to do overtime night after night. Another bad effect of overtime was that the men got into the habit of looking upon their overtime money as part of their week's wages, and if a man was working regularly a number of hours' overtime week after week it brought his wages to a certain figure which he would always reckon upon. But if the overtime were knocked off he would see how low his wages really were, and would want better—and that was what he (the speaker) wanted him to want. He also could not see how any keen employer could be in favour of overtime, as the productivity of the worker certainly decreased as the overtime went on. He always got the best work out of the men in the first four or five hours in the morning, and he considered that from 7 in the morning to midday would be as good a working day as they could have. The overtime system was also expensive, and he did not see why any employer should keep it up. In his trade they had been able to exact a limit of eight hours' overtime per week. They had had to do that in the face of the employers, and he wished it could be reduced still more. The employers, when the men were endeavouring to exact the limit of eight hours' overtime, had refused to meet them, and eventually the men decided to put it into force themselves, and it had been carried out ever since. He held as a Socialist that after a certain number of hours' work the labour of the worker was exploited for the benefit of the capitalist, and therefore he considered that limiting the hours of labour would limit the powers of the capitalist to exploit the worker; and as destitution was caused by that means they would certainly be doing great good in upholding the limiting of the hours of labour. He had noticed in a newspaper that the master bakers had decided together to raise the price of bread, and side by side with that in the next column he read that the Government had been asked to provide for a minimum wage of 24s. a week being paid to all adult workers in the employment of the Admiralty and they would not do it.

Councillor W. H. Miles (Swansea County Borough Council) congratulated the promoters of the Conference that they had recognised that the problem of unemployment was bound up with the question of industrial regulation. He had been very much struck by the instance given in Mr. Gossip's paper of the lady who demanded five dresses to be made immediately at whatever cost it might be to the workers who were employed upon them. He wanted to refer to the women's side of the case, as he felt that to a large extent the organisations of the men could obtain for them better conditions of labour than most of the women could obtain. He wanted to suggest that one of the first things that was desirable was more consideration on the part of customers. In the case of the lady referred to, instead of demanding that the five dresses should be delivered as early as possible, she might have been satisfied with one for a start and then have had the others in due course. He thought it must be the experience of most young people in business that consideration on the part of the customers for the employees did not exist to anything like the extent that it ought to. His second point was that it was desirable that more consideration should be given by employers generally. He gladly recognised that there were employers who did give consideration to their employees, but every fair-minded person would admit that they were the exception rather than the rule. He remembered a case that

came under his notice, as a member of the Swansea Town Council, after it had occurred. They were expecting a visit of some Royal personages, and one of the officials waited upon the manager of one of the departments of a very large firm in Swansea and asked him to supply what would be required in connection with the accommodation. The manager tried to explain to the official that, owing to circumstances, it was practically impossible to carry out that order in the time. The official thereupon went to the Managing Director, and the latter at once replied: "Certainly, it shall be done." And it was done, but nothing was said as to the cost to the workers at which it was done. To the Managing Director it simply meant one word, but to the workers it meant long hours of overtime, probably right through the night on some occasions, at very little remuneration. The difficulty, he believed, could have been got over by more time being allowed to the firm, as he thought it could have been allowed, or by a division of the contract between various tradesmen in the town. (Applause.)

Mr. FRED HUGHES (Birmingham N.C.P.D.) said that the question of the limitation of hours of labour was probably the most important, more important even than the regulation of wages. He would almost go so far as to say that at least in those trades where the workpeople were well organised, if they took care of the hours the wages would take care of themselves. A year or two ago he went very carefully through a series of reports in connection with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners covering a period of years and including the United Kingdom, the British Colonies, and the United States of America. With scarcely an exception, the rule was that where the hours were shortened earnings increased—the rate of wages was higher. In the districts where the hours were longer than the average, the rate of wages was below the average. No doubt that was also the case in a good many other trades, but it was impossible to lay down any general rule to apply to all trades as to the effect of limitation of hours on unemployment. They had had sufficient experience to know, however, that in the transport industry at any rate, it meant an increase in the number of men employed. In Birmingham they induced the City Council three years ago to limit the hours of labour in a number of departments to fifty-four per week, and in the tramways department the immediate result was to provide permanent regular employment for some thousands of additional men in the municipal tramways system. If the same thing was done in the national transport service they could easily work out what it would mean; and even in the competitive industries, in the engineering trade, he thought that at least there would be considerable regularisation of employment. In Birmingham there had been the Royal Small Arms Co., which was a Government factory, and the Birmingham Small Arms Co., which was privately owned. In 1906 the Government factory was sold to the Company. The Government factory had been working a forty-eight hour week, and after the purchase the hours of labour were increased to, he believed, fifty-two hours per week, as in the other factory. There was dissatisfaction, of course, and ultimately some kind of compromise was arranged, and down to quite recently the hours of labour had been slightly less than the average of the trade and the district. Last Christmas there was a strike, and in the course of the settlement, as a kind of set-off to certain concessions they received, the employees agreed to the lengthening of the hours up to the recognised standard of the district. There were two sides of the factory, one doing mainly Government contract work and the other being a cycle factory. Cycle accessories was a seasonal trade, and although they had got a working week of a certain specified number of hours, the men were not actually working those hours because there was a great amount of short time, and it did seem that if the hours were limited to a greater extent than they were there would be a great deal less short time. Instead of waiting for the rush of the season's trade, the firm would so organise its work as to prepare for that rush in advance; and even in the case of contract work he did not think there was a necessity for the constant spells of "rush" which meant that more men had always to be kept on hand than were actually wanted at other times. He thought that the limitation of hours might avoid that. With regard to office staffs, they were subject in an extraordinary degree to systematic overtime, and when it occurred for eight months out of the twelve, it was clearly due to understaffing, and he thought that if the staffs were increased it would simplify the unemployment problem. Slovenly management was no doubt often the cause. A friend of his, after some years in one office, ultimately reached the position of managing clerk, and one of the first things he then did was to prohibit overtime entirely. He made it a rule that at 5.30 every

evening every book was to be closed, and that any work unfinished was to be taken on the next morning by the clerk in charge of that particular work. The result was that in six months' time the same amount of work was done by the same staff without the necessity for any overtime at all, and there was a saving in gas and, in the winter, in coal. All that happened to the staff was that instead of working late at night and slacking in the morning, they came fresh in the morning and got through more work than they could possibly do in the hours of the evening. There was a distinct gain in health and increased leisure and opportunities for the workers concerned, and there was also a gain to the firm. He therefore did not think that they need worry very much as to whether in any special instance the limitation of overtime would mean the employment of more people or not. Even if it did not mean the employment of more people, it certainly would mean a gain in the health of the workers and in efficiency in the conduct of industry.

Lieut.-Col. WARDEN said he was only asking for information, and not for any political purpose, because he could not yet see, after listening to the speakers, how in shortening the hours of labour there would be increased output and increased efficiency, whilst the object was to give the worker time to think and, it had been suggested, " time to agitate." He did not like the word agitation, but one speaker had referred to his work on the Urban Council, and if that was what was meant by " time to agitate " that was certainly the right sort of agitation. But surely a man could not be working up to his maximum now if, as was suggested, he would be able to accomplish as much in four hours as he now accomplished in eight. Were not they making less speed and more haste? He thought, also, that it was unfair to the lady customer—who was not there to defend herself—to make the accusations that had been made against her. He was not a lady and did not know anything about it, but he did think that in the case of the lady who wanted the five dresses it was quite possible that she ordered them in a quite inoffensive way and without realising that it would cause any great strain on the workers. Abroad in France and Germany, where the conditions might be different, they believed in early work in the morning and in getting away earlier, and although there might be difficulties in regard to lighting, etc., he did think that that plan would be better.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Sidney Webb) said he would like to remind Colonel Warden that it was possible to drive a good thing too hard. Although it might have a good effect on health and character to reduce hours from fifteen to fourteen, and then to thirteen and then to twelve, and then to ten, and from ten to eight, it did not necessarily follow that to shorten them from eight to four would have a similar effect; although he would not say that it was not possible that eventually they might manage to do in four hours' labour all that was required for the whole world in the " kitchen " of life. He certainly hoped that the world was not going for ever to spend all its waking time solely in supplying the kitchen. The advantage of a limitation of the hours of labour would be in the shortening of the hours of work itself. To those who thought it was going to solve the problem of unemployment, he could only answer, " Not a bit of it." Unemployment meant that a man's employment had been interrupted, that he had been, by some irregularity, thrown out of work, that some breach had occurred in the normal course of industrial life. It would be possible no doubt by shortening the hours of labour in such employments as the railway service and the tramway service to absorb some of the men who were now unemployed, but that was not preventing the occurrence of unemployment. It might be a good way to relieve some of the unemployed, but it would not prevent other men from being thrown out of work by a cause similar to that which had thrown out of work those men whom it was desired to absorb. Thus, the shortening of hours was no remedy at all for the social disease of unemployment, not even in those cases where they could prove that owing to the shortening of hours extra men had been taken on. That attitude was due to a confusion of thought. They had not yet got in their discussion very near to any suggestion as to how to shorten the hours of labour. They had heard about the hours of labour in the engineering trade and the printing trade. He thought that the pressing cases were not these, but those of the vanboys and the carmen, and the women workers in all sorts of unorganised industries. It would be much more difficult in practice to limit hours of labour and to prevent overtime in such occupations than in the highly organised trades and those in which factory legislation could easily be enforced.

Miss MARY PHILLIPS (Christian Social Union) said she knew of a case where a Factory Inspector saw a number of girls employed at certain work in a factory

leaving the factory each carrying a small parcel. She questioned them and discovered it was work that they were taking home to do, which, of course, was illegal. She sent them back again with the parcels, and told the employer that that must not be continued. Not long after the Inspector again met the girls coming out, each carrying a small parcel. She again questioned them, and the girls then said that it was work they were taking home, either for their mother, their aunt, their sister, or their cousin to do—(laughter)—but that answer did not do for the Inspector, who again sent them back and warned the employer. The employer told the girls that it was no good, as the Inspector was so down on them, and he was very sorry that it would have to be stopped, as he had been so glad that they had been able to make so much money at home. (Laughter.) After a very short time, however, the girls found that without the extra money they had been making at home their weekly wage was impossible to live on, and the employer found out that in order to keep the girls he would have to raise their wage, and it was raised until it was as large as that which they received when working in the factory and taking work home as well. The employer also had to open another workroom and take in more girls in order to get done the work which previously the girls had taken home, so she thought there certainly was something in shortening hours in that respect as well. With regard to lady customers, she had found that it was not that they did not care, but that they did not know what was happening. Many of them thought that if they ordered a great many dresses, even if they ordered them quickly, they would be helping to relieve some of the unemployment, as they thought that if they ordered more things more people would have work to do. She remembered telling an audience containing many ladies of a woman who ordered a dress and said she must have it the next day and was heard to remark: "And I don't care if the girls are working all night." The whole of that audience stood up and hissed at the idea of a woman saying such a thing. When there was lack of consideration, it was generally because they did not know anything about the conditions, and when they did know they cared very much, and many were taking steps to rectify it.

Miss Sophy Sanger, who arrived whilst the discussion was in progress, said that she wished to give them some information with regard to an International Conference which she had been attending in London during the last two days. That Conference had been attended by representatives of twelve different countries for the purpose of discussing the question as to whether or not they could bring about some sort of international agreement with regard to hours of work, and especially with reference to work that was carried on day and night without interruption. That point was especially important because when there was, for instance, a twelve hours shift, the men frequently had to work twenty-four hours on end when they changed from the day to the night shift. The Conference consisted of a committee of the International Association for Labour Legislation specially appointed to see what could be done internationally, because manufacturers often raised economic objections to the efforts made to reduce hours, and it was very difficult to press forward a reform in one particular country without other countries doing the same thing at the same time. This International Conference had adopted a resolution definitely recommending that as far as the iron and steel trades were concerned an eight-hour day should be introduced by international agreement. Seven European countries and the United States of America had agreed to that proposition, and she thought they would feel that that showed they had gone a good way. (Applause.) One of the two delegations that did not agree to the resolution was the Italian, and in that case, although the Italian Section of the International Association for Labour Legislation did not approve of it, the delegate from the Italian Government who was present—the head of the Italian Labour Department—signified that his Government was in favour of the proposal, so although they had that vote against it, they really had the Government of that country in favour of it. Consequently she thought that it was not unreasonable for them to be extremely optimistic as to the future of that question. The Conference had been attended by a very representative number of delegates. There were representatives of workmen and employers and of all parties, so that it was really a matter of great importance and value to know that that step was being taken by the International Association. In her paper she believed she had suggested that they might not unreasonably endeavour to limit by international agreement the hours in all trades where international competition came into play, and personally, although her Association had not expressed that view, she thought that what they

had done might be the first step towards a general regulation of that kind. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said they were extremely pleased to have received that important news with regard to the iron and steel trade, and although it took some little time for those agreements to mature into international legislation in all countries, it was a step of great importance.

A DELEGATE asked whether the resolution passed at the International Conference proposed any means of binding the Government to legislate, because he had read that in the steel trades in America the men worked twelve hours a day and seven days in the week.

Miss SOPHY SANGER replied that the Governments were not bound yet, but they hoped to induce them to conclude a treaty and legislate. The representative of the American section was Mr. John A. Fitch, who had carried out the Pittsburg Survey into the conditions of the iron and steel trades, and he was very optimistic that it would be possible that legislation, or anyhow improvements, whether with legislation or not, would be introduced in the United States very soon. The difficulty in the United States was that they very often passed a very good law, and then their courts decided it was unconstitutional, but they had the principle of regulating the hours of labour established in various trades by the Supreme Court, so she did not think they need fear that America would be behindhand.

Councillor C. A. GLYDE (Bradford Trades and Labour Council) said that he considered the question of overtime and excessive hours had a great effect upon the unemployed question, and he was of opinion that Mr. Barnes in his paper had not attached sufficient importance to the limitation of hours in regard to the question of unemployment. At one time the gas workers under the Bradford Corporation worked twelve hours a day and seven days in a week, and were only paid at the rate of 4s. 5d. a day. They got an eight-hours day established, and now they were receiving 5s. 6d. a day and 8s. 3d. when they were compelled to work on a Sunday. Owing to that reduction in hours they had also had to employ one-third more men in their gas works. But, notwithstanding that, they had handed over for the reduction of the rates no less than one million pounds from the gas works since 1871. The charge per 1,000 feet of gas was 2s. 1d., and during the strike they sold coke at 9d. per cwt. Not only had the reduction of hours improved the health of the men employed in that department, but it had brought in additional men. They now employed 800 men, whereas they formerly employed only 600, and as 200 more men were employed it had to that extent helped to deal with the unemployed question. He considered that a great deal of overtime was caused by want of thought on the part of a great section of the public. At the present time painters would be working all the hours that they possibly could, but during the winter they would be walking about for four months at a time. He thought that if the work of painting the churches and chapels and public buildings generally was carried out during the winter months it would enormously ease the question of overtime in the painting trade during the busy season. Reduction of hours also affected the unemployed question in another way. When a weaver could not work overtime it meant that twenty more looms had to be ordered and the engineers were set to work in making those looms, so it not only found work for twenty more weavers, but it also found more work for those engaged in making the looms and found more employment in that class of work. He was striving for one day's rest in seven for all workers of the country. In Bradford they had just established it for the police, and as a result they had had to take on thirty-three more policemen. In Leeds they had reduced the hours of the tramwaymen from eighty to fifty-four per week, and whereas in 1901-2 they employed 988 tramway employees, they now employed 1,827, or 80 per cent. more, and that was partly by a reduction in hours and partly by the Corporation not being affected by £ s. d. At the same time, however, they had handed over from the tramways system during the ten years £634,534 profit in relief of rates, so there was plenty of profit even if the hours were to be reduced. In Bradford every tramwayman was going to have one day's rest in seven as well as the policemen. If they reduced the hours on their railways to eight, it would mean that 125,000 extra men would be employed. It would mean £7,500,000 out of the dividends, but as they were now making £45,000,000 they would still have nearly £40,000,000, and it would not make ¾ per cent. difference to their dividends. (A Voice: "It would.") If they had an eight-hours day established by Act of Parliament in this country for all trades it would mean the absorption of 250,000 of

the unemployed in this country. As soon as they got an eight-hours day he should advocate a six-hours day. If everyone in the country did their fair share they would not have to work more than six hours a day, and surely they were not asking for anything unreasonable in demanding a reduction of the hours of the workmen to eight. In conclusion, he wanted to appeal for a reduction in the hours of labour of the nurses and attendants in the workhouses and asylums. They worked from seventy to eighty hours a week, seven days a week, and it was a standing disgrace that they should have to work such hours as those while other people were walking about wanting work.

Councillor A. CALLIGHAN (Jarrow Borough Council) said that in 1898 an eight-hours day was introduced in the Cleveland iron-producing district for all men employed in blast furnace work with the exception of 10 per cent. of the men to whom the employers would not grant an eight-hours day because their work was considered to be of an easy character. This 10 per cent. of the men worked twelve hours per day, and he should like to give a few facts with regard to the effect of working that number of hours upon this 10 per cent. of the men compared to the effect on the other men of working eight hours. In the first place they had 600 men in Cleveland working a twelve-hours day, and yet not one of those men held a position as an official in the Cleveland district. He had asked his lodge secretary, the secretary of the Jarrow Lodge, to go through the books to see how they stood in connection with the men who were working twelve hours per day. They had 135 men on their books, twenty-six of whom were employed for twelve hours per day, and for five years they could not find one who ever held a position in their branch as an official. They also examined the sick fund in connection with the Jarrow Branch, and, although the twelve hours' work was stated by the employers to be easier, they found that for the year 1911 the sick money paid to the men working twelve hours was 75 per cent. more in proportion to that paid to those working eight hours at the harder work. They had also gone through the district sheet, which was in respect of 5,000 men, and they found that the death-rate among the twelve-hours' men was out of all proportion greater than among the men working eight hours.

Miss M. CALTHROP said that she had some statistics which she thought would be interesting to the meeting with regard to the hours of vanboys, whose labour, as Mr. Webb remarked, was absolutely unorganised. As a result of representations, an inquiry had been ordered into the hours of labour of vanboys, and she had personally investigated seventy-six cases ranging over seventeen different firms. These consisted of five railways, six carrier firms, a carpet-beating company, a tea shop, a jam factory, a bottled beer establishment, a laundry business, and a candle factory. She had also investigated the hours of three boys who were known as odd boys and who were engaged anew each day of the week. The hours of vanboys' work varied very considerably. She would make a start with the best—a railway, where the hours appeared to be 54-56 per week. On the other hand, a boy from a candle factory worked thirteen hours a day—6 a.m. to 7 p.m.—and seven or nine hours on Saturday; whilst in winter the hours were later. For that work a boy of 15 earned 6s. a week. She was sorry to say that 54-56 hours a week was not characteristic of railways generally. There seemed to be no regulation, but there appeared to be an ideal, say, of twelve hours a day in one firm and eleven hours in another. The carrier firms were perhaps the worst. On one a boy worked from 8 a.m. to 10, 11, or 12 p.m., or even 1 a.m., and his mother said he was sometimes out all night. Another in the same employ worked from 10 or 10.30 a.m. to 11.30 p.m. at the earliest and 1.30 a.m. at the latest. On another firm a return showed from 7 or 7.30 a.m. to 10 or 11 at night. A boy of 14, just started, worked from 11 a.m. to 12.30 at night. The figures for another firm were 7.30 a.m. to 10 or 10.30 p.m. In another firm the hours were given as seventy-two per week, but that seemed to be a modest reckoning, as another form showed "7.30 to 10.30 mostly; early if he gets home at 9.30." A contract carrying firm gave hours from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. sometimes, and sometimes a little earlier. A boy employed at a tea shop worked from 8 to 6 at the beginning of the week, rising to 7 or 8 as the week advanced until Saturday, when he stopped at 1. A boy engaged at a jam factory worked from 8 to 7 and to 1 p.m. on Saturdays. A bottled beer establishment had long hours, from 7 to 10 or 11, but sometimes easier on Saturdays, although last week it was nearly 9 p.m. on the Saturday. The three odd boys had to stand their chance of being taken on each morning. In one case a boy of 15 started at 5 a.m., and was

sometimes out to 9 at night, and it was considered very early if he returned at 6 or 7. Her general experience was that the longer the hours the worse the pay.

Councillor C. E. Brown (Tottenham Urban District Council) said that unemployment would remain so long as competition was the law of the land, but he considered that the reduction of the hours of labour would, at any rate, ameliorate the curse of unemployment to a very considerable extent. If they wanted to remove altogether the curse of unemployment there was not the slightest doubt that the workers would be able to do it. It was absolutely impossible for the workers to do the amount of good that God meant them to do owing to their want of education. They were to-day uneducated to a very large extent, in spite of their School Board education for nearly fifty years, and they were working too long hours and were not given the hours of recreation that might be used not only for benefiting their own minds, but also the minds of their children. If all the skilled unions of the country would only show the same lively interest in making for the goal of the eight-hours day, as the Gasworkers' Union had done, it would have been accomplished long ago. He wanted to pay a tribute of respect to that Union, of which he had been a member for over twenty years. In London during the last few weeks, what was called the London builders' dispute had been settled, but the settlement was perfectly unsatisfactory to men like himself. If ½d. an hour in a couple of months' time or next year was going to satisfy the workers in the building trade, then he said it was a disgrace to the men that they did not turn round and say: "Keep your ½d., but give us a reduction in our hours."

Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., who apologised for not having been able to attend at the opening of the Session, said there was a difference of opinion as to what the effect of an eight-hours day would be, but he had expressed the opinion in his paper that a reduction in the hours of labour in municipal services and on the railway service would increase the number of men employed therein, and Mr. Glyde was absolutely wrong if he thought that there was any conflict of opinion between them on that point. As to whether that would reduce the number of unemployed altogether, that was another thing, and he was afraid that if they were going to go into that question that day they would not get away at a quarter to one. Regarding the matter from the point of view of competitive trade, he thought that a reduction of the hours of labour would do absolutely nothing in the way of reducing the number of unemployed unless at the same time there were one of two things, or both of those things—increased efficiency of labour and a lightening of the burden of monopoly charges on those competitive trades. Otherwise, being in competition, they would find the increased cost of production would lessen the demand for their goods. The eight-hours day could be justified from many points of view. The health point of view, for instance, was in everybody's mind. The vanboys who had been referred to did not have a chance of growing into decent citizenship, and if those boys were protected and given shorter hours of labour it would save the community, possibly twenty years hence, a great deal of expenditure that would have to be incurred, and therefore he believed in the reduction of the hours of labour from that point of view, as well as from the point of view of it being absolutely necessary for the people to have more time to think. If working people had more leisure they would become more thoughtful and would deal with some of those difficulties confronting society in an orderly and proper manner, instead of in a manner which was at present causing a good deal of trouble. Another justification for a reduction in the hours was the increased productivity of labour. He had not laid down an eight hours day in his paper, because as they got nearer the problem it might be necessary to deal with it in the same way as the wages problem, and to set up some system of Boards, allowing for a degree of elasticity that was not in the minds of some people when they demanded an eight-hours day all round. But he was certainly in favour of an eight-hours day so far as the staple trades were concerned. Reduced hours by legislative enactment had proved beneficial in the textile trades by forcing employers to adopt improved methods, and in pretty well all of the staple trades he thought a hard and fast line could be drawn with absolute success. Sir William Mather, Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co., and others had looked on those things not only in the light of theory but as a matter of practice, and it had been found that as the men worked shorter hours they became more intelligent and more efficient; and in competition with foreign producers they held their own and in many cases beat the foreign producers because of the shorter hours and greater degree of intelligence of the workpeople. Therefore there was ample justification for them going forward in

this movement for shorter hours and more leisure. He and Mr. Glyde might differ as to the ultimate effect, but they were agreed that there was ample justification for the movement and that it would result in greater employment in some trades and in greater health and a greater degree of intelligence among the workpeople, and he hoped that the result of that Conference would be to press upon Parliament the need of tackling this problem at the earliest opportunity. (Applause.)

Mr. F. KEELING said that with reference to Mr. Barnes' suggestion as to the possibility of regulating hours by Boards, the Trade Boards in this country had less power than in Australia, and the first move should be to get the powers of the Trade Boards extended to deal not only with wages but also with hours. He thought that that was one of the most speedy and effective methods of dealing with the problem. It had been argued that adult men should not be brought under the Factory Acts because they were able to protect themselves, but that had fallen to the ground because the hours of adult shop assistants were already regulated by law so far as compulsory half-holiday was concerned, and also the hours of miners. Even if they could not get stringent regulations to begin with, he considered it would be a great gain to have the adult male workers brought under the Factory Act. With regard to Miss Sanger's paper on the subject of international agreement as to the regulations of the hours of labour, they had got a case at the present minute very near home which bore upon that problem in an important way. As the Home Rule Bill stood at present, it would hand over to the Irish Parliament the Factory Inspectors in Ireland and the whole administration of the Factory Acts. The experience of countries with federal constitutions had shown that it was most undesirable to hand over to local Parliaments the regulation of trades which in their very nature involved competition between different districts. They were actually moving towards international regulation of hours of labour, and to split up within the United Kingdom the determination of their national minimum with regard to hours of labour between the different Parliaments which they were going to establish not only in Ireland, but apparently also in Scotland and Wales and England, was a reactionary step. Apart from their general views on the Home Rule problem, they should give their most careful attention to the question whether the subject of the regulation of hours of labour should be kept to the United Kingdom Federal Parliament and not given into the hands of the local Parliaments. If they did not do that they would have the same difficulty as in the United States. As soon as they asked for hours of labour to be brought down, each section of the United Kingdom would say: "Wait until the others have come down," and it would also be more difficult to have legislation put through owing to the addition to the number of bodies. Although the regulation of shop hours and the employment of children should be in the hands of the Irish Parliament, in factories there should be a United Kingdom minimum established by the United Kingdom Parliament. The administration of the law with regard to shop hours and of the employment of children was now wholly in the hands of Local Authorities, and so long as they left it in the hands of Local Authorities the regulations would be to a large extent illusory. When a Local Authority attempted to deal with such matters as the regulation of hours, the conflict between social and individual interests took place in such a way that the individual interest had by far too great an advantage, and they could not get the law carried out. What they should press for was the putting of the whole of the question of the regulation of hours by Local Authorities, in so far as it was in their hands, under the general supervision of the Factory Department of the Home Office, which should pay one-half or two-thirds of the salaries of the officials appointed by the Local Authorities, on condition that proof was given that the Acts were being administered properly. He considered that a weekly regulation of hours, the fixing of the number of hours by the week alone, such as the seventy-four hours limit in shops, instead of the normal working day, was practically useless. If they were going in for a forty-eight hours week in any trade it ought to be considered whether it would not be better to spread those forty-eight hours over five days and have a clear Saturday off. The nervous strain on the worker in certain trades through the increasing speeding-up was getting so terrible that he thought it might be better for the workers to have two days right off in order to obain reasonable recreation and thereby counteract the increasing strain of modern factory employment.

Mr. E. LAMBERT (Romford Union) said that in the agricultural districts they could not hand over the regularisation of the hours of labour to any Local Authority or even to the County Council, as the direct interests of the members of the County

Council and of the members of various other bodies were more or less affected. It was very difficult to regularise the hours of farm labourers, and they could not shorten them except by an Act of Parliament and for a specified length of day. They must remember that machinery could not be brought in to intensify the productivity of the labour of such workers as market gardeners, and the resulting increased cost of the commodity which they produced also had to be taken into consideration.

Mr. HERBERT NORTH (Keighley Union), referring to Mr. Watts' remarks with regard to the introduction of linotype machines, said that when the Linotype Co. started its business they offered to give preference to compositors, but the Typographical Society refused the offer in order to keep the machines out of the printing shops, and in consequence the Linotype Co. opened a place in Manchester and offered to teach anyone free of cost. He knew of two young fellows who were trained there, and one who came from a woollen warehouse got a situation abroad at £9 a week. With regard to Mr. Glyde's references to the painters, Mr. Glyde was a member of the Bradford City Council, and the Painters' Association of Bradford had complained against the Bradford Corporation deciding to have the Library and Museum belonging to the Corporation painted in the spring, when painters were chiefly required. The contract was given locally, but there were not enough men to do the work in time and men were engaged from other towns and thereby became competitors with the local painters when the dull season set in, because the imported labour remained in the city after the Corporation work was completed. If they reduced the hours of painters and then had to send for painters from other towns, then the man who was having his hours reduced in June would be no better for it in October. Proceeding, he said that in Huddersfield the operatives had refused to work more than one loom, although they were told that in Bradford they were working two looms. A strike resulted, and while that strike was going on the very people who struck against working two looms in Huddersfield actually went into factories in Bradford and worked two looms there. In his opinion, to do away with destitution or to reduce destitution, they should encourage industry, befriend the poor, and uplift those who had gone under. With regard to the Conference, he thought that there ought to be some arrangement made whereby delegates could understand when and how they could send in papers, and, with regard to the discussion, he protested against delegates being cut down to the narrowest limits. At the same time, he thought that the Conference had been very valuable and would do a great deal to improve matters in regard to destitution.

Mr. A. REID (Barrow-on-Soar Union) said that in his district the hours of labour of the farm labourer had been considerably reduced, but the difficulty in the matter of regulating and reducing the hours of the farm labourer was the irregularity of the farm work itself. At this time of the year farmers could employ profitably double the number of men that they could later on, and he knew that a great many of the farmers in his district employed considerably more men in the winter months than they could profitably find work for rather than turn them on to the streets and on the rates. They tried to do the very best they could, but he was afraid they could not help employing their men longer in the spring and summer months than in the winter. No doubt a great cause of destitution was young men leaving the country for the towns, where they were taken on because of their freshness, their health and their strength, and displaced other men. Two or three years ago the cry was " Back to the land ! " but once the men had tasted the excitement of town life they could not get them back to the land. Help must be given to keep on the land those who were already there. He wondered if it was possible for the Parish Councils and Rural District Councils and small Urban Councils in rural neighbourhoods to be allowed to build some kind of places of amusement in the country. He would certainly rather use the ratepayers' money in building places of amusement than in building workhouses. (Applause.)

Mr. W. SMITH (Edinburgh Distress Committee) said that there was no motive for young people to stay in the country. They were not able to accumulate funds to take such large farms as were the rule in Scotland, and the reduction of the hours of agricultural labourers or even the doubling of their wages would not solve the problem. But if they could place some prospect before them in the shape of becoming tenant farmers, or having a little place of their own, then they would stay on the land. Whilst grappling with great distress in Edinburgh three or four years ago, the Distress Committee decided to set the men cultivating waste land and laying it out in small holdings, and that form of labour seemed to be the only form of labour

that was useful as a stand-by in the case of fluctuation in employment. The land that was only yielding 10s. per acre before now yielded £4 10s., and if these small holdings could be multiplied all over the country he thought it would induce the people to stay.

The CHAIRMAN reminded the speaker that he must not go beyond the question of hours of labour.

Mr. SMITH : Well, these men, of course, if they are provided with small holdings, can work any hours they like. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. D. WILSON (Edinburgh Distress Committee), referring to the increased cost of production and the diminution in demand that it was considered would result from a reduction in the hours of labour, said he was afraid that, unfortunately, that argument must also apply to increases in wages. Also, while it was true that in the more highly skilled trades they were able continually to increase the wages, it possibly caused the lower paid workers to be kept where they were and possibly reduced their wages. He was a tailor, and women were more and more coming into his trade, and, while they had been able to maintain fairly well men's conditions, it was unfortunately true that the women had had to suffer to some extent because of that. The whole burden fell ultimately on the industries supporting the country, and it seemed to him that the only solution of the problem was either to increase their markets for the produce of their industries or to get their surplus population back to the land.

Mr. TOWNSEND suggested that there might be a possibility of the casual labourer in agriculture being avoided by a better regulation of the industry. He thought that there was work done at some time in the year that could be done equally well at any time. He thought that the regular employment of the labour force depended chiefly upon its regulation, but he did not know how far it would be possible to arrange that with agricultural work.

Councillor W. A. BYRNE (Leeds County Borough Council) said that when Mr. Barnes' Union was fighting in '97-98 for a reduction of hours a bolt from the blue came from Sir William Mather. They had argued that an eight-hours day would absorb some of the unemployed, but Sir William Mather said that by giving the men eight hours he had got more work out of them and they were more efficient. He (the speaker) considered that a reduction of hours would certainly absorb some of the unemployed, and the fear of the increased cost of production did not bother him at all, because he considered that the great wealth that was in the country should be used for the benefit of all of them. They should reduce the hours of labour of those now working and let those who were out of employment work the number of hours reduced. As they had a perfect right to enjoy the product of their labour, he thought it was time for them to ask for a six-hours day and to make use of the wealth of the country.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Sidney Webb), at the close of the discussion, explained that if they had been unable to get into that particular Section all that some of the speakers wished, it must be remembered that it was only one division of a vast subject, and that there was no profit in roaming over the whole subject at once. At the next Conference they might possibly be able to bring in other aspects of the subject, although he hoped they would still keep close to their relationship to destitution. He wished to emphasise the fact that a reduction of the hours of labour could not do anything whatsoever to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. Although it was quite true that in some cases a reduction of the hours of labour might cause more men to be taken on, and thus relieve some of the unemployed, it would in no way prevent the creating of fresh unemployment which was going on constantly. They had at the present time certain causes at work which were, in their spasmodic or irregular operation, perpetually throwing men out of employment. It ought to be clear that they could prevent unemployment only by stopping those causes one by one. He could not see that the prevalence of excessive hours of labour in particular occupations was one of those causes. Although they might recommend the regularisation or the limitation of the hours of labour as a means of preventing destitution because of its advantageous effect on health and character, they could not recommend it as in any way preventing the occurrence of unemployment. The causes which produced unemployment would still go on, even if they reduced the hours of labour to four per day.

The Session closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. North and seconded by Col. Warden.

CRIME & INEBRIETY SECTION.

First Day, Tuesday, June 11th.

MORNING SESSION.

Sir John Macdonell, the President of the Section, being unable to be present on this morning, no meeting was held, and the delivery of the Presidential Address was postponed until Friday morning.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was occupied by Dr. A. H. Bygott. The subject discussed was THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT, and the following paper was taken :—

The Juvenile Delinquent and how to make a Useful Citizen of him.

By Mr. C. E. B. RUSSELL.

The Juvenile Delinquent and How to Make a Useful Citizen of Him.

By C. E. B. RUSSELL, M.A.

(Author of " The Making of the Criminal," " Young Gaol Birds," " Working Lads' Clubs," etc.; Hon. Secretary, Heyrod Street Lads' Club, Manchester).

THE question of the Juvenile Delinquent can hardly be separated from that of the beginnings and causes of juvenile delinquency to be considered at a subsequent meeting, for whatever action may be taken in respect of him must have reference, if it is to be successful, to the beginnings and causes of the delinquency itself. But assuming that this side of the question will be dealt with fully later, I will content myself at the moment with expressing my belief that the early environment of the child is far more responsible for its delinquency in later years than is any inherited criminal taint, and that the real cause of the appearance of many a boy and girl in the police courts of the country is to be found in the total lack of any sense of parental responsibility or indeed of any definite conception of, let

alone conscious aspiration after, decent living on the part of the adult members of that portion of society from which the criminal population is drawn to, I should think, fully 75 per cent. of its total number.

As a preliminary also I must state that I do not propose in this paper to consider cases of delinquency on the part of mere children under fourteen, but rather with the anti-social acts of youths between sixteen and about eighteen years of age, for I am not particularly familiar with purely childish offenders, whereas the delinquency of those of this riper age and its causes have for many years been the subject of my careful and almost daily attention.

Delinquency on the part of such youths as I have in mind usually takes one of the following forms: (1) purely venial offences against local bye-laws, such as loafing, street obstruction, and the like; (2) acts of vagrancy, principally sleeping out and begging; (3) petty theft, which as time goes by, and the youth fails in one way or another to come under the influence of institutional or reformative treatment, almost invariably leads to more daring and more serious crime.

It must never be forgotten in dealing with the more serious acts of juvenile delinquency that very frequently the acts themselves are the illegitimate expression of perfectly natural impulses, and I have little doubt that the want of adequate playing fields and opportunities for healthy recreation has very much to do with many cases of petty theft which are really the outcome of a certain spirit of daring and adventure which in a crowded slum cannot in any way find adequate expression. For this type of offender, provided that he is sensibly dealt with when he is brought face to face with the Authorities—which, alas, is only too frequently not the case—there is always very great hope indeed. The cases of the offender against local bye-laws and of the vagrant present, as a rule, a far more difficult problem. While the petty thief may have, and often does have, a respectable home, the vagrant and street loafing lad has frequently never known a real home at all and is often a youth with little or no backbone or grit, in consequence unable either to work hard, to find work for himself, or to stick to any kind of work which may come his way. Further—and this is a point very frequently overlooked—he has often from one cause or another lost the excellent general amenity to discipline resulting from regular attendance at the Elementary School, to a discipline which, I believe, is not infrequently even more valuable than the measure of knowledge obtained during the same years. For the discipline of the home in far too many cases is very largely non-existent, and in still more homes ceases almost entirely as soon as the boy begins to be a wage-earner. The most undisciplined, flabby, feckless, and difficult to raise of all delinquent youths are those who habitually live in common lodging-houses.

Having thus briefly indicated the persons concerned, I propose to sketch how the juvenile delinquent may at present be dealt with, and with what results, and to point out where it seems to me that improvement may be made.

In my opinion, and I imagine in that of my hearers, the preservation of family life is the great desideratum in the treatment of all juvenile offenders, and resort to institutional care should not be the first but the last course to be taken, except in cases where there is no family life at all to be maintained, when recourse should be had to institutional care from the first discovery of the child's circumstances. It should not be necessary to explain that by institutional care I do not for one moment mean a sentence of imprisonment, yet this is the only institutional care at present available for mere boys of sixteen and seventeen when they "get into trouble" without committing serious crimes. Under the Children's Act of 1908 it is provided that, except in very rare instances, young persons under sixteen

shall not be committed to gaol; but I would go further, for I am strongly of opinion that prison should not be resorted to even for those of still riper age, *i.e.*, up to at least eighteen, except in very special circumstances. I hold also that the time is more than ripe for putting an end to the senseless system of sending boys and girls to gaol for a week or a fortnight for offences which are in no sense criminal or in lieu of payment of paltry fines. As a punitive method such a course is almost invariably a failure, whilst every notion of it having reformative value is absolutely vain. It is deplorable that the infliction of futile short sentences is still, in this twentieth cetnury, the only procedure available by magistrates when confronted with the juvenile-adult petty offender, since if a long period of reformative training is required for persons over sixteen the Borstal System, with its limited possibilities of application, provides, I believe, the only method we as yet have for attaining the desired end. As the law stands to-day a child under fourteen years of age may be committed to an Industrial School if found begging, wandering, destitute, under the care of unfit parents, frequenting the company of thieves or prostitutes, lodging in an evil house, or guilty of any kind of offence, and for children who have no proper homes at all and whose circumstances permit no chance of any decent family life being established the Industrial School, though the existing methods of training within it may well leave room for improvement in many respects, without doubt offers the best method available for training the boy or girl to become a good citizen. If over fourteen and under sixteen years of age a child may be sent to a Reformatory and may there be detained until the age of nineteen; and here again this method of institutional care is probably the best when there is no chance of the Probation Act being used with wisdom. The great disadvantage of the system is that the boy enters an institution in which probably nearly the whole of the inmates have, like himself, been committed for petty theft, so that he may lose by want of association with other boys whose notions of honesty are much clearer and higher than those of his schoolmates. The Industrial School and Reformatory system provides that the boy or girl who has been sent to either institution shall be cared for more or less effectively after leaving the school, and as a rule great care and trouble are taken to provide suitable employment on leaving the institution. There can be no doubt that a very large percentage indeed of the children who have come under this treatment subsequently become good, law-abiding citizens.

But for young people over sixteen no institutional care in the ordinary sense is provided. Only youths who have committed serious offences, sufficiently serious indeed to warrant their being committed for trial to Quarter Sessions or Assizes, may be committed to a Borstal Institution. For such a term of detention not exceeding three years may be prescribed. Up to the present, also, these institutions will not accept any but the physically and mentally fit—a restriction which means that a very large number of delinquent youths are not able to benefit. At the Borstal Institutions the aim is not punitive but reformative and educative, the whole scheme being designed to turn the lads out reformed in character and able to earn their own living. With the valuable aid of the Borstal Association in finding employment and supervising the boys after discharge, the results so far as they can be seen in the few years since the system has been in force are highly satisfactory.

In addition to these methods the Probation Act of 1907 provides for a young culprit being placed on probation rather than sent either to an institution or to prison. This system postulates that the offender is one whose home circumstances permit of the Probation Officer's efforts being successful in helping him to live a

decent life, and that the Probation Officer himself should be a man understanding and sympathising with the peculiar traits of boys and able to give not a little but a large proportion of time to the work. I am inclined to think that the extraordinary value of this Act, when properly worked, has not yet been realised by the magistracy nor by the country at large, and from the great number of cases of failure on probation as compared with the figures in the U.S.A. or Canada it seems clear that many girls and boys are being placed on probation without proper inquiry being made into their home circumstances and surroundings; the fact being either that they are not at all suitable subjects for this form of treatment or that the Probation Officers, and I believe this to be very often the case, are not the right men or women for the work.

Probation used unwisely is as unkind and really cruel a method of dealing with an erring child as could be devised, for it means that in case after case the child is allowed to become more habituated to evil ways. Let me quote from a recent newspaper a glaring but by no means uncommon example of the way in which the system is applied:—

> "A boy, 11 years of age, living in Barlow Street, Patricroft, was before the Eccles magistrates this morning on a charge of housebreaking at Barlow Street. The boy broke in during the morning of April 24th. A pitiful account of parental neglect was given by Detective Bentham and the School Attendance Officer, the boy being unable to attend school because his clothing was literally in rags, and he had no shoes or stockings. *The boy was bound over and put under the Probation Officer for twelve months.*"

If later on such a child is committed to an Industrial or Reformatory School, it is far more difficult to mould its character than were it sent as soon as the home was discovered to be an impossible one, and the boy or girl in grave danger of forming definitely evil habits. There can be little doubt that in both the Industrial Schools and Reformatories of the country, children are being admitted at a later age as a result of an unwise administration of this Act, and as a consequence the already great difficulties of those in charge of these institutions are increasing. The weak point is, I believe, that the magistracy in general fails to realise the immense value of preventive work on behalf of boys and girls. If the magistrates did realise it, they would surely cease to appoint as Probation Officers for children and young people men and women attending the police-courts on behalf of societies of various kinds, adding to the already very heavy work of many of these good people a task which, if it is to be properly fulfilled, demands not a small portion of a busy day spent in dealing with adults of all kinds (who are infinitely more difficult to reform, and often present practically hopeless cases), but rather the full-time service of keen, able, and sympathetic men and women.

Again, the work of the Probation Officers is at present paid on an altogether inadequate basis. Good work has a right to good pay, and I believe that the services of most competent people without private means could be secured for Probation work on behalf of young people and young people only, if satisfactory remuneration were provided.

It is a disquieting reflection on the working of the Act at present that both in the original Borstal Institution at Borstal and in that at Feltham there should be well over a hundred youths who have been placed on probation previously to becoming inmates.

Nor can my criticism end here. To make the system effective, one method for rendering Probation returns should be adopted throughout the country, and only one kind of form should be in use; whereas at present individual benches of

Justices permit widely differing forms of returns to be sent in, in one case a keen bench demanding a return which necessitates real hard work being done by the Probation Officers, and in another case the bench being content with a return which seems hardly worth the paper it is written on. A central Probation Authority supervising the work of Probation Officers generally, seeing that they are well kept up to the mark, and taking advantage of the large amount of available but unused social help which might be organised, would, I think, result in a surprising amount of good. And further, arrangements are needed by which it would become well-nigh impossible to place on Probation a girl or boy whose home circumstances are, humanly speaking, incapable of improvement, a reform which would mean that young people brought up for petty offences could never be placed on Probation without a remand to enable an inquiry into their whole circumstances by the Probation Officer before the court adjudicated on the case.

The Probation Officer, if he is the right man, is more than a mere official; he is the actual friend of his young charge. If he is anything short of this, the real value of the system has been lost.

Of the Borstal system, full of hope as it is for those who come under its influence, it may well be said that it does not do nearly so much as is by an unthinking public generally supposed, for as has been already shown, it is only a small proportion of youths with some criminal tendency—those, namely, who have committed really serious misdeeds—who can come under its influence, and these elect ones must also be physically and mentally sound.

The vast army of young loafers and idlers who commit no serious crime before the age of twenty-one, though they may quite likely, and very often do, drift into it in later years, remain untouched by the system. What these youths need, more than anything else, is a period of disciplined training, during which the habit of loafing and idling—for habit it is—may become exchanged for the habit of work. All youths charged before courts of summary jurisdiction with trivial offences such as street obstruction, hawking without a licence, loitering or sleeping-out, if upon inquiry they are found to be living without proper guardianship or in common lodging-houses and in danger of forming criminal habits, should either be committed to Quarter Sessions with a view to their being sent to a Borstal Institution, or power should be given to the summary courts to commit them direct. A huge number of young people would never take to the idle street-life at all if they knew they thereby incurred the risk of losing their liberty for a long period. The fear of what might happen would restrain them; as it is, they have nothing to fear.

Along with this reform there should be an extension of the system which would allow a modified form of treatment and different methods of training to be adopted for youths physically below the present Borstal standard or mentally not strong, for it is immeasurably unjust, and nothing short of cruel, to train and educate a robust young evil-doer, and to allow to his weaker brother, already seriously handicapped in any honest effort to obtain employment, only the alternative shelter of the workhouse and the prison, as an "in-and-outer," in which institutions he will probably pass the bulk of his generally short life.

At present one of the most useful aids to the work carried on in Borstal Institutions is the regulation under which a youth is for six months after leaving the Institution under supervision or on licence. I believe that only good would result if such licence were extended for another eighteen months at least. The licence system in no way affects the lad who is trying to do well, but in my

experience is a very effective check indeed upon those who are not inclined to settle down.

I do not intend to say anything about the Borstal System as applied to girls, for it has only been in operation some two and a half years, and the number treated under it in the Institution at Aylesbury (where the average daily number of inmates has been less than thirty) has been too small to allow of any conclusions as to the results.

Of improvements to be desired in the work of the Industrial and Reformatory Schools—and a great deal of improvement is possible, particularly in the matter of after-care—I cannot speak pending the report of the Departmental Committee now sitting, but it may well be urged that nothing would be more useful than the setting up of a central After-care Agency or Commission which should have for its object the after-care of Poor Law, Industrial and Reformatory School, and Borstal Institution cases.

At present the Poor Law authorities attempt, very ineffectually, I am afraid, to supervise their old boys; the Industrial Schools and Reformatories do the same thing more effectually, but by no means equally, some schools being far behind others in this respect; whilst the Borstal Association, with many fewer cases under their care, probably do this work more thoroughly than either by means of many hundred agents in all parts of the country. It may be that a boy has been an inmate of a Poor Law school, has been lost sight of by the authorities, and in a different part of the country has found his way to a Reformatory, that he has again been lost sight of by the Reformatory people and been committed to a Borstal Institution, with the result that no less than three bodies have been concerned with his after-care. If there existed one agency alone, this could not happen, whilst money drawn from three sources and paid out in small and inadequate amounts to the various agents up and down the country would serve to pay adequately good men in every considerable centre with results that would, I feel confident, do much to decrease the prison population.

Another small reform would also do much to diminish the amount of juvenile and adolescent delinquency, namely, the closing of the lowest common lodging-houses to young people apparently under twenty-one years of age. No one with the slightest knowledge of the matter would deny that the lowest type of common lodging-house is an unfailing source of corruption to any youth or girl who may happen to find his or her way to it. There are certain male lodging-houses known to me in Manchester, residence in which for so short a period as a fortnight means, so far as my own experience goes, that any desire for decent living on the part of any lad who enters it is lost. In a long course of years I have not known any boy who lived in these houses settle down to any regular form of employment. Similarly, I am informed, there are lodging-houses populated exclusively by prostitute girls, the shortest stay in which is fatal to the virtue of any innocent stranger who unwittingly finds her way to such a shelter .

In every town or poor district of a city there will be one or two lodging-houses —usually houses charging 3d. a night instead of the more common 4d.— frequented by the very lowest and vilest classes, and well known to the police. I believe nothing but good would result from a condition attaching to the licensing of 3d. common lodging-houses that they should not accept as lodgers young persons apparently under twenty-one years of age, and where lodging-houses charging a higher rate are known by the police to be the resort of evil characters the same condition might apply. I believe further that a very great amount of good would be accomplished if in every locality certain houses were selected, with

the consent of the licence-holders, as houses suitable for young persons to lodge in, and if, so far as youths were concerned, the authorities were to appoint an ex-policeman, *e.g.*, to act as an additional deputy in each such house, the local authority defraying the cost. This deputy as part of his duty would record all that he could elicit regarding the history of new-comers, with a view to restoring them to their relations or friends, if they have run away from home, as is very often the case.

But when all is said and done the fact remains that the juvenile delinquent is in the main drawn from only one section of the community, a section to be found living in the slum districts of any town or city, and the members of which cannot on any reasonable grounds be expected to develop into good and useful citizens so long as the conditions under which they live remain unaltered. Bad housing, overcrowding, drink, sordid environment—so sordid as to crush out even the thought of better things—can but result in more or less disregard for all ordinary social conventions. It is a well-known fact that Poor Law, Industrial School, Reformatory, and Borstal Institution cases which fail are those who find their way back to their old environment. It is also a fact that the newer semi-suburban working-class districts which are springing up round some of our manufacturing cities, and in which no new drink-licences are granted, although they are peopled by young fellows who work in foundry and factory and earn no more than their companions who, working in the same places, continue to live in the old slums, do not appreciably contribute to the prison population. The question therefore is not so much what is to be done with the juvenile delinquent as how to remove the causes which have made him in the past and are making him to-day, often determining him from earliest infancy, nay, even from his pre-natal existence, as a physical and moral failure, a parasite or a criminal.

Decent housing, sunlight, plenty of open spaces and playing-fields, a vast reduction in drinking facilities, will more quickly and more effectively bring about the change which all must desire than any efforts to deal with the delinquent when we have caught him. The slum-dweller, be he young or old, must inevitably compel the consideration of the problems of destitution and crime, and while I am anxious to see the reforms I have briefly sketched applied to the treatment of the young delinquent with a view to turning him into a useful citizen, still more am I anxious to see the destruction of the slum which is the cause of which the vast army that peoples our prisons is the effect.

Discussion.

Mr. GEORGE MONTAGU said he was sure the meeting would agree with him that they were very much indebted to Mr. Russell for coming there and reading a paper, in which he had raised so many really interesting points. He felt that he could hardly follow all the matters which Mr. Russell had brought forward, but there were one or two on which he would express his most hearty concurrence with him. One point which came to his mind was the preventive question, and there he would like to see much greater facilities provided in the matter of playgrounds for children. That was, in his opinion, a very important point. He supposed that the country which had done more than any other in that direction was America. In Chicago, when he visited it, they had a wonderful scheme of playgrounds all over the city, and their delinquents dropped some 8 per cent. since those playgrounds became a working concern. They all deplored the conditions here to-day. The only opportunity of

dealing with a delinquent of over 16 years of age was to send him to the local prison. That seemed to him to be an appalling state of things, and one which certainly ought to be remedied. He felt that the housing condition also was a very important one, and that some day in the near future it would be essential that all these different ideas should be combined together and that they should not attempt to discuss delinquency apart from the question of housing. They wanted co-operation in this country, not only in agriculture and other spheres, but also in regard to this problem of delinquency. As regards the red-tape methods of the classification of age, he thought it was absurd that a boy who was over 14 should be convicted and sent to a reformatory, and if he was a day under 14 should be sent to an Industrial School. Those stereotyped ideas of dealing with young people and adolescents were outworn. With regard to probation, if one took the case of London, he thought Mr. Russell regarded that city as a place where the Probation Act was well carried out, but in these Children's Courts in London there were only some six Probation Officers, and these six had to do the whole work. This was totally inadequate. They had to cover enormous distances, and it was impossible for the inadequately paid Probation Officers, especially in view of the small number who were employed, to carry out the work properly. Having said this much with regard to the preventive side, he thought, if he might say so, with all deference to Mr. Russell, that he (Mr. Russell) had not promulgated any adequate positive idea of how to turn the juvenile delinquent, as he himself put it, into a useful citizen. (Hear, hear.) A boy who came out of a Reformatory was, as the author put it, very likely to go back to his old form of life. By the treatment which he had in the Reformatory he was not given an opportunity of expressing himself individually; it did not give him a real chance which would enable him to strengthen his character so as to meet life's difficulties and temptations when he came out. If he was well placed and put on to a farm in Canada, or sent to sea or into the Army, he might turn out very well, but he was not "made over," as the Americans said, while he was in the Reformatory. One had not taken the energy of that child and the courage—for in very many cases he had a good deal of courage, sufficient to enable him to plan and cleverly carry out a burglary—and made him into something fine and as keen for good as he was before for evil. Such energy as there was in him had in many instances been crushed out of him. The petty pilfering, which it was admitted went on in the Reformatories, was a pretty good proof that the institution was not doing them very much good. What was necessary was that there should be some system by which one could create positively a good citizen and convert the energy which he undoubtedly possessed into a really fine character. One wanted to give that boy or that girl the opportunity of expressing that energy in a finer way than at present. And that brought him to a point which he would like to discuss that day for a few minutes. He wanted to give the meeting some idea of what was being done in America, and what had been achieved there, and what they hoped to start in England this autumn, namely, a self-governing community on the lines of the George Junior Republics. In the first place there was nothing which savoured of the institution about any of these Republics. It was, rather, a natural community, a village composed of its different cottages and other buildings; and in his mind one of the most important features of this work was that one got rid of the barrack idea of the institution. All the different boys and girls were in small groups in cottages, and that gave the atmosphere of home to start with. They considered that twelve was the largest number which could be housed together without destroying the idea of the home. If they went beyond that number it ceased to be like a home, and began to partake of the nature of an institution. In England, in this first community to be started in Dorsetshire, they intended to make ten the maximum in each cottage. Each house was presided over by a house-mother. She was in the ordinary position of any head of a home as it might be in the ordinary world. She made the rules of the house, and if a boy or girl did not like those rules she had power to turn that boy or girl into the street. He now passed on to the basis of the whole scheme. There were two principles—a wage system, and self-government in matters of discipline. The effect of the wage system on a boy or girl coming into these communities was that he or she acquired the sense of possession in the right way. One of the reasons why children stole was because they had never had anything of their own to take care of. And if one paid them a wage then what they earned became of value to them, and that enabled them to realise fully that there were other people in the community who earned wages and wanted to take care of their possessions and did not want them stolen from them. This sense

of possession and the realisation that other people had the same idea, was of definite value in education. And when one gave them in addition a system of self-government —and it was really government from below and not imposition from above—the effect was almost magical. It meant that all the officers depended for their remaining in office upon the vote of all the citizens of that colony. The effect was entirely opposite to that produced when the government was from above. He considered that the success of our Public School prefect or monitor system in England could only be limited, because there was a delegation of power from above; the boys who were in authority were always resting on the master behind them, and in that case one did not get the same reverence for the laws that were enacted as when they were enacted by the citizens themselves. The moment the operation of this law came into effect it threw the responsibility on the children themselves, and the result was that when one coupled that with the wage-earning system one had a sense of citizenship aroused and a realisation of the value of each being a unit in the community. If he quoted one or two examples of the laws which had been passed in these Republics it would give them some idea. In the early days of the George Junior Republic they passed a law by which the school age was extended from 14 to 21, which was the age at which they had to leave. That was passed by the citizens without any suggestion or lead from the superintendent. They also passed a law prohibiting smoking in the Republic. He thought the fact that such laws were passed on their own initiative entirely was sufficient proof of the spirit of citizenship which they acquired under this system. He had not time to develop this argument, but he would conclude by laying stress once more on the fact that the secret of success was to follow the idea promulgated by Madam Montesori, the great Italian reformer, of taking the energy of the child, and instead of suppressing it, directing it into a new channel. It was only by self-government, coupled with the wage-earning principle, that one could in the adolescent produce a sense of citizenship and responsibility.

Mr. HAROLD LARGE said he would like to make one remark on the first part of Mr. Russell's valuable paper in connection with what was called the age of the delinquent. In America he had seen working what they called the Binet and the Healy mental tests. It seemed to him a very unfair thing that a boy of 18 or 19—this was only thrown out as a suggestion for thought—should be convicted of some misdemeanour or felony when by the mental tests which had been or should be taken of that boy it was often found that he had the mentality of a boy of 8 or 9 years of age. This Binet and Healy system had never been worked out in England, except in a very desultory sort of way. He had heard that Dr. Kerr has worked with it on the London County Council for some years, but there has been nothing taken up by the country systematically in the matter at all. He invited his hearers to think what it meant when a boy of 18 or 19 had the mentality of one 10 years younger. Why should such young persons be convicted as if they were adults? Evidently with such a mentality they did not understand, and if they did not understand, they certainly should have leniency shown them. With regard to the second part of Mr. Russell's paper, on how to make a good citizen of him, it seemed to him that was the whole crux of the question. First of all one needed to thrash out what a citizen was. He believed that to-day there was no question which needed more searching out than the question of citizenship. To-day there was a decline in the responsibility of the individual—(hear, hear)—and that was due to all sorts of causes. One saw it not only in England, but also in every British possession. One saw it in one of the most politically advanced of all countries, New Zealand; so that there never was a time more important for dealing with this question of citizenship. How to get it put on the right basis was, it seemed to him, a matter of experience rather than a matter of theory. One could not talk to a boy or girl about how to become a good citizen any more than one could talk to a boy about swimming, unless one taught him practically. A boy could not learn to swim without going to the baths. To be a good citizen it was necessary for one to practise citizenship. And that was what Mr. Montagu and he stood for at the present moment. By the scheme which they hoped to develop shortly in Dorsetshire, the boys and girls who were sent there would have full opportunity to gain their experience for themselves. A great deal turned upon one point which was mentioned by Mr. Montagu, namely, the sense of possession, which needed to be properly adjusted. One got so many pilferers, and so many cases of petty larceny. It was misunderstanding; and if one understood their point of view one could get at them properly. A boy came up, and his first idea was, either from the love of adventure or from a bad habit, to interfere

with the rights of others. He might borrow a coat or a cap because he wanted to be more respectable. He had noticed a case at the George Junior Republic where a boy was sent to prison by the other boys because he borrowed a suit of clothes which had belonged to a boy who had left the Republic. He had only one suit of clothes, and they were too muddy to go to a dance in in the evening, and it therefore seemed pardonable that he should borrow the other suit. He had no intention of stealing them. But though it was merely a misunderstanding, the boy was made to suffer severely. Where a boy was shown that if he did not work, starvation began to set in—in different degrees of course—he began to recognise that that was the law. And then something could be done. He earned money for what he did, and he took a pride in that money, and it became his true possession as far as he (the speaker) understood the sense of possession. He was the trustee for that sum, and it was extraordinary what interest he took in it. When the first summer camp was started there, Mr. George told the boys, when second-hand suits were sent in to the camp, that each boy had got to earn his suit of clothes. The first boy stood up and said he would earn his in five days. Immediately he got it he said: "Daddy, can you lend me a flat-iron?" "What do you want a flat-iron for?" "I want to put a crease in them pants o' mine." A year later he met Daddy George in New York. He said: "Daddy, do you know what I have got on?" "No." "Don't you see what suit of clothes I have got on? This is the suit of clothes I earned." He asked them to notice the pride he had in them. In that incident one found illustrated this sense of possession and pride in it. In that, he maintained, lay the germ of true citizenship. The responsibility engendered was the key. The next thing was that a boy had his pockets rifled of his well-earned money that he had got together. What did he do? He wanted to at once appeal to the sense of responsibility in the other boys. He appealed to the community to help him get his money back. The boy could not appeal to the superintendent; he appealed to his fellow-citizens; and if one appealed in that way one put the responsibility on to the community. The community rose to it. That seemed to be a psychological law. The result was that when the boy who had stolen the savings of the other boy was brought before the Boys' Court and sentenced by the boy Judge, the misdemeanant recognised the justice of it; whereas if the superintendent as an adult had sentenced him in the same way it would not have had the same effect. He would have imagined or recognised that in the adult there was an innate antagonism between the boy world and the adult world. After this method there was no antagonism. And over and over again when boys went to Freeville or other Republics they began to learn this second law of citizenship; and the responsibility grew and grew. He had seen some of the worst and most despicable characters, those who were most mentally unsound, who had gone there and in a few months they had straightened out into respectable and responsible citizens.

Alderman D. J. DAVIES (West Ham Borough Council) said they must acknowledge that this subject was a very grave one when it was remembered that there were no two individuals exactly alike, and hence there was every reason to think that there were no two brains alike. It was recognised by men of science that the brain was the chief organ of the mind, and hence it was difficult to organise any means by which one could deal with a large number of persons on the same plan. He was glad to hear of this plan of getting the boys into small groups of six or eight, because one could deal with them better than if one had a large number. What he wished to refer to was something from experience. Mr. Russell spoke about lodging-houses. He (the speaker) happened to be connected with a lodging-house, the property of the Mansfield House University Settlement. He had been connected with it for ten years, and one of the first inquiries he made when he became connected with that lodging-house was as to what was being done as far as the boys were concerned. He discovered that there were no regulations about them whatever. He therefore immediately instituted a regulation of his own, which he was given permission to do, and it was that no boy, unless under very exceptional circumstances, should stay in the place more than one night; and that he could only stay one night provided he came late at night and the night man knew it was too late for him to go elsewhere. They had kept to that rule as rigidly as possible, though, of course, there were some exceptions. He wanted to support the statement of Mr. Russell that the difficulty they had in these lodging-houses was with the casual man. The lowest price which the lodging-house took for the night was 4d. To-day a man might pay his 4d. and appear sober and clean. They might know nothing about that man, and

if they had suspicions questions were asked. Sometimes a man might turn round and say he did not think they had a right to ask him these questions. They allowed no intoxicating drink for anybody in the house. But, however careful one was in the government of a place like that, the casual man always got the best of one. Supposing a boy came into that house late at night; then without one knowing it at all he might sleep next to a man who was a criminal and who had been a criminal for years, the man being there for the one night only. Next morning he might go away with that man. Cases like that seemed to prove the necessity of having regulations by which that kind of thing should be forbidden. In the case of every boy they got into the place they tried to do something for him: Mansfield House Settlement existed for that purpose, and in reference to adults too. But he had found it a most difficult thing to do anything for the boys permanently. He had had a case recently, that of a boy who appeared very genuine. He reported it, and one of the residents of the Mansfield House Settlement came to see him. He took particulars of his case, and through the Charity Organisation Society made some inquiries. It seemed that the boy was genuine, and he (the speaker) was asked to keep him. He did so for nearly a fortnight, and then a situation was found for him. On the very day that work was found for him he disappeared, and he had not been discovered since. He had no theory to put forward, nor any practical suggestions; the subject was a very difficult one.

Mr. C. B. SNELLING (Chelmsford Union) said that Mr. Russell had pointed out to them the need of instilling into youths a greater fear. He thought he was on the wrong track there, for it was the hopeful part about these young people that they were without fear. It was a grand thing that such was the case, for if they had fear they would not emigrate, they would not have the courage to start new homes, and there would not be marriages. Instead of impressing this fear upon them, as Mr. Russell did, perhaps they should aim at bringing more hope into their lives and into their homes. With most of the people to-day the trouble was that they had from day to day nothing to look forward to. Their prospect was to keep on the grind until they were over 40 years of age, and once they reached that period they were anticipating being thrown out of employment and their lives becoming hopeless and useless. The home was the centre of the Commonwealth—(hear, hear)—and they should try to make these homes not the places where, as their friend pointed out, a few coins could be brought—coins to rattle in the pocket as distinct from what others had got—but to cultivate the family feeling: the feeling that if one had something in the home it was a wealthy home, the sense of possession in and with the family. That was probably in the mind of the boy who took the suit of clothes; and it was a good thing to feel that what was in the home was part of the possession of that home personally and collectively. There should be a desire to make the home homely, and everyone should assist. That might be the idea which Mr. Russell was aiming at, but he happened to have missed it. He said, follow the boy with more officials. But he (Mr. Snelling) asked him what would happen when he had got these extra officials. He would have one official to instruct the lodging-house keeper that he should not take a boy who was over a certain age, and another official to see that the ex-policeman did his work properly; and all these people were to be properly paid at the expense of the class they controlled. But if the boy had wit enough—and these boys as a rule had wit enough—to change his name, the officials would find it very difficult to trace him as he wandered about the country. Much in these cases would depend on the simplicity of the individual, and these boys were not filled with simplicity. There was so much in the paper about extra officers, but no mention of proper payment of the people in their homes. If there was a sufficient wage coming into these homes, the lads and the lassies would find that there was scope for them there, and they would have more hope. There were very many cases of young persons—they were still called boys and girls, although they had been working twelve or fourteen years—girls who started work at 8s. a week and who received only 1s. a week advance when 30 years old, or boys who received 18s. a week at 16 and 20s. a week at 40. There was no hope in those cases. It was by having an efficiency wage that one would enable those homes to become hopeful places, and this would relieve them all of that enormous expenditure on officials from which they were suffering to-day. Mr. Russell also mentioned that the prisons were filled mostly with the poor. Why? The fact was—and he spoke as one who had been twice sentenced—that the persons who did this summary jurisdiction were very anxious to get through a great deal of work smartly, but it was very seldom they

attempted to pass judgment on members of their own class of society. The little peccadillos of a lad at Eton they laughed at and passed over as boyish pranks; but for the lower class boy there was a different story. He might take a rabbit, or a pound of apples, or take care of his friend's dog, and before he knew where he was he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment, or to satisfy the magistrate with a lump of silver. That was why the majority of our criminals were of the poor class: it was because it was a different class which did the sentencing. He was glad that in these George Junior Republics they had not merely boy judges, but a jury to consider the offence and give the verdict. He thought we should insist in this country on the reinstitution of the jury system for all punishable offences. William Penn was able to appeal to a jury, and by that appeal he was able to show that, although he spoke in Gracechurch Street, he did not speak sedition. If he had been tried in a modern Court of Summary Jurisdiction the magistrate would have said "Anarchist!" and have given him a sentence which would have injured him for life.

Mr. A. E. Oakeshott (Strood Union) said that he came because he thought he would like to take part in a little discussion on the original paper. He had not any pet scheme to put forward, but he wanted to speak for a minute or two upon what he knew of the result of the working of the Probation Act in the Provinces. He happened to be one of the Probation Officers who were appointed immediately the Act came into force, at Chatham, Rochester, North Fleet, and Gravesend, and he happened also to be one of the Church of England Temperance Society missioners. At that particular time they were looked upon as men of experience, and he believed there were no men who had attended the Police Court for sixteen or seventeen years who were not men of experience. Certainly, while he had been engaged in the work he had learned a lot. When he was appointed Probation Officer, it was because he knew the poor people and the criminals to a very large extent, and for that reason he was deemed suitable; and he thought that was the case also with his colleagues all over the country; and particularly when they were instructed to devote their whole time to the work there was every reason why they should do the work properly. When persons were brought before the magistrates it was because they had committed an offence; they were delinquents. The oldest probationer he had was now 58 years of age, and the youngest was aged 11. He took the whole of the cases which came before the magistrates which the magistrates pleased to let him have; but there were many he would like whom he did not get. Most of those present were not Probation Officers, but they probably knew something about the Act, though perhaps not the details, and they probably did not know what was being done with the delinquents. He believed to a very large extent in transplanting, but they as Probation Officers were not supplied with the funds which were absolutely necessary for anything of that sort. The Home Office, he thought, should furnish funds for expenses when the officials were moving these quasi-criminals from one place to another, but they absolutely refused, or at least the County Council did, or it was necessary to beg, borrow, or the other thing—(laughter)—to pay the expenses of these poor people whom they were transplanting and helping. The missioners had found that if they went to the homes there were two or three neighbours round, or in the house, who wanted to know what was going on, or there might be a family of five or six children who wanted to know everything that was said, and consequently they could not get at the people and learn the rights and wrongs of the case; and if it was a case of petty theft or disobedience of bye-laws or what not the mother or father who might be at home were found to be a terror to the boy or girl. But if the offender came to his (the speaker's) own home he could say what he pleased to them; consequently instead of being a policeman—which he (the speaker) never was and hoped he never would be—he could be a friend. They came to his house regularly on a Friday or Sunday night, and he thought it was worth while to stay at home to see them and help them. That, at all events, was what he tried to do. In Kent they had a Probation Home for boys up to 18 years of age, and in London there was an institution, the Working Lads' Homes, which he made use of, and in five or six cases the lads were doing splendidly. He had sent out one or two to Australia, and two to Canada. Someone had written of "The happy homes of England, how beautiful they stand," but they should go down to the slums of Chatham, where they might find 150 places which nobody in their senses could possibly call homes; they were dens where wild beasts lived; and as for the poor children there, the sooner they were in Ashford Industrial School or the Reformatory the better for them. Every house almost had an immoral woman in it, and the children swarmed in the

streets. They were the sort of people who had to be dealt with. And that was where they found many of the juvenile delinquents, boys and girls, and the sooner they were out of the place the better. It was an awful and a difficult subject, and he was very glad to have heard a gentleman of experience from Manchester on the subject.

Mr. W. B. Luke, J.P. (Middlesex County Council) said that those who worked in connection with the Middlesex Bench were greatly indebted to the agents of the Police Court Mission for the most valuable work they did in regard to probation. That was not limited to juveniles, and it covered a wider area than that which was allocated to this Section that afternoon. Their special subject of discussion was the transformation of the juvenile delinquent. They should remember that he was a delinquent; he had done something wrong or he would not be where he was. There was a misplaced pity with regard to some criminals, especially those of comparatively few years, who were sent to prison. Rarely, in his experience, was a youth sent to prison until many other means had been tried. He could not speak very well for what went on outside Middlesex, but he knew what went on in this great county, in Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions, and he could say it was the rarest thing for any young man, and especially for any young woman, to go to prison unless they had first of all been tested and assisted in a variety of ways; by being put on probation, by being bound over to be of good behaviour, by being kept under observation, by being handed over to their friends or sent to the country, or in some other way. And when they were sent to prison it was because neither magistrate nor chairman of Sessions nor anybody else knew what to do with them. With regard to juvenile delinquents strictly, what made the juvenile delinquent? One main instrument in his manufacture was the penny-in-the-slot gas-meter. They got more juvenile thieves brought before them on account of the penny-in-the-slot meter than anything else. It seemed that the existence of this meter in the house in a convenient poisiton for being rifled, with a hammer handy, and the knowledge that one had simply to break the hasp to have a double handful of coppers, was too much for the honesty and rectitude of the juvenile offender. He did it again and again, until at length the long-suffering parents, or the gas company, brought him before the magistrates. What was one to do to reclaim him? No one had mentioned the birch. He would mention it now. They sometimes resorted to it—("Shame")—for boys under 12. He was not ashamed. He mentioned it as an historical fact, and there were people living who could confirm the ancient testimony of the wise man with regard to the usefulness of the birch. There were others who held different views. Sometimes the resort to the birch was apparently successful; the boy who did not mind anything one said to him was visibly affected when he knew he was to receive three or four strokes from the hand of the sergeant, his father or mother being present if they desired. Sometimes it produced no effect. With regard to a more important curative agency—he meant places of detention sanctioned under the Children's Act —in Middlesex they had established a place of detention which accommodated twelve or fourteen children, and it was sometimes full. They sent all children there who were on remand, or who were required to be kept under confinement for a time. Supposing a boy had stolen again and again and it was necessary to punish him. They did not want to send him to a Reformatory, but to give him a solid warning, a time for reflection, and to isolate him from his evil companions; they sent him for a month to the place of detention. He would be glad to hear if other counties had done that. They were trying an experiment, and so far it was satisfactory, except that it was perhaps too comfortable. It was very sad when one had a penal establishment and when the inmates whom one sent there for punishment cried because they had to go home again! They begged to be allowed to remain in the Institution. It might be said that the Authorities were making it too attractive for them, but they could not but make it clean and comparatively comfortable, and many of these juvenile delinquents came from homes which were bad and insanitary, and foul and immoral, darksome, gloomy places, and so when one put them in these places of detention one put them in places which were better than their own homes. Another contributory cause of juvenile delinquency which he would mention was the Cinema. He thought that had something to do with juvenile pilfering, and he thought in this way that children not only robbed gas-meters in order to go to the Cinema, but the Cinema acted as an inflammatory influence on the mind and imagination, and spurred them on to high and gallant exploits, giving them a great spirit of adventure, and prompting them by the pictures they saw there to deeds

which were not only bold and adventurous, but dishonest and immoral. In that way he felt that the Cinema had done something to add to the juvenile delinquency in this country. What was the great remedy for that? He thought they must look to education, to an increased moral influence in the schools and to a prolongation of the school life. Especially compulsory Evening Schools were needed, to take children through the critical period up to 16 or 17 years of age, to maintain the education they had got, and to enlarge their minds and develop them on the right lines. Finally, there was that Tennysonian aspiration which must be borne in mind, "Let more of reverence in us dwell." There was too much irreverence, there was too little regard for authority, parental and other; there was a growing disinclination to respect law and order; there was a spirit of rebellion early implanted and early blossoming, and this had a dire influence among children. They must promote more regard for truth and obedience and the elementary home virtues which used to be the glory of our land, if they would cope with the evils and dangers of juvenile delinquency.

Alderman BENJAMIN CROWTHER (West Riding County Council) said that he differed somewhat from Mr. Russell's view of Probation Officers. He found that Probation Officers, male and female, took a liking to the children committed to their care, and did good work. He believed, with Mr. Russell, that environment was one of the great factors in the production of juvenile offences, and his experience convinced him that young boys were often led to commit offences by association with the older boys in the district; from which he concluded that every effort should be made to improve the environment. To punish them by imprisonment was one way of converting them into confirmed criminals. Instead of that, the Borstal system should be extended, or more suitable means provided, and, in his opinion, they should be taught that to begin life as drinkers and smokers would seriously handicap them in the battle of life. He thought greater power should be given to the Summary Courts. Magistrates often were in a fix as to what to do with such cases, and wherever fines were optional, whether for juveniles or older people, he maintained that it was desirable that time should be given to pay the fine in preference to imprisonment. The last two paragraphs in the paper seemed to him to touch the crux of the whole matter. On page 5 the author spoke of bad housing, overcrowding, drink, sordid environment. He believed he was right; but was not sure it was wise to put drink in the middle. He (Mr. Crowther) believed drink to be the great producer of both bad housing and overcrowding, and sordid environment. Mr. Russell had also said that in newer suburban cities, where young fellows worked just the same as fellows from the slums, they did not appreciably contribute to the prison population, nor their offspring either. He thought that there he was right also. Then Mr. Russell advocated decent housing, sunlight, plenty of open spaces and playfields, and what was to his (the speaker's) mind the most important point, a vast reduction in drinking facilities. That was the crux of the whole matter. Remove the drink, and crime would be reduced to the minimum, parents would have more care for their children and better control of them, with the result in the case of juvenile delinquents that offences would be greatly reduced.

Mr. RICHARD W. HUIE (Edinburgh Parish Council) said he had read very carefully before coming the paper which had been presented to the meeting. He heartily agreed with practically all it contained, and thought our system of treating petty offences and sending young delinquents, if the 5s. fine was not forthcoming, to jail, was simply manufacturing criminals. The author had spoken of the weakness of the Borstall system, that only youths who had committed serious offences and who were superior from the physical and mental standpoint got the benefit of it. He also agreed with regard to common lodging-houses that something should be done, and at once, to prevent these young people being admitted into houses which were known by the police to be of bad repute. He perhaps might be allowed to tell the meeting what was being done in Scotland. In the Poor Law Report great stress was laid the boarding-out children, on the ground that it was generally carried out throughout the country as it should be. In Scotland that system had been in vogue for many years, and with the very best possible results. They in Edinburgh boarded out every child whom they could get the power to board out, and after they had passed school age, *i.e.*, 15 or 16, they gave them an allowance during the three years of apprenticeship. The Assistant Inspector called and saw them at various times, and they were visited once a year by the Inspector and two Councillors. They kept well in touch with them and saw how they were doing, and it was gratifying to find that the

percentage of these boarded-out children who came back on the rates was infinitesimal, much less than in the case of children who never came within the purview of the Poor Law. That was, he thought, very satisfactory, and if England did not do as much in that way as was done in Scotland, she might very well follow the example of the smaller community.

Sir CHARLES MACKELLAR (Chairman, State Children's Board, New South Wales) said that he had come there simply to listen to the speakers who had been announced to address the meeting, and without any idea that he would be called upon to give his views upon the matter which formed the subject of the discussion. He was, therefore, not prepared to offer any opinion upon the questions at issue, for he had but a slender knowledge of the conditions under which the poor lived in Great Britain. But he had had considerable experience in Australia, and having been for the last twenty-six years a member of the Legislature of what was perhaps the most democratic country in the world he had naturally a bias towards State interference, towards State control and maintenance of all institutions for the care of children. That was not absolutely carried out in New South Wales, but the State was prepared to undertake the whole responsibility and did for the most part maintain and care for all waifs and strays, deserted and delinquent children. As he could not express an opinion as to what methods were applicable to Great Britain, he had perhaps better tell them what course was adopted in his own State. In 1881 there were thousands of children in institutions, in barracks, just as indeed there were thousands of children in England now in barracks—a most deplorable circumstance, in his opinion. The proper place for the child was the home, and the only way in which one could improve the condition of delinquent or neglected children was by improving the condition of the homes in which they lived. If that could not be done, the task was absolutely hopeless, for no number of Industrial Schools, Reformatories, or Borstall Institutions would mend the condition in any material degree. The child should be brought up in its home: the home was the unit of the nation, and it was the duty of the State, in his opinion, to see that the home was improved. It was a very bad home indeed which was not better than the best institution into which one could put the child. In 1881 the State in New South Wales confined all their children in institutions. A few ladies about that time had an idea that the boarding-out system was preferable; accordingly, they collected money among themselves and constituted themselves a Board for the purpose of inaugurating that system. Their success was phenomenal, and they induced the Government to undertake to pass a law which would give them power to remove to homes any children in any institution which received State aid. That law was passed with very great misgivings. A short time ago he read a speech of the Premier of the day, in which he openly stated that by the importunity of these women he had been induced to attempt to pass this Act, but that he had misgivings as to its chances of success. In the course of a year or two—certainly not more than two and a half years—the whole of the children had been removed from the institutions in which they had been kept, and placed in private families. The old institutions had never been occupied since, and at the present time the State Children's Board, which had continued in office since 1882, had under its care about 4,500 children, orphans, or deserted children, dealt with on that system. They also had a law which had since been passed, which enabled the State Children's Board to give some aid to the mothers of children whose fathers had deserted, or to widows, or to mothers of children whose fathers were in jails or in lunatic asylums. That was a discretion in the hands of the Board, and it has been productive of a great deal of good. He was speaking of children many of whom belonged to the class that filled the Children's Courts, both in England and in Australia. And about the year 1905 a law was passed very much the same as the English Children's Act. It was passed partly because of investigations which had been made in Germany. The German Social Code of 1900 had laid it down as a basic principle that where any child was being brought up by its parents in such a way that in after-life it was likely to be a menace to the well-being of the community it was the duty of the State to remove the child from its parents and to undertake its guardianship; and that was being done throughout Prussia at any rate, and some other German States now. Any person could lay information against a parent who was bringing up a child in that way; it was brought before the Court of Ward, and it might be sent back to its parents, or it might be committed to the care of the parish Commune, or to some person willing to undertake the care. That was the principle on which their law in New South Wales was framed. A large number of

children were placed out on probation by the Courts, it being recognised that no child should be sent to any institution unless its home was of such a character that it was impossible for him to get the benefit which home life gave to a child. But a very large number of children were sent home on probation, and although they had thirty-five Probation Officers—thirty men and five women—it had been judged that it was impossible with them to undertake the proper probation of the children, even in the Metropolis (which was a city of 650,000 persons) because they had other duties to perform. He supposed they might have done all the work if they had had nothing else to do, but they had several Acts to administer: the Infants' Protection Act, which provided for institutions to receive children under 7 years, foundlings, and so on; the Children's Protection Act, which dealt with Lying-in Homes, or any place where a woman was taken for confinement; the Truancy Law also; and the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders' Act. Having in view that it was impossible for these officers to conduct the work, their Government appointed certain Honorary Probation Officers on the nomination of the State Children's Board. These officers received no pay whatever, but they had the duty placed upon them of supervising the conduct of children who were sent from the Court, and there were at the present time about 1,200 children of that character living in their own homes. They had 326 Honorary Probation Officers, who faithfully performed their duties. Certain religious bodies had taken a more active share in the probation work than others, notably the Roman Catholic Church and the Salvation Army. To give an idea of the work done, the Roman Catholic Society of St. Vincent de Paul divided up the Metropolis into forty-two districts, and appointed a small committee of perhaps two or three persons in each district, and any child sent to any one of these districts was supervised by the officer or officers of that district. Once every month a delegation from each district met at the Central Hall, where the conduct of the children in all the districts was gone over by the assembly. And a set of books were kept so that they were in a position to tell the behaviour of every child that was under their care. At the end of the month a record of the conduct of all children was sent to the State Children's Board, so that there was a perfect knowledge of everything that went on, with the result that, according to the last report of the Society which he had named, 93 per cent. of the children absolutely kept their probation in every particular. But another benefit had arisen from this probation work; the report of these gentlemen showed not only that the children had behaved themselves, but that the parents' conduct had improved also, that numbers of persons who had never attended, for instance—if that was to be accepted as a sign of virtue—any religious observances, had been induced to follow the observances of their own religion, which to his mind had some force. They had a few cases which could not be sent on probation, and they had another method of dealing with them. They were to a farm of 550 acres, and upon this farm were built numbers of homes, small cottages in which fifteen children were placed under the care of a woman, who is called the mother of the home, and a man was there also. His experience had shown him that a woman exercised infinitely more beneficial influence than a man did under those circumstances. It was a woman's work, and it was done in their case very well. These children attended the ordinary village school, which was a mile from the farm. They could escape whenever they chose to do so. The delinquents were not taken to school, but were sent to school, and invariably they returned when school was over, and behaved themselves just as other children did. They were just ordinary children of the community, and so far as he had gone yet—and he had through the courtesy of the Home Secretary gone through a great number of institutions—he had not seen any that to his mind commended themselves as being more desirable than those that he had seen at home. But he was prepared to believe that there were many improvements which they might adopt, and before he left this country he trusted he would be able to make himself familiar with them.

Alderman F. J. BEAVAN (Association of Poor Law Unions) said he wished to make some reference to the after-care of Poor Law children. The children in their Poor Law Homes were housed very carefully and respectably; but they cost 8s. 9d. a week. Working men came to them and said: "We cannot afford 8s. 9d. a week for each of our children"; and to some extent, in his judgment, that was the crux of the whole question. Working people were not in a position to find accommodation, to look after their children in the same effective way as public bodies. It was not for him to say how they could mend the matter, but he felt strongly that children should be cared for in their own homes, much on the same principle as they were

cared for in these scattered or Cottage Homes. He felt, too, as a magistrate, that great leniency should be shown to young and neglected children—children who came from homes where there was very little oversight and very little paternal training. So much which was deplored in the matter of manners and conduct and spirit in these young people was due to the homes in which they lived. Personally, he thought very many of the parents of these children did their best, but they could not make both ends meet. They would have to begin at the beginning again, and try to help people when they most needed help, in bringing up their families, especially seeing to it that children were not punished for what Mr. Russell said they did not understand, but that they were encouraged, and in every suitable manner directed to help to get into the right way.

Mr. RUSSELL, in reply, said he thanked those who had spoken for having treated his paper so kindly. With regard to what Mr. Montagu and Mr. Large had said, he would say that the George Junior Republic, if organised in accordance with English traditions and customs, might well be tried in this country. He was sure that with a certain type of our anti-social youths, driven to their present position by the circumstances of to-day, the George Junior Republic methods might do very much good. With regard to what he had said anent the administration of the Probation Act, he was glad to know that it was so well administered in the South. He came from the North, and he said distinctly it was not administered as it might be there. At the Borstal Institution at Borstal itself, of 401 young fellows there on March 31st last, 158 had been previously on probation, and at the Borstal Institution at Feltham no less than 102 out of 326. If the Act were administered in the way it was in Canada they would not have so many youths in those two institutions who had previously been on probation. He thought that in many such cases these youths had been harmed by being placed on probation, and would have done better if placed in institutions than placed under the care of men who, however excellent their intentions, had not the time to do the work properly. The delegate from West Ham agreed with what was said about common lodging-houses. The only charge he (the speaker) would place upon Local Authorities was the cost of the provision of ex-policemen or persons of that kind to act as deputies in common lodging-houses which might be used for youths; for, contrary to Mr. Davies' opinion, he knew for certain from experience that numbers of boys found their way to common lodging-houses because they had run away from home and were very sorry for themselves. If there were a man in a common lodging-house who would act as a friend to such boys, many boys who had run away from home would be got back to their people. Of course, many boys were cunning; they would "do one in in the eye," as it was called, but there were a large number who, with proper care, might be prevented from slipping down. The purpose of his paper was to show how the law dealt with juvenile delinquency at present, and in what directions it might be altered. For it to be considered that the age of 16 marked the dividing line between youth and manhood was folly of an extreme kind, and to treat youths of 16 for the most petty delinquencies as if they were adults and send them to prison was a deplorable system. One speaker had said that he (Mr. Russell) wished to make boys more afraid. All he wished to do was to make boys afraid of being idle. At present they knew that often idleness did not mean discomfort. It was all very well for them to say that a boy was up against starvation if he did not work; but he knew that very often they would not work. Society to-day had produced a class of youth who was content to do without working, who, even if one found him a lodging, would sleep out, and spend his money on something else. He thought that to-day we wanted to train boys to be afraid of the consequences of being idle; and if one could tell the young men who loafed at the street corner and obstructed the streets that he would not be sent to prison for a week or two but would be sent for a year or two to an institution where he would be taught to like work—for working was a habit just as loafing was a habit—the result would be to decrease enormously the amount of adolescent loafing in the country.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was taken by Lt.-Colonel Warden. The subject discussed was THE EFFECTS OF IMPRISONMENT ON THE ADULT CRIMINAL AND THE ALTERNATIVES TO IMPRISONMENT. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*The Relation between Crime and Destitution: the Effects of Imprisonment.*
By Dr. JAMES DEVON.

2.—*Unnecessary Imprisonment and its Effects.*
By Mr. THOMAS HOLMES.

The Relation between Crime and Destitution and the Effects of Imprisonment.

By JAMES DEVON
(Medical Officer to H.M. Prison, Glasgow).

THE need for inquiry into the cause of wrong-doing has not yet been officially recognised. When a crime has been committed we provide a skilled staff to detect the criminal and bring home to him his guilt. Very rarely is there any attempt made to lay bare the causes of his conduct except in so far as these may contribute to his condemnation. If the crime charged is a sensational one, and attracts public attention, the criminal has a better chance of having circumstances in his favour considered. If he has money or influence, he may have the benefit of skilled advocacy. If he has neither and has merely committed a minor offence, his chances of imprisonment are increased. His chances of conviction depend very largely on his position and resources. The police know of many criminals who have never been convicted because they have been able to work in such a way as to make it very difficult to get evidence against them, and, when charged, have been able to arrange such a defence as to defeat the efforts of the prosecution. The machinery of the law is strong enough to deal with the poor rogue.

The great majority of people in prison are there because they cannot pay their fines. In a large number of cases the fines are small sums, but though 5s. is not a large amount of money, it is a tremendous sum to the person who has got nothing. In many cases the offence of which they have been convicted may not

have been due to their poverty, but an examination would show that poverty and destitution play much greater parts in the causation of crime than is generally believed. My personal view is that they are at the root of most offences against the law. Everybody can see that a man may be tempted to steal if he is destitute, but those who have never felt the pinch of poverty, combined with the absence of friendly aid, can hardly imagine how men are embittered and goaded into acts of brutality; how they are tempted to seize desperately on every chance of even momentary forgetfulness of their fate; how continually they have to dodge rules and laws that never incommode their more fortunate neighbours; how hopeless they become, and how broken in spirit; how easy it is for them to drift into courses condemned by those whose life is brighter, and whose opportunities are greater.

It is an easy thing for an industrious man to sink into sloth and idleness. It is often a more difficult thing for a poor and friendless man to get work he can do, and it is a much easier thing for him to become a subject of care by the philanthropists and to live by looking for work rather than by doing it. People become criminals very often by the accident of circumstances. Once connections are made they are difficult to break, and the way out of the morass is seldom an easy one.

If an inquiry were made among people who were engaged in honest work in a poor district, it would be found that their choice of occupation had been largely a matter of accident. And the same thing is true of those engaged in dishonest occupations. In fact, to most people in this country no great choice is offered.

A boy when he leaves school gets employment where and how he can. A slight difference in wages offered may cause him to take a place in what is called a blind-alley occupation. He must make as much as he can as soon as he can. He may wait there as long as he is allowed, or he may look out for any better opening that presents itself. He has no idea what he wants to become; or if he has, in many cases, it is a wrong idea altogether, and when he gets the place he sought he finds he does not want it. He wants a good job, and a good job is one where he will not be too hard worked, and where he will get a fair wage, and, if possible, some tips. His people cannot train him for a special occupation, and the better jobs are looked after by the better off. For these there are examinations to pass which are ludicrously inappropriate as affording a test of anybody's abilities to fill them, but which do decide who has been best crammed in subjects that have nothing to do with the occupation. They effectively shut out the children of the poor. If a lad gets into bad company and breaks the law, his relatives are not in a position to look after him, and no matter how he is dealt with, his misconduct tends to break down the whole family. Where a father has developed anti-social habits, the family is under a severe handicap from the beginning. Anybody can see how severely a poor family suffers from the illness of one of its members, except when that illness takes such a form that it receives hospital treatment; but when there is a moral fault present in any of its members, the others suffer just as severely, and the treatment of the offender officially is such as to increase their difficulties, and to diminish their self-respect, rather than to aid them.

In this country a man needs shelter from the weather. He cannot always live out of doors, and even when the elements are indulgent he is not permitted to sleep in the open unless he can show that he has money enough to be above the necessity of doing so. That part of the simple life is closed to the destitute.

Clothing also is a necessity, for, even though the weather were favourable to

life without it, there are reasons against permitting people to go about in a Christian land like the heathen in their darkness. Destitution is no safeguard against hunger, and food cannot be had here from the bounty of Nature. A man can only obtain shelter, clothing, and food as the result of his own industry, or that of some other body. If he is destitute, in good health, and unable to obtain employment, he is not permitted to exploit the industry of others. In Scotland the law makes no provision for him. In England it professes to do so. It is hardly worth while discussing whether it is better to assume that no able-bodied man need be destitute, or to acknowledge the possibility and make such provision for the case as will make the man's condition worse.

If the destitute person begs, he breaks the law. If he steals, he commits a crime for which a greater penalty is exacted; but the chances of detection may be less, and the reward of industry judiciously applied to theft may be very much larger. As one of my patients once informed me, if you beg, only one in ten may give you anything, and you have in each case a chance of being caught. If you steal, you always get something, and you are not always caught. He preferred to steal. He was caught. His opportunities were lessened on his liberation, for he was known. So also were his chances of honest work, and for the same reason. He continued a thief—and a poor one in every sense of the word—but he had simply drifted into crime through destitution. On the other hand, I knew of a man who in his day was a much respected magistrate, and who in his old age, to the horror of his family, in the course of an admonition to honesty, casually remarked that his own success in life was due to a theft. He was destitute, helped himself, obtained a few pounds, got a start in a good place, and in time became a prominent citizen in the place of his adoption and a pillar of the kirk. There are others, but these do not concern us except to prevent us from forgetting that the saying, " Once a thief always a thief," is not true when the thief has not been labelled.

When a person begins to steal through destitution, he does not usually go in for a big thing. His theft is generally a petty theft. This offers a presumption that his intention is not to adopt stealing as a profession. Shut out by any cause from other work, he may become a habitual criminal; but in the beginning, and in the majority of cases, there is no intention to do so.

It has been said that the majority of those in prison for theft are habitual offenders, and that only a comparatively few offences against property are due to destitution. This is to lose sight of the fact that nobody is a habitual offender at first. An occupation or pursuit begun from destitution may be continued after the initial cause has ceased to exist, but as a direct result of that cause. This is true whether the occupation is an honest or a dishonest one. I have known men whose later success was due to their destitution. It brought them to the notice of those who took an interest in them and helped them to positions where their qualities found them an honourable reward. The starting point of the career of many habitual criminals was their destitution. It threw them into conditions favourable—I might almost say, compelling—to the commission of crime, and their first criminal act, in its result, shut the door against their return to honest and suitable employment. I say suitable employment, for it is too often assumed that men are wicked because they do not accept any kind of work on almost any terms, whereas the fact is that their refusal may be due to a wider knowledge than that of those who seek to direct them.

But destitution is not merely a condition inducing crimes against property. It is behind many police offences and crimes against the person. Poverty makes

strange bedfellows, and it is not surprising that they should quarrel. Hard times do not improve the temper nor increase a spirit of sweet reasonableness even among the elect who are above want. Pressure beyond a point, differing for different people, will break anybody in body, mind, and spirit. With very few exceptions, those who are in prison for crimes against the person are poor people, and as a general rule while they are in custody they do not show more vicious tempers, and are just as quiet and well behaved, as those of us who are set over them. Away from their vile surroundings they can and do behave. Drink enters into the causation of their crimes, and they are sober while in prison, but their drinking may have a cause other than their natural wickedness. Rich people are not all teetotalers, nor are they all good-humoured when in their cups, but they do not have the same incitements to brutality at these times as are present in the slums.

As for police offences, they are mainly committed by poor people. The richer a man is, the fewer chances he has of offending, unless he deliberately makes them. If a millionaire in search of amusement or sensation set out to break the laws, no doubt he could make a big smash at a comparatively trifling money cost. For that matter he might tie up the whole system for a time, and make the authorities themselves break the law, at less than the cost of a free library and with no personal risk. But people do not generally set out to break laws merely for the fun of doing so, and police offences are not to any large extent the outcome of sportiveness. Nobody bothers officially about how the rich live. We supervise the housing of the poor, the education of the poor, the care of the children of the poor, the work of the poor, the amusements of the poor, the morals of the poor; the opportunities of the poor—well, no. We assume that they are able to conform to our laws. It is much easier. They are to blame if they live in overcrowded dwellings. Such conduct induces disease that may spread to others; and in any case it injures their health and makes them unfit for work and burdensome to the community. It is possible that some of them would prefer more room to live, and that they outrage our housing regulations, not from a bad disposition, but because they cannot obey them. Rent is a large item in the expenditure of many, though to do some of them justice they do their best to escape its payment. It is also a large item in the income of their betters, and that is a very good reason why steps to reduce it should not be taken. So, if people will not pay to have sufficient housing accommodation, we solve the problem by finding sanitary quarters for them in jail. They may say they have no money. If that were admitted as a valid excuse, where would the law be? Also, they tell lies. Rich people are by no means monopolists in the art of false statement. They could quite well pay if they would only drink less and pay greater attention to their household expenditure. They can get books telling them how to live on sixpence a day, written by people who have done it, without the excuse that they were compelled thereto by want. They are careless and need to be stimulated by punishment to do their duty as laid down by the law. Even if this explained it all, there is the question: How did they become so bad? There may be a reason for their development in wickedness just as there is a reason why the rest of us are so good.

We have the children specially under our care. I do not know how far recent legislation to prevent cruelty to children has been successful, but I do know that as a result of it women have been convicted and sent to prison who were found on examination to have broken down mentally as a result of the strain imposed upon them by the conditions of their life. In some cases the

women had behaved well for years, and then slowly sank into a condition in which, so far from their being able to care for their children, they were unfit to look after themselves. They had taken to drink as a result of their breakdown, and their wrong-doing was wholly attributed to vice. Sober and in prison, the true state of affairs became apparent. In spite of the fact that this was reported outside, they were, at the expiry of their sentence, sent back to their homes, to be brought back again for the same offence. This is not preventing cruelty to children. This is encouraging it, in order to punish the offender, who needs help and care, and gets punishment for failing to become mad enough to obtain classification among lunatics. These people should not have children. True, but if poor people did not have children some of their critics would find themselves under the necessity of doing some useful work. As a matter of fact, there was nothing to hinder these people from continuing as they had begun and acting as worthy mothers, if the strain of household work had been lessened instead of being increased as they got older.

Then the education of the children must be insisted on. Lately we have taken to the prosecution of parents for not sending their children to Continuation Classes between the ages of 14 and 16. A growing boy, in the attempt to assist in gaining his livelihood, goes out to work. He is employed for as many hours as a man, sometimes under a relatively greater strain. After his work is over for the day he is debarred from seeking recreation. He must go to school and sit in a stuffy atmosphere, boring himself and his teacher under pretence of being educated. He is less in need of education than those who devised this torture for him. How many hours do *they* work? Instead of prosecuting the parents, in many of the cases it would pay us better to prosecute the authorities. If the iniquities that are perpetrated in the name of law and justice were examined and exposed, they would seriously raise the question whether the criminal laws and their administration, or the law-breakers, are the greater nuisance and expense to the community. But if they were examined they never would be perpetrated. When a person is rich enough or influential enough to obtain the services of a lawyer his side of the case gets a fair show; but the poverty of the poor is their destruction. They cannot state their own case, and some of them plead guilty in order to "get it over," in the belief that they will be convicted anyway, and if they plead to a charge they will get off easier.

Everything has a beginning, even a criminal career, and most criminal beginnings are made in the police court. Imprisonment, whether for a great or a little offence, hinders a man's chance of employment, and tends to drive him further from the way of well-doing.

Poverty and destitution diminish a man's ability to conform to the law and increase his chances of coming into conflict with it, even though he has no desire to set himself in opposition to it.

When he does transgress, poverty and destitution will cause his punishment to be more severe, if he is a minor offender, for he will be unable to pay any fine inflicted, and in default will suffer imprisonment.

There may be some people who can tell what good effect imprisonment is intended to have on those who are subjected to it, but I have not met them. What effect it does have depends as much on the prisoner as on the system. That some people are in some respects improved by it might be shown, but that men and women are generally made better citizens as a result of it is not now alleged. Indeed, it is almost accepted as a truism that prison does not reform, and, as quite an illogical consequence of this belief, efforts are continually being

made to reform the prison. It is much easier to do that than to reform the prisoner. Whether it is desirable is another question altogether. It seems to be assumed that when people break the law their condition is such as to require treatment under some system which has been or is to be devised; although anybody can see—unless he is stone blind—that it is far more reasonable to assume our ignorance regarding him and seek to remove it, than to prescribe for him as though we knew everything about him that was of any consequence. The effects of treating a person whom you do not know as though you did know him—of laying down rules of conduct for him, or regulating the details of his life—can hardly be expected by any reasonable person to be admirable.

There are some general statements that will be in a degree applicable to many who are subjected to imprisonment, but it cannot be too often repeated that no two persons are affected exactly alike.

A great many of those who are sentenced to short periods of imprisonment have been the worse of drink at the time they offended against the law. Imprisonment enables them to recover from the effects of their excesses. It does not result in continued abstinence on their part when they are once more free. While in prison they are strict teetotalers; their physical condition is improved by the experience, and they are better able to resume their drinking habits because of the period of abstinence.

In some cases drunkenness has not only impaired their physical condition, but has also had an injurious effect on the state of their mind. Imprisonment has saved a number from delirium tremens, and other forms of mental disease due to indulgence in alcohol in the wrong way. I do not know of any place where people in the " horrors " can be better treated. The conditions favour recovery.

I have no doubt that every year scores of lives in my district are saved by imprisonment. If the people in question were simply allowed to get a little more drunk, to expose themselves further than they do, to settle their little differences without interference, there would be fewer of them forming a " problem " for discussion at the end of the year. Their stay in prison sets them up, and their liberation gives them opportunity to prevent the police languishing from unemployment, and to demonstrate to such of their fellow-citizens as have eyes the beauty of our methods of dealing with offenders. By and by prison loses its beneficial effect. They require a longer stay for their recovery; they go out less fitted to resume their pursuits; and, if they do not die in the attempt to continue their way of living, the poorhouse, the hospital, or the lunatic asylum may be their permanent home, save for intervals when their good behaviour there justifies their liberation for a short spree followed by a flying, and it may be a farewell, visit to the prison.

In an increasing number of cases these people are paying the strictest attention to their health—when they are in prison. They have discovered that in the eyes of the public they are precious vessels. Many of them know quite well that the condition of anybody's health is mainly of importance in relation to what he is required to do. Their health is always good enough to let them do the things they want to do. I know several of them whose lungs and whose stomachs will be a great deal worse than they are before they will feel compelled to give up the attempt to get drunk. I know a great many who will never be well enough to do any useful work, but who will be a great deal more sick than they ever have been, before they are unfit to indulge in their vices. They are the product of our methods. They are generally neither so well informed nor so stupid as those who plan methods for their treatment. The information that they have,

if smaller in extent, is more useful to them; and their ignorance does not take the form of ignoring the point of view of others. They see that the officials are concerned to free them of their illnesses. I do not suggest for a moment that this is an unworthy ambition, though I do not believe that a healthy body necessarily implies a healthy mind, or that people who do not enjoy what is called good health are necessarily mentally unsound. All experience is against such an assumption.

The ordinary citizen knows that if he spends too much time bothering about his health he will lose his life before he gains his health. He does the best he can with the measure of health he has. Although he may not put it in that way, he acts in the knowledge that in the end, if he has a choice at all, it will only be between different methods of dying. He does not allow himself, in the name of public health, to be subjected to the private tyranny of a medical man, for he knows that all the doctor can do in the long run is to save him from dying of one disease in order that later he may die of another. This is not an unimportant service in many cases. In others the sensible man prefers not to prolong his life at the cost demanded of him. We have all seen people who prefer to use their powers to the last rather than prolong their existence as a burden on others.

There are a good many habitual offenders who have some physical defect. I think possibly there may be relatively more people outside prison who share their vices, and who have similar defects. When they come to prison they never neglect to make the most of their state of health, and I do not believe that this is always done with the object of obtaining indulgences. It is sometimes done from the knowledge that the authorities want to look after their health and from the desire to humour them in their work.

There are those who found an explanation of their laziness, or their slothfulness, or their ill-temper, or any other characteristic that calls for unfavourable comment, on some past experience of disease and some present persistence of it. Where the chronic disease is an essentially grave one they may seek to compel the authorities by something very like threats, to treat them with favour. In this respect their conduct does not differ from that of many sick people who have not been vicious or criminal. The tyranny of the sick can be of the most cruel and frightful kind if it is encouraged or even tolerated. Kindness to the sick does not imply submission to their vices, even though these vices spring from the sickness.

Officials are usually nervous as to their responsibility, and inclined to safeguard themselves. It is easier to yield than to be firm, but foolish yielding may provoke demands that increase till they are intolerable. Resistance, then, may provoke disaster, for it comes too late.

Imprisonment does not cure men of their vices.

Treatment in prison may enable men to discount some of the physical and mental effects of these vices, but the circumstances and the conditions under which this takes place give them wrong ideas. They are apt to gain distorted conceptions of their rights and to lose any sense of their responsibilities.

For my part I do not see that there is any social gain in improving a man's health if no steps are taken to insure that he will not use it to the disadvantage of his neighbours. On the whole, Bill Sikes sick is a less dangerous citizen than he is when well, but it seems to me quite possible to make him both healthy and useful.

Imprisonment has the effect of withdrawing a man from his accustomed surroundings. If these have contributed to his wrong-doing, they are powerless to do so while he is in prison, but it shuts him up with others who may be like

him only in so far as they have broken the law. The association of prisoners with one another has always been open to the objection that it might readily be a means of making them worse than they were before they met. On the other hand, solitary confinement produces insanity in some cases, and mental disease in nearly all. The present system is a compromise combining some of the bad features of both systems.

Prisoners live in separate cells, but they are not rigidly excluded from the company of their neighbours. They associate with one another, but officially they are under the eye of a censor whose business it is to see that no conversation takes place of which he does not approve. The prisoners are not solitary, but they are not allowed to discuss the things they want to discuss.

It does not seem to have occurred to the reformers that in order to shut a man out from the conditions that have contributed to his wrong-doing it is not necessary either to subject him (*a*) to solitary confinement, (*b*) to indiscriminate association with other offenders, (*c*) to supervised association with criminals; but choice is limited to one or other of these alternatives so long as we shut off from the life of the community those who offend against its laws, and shut them up together in some institution.

The work done in prisons is seldom of a kind whereby a man might earn a living outside. The conditions under which it is done are quite different from those which obtain outside institutions. You never hear of a successful business man being appointed to look after prison or institution workshops, and no firm would dream of looking to the Prisons' Department if it had a vacancy for a manufacturing manager. This is, in the main, true also of the workers.

If a man is a good tradesman the chances are that he will not be so good from the standpoint of the outside employer by the time he leaves prison. The conditions of modern industry demand not only that a workman should be able to do certain things, but that he should be accustomed to do them in certain ways. These ways are not the ways of prison workshops.

Prisons are run more on a military than on a civil model. The civilian and the soldier have a different conception of discipline. In industrial and commercial life a man is required to develop a sense of initiative; to act on his own judgment. He dare not do this in prison except at considerable risk. Prisoner or official, if he wants an untroubled time, he will get it best by putting his personal responsibilities on the shoulders of some other body, suppressing his judgment, and doing what he is told. This method is not that which leads to success outside institutions.

On discharge, the physical conditions of prisoners is generally better than it was before their imprisonment, provided that their term has not been of the shortest. This is usually more than balanced by a mental deterioration more marked the longer their term of imprisonment.

All habitual criminals who have been frequently in prison tend to develop peculiarities common to them, and directly traceable to the conditions of their imprisonment. They are generally improved in manner, and acquire a degree of politeness which they do not show outside. In some it amounts to servility. They learn to go through the motions of work without doing much; just like a Government Department. They acquire perverted notions of their importance and their rights, and recognise quite correctly that if it were not for them, the prisoners, there would be no use for us, the officials.

In some the monotony of it all incites to rebellion. These are they who

develop delusions of suspicion and persecution, and who sometimes are transferred to lunatic asylums.

I have been charged with under-estimating insanity as a factor in the causation of crime, and it has been pointed out that there is a bigger proportion of insanity in the prison population than in that outside. There is nothing inconsistent in this. Our treatment of criminals tends to produce insanity in them. I do not mean merely our prison treatment; but as a result of their wrong-doing they are subjected to the kind of repression employed, and then turned loose in such a condition that they take to loose living and indulge in excesses by way of reaction. That some of them become insane after their experience offers no presumption that they were insane before.

The discharged prisoner faces a world that is strange to him in proportion to the time he has been removed from it. There is absolutely nothing he has learned as a result of his treatment that is likely to be of any service to him if he seeks to join the ranks of honest and law-abiding citizens. His habits of work have been different from theirs; his food has been different, and has been taken alone; his life has been a matter fixed by arbitary rule. There is no reason to expect that he will be able to steer his way himself, and if he is friendless he will find sympathy and fellowship most readily among those who have had similar experiences. Of course, he might obtain help from the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, but when a man has been looked after for a while inside as though he had been an animal, it is not surprising if he should want to exercise his own will, even to his hurt, at the earliest opportunity.

His treatment has been such as to diminish his sense of self-confidence and self-respect, and this is not an accident of the treatment.

Punishment not only degrades, but is meant to degrade. All its advocates admit it, but not always consciously. They are not content with any proposal unless it hurts the offender, and then they deplore his degradation.

It has been said that prison treatment bears more heavily on people of a higher than on those of a lower social position. This is not true. The nearer a person is to destitution the more harmful to him is imprisonment and its effects.

A wealthy man may feel more keenly the change in his food, clothing, and lodging. The condition of the poor person in these respects may be improved; but when the period of incarceration is ended, the man who has money and friends can make for himself conditions that will enable him to keep the law in the future. For the poor person there is no such chance. Decent people in his own social class can only hold out a hand to him at the risk of being confounded with him. It is hard enough for them to keep out of the morass, and to attempt to help him out may cause them to fall in themselves.

Poverty and destitution force a man down and keep him down. They make it easier for him to offend against the law, and difficult for him to present a case that might justify his offence. Imprisonment leaves him at its end more helpless than he was before he suffered it.

It is no part of my duty here to suggest remedies; but I may be permitted to say that we are not justified in continuing to neglect an inquiry into the cause of wrong-doing, and in refusing to recognise the fact that our troubles arise, not from failure to supervise offenders while they are in prison, but from failure to provide for them and to look after them when they are not in prison.

Unnecessary Imprisonment and its Effects.

By THOMAS HOLMES
(Secretary of the Howard Association).

I WANT in this paper to show that the present methods of prompt committal to prison of all sorts of offenders, who appear so numerously in our Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, is not only a great national injustice, but also that it is the one fruitful source from which our prisons obtain their continuous population.

That prisons beget prisoners is a truism so well known that it ought to be accepted as a penological axiom. The Prison Commissioners tell us that out of every hundred first offenders who are committed to prison, forty return to prison more or less frequently. Out of this forty per cent., then, come the large army of prison *habitués* whose repeated committals to prison so enormously swell our criminal statistics. I need not say that the great bulk of these offenders come from the poorest classes. If there is any guiding principle in our Courts of Justice it is this—that prison ever has and ever shall be the one great corrective for the offences of the poor, and the one great specific for the cure of all their delinquencies.

It is quite true that the Law in its irony inflicts fines upon them, but the Law in its certitude also adds, " Or so many days." " Your money or your liberty " is the ever-repeated demand, a demand so incessantly repeated that during the ten years ending December 31st, 1910, no less than 958,875 people were in England and Wales alone imprisoned, and promptly imprisoned, for non-payment of fines imposed in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

Nearly a million people were imprisoned in ten years in England and Wales because they could not at once pay their fines. Just how many of these were first offenders I have no means of ascertaining, but if the average given by the Prison Commissioners is applicable to them it is evident that about 400,000 of them returned to prison during the ten years.

It is a singular thing, but quite worthy of notice, that the average percentage of committals to prison in default remains practically the same year after year. Generally speaking, about one-fifth of the gross number of offenders that are fined are committed to prison. During the year ending March 31st, 1911, 84,885 persons were promptly committed to prison for non-payment of fines (I am still speaking of England and Wales). But mark: " Of this number 12,003 paid or partly paid the fines after their reception into prison." That is to say, the friends of that number of prisoners went to the various prisons and paid the fines *pro rata* according to the time already spent in prison.

If this statement has any meaning, surely it means that 12,003 persons were during the year unnecessarily imprisoned; for it is obvious that those prisoners could have paid their fines had a little time been allowed them.

I want also to show that many offences punished by imprisonment were not criminal, but were simply breakages of bye-laws or police regulations.

During 1911, 10,380 males and 1,506 females between the ages of 16 and 21 were committed to prison; of these 5,405 males and 1,200 females were sentenced to one month or less, many of them being sentenced to a few days only.

But mark! 1,548 of them were committed for offences against police regulations or for breaches of bye-laws, and 1,427 for vagrancy or offences against the Poor Law.

Here, then, we find that in one year 3,000 young people were imprisoned for non-criminal offences.

It is a remarkable fact that of those sentenced to less than a month 64 per cent. were first offenders, of those sentenced to more than a month 44 per cent. were first offenders.

The Prison Commissioners tell us that the habitual invariably commences his career between the ages of 16 and 21. Generally their early offences were those for which only fines or short sentences are awarded.

Again, say the Commissioners, "It is very rare that a man commences to be an habitual late in life."

Fortified by these figures and statements, and still more fortified by my police court experience, I venture to affirm, and I challenge contradiction, that this stupid and unnecessary imprisonment is the ruin of thousands of young people and a great cause of what superior people call "recidivism." How can it be otherwise? Consider, if you please, the consequences of a first term of imprisonment to the youthful poor. They lose at once their character, their employment, and their fear of prison, and I must add in many cases they lose their homes too; for so long as a youth has work and brings home a certain amount of money weekly, his board and lodgings, poor though they be, are secure; but when idleness and loss of wages follow upon imprisonment, the doors of even a wretched home are closed against him, and henceforth a common lodging-house, with all its nastiness and demoralisation, becomes his only home.

Is it any wonder that such youths return again and again to prison, where at any rate they have a sufficiency of food, and clean if austere lodgings. Believe me, it is a most serious thing to sentence a youth to his first term of imprisonment. It is a course that should never be taken but for serious crime only. But the State thinks differently, and acts differently; for it indiscriminately commits youths to prison for piffling offences that have no relationship to crime.

Am I wrong in contending that prison should be reserved for really serious offences, that are worthy of the name of crime, and that detention should be a serious and solemn matter.

But the folly of imprisoning adults, male and female, because they cannot forthwith pay a few shillings is so astounding that one wonders to what diabolical influence it owes its origin.

Of course laws must be obeyed, and there is a measure of rough justice in the fine system. A drunken man or woman is a public nuisance and may be a public danger; the services of a requisite policeman and the upkeep of a necessary police-station put the public to considerable expense. It is therefore meet and right that delinquents whose conduct has demanded the service of a policeman and the sobering accommodation of a police cell for some hours should be called upon to make some contribution for the service rendered and the accommodation given. This, I say, is but just; but, when that contribution is not at once forthcoming, to reverse the procedure and promptly fine the public by providing the delinquent with board and lodging in prison, and so cut him off from all chance of paying that contribution, is an extraordinary proceeding—a proceeding as silly as it is expensive and demoralising. How undignified it all is!

The whole machinery of the law is put in motion to punish a man because he cannot pay a few shillings on demand. And how short-sighted our authorities are! Unless, indeed, their desire and aim is to keep up our prison population to its full strength. For that purpose the method is perfect.

I have known men ruined and families plunged into lasting poverty through

this fruitful evil. A few days in prison for a married man means disaster for his family.

Before I proceed to outline my alternatives for imprisonment, I want you to consider again for a moment the effect of short sentences on the young. During last year 1,347 youths between the ages of 16 and 21 years passed through Pentonville Prison, 950 of whom were sentenced to one month or less of imprisonment. Think of it! 950 youths whose offences must have been very paltry were detained in one London prison during one year, many of them because they could not at once pay small fines. Surely this is punishment for poverty and imprisonment for debt of the very worst kind. For the State is the creditor.

What were their offences?—crimes they must not be called. Disorderly conduct, trespassing, gambling, loitering, sleeping out, small larcenies, etc.

Am I wrong in offering the following alternatives?—

(1) A period of grace for offenders who are fined, before committal to prison, when he or she has a settled place of abode, or can give security.

(2) That all youthful offenders be allowed to pay their fines by instalments.

(3) That State paid Probation Officers be appointed who shall have power to receive and account for the fines.

(4) That short terms of imprisonment be abolished altogether, excepting for remand purposes when sanitary reasons may demand a week's detention.

(5) That Probation be extended to adults of every age.

(6) That offenders charged with dishonesty be compelled to make restitution by instalments to properly certified Probation Officers.

These simple reforms will, I venture to say, in ten years so largely diminish our prison population that one-half of our prisons will become unnecessary.

Discussion.

Captain A. St. John (Honorary Secretary of the Section) said that Dr. Devon, who was to have been there that morning, had sent him the following communication :—

"Dear Captain St. John,—I am quite unable personally to take part in the Conference, as I have a Court to attend, and several cases to investigate. I shall, therefore, be greatly obliged to you if you will submit my apologies to those present. I should have liked to hear and take part in the discussions, the more especially as I feel that my own paper contains so many statements that may require explanation and defence. All of them are very obvious to me, but some of them may seem rather startling to others. From long dealing with the subject I am becoming less fit to anticipate objections, and I sometimes comment on things that are not in dispute, and leave alone statements that are—the result of an error in judgment. I should like you to point out how large a share accident has in making criminals. Two people are guilty of the same act. It is a police offence. They each go off in different directions. One is caught and convicted; the other escapes. The fortunate one need not be the less wicked one. If both are well-to-do, capture or escape will not make much difference to them. The fine can be paid, and the culprit may be as much pitied as blamed for being 'a young man of spirit.' But the young man of spirit may become a gaol bird if his people are so poor that they cannot pay his fine, and so destitute that they have not influence to secure his liberation. A man of spirit whose credentials consist not in a fine paid, but in a sentence served, is a dangerous character—known to the police. If the members

of the culprit's family are proud of him, so much the worse for them. He is a bad lot, and those who encourage him are as bad as he. So his friends and relatives suffer in the estimation of their neighbours. It is often difficult enough for them to keep their own heads above water, and though they may be willing to assist the offender, they rightly dread being confounded with him. Of course, if official action took some other form than that of a game of forfeits, things might be different; but at present a person on the verge of destitution is not only dangerously near being a police offender, but, if he seeks to help one who has transgressed and been caught, his own chances of going through the machine are greatly increased. In my opinion no person can give as effective help to another as one who has been subjected to similar temptations and hardships, so that if I am right the most efficient helpers of the poor are, as a result of our methods, discouraged from giving aid.

"I have sought to show that the necessary result of our social system is the multiplication of rules for the regulation of conduct. The more industrial conditions hold people together in towns, the greater the number of laws—sanitary, police, and others. Breaches of the law are punished by penalties, and every increase in the number of these penal laws involves the possibility of an increase in the number of offenders. The laws are passed, let us hope, from a belief that they make for the common good. The people who pass them are quite convinced of their reasonableness. They themselves have no difficulty in obeying the law. At least they know that they can obey it if they wish to do so, and they consider that if they break it they are quite entitled to pay the penalty. The penalty is never one that they cannot pay. Unfortunately, a great many of those whose conduct has led to the passing of new laws have no practical share in the discussion that precedes the legislation. Many of them are not fit to fulfil the requirements of the law, and when they break it they are as little able to pay the penalty when that penalty is a fine. It, therefore, takes the form of imprisonment. Payment of that sort involves a serious loss to them and to the community. I have tried to show how difficult it is from the beginning for a person to keep clear of the pitfalls in his way if he is without position and without support. Money will enable him to get assistance and service. Poverty need not prevent him from living a decent life, provided he is helped over the difficult places by his friends, but without help, advice, support—the nearer he is to destitution, the nearer he is to prison. His personal disposition is a factor in the problem. If he is hot-tempered, passionate, daring, impatient, he is not so likely to fear the law, and, as I have shown, in breaking it he may actually gain the help of which he was destitute before, and gain this without paying the penalty of the law. On the other hand, meekness and equability of temper may not guarantee him from transgression. People can easily see that destitution may cause men to steal. They sometimes forget that the biggest thieves and the most successful, are not destitute persons at all.

"I should like you to emphasise the fact that is not so easily recognised, namely, that destitution leads to crimes against the person. It places men in positions that involve a very great strain on their temper. It leads to recklessness, and at times to brutality. I am not forgetting the noble examples of altruism that are to be found among the poor—the attempts they are continually making to prevent destitution amongst their neighbours. Indeed, I have not attempted to discuss all the effects of destitution but only its part as a factor in the production of crime. I have no doubt at all as to its operative effect in leading to conditions inducing crimes against the person. The existence of the State must depend on the common bond between its different citizens—on the common interest they have in its maintenance—on the co-operation between them and the mutual support given and taken by them. The destitute person has too great a struggle to support his own life to be able to discharge his duties as a citizen. In a sense the law has no claim on his reverence—he cannot acknowledge a duty when elementary rights are not secured to him by the law. He breaks the law in many cases because he cannot keep it and live. In other cases he breaks it because he is provoked thereto by the conditions of his life. He does not philosophise about it. As a rule he leaves that to people who have nothing better to do. In many cases he does not even complain; but the sense of grievance or cheerfulness is more a matter of temperament than that of social condition. Destitution makes it more difficult for a man who has been dealt with for law-breaking to obtain a place among the respectable members of the community.

"The effects of imprisonment on a man's social prospects are not less important than its effects on his personal character. I have tried to show why the effects of imprisonment are harmful. It is generally admitted that the prison fails to reform. Unfortunately, before setting out to reform the prison, no systematic attempt has been made to find out the causes of failure. I have tried to show that the root cause is inherent in all institutions, and that whether you call the place to which you send your offenders a prison, an Inebriate Home, a Borstal Institution, a Reformatory, or anything else, in so far as the common bond between the inhabitants is their wrongdoing, and in so far as their treatment is based on the qualities they have in common, neglecting their individual peculiarities, you are bound to have failure. We are never likely to treat people rationally on an assumed knowledge of their requirements. The only thing we can safely assume with regard to others is our ignorance, and that is the last thing that is assumed. I have pointed out the differences between life in institutions and life outside, and have insisted on the fact that one of the worst things you can do for a man is to destroy his sense of initiative and lead him to habits of dependence on others. I have not suggested remedies, because it did not enter into the scope of my subject. I know there are people who think they have criticised a paper which deals with one thing, when they have pointed out that it does not deal with another. I trust you will tell them that I have elsewhere frequently indicated remedies, but that in any case if my destructive criticism is well founded its value will not be affected by the worth or worthlessness of my constructive proposals.—Yours very truly, JAMES DEVON."

Mr. THOMAS HOLMES said he should like to be allowed to supplement his paper in a few words. He had seen the awful effect of committal of persons to prison for very small offences. He had seen, too, the evil effects which followed when no punishment came to those who had committed actual dishonesty. He had visited every Home Secretary, from Mr. Ritchie downwards, with the view to getting them to approach magistrates to ask them to allow time to offenders who were fined to pay those fines. Memorandum after memorandum has been sent by the different Home Secretaries to the magistrates throughout England, but the latter had absolute free will and could, if they choose, give any delinquent who was fined a reasonable amount of time for paying that fine. But that they would not do it. (A Delegate: "They do.") He was speaking generally; there were thousands committed to prison because they could not pay, and that proved that generally the magistrates would not avail themselves of that privilege. (Hear, hear.) They must not think he was reflecting upon provincial or country Justices at all; the real offenders in this case were, he believed, the Stipendiaries. ("No.") Well, at all events, that was so in London; he would limit himself to London. The reason was that the London Stipendiaries had a great rush of business before them, and it was so much easier to get things signed, sealed, and delivered, and to get rid of responsibility quickly, than it was to carry over from day to day any matter connected with the prisoners. And unfortunately at all the Police Courts conservatism—that was to say, the feeling of disinclination to depart from the old rule—prevailed; there was a desire to get the delinquents tabulated, packed up, delivered, and done with. In ten years in England and Wales a million people were committed to prison for non-payment of fines. Last year, of the 84,000 or 85,000 people committed to prison, 12,000 to 13,000 went to prison and afterwards paid their fines. That was a proof that if a little time had been given the 12,000 persons represented would not have been committed to prison at all. It was tabulated in the Government Reports and Returns—and they hugged themselves with joy and glory in the fact—that so many fines were half paid and so many people were delivered from serving so many days because their fines were paid *pro rata*. Every one of those might have been avoided, and he could conceive of nothing more demoralising, or more calculated to raise the devil in a man or a woman than, just for some small offence, to detain them in the cells, to bundle them into a Black Maria, to rumble them over the stones, and commit them to prison. They could imagine the sort of effect that would have upon a man. Many a man had had his spirit so raised, has been made so irate, that he would not pay the fine if he was in prison; he would say: "No; now I am here I will go through with it." Take the case of a woman who, for some reason, took too much drink. It might be that she was not in the habit of taking it, but she had done so for once and had been picked up drunk. She was away from home, and perhaps had no money; or she might have had some and it had been taken from her, so that she

could not pay the doctor's fee of 7s. 6d. Where was the sense in the case of such a woman with a decent home, who had once transgressed in that way, in committing her to prison, and causing her that demoralisation by putting the law into force because she could not at once pay the 7s. 6d. required? It was true that her friends when they heard of it might send the money next day, and she might thus be bought out, but in the meantime she had been tabulated. It was such a simple little thing that he asked for, that people would not look at it. He only asked that English people should have the right, in the case of any little act of delinquency of that kind, for which they had been fined, to a few days in which to pay that fine. He had got Mr. Gladstone to introduce into his Probation Bill a clause allowing restitution of stolen money, but the magistrates declined to put it into force. There was nothing worse for young, or even old, offenders who got some money by fraud or trickery and who spent it wickedly, than that they should do it easily and nothing happen to them. To send a dishonest offender to prison was to ruin him. To let them go with good advice was to pardon them. Between the two courses there was another, and that was to let them pay back what they had stolen. The Probation Act in its second clause, he thought, allowed the magistrate in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction the power to compel or order anyone to pay back money or goods stolen to the extent of £10. (A Delegate: "How will you compel them?") They might give them a chance; the magistrate could make the order that they should pay back by instalments a certain sum of money. If they did not pay that back they might be sent to prison, but he maintained that prison should be the last resort, not the first. The law had played its last trump ace when it had committed to prison. When it had done that it had made the person acquainted not with the horrors of prison, but with its easiness, and he thought the state could do nothing worse than that. There was power to order young or old offenders to pay by instalments that which they had stolen to someone appointed to receive it. That would be a great act of mercy and justice. It would be a mercy to the prisoner. What could be worse than allowing people to go on day after day with dishonesty, and then send them to prison and make them familiar with prison life, after which the law could do no more to them? But if the State said, "You shall first have a chance of repaying the money which you have stolen," he was certain it would be for the good of thousands of young people, who would thus be prevented from becoming confirmed prison habitués. With these explanations of his contention, first that time should be allowed for payment of the fine, and secondly, that an order for the restitution of goods, by instalments if necessary, should be made, he would leave the matter with them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: What would you do with a man before he decides he is to pay his his instalments? And do you not think the punishment should be very prompt? If you allow a man to hang about until he pays his fines, will it be a proper arrangement?

A DELEGATE: What does Mr. Holmes mean by the phrase "stupid and unnecessary imprisonment"? I think these are very strong words to use in a paper of this class, and it does not speak very well for our Justices of the Peace.

A DELEGATE: I would like to ask Mr. Holmes how he would look after the delinquents who commit the crime in the first instance until they have paid the fine.

A DELEGATE: How would he be sure of finding these delinquents? They may go into another country altogether, or even merely into another county.

A DELEGATE: Will Mr. Holmes tell us if he does not consider that the prison has lost its terror, that it is no longer the fear to the people that it once was? I come from Liverpool, and we have there a prison with many inmates, and to many of them it is not punishment. That is why people do not mind going back repeatedly, because they know it is better to them than their homes. For the first time to some of them they are living in a clean place.

Mrs. RICHARDS (Merthyr Tydfil Union): I would ask Mr. Holmes what is his remedy in the case of youthful offenders whose parents are made to pay the fine, and the boy or the girl go scot free.

Mr. HOLMES, in reply to the various questions, said that if one made up one's mind to punish, the punishment must be prompt. For the law to have a vacillating hand was fatal. If one was to punish, punishment should be prompt and effectual. But if one was to give the opportunity of undoing a wrong, and of making amends to the person who had been defrauded, if one was going to make people recognise that they had committed a twofold wrong, one against the State and the other against the

individual, one must allow time. With regard to finding the delinquents, his remarks applied particularly to people in settled places. If they were vagrants he would not make them do what he had suggested; he would not allow homeless people to do that. With regard to the comment on the phrase " stupid and unnecessary imprisonment," a great many convictions were very stupid and some of them were unnecessary. In answer to Miss Richards, he had no objection to the application of the birch occasionally. (Applause.)

Mr. W. B. Luke (Middlesex County Council) said that they must all acknowledge heartily the pleasure and instruction which they had derived from hearing Mr. Holmes, even though they might not agree with all the doctrines to which he had given utterance. He suspected a flavour of exaggeration in the statistics which Mr. Holmes had put forward, and in the impression which his remarks might have upon those who were not acquainted with the facts. For instance, it was not the truth, in his experience, that offenders, juvenile or other, were at once haled off to prison if they could not pay a small fine. There were Courts and Courts, there were Benches and Benches, and he believed that in many of the remoter parts of the country the vigilance of the Press was very much wanted; but if the Press took action in those places, as well as the Howard Association, which Mr. Holmes so well represented, he was sure the Home Office would compel local Benches to give time for payment as they had repeatedly exhorted them to do. Memorandum after Memorandum had been issued by the Home Office to the effect that nobody with any shred of good character should be summarily sent to prison for the non-payment of a fine; they should be given time to pay. They got a boy who had been playing football in the streets. He was fined half-a-crown. He had not got the money, but he would be getting his money on Saturday, so he was told to pay on Saturday, or the consequences would follow. He did pay on Saturday. A woman was brought up for being drunk. She had not got the money. If she was locked up at 10 o'clock for being drunk she would probably be bailed out by her husband at 2, and he would take her home. She had a day to procure the fine—these people generally knew about what it would be. Even then, unless she were an inveterate offender, she was not summarily sent to prison, but was given a day or two in which to get the money together, which she often did. Or she might have a friend in the back of the Court, or a neighbour would help her husband to pay the fine, and if they could not pay the whole sum down the Court took something on account, say half-a-crown, and the remaining half-a-crown or five shillings was paid later. Many of these people pretended they had not money in their pockets when they had it all the time. A man would say he had no money, and on his way down, even before he reached the cell, he would put his hand into his pocket and find the money. With regard to imprisonment, there were many penalties which could not be imposed in that way. One could only imprison in default of goods. There were thousands of summonses taken out on account of rates, for non-attendance at school, and so on, and there were many hundreds of convictions. Such persons could not be sent straight off to prison; there must be an inquiry to see if the defendant had goods which could be taken instead. So it was only in default of their having goods that they could be sent to prison. With regard to the million in the course of ten years which Mr. Holmes had mentioned, that was certainly a very appalling figure, but he supposed it included those committed for non-payment of rates. (Mr. Holmes: Yes.) Many of these people were men who took a house in their own name but had made over everything in it to their wives in order to evade payment of rates, and they cleared the debt off by going to prison. He could give them instances of people who year after year went to prison of set purpose instead of paying rates. Happily, in our prison system, an equitable principle was coming into force gradually; there was more humanity manifest on all sides. Where they wanted an improvement was in the matter of Court costs. The costs which were added to the fines were often extremely onerous. So much was this so that Mr. Churchill, when he was Home Secretary, said he found many people were being sent to prison not because they could not pay the fines, but because they could not pay the costs tacked on to the fines. And he (Mr. Luke) wished the Howard Association could concentrate their attention on this improvement, namely, that in every magisterial judgment it should be stated how much the defendant had got to pay altogether; that it should not be said he must pay " Five shillings and costs," because the costs were an indefinite amount, which nobody knew until the Clerk had looked up the particulars. It would be much simpler to say the fine was 5s., or 10s., or 20s. inclusive. Then the prisoner would

know how much he was mulcted in altogether, which was what he was anxious to know. In some Courts the costs often amounted to more than the fine. He deplored the need of sending people to prison at all, but what were you to do with them? A person committed an offence; he could not pay his fine. If he were allowed a week's grace there might be great difficulty in catching him when the week was up. In many cases where the man had a family he was not likely to run away; but some prisoners would clear out with great alacrity, and discretion was needed to avoid a defeat of justice. Some risks must certainly be taken, however, especially in regard to young people. They ought not to send young people to prison until all other methods failed. A "place of detention"—that is, something between a Reformatory and an Industrial School—was far preferable. It fulfilled a most useful function in regard to the punishment of juvenile offenders, keeping them away from the bad atmosphere of the prison, and making an effort to reclaim them while there was yet time. But they were, unfortunately, few in number as yet.

Mr. T. H. BEDFORD (Leicester Union) said he came to hear Mr. Holmes' paper largely because he had looked forward to getting from it information which might be the means of helping them in the work of rescuing men and women who came into the Police Courts of the town in which he lived. They had felt for some time that the Police Court Mission had not the power to reach all the men and women that they wished to reach, and the Adult Schools of which he had been a member for twenty-five years thought five years ago that they would establish something like a Police Court Mission to reach these men. With the help of Mrs. G. H. Ellis and Mr. Morris, who had always been friends of the poor, they had established what they called a Guest-house in Leicester. Some people had said: "Where will you get the money from?" But the floodgates of charity were soon opened. In one afternoon they got £700 to establish a house to which persons would be brought who had just left prison. They got permission from the Home Secretary for three men in their movement to be allowed to go into the prison cells and have a talk with the men in the quietude of the cell. Many times during the past five years they had got the prisoners to sign the Temperance Pledge before they left the prison, and 78 per cent. of them were keeping the pledge to-day. That redounded to the credit of the men who had directed them, because these 78 per cent. of the men were living good, useful, and bright lives. The results of such work in the last five years had been a reduction of 28 per cent. in the crime and drunkenness of Leicester. He would tell them something to prove the value of the work. Five years ago a man had had behind him a record of 153 convictions for drunkenness. The presiding magistrate, Sir William Vincent, said to him and another man who was in the dock: "You are the two worst men in the town; you are a disgrace to the town and to your country." They obtained permission to go to them in the cells, and they used to visit them twice a week during their imprisonment, and the result had been that they had become total abstainers. For the last five years the one man he was thinking of had made only two slips. The other man to-day was licensed by the Home Secretary to go into the prison cells to see these men, though previously he had had more than forty convictions against him. Those were the two men who were considered to be a national disgrace. Such cases as that showed that the worst of men might be reclaimed if the right spirit and faith were used in the effort at reclamation.

Mr. CLAUDE LEATHAM (West Riding County Council) said that as Clerk to a large West Riding Bench of Magistrates for thirty years, he would like to add his testimony concerning what the magistrates did in the numerous cases which were brought before them. He could assure them that wherever practicable they allowed time after conviction in which to pay the fines through the Superintendent of Police. But Mr. Holmes' own statistics showed that this power of compulsion by imprisonment, which they were bound to use, could not be dispensed with. On the first page of his paper he had said that 12,003 people went to prison, and on arriving there the fines were paid, and that that meant "12,003 persons were, during the year, unnecessarily imprisoned." (Mr. Holmes: "Not immediately.") Surely compulsion had been necessary in those cases. (Mr. Holmes: "No.") He knew that compulsion was absolutely necessary in a great many cases. It had been mentioned that men had had money in their pockets but refused to pay. He did not wish to criticise Mr. Holmes' paper, except to say that he fully agreed with him as to his alternatives. And he wanted to go through those alternatives, for he wanted to show that during his thirty years' experience as Clerk those alternatives had been put into practice to

a great extent. He was sorry to see that Mr. Holmes described the offence of gambling as not a crime at all. In the district in which he lived an enormous amount of gambling took place, particularly among young men. He would tell them of a case which occurred a little time ago in one of their Courts. A young man aged 18 had been a ringleader in this unfortunate vice—he (Mr. Leatham) called it a crime—of gambling among a school of other boys whom he had collected round him. He was charged and fined. He was had up again, and they put him under a Probation Officer. For the year that he was under him he stopped his gambling, but as soon as the year had expired he was convicted again. He was convicted altogether four times, and on the fourth occasion he (Mr. Leatham) had advised the Bench to send him to gaol for a month's imprisonment, without the option of a fine. According to Mr. Holmes that was harsh advice to give. But he assured them that that young man whilst in prison came under the influence of the Chaplain, and he was taught more religion in one month than he had previously had in all his life. What was the result? He came out an absolutely reformed character; he had never touched gambling since. The school of gamblers, of which he was the head, was broken up, and that district had been cleared of gambling through the one month's imprisonment of that thoughtless boy. Many of these sentences were misunderstood. Only last Monday a question had been asked in the House of Commons of the Home Secretary as to how it was that a poor girl who lived in his Petty Sessional area had been sent to gaol for three calendar months for the simple offence of sleeping out. The Home Secretary had written to him asking him for an explanation as to how it was that his Bench actually sent a poor girl to gaol for three months for the paltry offence of sleeping out. Everybody would say it was most unfair that such imprisonment should be given by a Bench for this offence. But what were the facts? The facts behind this case were among the saddest he had ever known. She was 18 now, and she had first come before their Bench when she was 16½ years of age. She had been seduced, and she had gone on the streets. Her father would have nothing to do with her. She was the kind of person who would have come under the Feeble-minded Bill if it had become an Act. She was not sufficiently mentally defective to be certified and kept under control in an asylum, but she had absolutely no sense of morality at all. They had a large barracks in their district, and this girl was always there. On five different occasions they had sent her to prison for prostitution, generally for three months on each occasion. He (Mr. Leatham) had written to Sir Edward Troup at the Home Office, and had asked whether it was possible under some Act of Parliament or under some power in the Home Office for this girl to be kept under control from the point of view of the national, as well as her own, welfare. Sir Edward Troup had written back and said that they had no legal power to keep her under control. The only way was that the moment she came out of gaol a constable should be on the look-out and watch her movements. This was done, and within twelve hours she was again in the possession of the police and put under control in the only way which was possible, which was in gaol. They ought to know the facts behind these cases before they judged. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he would like to deal with the alternatives to imprisonment which Mr. Holmes rightly suggested. He had said: "A period of grace for offenders who are fined, before committal to prison, when he or she has a settled place of abode, or can give security." He (Mr. Leatham) could only say that in his district, which was one of the largest police districts in the West Riding of Yorkshire, that was fully carried out at the present time. Number two was: "That all youthful offenders be allowed to pay their fines by instalments." That also was carried out in his division. The third was: "That State-paid Probation Officers be appointed who shall have power to receive and account for the fines." He thought that suggestion was excellent if it would not detract from his influence as a missioner. They had a Probation Officer in their district who was doing magnificent work, and he was also their Police Court Missioner. He would strongly appeal to all Local Authorities to make the salaries of Probation Officers worth the earning. (Hear, hear.) In many parts of England at the present time Probation Officers did not receive a living wage, and the Act was not having a fair chance. He wished the gentlemen there who had any influence on their Local Authorities would press that home. The splendid work their Probation Officers did should not be starved by the Local Authorities. Mr. Holmes' fourth alternative was: "That short terms of imprisonment be abolished altogether, excepting for remand purposes when sanitary reasons may demand a week's detention." He agreed with Mr. Holmes' suggestion, and

he thought it excellent. The fifth was: "That probation be extended to adults of every age." They in the West Riding of Yorkshire had extended it to all persons of all ages where the Justices thought it was good to do so. The sixth was: "That offenders charged with dishonesty be compelled to make restitution by instalments to properly certified Probation Officers." He thought that there they were treading on difficult ground. One could not compound felonies, and one had no right to use the Police Court for the purpose of collecting debts, even if those debts had been dishonestly incurred. There was much difficulty in connection with this matter, and the magistrates had a very wise discretion, and in the cases which he had had under his notice, that wise discretion had been used with the greatest advantage. He could not speak too highly of the magnificent Borstal system. (Hear, hear.) He had spoken recently to seventy Borstal boys in gaol, and what had struck him more than anything else was the intense ignorance of the lads on religious questions. The Chaplain told him that when they first came into the gaol 50 per cent. of them could not tell you the meaning of Christmas Day. It was lack of religious training which was the cause of most of these boys being in gaol. Another thing which struck him was that at least half these boys were what they would call feeble-minded —that is to say, not fully capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. He hoped that when this Bill on the Feeble-minded became an Act of Parliament, as he thought it should have been four years ago—(hear, hear)—half these poor boys under the Borstal system would not go to prison at all. If it had been law four years ago he believed that many of these boys would have been taken care of in proper institutions which that Act would have provided for them.

The CHAIRMAN: What the last speaker said about the facts behind the case is, I consider, very important. In reading the papers one is astounded at certain of the sentences recorded. The only justification for the full facts not being set forth is that the papers cannot find room for the whole case.

Mrs. R. SIMPSON (Plymouth Union) said that mention had been made of Probation Officers collecting funds. As an Honorary Probation Officer she would object to collecting anything in the way of revenue, and it would be most objectionable to go to the homes of these miserable people to collect even the doles of their fines. Last year she had met Judge Porter of America, and he ably contended for conditional sentences rather than fining the prisoner. She asked them whether conditional sentences would not be infinitely better in operation than a system of fines, which meant the people running round to the pawnshop, children going without their boots, also trading on the credulity of the neighbours and friends, with all the attendant misery involved by the additional debt brought upon the family.

Mr. HOLMES, in reply, said that one would not be called upon to collect the fines; evil would result from anyone except State officers collecting fines. They need not go into the house to collect them; the Probation Officers could be called on. It was against the unnecessary imprisonment that his paper was written, and whatever might be said about it, there was still a very great deal of unnecessary imprisoning going on. And the results which came from imprisonment were very far-reaching. Very soon the person accommodated himself to it. Fear of the unknown might be a low motive, but it was a great factor in every life. What we did not know and understand we feared. For the three, four, five, and six days' sentences he felt nothing but contempt and disgust. He was not against imprisonment; he was not against the law saying to an individual: "It is necessary to deprive you of your liberty and to put you in durance, and even to inflict unpleasant conditions upon you." The law must have that power. But to make it a contemptible matter and to send a woman to prison for three days on a Friday and let her out on Saturday morning, putting all the machinery of the law into such a case for a few hours (for the law did not detain her over Sunday) was an unnecessary familiarising of people with prison. If people were made to realise that there was nothing terrible about prison except loss of liberty much would have been done to create a race of people who would be perpetually in prison. Prison must be a serious place and must have its terrors if it was to be effectual. It was this sentencing for a few days which he objected to. And whatever might be the experience of gentlemen such as the Clerk from the West Riding of Yorkshire, the fact still remained that large numbers of people were put into prison for very small offences. When he had spoken of those 12,000 people whose fines were paid, he did not mean that the fines were paid directly they got into prison; it meant that after one, two, three, or seven days their friends raised the money and paid the fine, and the prisoners were let out. It did not mean

that people who came before magistrates had always got their pockets full of money, and could pay but would not. The bulk of people who were released from prison by their friends paying the fine were those who ought never to have been put into prison at all. But there were not only these people, there were others—and perhaps he had been more intimately connected with those people than even the magistrates had—people whom he had seen before they went into prison and afterwards, and had known their homes and families, who could have had their fines paid, but when once in prison, say for a week, said: "We may as well go through with it now we are here. What is the good?" They took the week and finished with the matter. That was a serious thing, because they had a week's idleness, and the effect of that lasted a long time. And perhaps when they came out their work was lost, and to a certain extent their characters had gone too. He was glad to hear that in different parts of the country a better system prevailed than appeared to be the case with the London magistrates. Still, there was a great deal of it, and as he had studied year by year the criminal statistics, he had concluded that, in spite of speeches to the contrary, a large number of people were unnecessarily committed to prison.

A DELEGATE: I should like to ask Mr. Leatham a question, namely, what discretion magistrates have as to enforcing the restitution of goods or money which have been stolen. I understood Mr. Leatham to say that the magistrates have some such discretion.

Mr. LEATHAM said that what he had said was that it was a very difficult question, because it raised the point of compounding a felony. The magistrate would have power to adjourn a case until such time as the money was restored, and then they would have power to withdraw the case. They would not have power if they convicted.

Mr. HOLMES said that in the Probation Act there was a clause—he thought it was the second clause—which allowed the magistrates to order the prisoner to make restitution of money or goods which had been stolen up to the sum of £10. For a larger amount the person must be committed for trial, and then the Judge might order restitution for a still larger amount. This clause of the Probation Act was not understood, or else it was ignored.

Miss HYAM said that as a Visitor at Holloway Prison she would like to confirm what Mr. Holmes said about prisoners who were unnecessarily in prison. She saw a good many classes of prisoners, and one class she had now particularly in her mind, those who were convicted for obstruction. There were a large number of those in London, principally people who had barrows and who stopped an unnecessarily long time in one place, or stopped in places where the police regulations did not allow them to stop. It was not a crime—it was an offence against particular bye-laws. She was aware there must be some regulations for the streets, but some of the sentences were extremely heavy for that class of offence. She had in her mind the case of a woman who had had three convictions for the same thing. She was a widow, who had had a very hard struggle. She sold things in a basket in the streets, and this basket was quite heavy, and she sometimes put it on the pavement. She was convicted four times for that in about six years, and each time she served three weeks in prison, or had to pay a fine, ranging from 28s. to 40s. ("Shame.") There was an immense amount of hardship there; the home was broken up on each occasion and the children had to go into the workhouse, and charity had to come to her aid. There should be some means of stopping that sort of thing without sending her to prison, and she agreed with Mr. Holmes that before people had been to prison they had a fear and dread of it, but when they had been put there the dread had largely gone. With prison, as with a good many other things, it was the first step which counted more than anything else; and once these people were demoralised with it they did not so much mind going again, and the effect on people who lived in that neighbourhood was bad. If people could be put into prison for three weeks without it seeming to make much difference to them, people argued that it could not be very terrible.

Alderman F. J. BEAVAN (Association of Poor Law Unions) said that on behalf of South Wales he would like to say that there they were observing the Home Secretary's Circular. They did not send anybody to prison for light offences without giving every chance, every reasonable chance. He himself was a magistrate of long standing. The Circular was sent with the view of keeping magistrates in remembrance of what might be done, and upon it they have acted.

Captain A. St. John said that in the case of people like Mr. Holmes with vast experience the sum of that experience must be different from the experience of any one locality. He himself had reports from all over the country, and one could only judge from reports and from one's own experience. A number of other people had their experience, and told them what obtained at this Court or that Court. They were told of apparently paltry offences followed by sentences of imprisonment, and then somebody would get up and say: "My Court does not do that." One was glad to hear it, but there were a large number of Courts which apparently treated these petty offences in an extraordinary way. If Mr. Leatham and other Justices' Clerks could do something to get their Court sentences better understood it would be very good. It was a serious scandal in the country that it should go forth that a girl had been given three months' imprisonment for sleeping out. Why could not the Court have the reason of their sentence recorded? ("It is the Press.") Well, could not better arrangements be made with the Press? Mr. Holmes had told them that the Courts had power under the Probation Act to order restitution. He knew it was objected in this country that it would spoil the relations of the Probation Officer with the probationer if they collected fines. But it was done, and with tremendous success, in Massachusetts. He had discussed it with Probation Officers, and they said that instead of prejudicing their relations, the offenders, on the contrary, were thankful to them for keeping them out of the prison by getting the magistrate to allow them to pay their fines by instalments. Care should be taken that the Probation Officer should appear as the friend of the offender, and should save him from prison by getting his fine paid in instalments. The probationer could go to the Court, or to the home of the officer. In this way a tremendous amount was done in America, and probation by this means was turned into a disciplinary training for the probationer. A good Probation Officer was careful not to ask them to pay more than they could afford at one time. This was not only done in the case of fines, but also in reparation and restitution of goods. There was a case from a Boston Court: a boy of a well-to-do family injured another boy so that he had to go to hospital. He was ordered to go every week to a certain hospital and pay 50 cents each time until he had paid the sum of $20. So every week he was reminded of the natural consequences of what he had done. That system might very well be extended a great deal. He thought probably it would be extended, for the Home Office knew of it, and had been advised of its working. It could be done after conviction if necessary. He hoped they would remember, when going from such a meeting as that, what had been said about the small support which Probation Officers got, and their small pay. And if when they dispersed they could become missionaries in the case of probation throughout the country and enlist the interest of people in it, they might do great good. It was only by public interest that funds would be forthcoming.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 12th.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chair was taken by Sir James Crichton-Browne, M.D., F.R.S. The subject discussed was MODIFICATIONS OF PRISON REGIME; CONDITIONAL RELEASE AND AFTER-CARE. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Minor Courts in their relation to Public Health.*

By Dr. A. H. BYGOTT, Medical Officer of Health, Barking.

2.—*Modifications in Prison Régime; Conditional Release.*

By Capt. A. ST. JOHN.

The Minor Courts in their Relation to Public Health.

By A. H. BYGOTT, M.D. (LOND)., D.P.H.
(Barrister at Law; Medical Officer of Health, Barking).

THE student of Sanitary Science is always struck when his attention has been drawn to it, by the amount of incoordination which exists between the ordinary administrative departments concerned in protecting the public health and the judicial authorities which are appealed to for their support. For instance, the officers of the Coroner's Court, which holds inquiries into the circumstances connected with a death in cases of possible crime, or where a registered medical practitioner is unable to certify as to the cause of death, are not associated in any way with the Public Health Department of the district, and the person who conducts the inquiry is, as a rule, a solicitor in ordinary practice, with no medical or Public Health training. Thus a considerable amount of useful information is lost. In these go-ahead times it is not enough to point out that the system is an ancient one, and that the statutes relating to it are thoroughly out of date. There is no excuse for allowing this waste to continue.

The Courts of Summary Jurisdiction which have to enforce the various statutes relating to Public Health are presided over, for the most part, by persons entirely destitute of legal training, who have, as a rule, been appointed on account of their association with one or other of the political parties rather than for any other reason. The Clerks of these Courts are, as a rule, solicitors of good standing in ordinary practice, but painfully narrow in their views, and very seldom take any special interest in the very important work which they have to do. Should one be fortunate enough to live in a district presided over by a Stipendiary Magistrate it is very often a change from Scylla to Charybdis, for he may easily be given to too exclusively technical interpretations of the law, due to want of

knowledge of social questions, and punctilious consideration for legal trifles. This is not conducive to furthering the administrative measures, rendered possible by a recent awakening of the public conscience. Practice at the Bar in big cases easily unfits a man to deal with little ones, unless he realises the real value of the work and fits himself for it by special experience.

Under these circumstances the Medical Officer of Health feels great uncertainty as to the verdicts that will be awarded as a result of his prosecutions. And as Local Authorities do not like to see their cases dismissed, especially as in some instances they may have to pay heavy damages, fewer prosecutions are undertaken many offenders escape punishment, and the health of the district suffers as a result.

On the other hand, there are many good and earnest magistrates who are anxious to make the best of their powers and who find themselves very much hampered by their surroundings.

A visit to a Police Court is always a most melancholy experience; the place is usually very insanitary, the lighting, heating, and ventilation defective, whilst it is always frequented by the dregs of humanity. Surely this should be a field for the social reformer, if it is only on account of the badness of the material, all collected together to his hand ready for immediate attention. It is very instructive to listen there to the remarks of the policemen, who, as a rule, afford the only bright and cheery element in the place. They are usually big, broad, beefy, good-natured men, whose sole idea is punishment, the only comments possibly heard in the Children's Courts amongst them being such remarks as: "He ought to be sent away," or, "He is a bad one." Prevention and cure are as entirely absent from their thoughts as they are from the minds of most members of the great British public.

The speed at which the work has to be done produces an irascibility all round; the irregularity of attendance, and unpunctuality of the Presiding Justices do not tend to the decorum and method which are necessary for transacting important business. It was very interesting to stand near a telephone at a large court, such as the one in Birmingham, in the morning, and to hear the Clerk's agonising appeal to magistrate after magistrate to come and administer justice. When these gentlemen first take their seats upon the Bench it is said that they, like brooding hens, are always sitting. This novelty soon wears off.

If an attempt had been made earlier to introduce order into this chaos by the universal appointment of Stipendiary Magistrates we should easily have become stereotyped into something worse; we could have filled the country with soulless automatons and created some dangerous vested interests. We begin to realise that we need gentlemen not only learned in the law, but well versed in up-to-date practical sociology, and such men could be obtained if there was a demand for them and they were trained for the work. It would be possible then for Medical Officers of Health to approach such a man and to discuss with him the principles of their cases, and the lines of procedure to be adopted in dealing with certain classes of offence. To facilitate smooth working, many more conferences might take place, even now, between the Medical Officer of Health and the Clerk to the Justices, to the mutual advantage of both parties.

In the case of ordinary Magistrates it is, of course, very uncertain as to who will try a given case. The volume of business transacted in the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction is prodigious. In 1908, 742,958 persons were tried in these Courts, 4,076 being accused of offences against property with violence; 581,186 were convicted, 488,508 being fined, and of these about 95,000 went to prison in default of payment of the fine.

The difficulty of knowing how to punish offenders is very great. The tramp (a great source of danger to health during epidemics of smallpox) has frequently to be discharged on his promising to leave the town because no one knows what to do with him. There would be a great outcry if he were discharged on promising to submit to vaccination, but even this suggestion might really be a more considerate way of treating the localities through which he is journeying than letting him go without any proper supervision. A Magistrate may well view some poor specimen of humanity and whisper, "Whatever can I do with him?" The dreary monotony of the workhouse does not appeal to the vagabond instinct, and he can leave it when he likes; his detention in prison, if he is sent there at all, for the offence he has committed must of necessity be short. "What shall I do with him?" If this question could have been answered intelligently it would have prevented several smallpox epidemics started by wandering tramps, to say nothing of vermin infection and other things. Tramp colonies on a small scale, with good administrators to manage them, seems to be the only answer to this question. Run on a large scale by old army officers without special training, they would probably not be much better than the present system, and would certainly be very expensive. Two qualities are common to most tramps—a deficient faculty of attention, and a desire for wandering. It is a problem to what extent these are capable of education to render him a desirable citizen. The question ought to be considered in each individual case; it is well worth it.

The number of persons fined, or going to prison by default, is very large. A Medical Officer sometimes sees the other side of this picture: a thin, weary-looking woman comes to him to know what she is to do under the following circumstances. Her husband has been very short of work, and on the previous Saturday he was with friends, and got drunk, struck a policeman, and got seven days or more. What is she to do? She has been to the Relieving Officer, and he says he cannot do anything, as no relief is given to the wives of persons in prison. What is to be done? There is nothing to be done except starve, and how she does manage one never knows.

Again, a great number of poor-looking men and woe-begone women appear before an Education Sub-Committee for not sending their children to school. The Committee do not prosecute very often, because the women and children pay by starvation if they do. There are no other alternatives than a fine or seven or fourteen days' imprisonment for the head of the family in an insanitary cell, improperly lighted and badly ventilated, and each course means starvation for the wife and children.

Surely it would be an excellent piece of work for the unemployed next year to provide larger and better windows for the prisons so that one evil at any rate might be removed!

It has been suggested that prisons are tenanted partly by people who ought never to be there at all, and partly by others who ought never to come out. This is very true of many of the 95,000 cases who go there in default of paying a fine. It seems such a delightfully simple matter for a Magistrate to impose a fine or imprisonment in default. But he does not follow the case when it leaves the dock, or he would realise that the effect on the economy of the family to which the prisoner belongs may be very disastrous indeed. A reversion to the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post is impossible, although these methods of punishment inflicted the minimum amount of interference with employment, and were really more humane.

I have been informed that in Italy, in the vintage season, prisoners are allowed

to serve their sentences during periods of unemployment, but I have been unable to obtain any particulars as to the way in which this system is worked. I want to suggest, however, the possibility of imprisonment during the week-ends of persons guilty of small offences, such as the minor results of inebriety, small offences against bye-laws, etc. In many cases these crimes arise as abuses of the offenders' periods of leisure, and this treatment would be useful in keeping them out of mischief. Taking a man away from the enjoyment of his luxuries during week-ends would be in itself a punishment; whilst by carefully thinking out the course of treatment he would receive whilst in prison, he could be made very uncomfortable, and at the same time taught how to enjoy his leisure in a more profitable way.

He would come into residence on a Saturday at mid-day and return in time for his work on Monday. At the present time, in humble circles, a gentleman in prison is a source of affectionate interest to his friends, who pity him exceedingly, especially if he loses his employment. If he were withdrawn for the week-end there would probably be a feeling of superiority on the part of those members of his social circle who enjoyed their liberty, which might have a very useful influence in preventing these offences. He could be imprisoned for more than one week-end, according to the seriousness of the charge. It has been suggested that it might be difficult to make him surrender for his periodical visits. If he left the town the community would cease to be interested in him; on the other hand, if he stayed, by increasing the punishment, and by the assistance of the police, his attendance could doubtless be secured.

The governors of prisons would have to appoint to care for these prisoners men capable of devising methods of treatment more rational than those in vogue at present. It would be quite possible to do this.

This system would be a dangerous one to introduce in a wholesale way, as some elasticity would have to be given to it to provide for improved methods, but it might, like many sanitary measures, be adopted voluntarily in different districts, and in such cases a part of the ordinary prison could be adapted for the purpose, or accommodation be provided at special premises, or at the police station. The cost would then be very small. Magistrates have told me that they would be pleased to try it if facilities could be given to them, but success depends, as it does in medical treatment, on going to work very carefully, and modifying your methods as a result of experience.

In such a district as Barking, a large amount of damage is done by boys to unoccupied property, street lamps, etc., either by wilful damage or by petty theft, and this influences to some extent the state of repair in which some of the slum property is kept. The police appear powerless to deal with the question; the Magistrates do not know what to do with the boys if they are brought before them, and an appearance in the Children's Court may be an absolute farce. Here, again, there is an abuse of leisure, and in the case of schoolboys and others their evenings might be spent in a place of detention in which similar principles could be used to effect their reformation.

There is a strong case for holding petty sessions in the evenings. At present a defendant (who, of course, may not be guilty), or his parent, must lose his day's pay to enable him to attend court. In the case of juvenile offenders, it would be possible to secure the presence of the head of the family at the trial more frequently than is done at present. Many Magistrates, whose help would be very valuable, could attend in the evenings, whereas now they may be prevented from sitting on account of the nature of their employment.

Imagine the difference of procedure in a case in which a father stated that he could not control a son of tender years, if he were told that, unless he did so, he would spend some week-ends in the house of detention, in order that he might be instructed in the right manner of dealing with his refractory offspring. In most cases his education would proceed very rapidly.

Women who neglect their homes could be treated in this way, the head of the family superintending his household arrangement during the absence of his wife. Many of the difficulties which School Doctors have in dealing with dirty children would disappear at the thought of the mother's removal at the week-end for instruction in cleansing methods.

Want of experience in prison administration makes it impossible for me to work out the full details of a scheme such as this; but the principles seem to me to be sound, and they have been approved by some very practical people to whom, with considerable trepidation, I suggested them.

Modifications in Prison Regime and Conditional Release.

By Arthur St. John
(Honorary Secretary, Penal Reform League).

The tendency of imprisonment is to make the prisoner less fit to live a useful, self-supporting life. I will assume that this has been demonstrated and agreed upon by the time this paper comes up for consideration. We now have to inquire how the tendency can be avoided or mitigated.

The easiest answer to the question, and perhaps the wisest, would be: Pull down the prisons. It would, however, be unsafe to presume on the immediate prevalence of such wisdom in the community, and a great deal more water is likely to flow under London Bridge before we cease to imprison people. Therefore, I propose for the present to inquire whether certain modifications are feasible in our prison régime and system of conditional release which might tend to lessen the mischief—tend, that is, to turn prisoners out perhaps rather less of a burden, instead of more of a burden, on the community.

Firstly, it will, I hope, be granted by now that prison is not the place for anyone who is insane, epileptic, or feeble-minded, for inebriates, vagrants, prostitutes, or debtors as such, or for almost all those other miscellaneous petty offenders who are now in prison for short periods. Caution, release on own recognisances, opportunities of work, change of surroundings, with or without supervision, well organised probation, fines or stoppages (in restitution or reparation) to be paid in instalments, temporary or prolonged detention in various kinds of hospitals, homes, industrial farms, etc.—one or other of such measures will probably meet all the above cases.

If this were carried into effect, it would make it possible—nay, it would necessitate—great alterations in prison administration and methods. If we deduct the commitments for eight weeks and under from the total commitments

during the year ended 31st March, 1911, in England and Wales, we reduce that total by 140,294, leaving 27,751 to deal with. Such a reduction is a large order, and, at our present rate of moving, it will take some years to make proper provision for these 140,000 odd people, and for many more feeble-minded and ill-trained folk besides, who would have to be dealt with at the same time, once we started on such a course. It will take time; but that is no reason why we should not begin.

As to the remaining 25,000 to 30,000, for myself I am satisfied that the measures above detailed, including all they involve, would cover them all, with the possible exception of 2 per cent.,—say 5 per cent.,—though it will doubtless take long for the Courts and for the general public to recognise this.

We need not wait for such recognition; nor need we wait for the reduction of the prison population to 30,000. There are modifications of prison régime which might be proceeded with simultaneously or independently. Secondly, then, I would recommend a great change in the personnel of the prison service. This could, I am convinced, be brought about with little or no change of the persons in the service. Change the treatment meted out to the staff and the character of the service will change. Under this head I would recommend, to begin with:—

(1) Shorter hours, with much more leave of absence. Freshness and liveliness are essential to the work the warders have, or should have, to do.

(2) Higher pay. They should not have, as many now have, a constant struggle to make both ends meet.

(3) Abolition of punishments for warders. Officers who, after full trial and opportunities, prove themselves unable to do their duty well without being punished should be asked to find another occupation.

(4) Abolition of confidential adverse reports not shown to the officers reported against.

(5) Much more responsibility placed on, and confidence shown in, every officer. Each should be responsible for some definite part of the work, know clearly what it is, and have a free hand to carry it out in his or her own way.

(6) The introduction on to the staffs of all prisons of carefully selected gentlewomen as trained nurses and as supervisors of catering, cooking, and serving departments. The governors, doctors, and other high officials of women's prisons should be women.

I venture to assert that these measures would effect a great change in the present staff of the prison service, and that there would soon be little difficulty in obtaining a very high class of recruits for it. The treatment of criminals should be, not a profession, but a vocation—a high and sacred public service—and those engaged in it should be a band of co-operators.

Consider what it is that is required, or should be required, of those who represent the community to its criminals. Dr. Devon, in his book, "The Criminal and the Community," says: "Unless the offender is brought into sympathetic contact with someone in the community who will enable him to resist temptation and encourage him in well-doing he never does reform." Mr. Edward Smith, J.P., in his book, "Mending Men," says: "The way to win a man is to establish community of interest, and then to seek the aid of the Spirit, to make full use of the channel, if opened."

If the community does not wish its officers to do this kind of work, then it must be content to have its prisoners turned back on it as they are now, worse

than when they went into prison, unless they keep them shut up permanently. But, if the above two sentences do represent something that we may reasonably call upon prison officers to try to perform, then, for such work, we require not persons with merely negative virtues—who have never been seen drunk, or have never got into any scrape—but men and women of positive moral capacity and wide capabilities of friendship; and they must be free and without anxiety, and be bound together in, and supported by, a strong feeling of comradeship in a high calling.

I do not know whether it will be out of place here to urge a pet little scheme of my own, whereby in time all warders of prisons and officers of labour colonies, etc., will be "leading workmen," the pick of their trade, with perhaps a course of pedagogy added after they have passed a period of probation. With such men, if you had enough of them, you could make the institutions staffed by them self-supporting.

However this may be, I would have each officer personally interested in, and taking over responsibility for, a few of the prisoners. All this would be facilitated by the withdrawal of the above-mentioned classes of prisoners.

Thirdly, I suggest that every endeavour should be made to secure the co-operation of the desirable relatives and friends of prisoners. Visits at convenient times should be encouraged, and visitors should be treated with every consideration and confidence when once it is decided that their visits are going to be really helpful. So also desirable correspondence should be encouraged. In this way the right kind of ties with the outside world might be strengthened, not broken.

Fourthly, in like manner the prisoners should not be cut off from all news of the outside world. Wholesome interests should be cultivated, in order that the mind may be profitably occupied all the time, and no room left for evil thoughts or morbid brooding. The advice of the Apostle should be adopted as a motto: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Fifthly, prisoners should be trusted more. In the Oregon State Penitentiary they find they can trust over half of the prisoners to go about and do their work without supervision. At Montpelier, Vermont, the prisoners work for wages under ordinary employers, going to and from their work without escort, and wearing ordinary civilian clothes. Occasionally they are allowed out for a public entertainment in the evening, and find their own way home—I mean back to prison—by the appointed hour.

In various parts of the United States and Canada short-sentence prisoners, and those nearing the end of their term, work in the open "on their honour." In Oregon they have an "Honour Camp," where there is, I believe, no officer at all, and the prisoners do their work for the State and manage their own affairs without supervision.

So that, unless we are to believe that English prisoners, or those in charge of them, are less trustworthy than American or Canadian prisoners, it seems to be proved that a large proportion of prisoners can be trusted in these ways. It is needless to point out the advantages to be derived from such methods in easing the task of warders and in fostering self-respect and reliability in prisoners.

Sixthly, as to discipline—I believe that, with caution (but not too much of it) and discretion, a considerable share of the maintenance of order and necessary

organising of affairs could gradually be placed in the hands of the prisoners themselves. I think I should be inclined to introduce something like the old English *Frank pledge*, and group them in tens, or other convenient numbers, making each group responsible for the good behaviour of its members.

At a conference on "Girls in Danger" the other day, I indulged in a little dream of a girls' reformatory, in which I supposed that the newcomers would be treated by the others as guests, and receive every consideration and even indulgence. In the next stage they became candidates for membership, after which, when considered qualified by character, and ability to do a decent day's work, and to undergo some drudgery, etc., they were elected as members for life. Beyond this there were the grades of Fellow, the test of which required a period of successful life outside, and Guardian, the highest of all. *Mutatis mutandis*, I am inclined to apply the principles of this dream to institutions for all sorts and conditions of ill-regulated persons—at any rate, for those not decidedly defective. Members and Fellows, while able-bodied, were expected, in this dream, to be self-supporting, if not a source of profit to the institution.

Under the head of discipline comes the question of cells, associated meals, etc. I would commend to your notice what our own Borstal Institutions are doing in this respect, but more especially what is being done at Guelph, in Ontario, and at Warrensville, Ohio.

Take Ontario. I had two very interesting conversations with Mr. Hanna, Provincial Secretary of Ontario. He had in his office the plans for the new Farm Prison at Guelph, drawn with cells for all prisoners as usual. But he could not bring himself to sanction it. This is what has been arranged: some cells are retained for refractory prisoners, but the majority will go into small dormitories, a big bay window in each of which serves as a kind of sitting-room. The opposite wall is of glass, so that the officer patrolling the corridor can see through. For trusted prisoners there are private rooms with doors they can open and shut themselves.

Why should not we experiment in the same direction in this country?

For the sake of the general tone and atmosphere of the institution, and the health and morale of the prisoners, I would discontinue corporal punishment, including dietary punishment. A prisoner in a bad or weak condition of mind is just the man whose diet requires careful attention. To cut off necessary nutriment is perhaps less unsightly, but surely more insidious in its mischief than to cut off some of the flesh which the nutriment is intended to renew.

If a prisoner is so refractory as to be a menace to good order, let him be segregated or removed to another institution—generally an institution for defectives. We have very few experts in feeble-mindedness in this country, but we have it on very high authority that high-grade criminal imbeciles or feeble-minded persons, who are the most difficult to diagnose, are often amongst those who give trouble by their outbreaks of violence. To flog these is not only cruel, it is even stupid. I would suggest that prison doctors be trained in psychiatry, or whatever you call the knowledge and experience that would enable them to diagnose these unfortunate cases more readily. I may mention that Dr. Healy, of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institution of Chicago, told me that his system of testing the mental growth and condition of children could be learned by a physician in a week.

In any case I submit that a refractory prisoner, if he cannot be controlled by the officers, or by his fellow-prisoners (which latter he almost certainly could be if not defective or abnormal), should be temporarily or permanently segregated

from the rest. In this way the officers and their charges, the whole institution, would be relieved of a great strain and source of demoralisation.

Seventhly, all able-bodied prisoners—at least after a period of probation or apprenticeship—should receive wages, should be charged for their keep, and should be required to make at least some semblance of paying their way. The wages might be regulated by piecework, or various grades of workmen might be instituted with a rising scale of pay. This latter plan is followed in the George Junior Republic, where, for instance, the classification and scale for boys are, or were, as follows:—

1. First-class farmers, plumbers, carpenters, or bakers, etc., $4.75 to $6 a week.

2. Those who show a willingness to learn a trade or stick to one job, even though they do not possess so high a degree of skill, $4 to $4.75.

3. Those who will not follow any job definitely, and cannot be depended upon to carry out their contracts, or to do their work, no matter how skilful they may be, $3.50 to $4.

4. Those who are too lazy or incompetent, or unskilled to be classed anywhere else, not over $3.50 a week.

The greatest difficulty of all, perhaps insurmountable, is to make captive conditions of labour passably like outside conditions, or to really teach a trade in captivity so that the pupil shall become an efficient workman outside, if he was not so before, or, if he was efficient before, to keep up his efficiency. But several suggestions might be made with a view to making the work and training more practical, some of them already mentioned. For instance, a large number of "leading workmen" might be engaged to lead and work with the prisoners, as at Witzwil. Then I should give as much freedom as possible—that is, put the prisoners as much as practicable "on their honour." The "Frank Pledge" might be made responsible for good work done at reasonable pace. Farms or industrial colonies, with conditions approximating to freedom, might be started in connection with prisons for prisoners nearing their time of release, and for other trusted prisoners. Perhaps similar farms might be established for conditionally released or discharged prisoners who desire to avail themselves of them.

It might be advisable to have a conference between prison authorities and representatives of the industrial world, both employers and employed, to come to an agreement as to the general lines on which industries for convicted persons could be organised without clashing with outside industries.

Eightly, *Conditional Release*. If we agree that as few people as possible should be imprisoned, and that prison should be a last resort, it seems reasonable to say that, when it is resorted to, the prisoner should not be finally released until there is some assurance that he can be returned with advantage, or at least safety, to the community. For this purpose, before being finally discharged, the prisoner should be released conditionally—that is, he should be sent out on probation under effective supervision and liable to recall.

I suggest that these conditionally released prisoners should be retained on the books of the institution which releases them, and under the care of that institution, the officers or others who undertake to supervise them being answerable to the head of the same institution. Thus the governor and officers of the prison would maintain interest in their charges after they had left, it is to be hoped indefinitely, or all their lives.

It seems to me that the period of conditional release or after-care might well be indefinite—that is, with no predetermined period or term—and that its

termination should depend on behaviour under outside world conditions. Final discharge might rest with some kind of "Court of Rehabilitation." The ideal would be that the decision should rest with the person's neighbours, if that were at all practicable. Probably the report of the probation officer, or other person or society responsible, would have to be the deciding factor, and would be communicated by the Governor together with his own opinion.

With good after-care well established and in working order, it would become easier to make the period of sojourn in the prison precincts more elastic. Some standard of workmanship might be required. This would be a safer test than that of conduct, though bad conduct might still disqualify. When the prisoners are properly organised on a basis of individual and collective responsibility I believe that the vote of the man's fellow-prisoners might be allowed to have considerable weight in the matter.

Here are my suggestions summarised:—

1. Send as few people to prison as possible—certainly not those who are mentally defective, not inebriates, vagrants, prostitutes, or debtors, as such, nor any of those who could be dealt with by probation with any likelihood of success.

2. Improve the personnel of prison staff by treating them with respect and confidence and giving every officer definite responsibility, so that every prisoner should have a particular officer to look to for friendship and guidance.

3. The co-operation of the desirable relatives and friends of prisoners to be sought, and correspondence and visits from them encouraged.

4. Wholesome interests in the outside world to be cultivated.

5. Prisoners to be trusted and put on their honour as much as practicable.

6. The co-operation of prisoners in maintenance of order and development of discipline to be gradually attempted. Prisoners to be organised on a basis of individual and collective responsibility, and graded with a view to developing progressive self-control.

7. Wages to be paid and maintenance to be charged. By enlisting "leading workers," by trusting prisoners, and by establishing industrial farms in connection with prisons, endeavour should be made to approximate to free and practical conditions.

8. Conditional release on probation under supervision of persons, volunteer or official, responsible to the head of the prison.

9. Greater elasticity in periods of confinement and supervision, final discharge depending on behaviour in the outside world.

I offer these suggestions, not as constituting a scheme that can be immediately adopted as a whole, but in the conviction that it would be possible to make a tentative commencement in each item at once. It is important to remember that what we want is, not a cowed and tamed man, nor an obstinate, sullen or resentful man, but a man with a regenerated will and a vigorous mind and body at its disposal.

Discussion on Dr. Bygott's Paper.

Alderman F. J. BEAVAN (Association of Poor Law Unions) said that when the tramp question was discussed many years ago at the Guildhall, he had strongly advocated what seemed now likely to come into operation, namely, that the Government themselves should deal with tramps on an uniform basas. He did not think that the tramp question could be in anything but a state of confusion as long as it was in the hands of various Unions to deal with it as each thought best. He saw no way of dealing with tramps except by the Government on some uniform basis. He was very glad to see that the Government seemed to have this matter in mind, that they were thinking of introducing legislation in which they themselves would become responsible for the tramp. That would have a happy effect, so far as that department of the criminal population was concerned. He did not think they got an unusual number of criminals from the tramp class, but they certainly got a good many. Dr. Bygott's paper seemed to him a very substantial one, certainly one from which they might learn a great deal. If the Cardiff Medical Officer of Health were there he would have been glad and grateful, he was sure, to note the suggestions made in the paper. Meanwhile, he thought much might be done in trying to adjust matters, where various departments of public life might act together, and the outcome might be something more satisfactory than at present. He spoke with bated breath, as he was chairman of the Finance Committee of a great Corporation, and all these things cost money; the rates were going up rapidly, and the Government was imposing all sorts of duties upon them which cost money, and they were undertaking several matters locally in addition. But the upshot of it all was that there was a great advance in the rates. He was not sure that the populations of great cities were quite ready for this increase of rates; they did not quite perceive the importance of all these matters. It was a step in the right direction for expert gentlemen like Dr. Bygott and others to bring questions of this sort before an expert audience, but they had somehow to instruct the public mind. He was sure they had advanced considerably in some directions, such as in the purity of water, sanitation, etc., and all these efforts were in the right direction. There yet remained very much to be done, and he welcomed a paper of that sort, because it was one of the many methods which might be adopted to enlighten the public; and as the result of such enlightenment further reforms might become possible which would conduce to the welfare of the community generally.

Mr. HUGHES said that in regard to the detention of tramps, which he gathered was proposed by the paper, he would like to know of what nature the detention was to be. Would it be in the nature of punishment? Punishment for no real offence seemed rather a dangerous principle. If it were not for punishment, but for the public good, as in the case of a smallpox case, why should it not be imposed impartially on all, and not only on those who came into the hands of the police? It seemed an unscientific proposal if it could only be imposed on certain members of the community, and it might lead to dangerous legislation, such as they had suffered from in past times.

Mr. T. H. BEDFORD (Leicester Union) said that with regard to Children's Courts Dr. Bygott's paper struck the right note. Coming from a large industrial centre, and frequently visiting Police Courts as he did, he found that the children were frequently brought into the Children's Court without either the father or mother being with them. The cause was that father and mother were both at work, and would, in all probability, lose their work if they attended. The suggestion that there should be evening Courts was a solution of some of the little problems which came into the Juvenile Court. What they wanted with regard to these Courts was a magistrate who was sympathetic with children, hence he (Mr. Bedford) would have for this purpose a family man, because he thought that those who had not had a family had not the same sympathy towards idiosyncrasies in others, especially children. If they had a man of that character presiding over the Juvenile Court, a man with business ability as well as sympathy, the punishment awarded in such cases would be punishment somewhat on the lines laid down by the essayist. And it would be a good thing if, instead of sending children to Borstal even, they could do as Dr. Bygott said, detain them in institutions in the town in which they lived for a week or a fortnight, or cause them to spend their evenings at such institutions. That remedial measure would be of such importance that the Courts through the

country would attempt to carry it out. And children in large centres of industry were frequently left to their own resources to find their own employment. Where the father and mother were at work in the factory, the proper parental control over these children was lost altogether, and when they came out of school at 4.30 and had to wait until 7 o'clock for the father and mother to come home, one could understand that while they were wandering about the streets and doing those mischievous things which were dear to the heart of a child, it meant that they were getting into trouble, getting into property which was unoccupied, and so on. He was on the Assessment Committee, and the frequent observations made at those meetings were to the effect that the property had been so long unoccupied that it was put into a state of repair and left at a small rent because they dared not keep it unhabited. But he hoped that throughout the length and breadth of the land a deeper sympathy would be created for child life. These children came to them in the Children's Court with their minds just being developed, and if they were developed on the right lines much good would be done. But if these children were left to their own devices and their own resources without correction, very frequently their minds would be developed on lines which would not be beneficial either to themselves or to the nation.

Mr. FREDERICK W. SHERWOOD (Recorder of Worcester) said he thought it was the duty of every member of a Conference such as this, if he had any experience which was likely to be a help to anybody else, to contribute it. (Hear, hear.) He had not had much experience of Children's Courts, but he had heard of them, and it struck him that the defect of our present criminal system in this matter, as in so many other matters, was its cumbrousness. It was a great machine, which required a lot of trouble to be put into operation, even in regard to the most trivial matters. He suggested that what one wanted was what the reader of the paper advocated, simplification and speed. There should be the abolition of a great deal of elaborate detail and machinery, and that would have the effect of rendering the Criminal Law less odious and less terrifying to the imagination of the young offender. He did not undervalue the immense services of the unpaid magistry, or their diligence, or the readiness which they showed to give up their time to the work, but our Courts of Summary Jurisdiction had to be constituted by at least two magistrates for the most part, and they were generally busy men. It was not always easy to get a Court together. The process was by summons, and there was a date fixed, and all the rest of it. If one had an official sitting, in the evening if preferred, without very long notice, and a child could be brought up before the magistrate and the whole matter speedily disposed of, it would be a great improvement on the present system. The amount of delay and expense and unnecessary toil and trouble to officials and magistrates owing to our present system applied to this matter, as it did also to the matter of adult delinquents. In Belgium, when he visited the Courts of Justice there, he was struck with the expedition which characterised their methods in minor matters. He did not know about Children's Courts; it was many years since he was there; but he knew there was speedy justice in small matters. Here in London, if one had trouble with one's cabman because he wanted to charge one too much or had not behaved properly, there was need for a summons if one did not submit to his demands at once, and there was the episode in the Police Court which, when it was reported, was dressed up in a way which made even the successful customer of the cabman look foolish. In Belgium one could take one's opponent right away to an official, who would deal with the case at once. If one could have that sort of thing in England it would be a great gain. This matter opened up for serious consideration a question which had been ventilated in the morning papers, the question of the multiplication of paid magistrates. He was a barrister, and might naturally be expected to look with approval upon any change which would bring about an increase in the number of paid magistrates. But we had in this country what might be described as a kind of half-and-half system. Over large areas there were no Stipendaries, whereas in London there were twenty-five. In the country, dotted about purely according to the local wish, without regard to any definite system, there were twenty Stipendiaries. If the appointment of Stipendiaries was right at all, there ought to be such officials all over the country, say one for every county. He would be sorry, however, to think that that change would abolish the great body of unpaid Justices of the Peace, for it was most useful to have such a body taking part in the administration of justice. But in some quarters it was often difficult to get magistrates for speedy justice, and so it would be very useful to have

a paid magistrate sitting, or able to sit, at a moment's notice if necessary, with regard to small cases. Or one could have a rota of unpaid Justices, so as to have one told off for a week together to be ready to sit in the evening and deal with any cases which sprang up suddenly. It would be useful for the delinquents and for their victims, and it would leave less bitterness in the case of people dealt with and finished than one found was often created by a long delay, followed by a public trial at noon with a number of people looking on and a great staff of people to deal with the matter. The defect of our English criminal justice was its cumbrousness, its delay, and its expense. One of the propositions of the paper was that people who had been sentenced should be allowed to serve their time by instalments. He really did not see why that should not be carried out. It was supposed that the possibility of a small period of imprisonment would cause a person to take to his heels. He had under notice the other day the case of a man who undoubtedly had had previous convictions. He pleaded not guilty, got a plausible alibi, and there was a strong chance of his getting off. He had a home and children, and was in employment; yet, owing to the idea that he would take to his heels, he was kept in prison for three months, at the end of which time he was acquitted. That was an illustration of the effect of the idea which prevailed in some quarters that persons, even though they had got homes and relations, whose prospects in life were good, would take to their heels because they were accused of some small offence; that they would never face an inquiry before a public tribunal. That prevailed too much in country districts especially, and he thought it would be better to run the risk of a person so absconding than to have him detained for a longer period.

Mr. C. B. SNELLING (Chelmsford Union) said that Dr. Bygott, in his paper, had suggested that prisoners should agree to be vaccinated in order to prevent their getting and conveying smallpox. He thought it would be a better suggestion to prevail upon them to have daily baths. In the district of Chelmsford, where he was a Guardian, they certainly did not refuse relief to the wives of men prisoners. It seemed to him to be outrageous if any Boards of Guardians were addicted to that practice. With regard to the magistracy, he would express his own personal view: it was that the increase of the paid magistrates would be a great evil. (Hear, hear.) By means of the unpaid magistracy one did get to some extent something of a jury, although it was not a jury of the peers of those who were tried. It was a jury of three or more, unpaid, well-to-do men, who considered the matters, and it was a better way of getting justice than by the one paid magistrate; although the best way would be for men to try only cases from their own class. Unfortunately the paid magistrates were of a class which was totally unable to feel what the peers of the many delinquents would feel. It suggested itself to him that in the minor Courts it would not be out of place that women should take their part in judging the difficulties of children. There were motherly women—women who were quite capable of handling the difficult questions in regard to which these children were supposed to have erred. He suggested that they should be brought forward to try these cases, and if they could not trust them singly, let them sit in conjunction with a fatherly man. But he considered women could well deal with such troubles.

Councillor WILLIAM CROW (West Ham County Borough Council) said that he had been disappointed by the fact that he had heard nothing, or very little, about the cause of crime, and he thought that if they could prevent children from coming to the Courts at all they would be spending their time profitably. One of the speakers said they sometimes got children before the Court without either parent being there. He had been a Justice of the Peace for seventeen years, and he thought this idea of Children's Courts was a new idea, which, he believed, Mr. Churchill introduced. In many of the cases it was evident that the parents of the children brought before the Courts had no interest in the children at all. The Recorder of Worcester had rather urged that justice should be more summary than it was. He thought the suspense which often occurred from the day of the issue of the summons to the trial was a very trying suspense, and it was often a greater punishment than anything which they as Justices could inflict. (Hear, hear.) It was not the usual practice—in fact, it was the last thing they did—to send a child to prison. And that was the growing experience all over the country. Children were not sent to prison, and when he said "children" he meant all persons under 21 years of age. He was aware of the 16 years' limit. He hoped that during that Conference they would not look only at the question of punishing, because they might go on from generation to generation, one system of punishment taking the place of another, and

all of them might be effectual; yet it might all be in vain unless they got right down to the root cause of it, which he believed to be drink. Homes were neglected, there was no comfort in them, and children were spending their time in the streets; they were not having the nurture from the parents that they ought to have, and the consequence was that they were up to all manner of devilment. If the parents were improved they would have no need, or very little need, for Children's Courts at all.

Mr. DAVID WILLIAMS (Bermondsey Union) said he had listened carefully to the paper, and he scarcely liked to venture an opinion contrary to those gentlemen present. But he had had great experience in Police Courts in London, though not as a magistrate, and he thought it was very objectionable to find a prosecutor, so called, conferring with the magistrate or the Magistrate's Clerk as to how the case should be dealt with. Cases should be heard in open Court, and all the facts should come out there, and it was not right to pre-judge a case outside. Of course, in regard to London they must remember it had four and a half millions of people, and one could not expect a Justice of the Peace to administer justice in London as he would in country places. He was doubtful about the good of a Juvenile Court; it was not a Court at all. The magistrate should convince a child that he has committed an offence, with the idea of future prevention. If one talked to him like a father only, that was something which the child's own father could do. But when the child came to the Police Court he should be made to feel its strictness. Why did the Judge in the High Court wear a scarlet robe, and why were there all the appurtenances of the Court? To impress upon the offender the dignity and solemnity of the administration of justice. With regard to deciding the case immediately the offence was committed, that would be red-hot justice; it would be judging the case before either party had had time to think about it and about what they were doing. By taking time both parties would think it out better, and as a result they might not come into Court at all. He had had to deal with charges against children, he had been a police officer for nearly thirty-two years, and for seventeen years he had been an inspector in the district. Since then he had been a member of the Borough Council and the Board of Guardians, and so he had some knowledge of the administration of the law. To send men to prison from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, as suggested, he considered almost ridiculous. It was making the prison almost like a casual ward; it was calculated to make a man lose the idea of having committed an offence. This would be the effect if Dr. Bygott's scheme were carried out. He thought the proper thing would be for the man to serve his time and have done with it if he had committed an offence. That would go a long way towards inducing him not to commit the offence again. That was the idea of punishment. With regard to keeping prisoners in the Police Station, that was forbidden for more than a few hours in all the Police Stations in London. And that was quite right, because they were not suitable places for detention of a permanent nature. The idea was simply to keep them there until they could be brought before the magistrate. By that time, if they had been drunk, they would no doubt be sober. With regard to the children and wife being relieved when the husband was a prisoner, he thought they would find that paragraph No. 2 of the last Order of the Local Government Board said that the wife and children might be relieved. He would like to have heard more about the subject of "Inebriety," especially as in the district from which he came they had nearly 6,000 people on the rates.

Miss M. HUGHES (Whitechapel Union) said she was perhaps out of order, but one speaker had mentioned the subject of the prevention of children getting into trouble. She had lived for fourteen years in Commercial Street, Whitechapel, and the amount of drinking by women was deplorable. Opposite to them was a Section House with 100 police in it, many of whom were friends of theirs. Sometimes when in Commercial Street Police Station she found women, some of them young, too tipsy to know what they were doing. She wished to be very practical, because these were matters which ate into their daily lives. These women being found in that state meant that the children had no one to take care of them, that they were running about the streets learning and doing bad things. She went to the Lock Hospital on Wednesdays, tracing their girls there, and hardly ever did total abstaining girls—unless feeble-minded—get "on the streets." Many of them said they had not given way until they had taken strong drink, which sometimes turned out to mean being drugged. One Inspector of Police in her neighbourhood thought her a dreadful fanatic, yet his heart being for the betterment of unfortunate Whitechapel, he admitted that she was right in *one thing*, and he would back her up in it if he could,

and that was that all public-houses should shut at 11.30 instead of 12.30. He had said to her: "There are three women drunk in that room"; and it is so dreadful for young policemen to take up women in such a state. She begged all those present to try to get earlier closing for London. Between 11 and 12.30 there would be ten or more wretched women who would have to be taken away drunk and incapable, whereas during the five hours between 6 and 11 there would be only two or three taken to the Police Station. It was the late drinking which was so dreadful.

Mr. T. PALMER (Nottingham Union) said that this was not the first time that they had had a paper from Dr. Bygott. Last year he had given them a very excellent paper. He agreed with nine-tenths of what Dr. Bygott now said. Probably half of those present were members of Boards of Guardians. They knew that thin, weary-looking woman whose husband had happened to get drunk on Saturday night, and had got seven days. It might be true that money was not given to her by the Relieving Officer. But the Relieving Officer had more sense than to allow that woman to starve, and practically every Relieving Officer, whilst not in a position to give money, would put kind into the house sufficient to satisfy the immediate needs of the family. In the present assembly there were also some Clerks to Guardians who would agree with him in this. In nine cases out of ten the Relieving Officer, for his own sake, would put something into the house until his Guardians met, if there were no collusion with the husband. In other conditions there would be a house order offered them giving plenty to supply the wife and family. Many Guardians considered the danger of the breaking-up of the home, and would sanction out-relief to save such a loss.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir J. Crichton-Browne) said the meeting would permit him on their behalf to thank Dr. Bygott for the very able, interesting, and highly suggestive paper which he had submitted. Dr. Bygott brought a fresh and vigorous mind to the consideration of the subject with which he had dealt, and he had opened up to them some novel and highly promising prospects, and had elicited a very interesting discussion. Some of his proposals might be regarded as somewhat startling, but there were one or two which appealed to him strikingly. The first was his observation as to the condition of some Police Courts—badly lighted and insanitary. These Police Courts should be temples of high cheer, in which justice might fitly dwell; they should be bright, airy, well ventilated, and calculated to put witness, accused, and even the policeman, at their ease. And in these Police Courts there should be, as in Petty Sessional Courts, more frequent conferences between the Medical Officer of Health and the magistrates themselves. One suggestion of Dr. Bygott's he took exception to, and that was the infliction of vaccination upon tramps as a sort of return to the old branding system. Vaccination should never be a punishment; it should be a high privilege and distinction which they and their children should be anxious to receive. As to the question of feeding women and children during the imprisonment of the bread-winner, that should not be left to the humanity or good feeling of the Relieving Officer; it should be obligatory, because if these children during the imprisonment of the bread-winner were subjected to starvation, they were driving them down to that stage of degeneration which was calculated to make criminals of them. Perhaps the most startling of Dr. Bygott's suggestions was his reference to week-end imprisonment. That was a little startling, as he had said, but it seemed a feasible thing. He did not think, however, that under those circumstances it should be called imprisonment; it should be called rather a penitential retreat. And it should not take place in the prison, but in the police cells, or in some institution provided for the purpose, so that the stigma of imprisonment might not attach to those who had undergone this penalty. There was no doubt a ludicrous side to it, but he did not know that that was a disadvantage, for they might laugh at the follies of men, and ridicule them out of them, just as well as beat them out of them. Observations had been made as to the disqualifications of some magistrates, and many of them were reluctant to serve. Many magistrates were placed on the Bench not for their judicial faculty, or to take part in judicial work, but for the social distinction associated with it; and he did not see why a distinction should not be made, why certain of the magistrates should not be specially set apart for Petty Sessional work. That was the case in regard to lunacy. All magistrates could not sign Lunacy Certificates, but only a certain number, who were selected owing to their qualifications, and on the panel of magistrates there should be some who were specially qualified for Petty Sessional work.

Dr. BYGOTT, in reply, thanked the Chairman for his very kind speech. The

Chairman was correct in stating that the salient point of his paper was his desire to take the opinion of the meeting on the subject of the possibilities of this week-end punishment. He was sorry that aspect has not been more alluded to. With regard to the support of the wives and families of men who are in prison, the practice of Guardians in this matter was not uniform. He (the speaker) had been for seven years District Medical Officer in the Aston Union, with more than a quarter of a million of people, and it was the practice not to give relief to the wives and families of people in prison, except in the workhouse. There were clergymen and others who took up the question, but when he left there four years ago no change had been made. In his own present district people had come to him and stated that the practice prevailed there too. He was glad that the practice of refusing outdoor relief in these cases was not universal, but it certainly prevailed in some Unions. With regard to some of the criticisms on the subject of evening Courts, he was glad to find that fairly general support was given to that part of his paper. It could be arranged in certain districts if the magistrates liked to make the arrangements themselves. It is not a matter which would require legislation or Home Office initiative. He was sorry to hear it suggested that it ought to be a troublesome matter for a defendant to attend at Court. It was very desirable that the father of the defendant (if a child) should attend, but he often could not go to the Courts in the morning. With regard to the comments of the Recorder of Worcester, he quite agreed that the present system was cumbersome, but he did not agree with someone else that it was necessary that those who sit on the Bench should wear uniforms, etc. The question had been raised as to the possibility of people sentenced to week-end detention escaping. The warden of a large tramp colony in Belgium was asked whether his men escaped. "Yes," he said, "very often do, and I am glad when they do. If a man is any good we get rid of him, and that terminates his punishment; if he is no good we soon get him back again." That would also happen in the case of some of these men. With regard to vaccination, that was not a serious recommendation of his; he had mentioned it as simply an illustration of his contention that the present system was one which should be rapidly changed. Lastly, there was the important question raised by a speaker with reference to the Medical Officer of Health conferring with magistrates or with their Clerks. Unfortunately, there were certain things in connection with Public Health administration in which the law was very uncertain. Medical Officers of Health got many things done, which it was to the public interest to get done, but which they were never quite sure whether they could legally enforce, because the Acts of Parliament dealing with them were out of date, and needed amendment. It was undesirable to discuss with a magistrate the circumstances of a specific case which was coming before the Court, but it might be very beneficial to discuss the principles which were likely to guide him or the Clerk in deciding the case. That morning he had written to a Magistrate's Clerk with regard to a serious offence committed by a man whilst, as he believed, he was insane. He had given the Magistrate's Clerk a report which it would be in his discretion to show to the Justices, and he expected to receive from him next morning a letter of thanks. He would give another instance. When he was in a Poor Law appointment a woman had been attempting to procure miscarriage by taking lead plaster. She made a statement to him when he was attending her, and it seemed to be a common practice. He would have liked to prosecute her for it, so as to stop the practice. But there were intricate points of law and practice involved, and he had felt that if they prosecuted that woman and her prosecution were unsuccessful, they might do more harm than good, by advertising the practice without showing that it could be punished. He discussed the matter with the Magistrate's Clerk, who pointed out to him what would be likely to be the attitude of his Bench with regard to the subject, and they decided not to bring it forward. He was certain that in discussing the matter with the Magistrate's Clerk he had acted much more carefully in the public interest than if he had insisted on the prosecution of the woman without taking that precaution.

Discussion on Captain St. John's Paper.

Mr. SHERWOOD asked whether there was not a system in operation at the present time by which prisoners might earn wages?

Captain ST. JOHN replied that it could hardly be called earning wages; they earned a gratuity which came to them at the end of the term, but there was no definite

connection between what they did and what they earned, except that they had to do a certain amount before they could get their gratuity.

Mr. WILLIAM MCCRINDLE (N.S.P.C.C., Glasgow) said that he came there in order to learn, and he had listened attentively to all the papers and discussions. He thought most of the statements made had been made with the object of showing that there was need for reform in our prison treatment and in the discipline of prisoners. He thought that was to be regretted to some extent, because he thought the time had arrived when all were fairly well agreed that there was need for such reform. He was glad to find in this last paper, which was the only one of a constructive character which they had had, hints thrown out which indicated means by which these reforms might be carried out. He had seen a recent report of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, and in it he was struck with this fact: that 488 prisoners had returned to Scottish prisons last year for the fiftieth time and over. Surely that indicated that there was urgent need for reform in the treatment of the prisoners, otherwise they would not have prisoners coming back for the fiftieth time. Either they should not come back at all, or the discipline in prison should be such as to produce the desired reform. He thought that was a deplorable state of things, and he had not noticed that a remedy had emerged for it in any of the discussions at this Conference. That was a problem that they ought to deal with, namely, what was to be done to prevent that class of prisoner being a permanent burden upon the community. There seemed to be no hope of dealing with him satisfactorily in the present manner. He thought that that Conference should direct its attention to this question, because so long as they had that large class it stood as an enormous reflection on prison discipline. Captain St. John's paper dealt with the problem of inside discipline, and that was the crux of the whole question: was the discipline such as, when a criminal was sent to prison, would bring about the desired reformation? He did not agree with some of the remarks, especially those of his fellow townsman, Dr. Devon, who, in his paper, had said imprisonment was not intended to reform, but to degrade. He differed from such a remark, and he would have tackled him on it if he had been here. Such an idea was surely very far absent from the minds of the authorities. He thought the problem of the young would solve itself, and he thought they were proceeding in the right direction. In Glasgow very few young persons were sent to prison now, for they had the Probation Act, and it was working very well. But he did not think they had the proper staff of men and women to deal with the young people whom they put upon probation. He had had a good deal of experience in connection with women who were not sent to prison but were handed over to a Probation Officer, and it seemed to be the interest of the lady officers to make up a good record and say that these women were doing very well. But he had found that many of these persons who were out on probation under Probation Officers were drinking as badly as ever; and when inquiry had been made the Probation Officer had admitted that she had not seen them lately. The Probation Officer had suppressed the fact in order to get a good record. It was to be hoped they would get the right class of Probation Officers, not merely ladies who volunteered to work because of their philanthropic instincts, but officials who would be conscientious in the discharge of the duties put upon them by the State.

Mr. JAMES GIBSON (Edinburgh Parish Council said that he noticed one particular point in the paper which interested them in Edinburgh very much, and that was with regard to the wives and children of prisoners. In Dr. Bygott's paper he noticed that he mentioned that it seemed to him that in England no provision was made for these cases. In Edinburgh, in connection with the Parish Council, they were building a Children's Home for the children whom they often had under their care, their unfortunate fathers being in prison. Regarding Captain St. John's paper, he had had the pleasure of going over to Canada last year, and with regard to the point Captain St. John made as to the discipline in farm work, he had seen, under the control of the Mounted Police of Canada, a farm being worked by prisoners in that State, and it seemed to him admirable that prisoners should be used in such a way to cultivate the land there and produce what was wanted for their needs in connection with their detention. He sympathised very much with what the Captain said as to our using our prisoners' labour in such a way. Another point was with regard to the feeble-minded. He was rather astonished when Captain St. John mentioned that they had to resort to flogging. He was surprised that there should be any such method used.

Mr. T. H. Bedford (Leicester Union) said that perhaps this was the most interesting of all the topics likely to be brought before the Conference. He had been over in Canada and the United States, and had seen many of the prisons there, and he thought they had a better way of treating their prisoners over there than we had here. They had one prison just outside New York, called Sing Sing, where the most hopeless cases were taken; and one of the most remarkable features of Sing Sing prison was that 40 per cent. of these so-called hopeless cases came out of prison free men and free women, people who had had their characters re-established there. The secret of it was that at the head of that prison there was a man and a woman with large-hearted sympathy, who did not control their prison upon strictly military grounds, but who did inquire into matters and, if possible, got down into the heart of each prisoner. And one was shown various men and women whose record at New York was almost as bad as it could be. One case the Governor told them about was this. He said: "You stood by the side of a woman on the temperance platform this morning. Do you know that at one time she came to our prison as one of the most hopeless cases?" The change had come about in this way. She had just passed through an attack of typhoid fever, and the doctor had told her that her case was almost hopeless. They went into her cell that night to look at her for, as they thought, the last time. And the Governor, with all the Christian sympathy of the Master in his heart, had knelt down and prayed that God would guide her into the haven of eternal peace. That was the night of the height of the fever, and in the morning her reason began to come back, and the brightness was restored to her sight. He became surety for her good behavious for twelve months. At the end of that time she had made her name in New York as one of the best workers in the slum district, and had done her best to regain her character. All America knew to-day that the woman who once was one of the worst was to-day one of the most ardent advocates of temperance. If they could get men and women to volunteer to help these people when they came out of prison, or even before, because that is the time to help them, and make friends with them, it was surprising how successful they would be in getting at the bottom of their hearts and lives in the quietude of the cell. Sometimes they would tell one the story of their fall, of how they had been led into temptation and crime. And if one talked sympathetically, one might help to win them back into the right path. They wanted sympathy in their movement, whole-hearted service to men and women who had fallen, and when they came out of prison it would then be to a brighter hope and a better future than they would have had without that sympathy and help.

Mr. F. W. Sherwood said that Captain St. John had been criticised in respect of an utterance of his with regard to the flogging of the feeble-minded. It was not for him to interpret Captain St. John's utterance, but he fancied some injustice had been done to his proposition through a misunderstanding. It was known that the question of feeble-mindedness was a somewhat new question, so far as its ventilation and appeal to the general public was concerned. The question of how to deal with the feeble-minded, and the relation of feeble-mindedness to crime, was indeed now before the Legislature. Captain St. John meant that a number of people were treated as dangerous criminals, and some might have been flogged who, if the fact that they were feeble-minded had been known, would have been treated differently. Many Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies had recently been reorganised, and had been officially brought into relation with the Home Office, and were being treated as public bodies, grouped together and acting with the Home Office. And there was a Central Committee of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Associations which was now regularly recognised by the Government and met in the Home Office. The Representatives were called together by the Prison Commissioner, and he (Mr. Sherwood) had recently been made a member of that Commission. He did not yet set himself up to speak of the work of that body, but he thought that at the end of July this year a new departure would be made, and though prisoners would receive a gratuity, in future all prisoners going to penal servitude after July would be under a different *règime*. Such gratuities as came to them would be administered through the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, so that the prisoner on leaving the prison would not have a lump sum put into his hands, which he could get rid of without profit to himself in a short space of time; but the money would be administered through the Society, which would be subsidised by the Government for that purpose. One speaker from Scotland touched on the question of the support of the wives and children of prisoners. That was out of the strict limits of Captain St. John's paper;

but these cases were dealt with at any rate by the Roman Catholic Prisoners' Aid Association in Westminster, to which he belonged, and in the other Dioceses of the Province of Westminster. They did think of them, and it was part of their duties to look after them and do what they could for them before and after the prisoner was discharged. And he suggested that if there could be, next year, or in some future year, another meeting of this Conference, they might have as a subject the work of dealing with discharged prisoners.

Miss M. C. Lees (Edinburgh District Lunacy Board) said that she was extremely interested in the remarks by Captain St. John, more especially when he had said that he was desirous that gentlewomen should be appointed as wardresses in the prisons. She thought that some great results had come from the women suffragists being in prisons. A friend of hers had come out recently and had given her an account. She was an old lady, who had a beautiful country house with a magnificent view. She was between 60 and 70 years of age, and she was sentenced to two months' hard labour. When she first went in there were many things to be found fault with, but afterwards everything was put right. She had come out looking fresh and hearty. The Matron and the wardresses were most delightful people, and she had invited one of the wardresses to spend her summer holiday at her place in the country. She (Miss Lees) thought it was only right to tell them of this experience of prison treatment.

Miss M. Hughes (Whitechapel Union) said she wished that in their infirmaries and hospitals they had the patients treated medically for inebriety, while they were under their care. She knew there were a lot of "drink cures" that were shams, but she believed there were one or two effective medical treatments. Those who were in the East End knew how good doctors were, and how patient, and if they would find a practical treatment for these bad cases when the craving came on it would be a very good thing. She knew how terrible it was, because she had been locked in with these women when they had had the craving.

Mr. C. B. Snelling (Chelmsford Union) thanked Captain St. John for his paper, which he thought was very helpful. But in the third paragraph, where he mentioned those who ought not to be in prison, Captain St. John had made a singular omission, for he took no account of the innocent. Probably the struggle to make both ends meet was dependent not only on the amount of money officials received, but on the amount of contentment they possessed. The difficulty in regard to voluntary helpers seemed to be to get enough of the right class. At the passing of the Education Act of 1870 he was filled with joy, because he thought of the ignorance which that Act would eliminate. The greatest difficulty was to get philosophers as school teachers, to get people who were possessed with the spirit of Socrates. Captain St. John was right in forcing home the idea that there was a great advantage in the appointment to places of authority of people who had previously spent all their life in another occupation. It was a great advantage to approach questions freshly. Many of the greatest advances had been made by those who had not been great in, or particularly trained for, the appointment in which they afterwards proved efficient. There was an instance in the case of Harrison, the carpenter, who had invented the chronometer, and there were many other instances. The question of honour is the root of the difficulty of trusting prisoners. John Bunyan in this country was let out of prison on honour, and was allowed to travel from his prison to London and elsewhere, always coming back at the time appointed. You might do the same thing with Mrs. Pankhurst and many other persons, but it would not be safe with folk like Charles Peace. If they could inspire people with a spirit of responsibility, getting into them some devotion and self-denial, they would have removed much of their distressful condition of mind. Some people evidently were prepared to face a great risk by the passage of the proposed Act for the Feeble-minded, an Act which he thought was likely to remove from us many individuals who were unjustly regarded by their fellows as somewhat touched in their heads. If they looked through the past, they would see that there was scarcely a great reformer who was not considered a bit cracked by those who could not understand the reform. When a man came forward with a new and unorthodox idea, people said he was a bit touched. If these people were to be whisked away on private inquiry, there was a danger that inventors would be removed from the scene. The only safety would be to call in the neighbours to the inquiry, to have a jury of people who knew the person, for that would be a better security than a private inquiry on formal lines. Captain St. John's idea, that good conduct was promoted by the gift of coins,

brought in the very thing which took away the attention from responsibility and self-denial. Under this idea wages were to be given, and he did not know that it was any more than increasing the popular devotion to getting money; "whatever you do, get money." That was not the way. Let them look at the thousands of home-makers, men and women of this nation who were working not for coins, but with a sense of responsibility, devotion, and self-denial. And that was true not only of this nation, but also of all nations. It was the same with the Boer women; they had but few coins amongst them. They must not make deeper the difficulties which were centred round the love of coins; they must turn away from that. It was the principle which actuated the home makers of this nation that needed to be further impressed, that the women who devoted their lives to the welfare of those around them should teach that same principle to the coming generation.

Mr. A. E. OAKESHOTT (Strood Union) said he would like to mention a case in connection with thrashing boys at Borstal. He knew one of those boys, and the police and everybody who knew him regarded him as, in popular language, "a little bit off the top." He stood 5 feet 10 inches, and was brought up by a silly mother, whom the father had deserted for many years. He had had six months oversight under the Borstal Association. He was very violent at Borstal; he struck the warders on several occasions, and had been ordered to have thirty strokes with the wet towel on the bare back. As far as he could see, nothing could be done with him but to punish him in that way. He was now at liberty, and every day they were expecting him to get into trouble again. The Borstal Association wanted him away on a farm, but his mother wanted him back. He had worked for three weeks, and then got tired of it. He thought he would have to be classed as feeble-minded. He would like to support the request of Mrs. Hughes that prison doctors should treat medically the women who came on account of alcohol, and he thanked her for making the suggestion. They had from Chatham numbers of women who were sent for trial on account of disorderly and riotous conduct. They might be committed just after a sitting of the Quarter Session, and have to wait three months until the next sitting, and during that time of waiting they might very well be treated by the doctors, if the doctors would only make a point of it.

Councillor WILLIAM CROW said that with regard to the treatment in Canada, Australia, and America, which had been stated to be better than ours, he was interested to know whether it had any curative or preventive effect. Were there less people to be dealt with under these improved conditions?

The CHAIRMAN (Sir J. Crichton-Browne) said that the meeting was greatly indebted to Captain St. John for his paper. (Applause.) He had travelled far and thought much, and he was evidently master of his subject. In his paper he had made valuable recommendations, and they tended towards increased humanity and therefore increased efficiency in the treatment of prisoners. When Captain St. John had succeeded in eliminating from our prisons the insane, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the inebriate, the vicious, the depressed, there would be a very small residuum left, and that residuum might very well be left in the hands of military men for prompt treatment. He had a strong view that as long as our population of prisoners remained of the present miscellaneous character, there ought to be medical men as governors, medical men who had spent at least two years officiating in a lunatic asylum, and then they would have more insight, more discrimination, and more experiments. The great distinction between America and this country at the present time was that in America they had many experiments, whilst here we were too rigid. Thirty years ago he ascertained that the punishment in vogue in this country of three days of dark cells and bread-and-water resulted in the prisoner losing on the average three pounds in weight. He was anxious to ascertain what that serious loss of weight was due to, whether it was partly due to the bread and water, and how much was due to the depressing conditions. He applied for permission to have an investigation made on the point, but it was not permitted. They had been without those experiments. Mr. McCrindle referred to the incorrigibles; they were a terrible class, and in connection with some of them the question of segregation arose, in the same way as it had arisen in reference to a certain class of imbeciles. There might be extreme cases of incorrigibles who should be segregated for life. But it would be a long time before the public in this country would agree to any great extent of segregation. But they must wait, and if the object of this great Conference was carried out, if destitution was reduced, if poverty was diminished, if drinking was reduced, if tuberculosis was abolished, and if there was

a general elevation of the health and the physical development of the people, then these incorrigibles would dwindle, and would ultimately disappear. A lady had given a roseate picture of the treatment of a woman in prison. They were much better off in prison than men; but at best the prison in this country was a grievous and serious penalty, and much might be done to eliminate it. There should be total abolition of flogging, not only in prisons, but in reformatory schools, and when men were compelled to do without it they would find that there were other methods of dealing with recalcitrants beyond the brutal one. He remembered the case of a man who had been received into an asylum suffering with a fatal brain disease, and who bore upon his back the marks of a "cat," he having been flogged while in prison for what were really the symptoms of his disease. That was a terrible reflection, and showed how dangerous was the application of a punishment like flogging.

Captain ST. JOHN, in reply, said that he thanked them very much for the interesting discussion on his paper. The first question was how to deal with habitual incorrigibles and those whom they did not know how to deal with to-day. It was complained that he had not dealt with their case. But he thought he had tried to hint at what might be done, and that was a tentative attempt to bring about what was known as the indeterminate sentence; not what was often meant by the indeterminate sentence in this country, but a sentence whose term was not predetermined because it involved a course of training, and one could not tell beforehand how soon it would achieve its object. They were moving that way under the Borstal system. A boy was sentenced for one, two, or three years at Borstal, and he might be released almost at any time that the authorities chose, and then he remained outside under supervision during the remainder of his sentence. Why should not that be done with most prisoners? What he had hinted at was something of this sort, that there should be a real after-care for prisoners, by which they should remain under friendly supervision. He would explain further what he meant on the following day, when they dealt with the inebriate question. A home should be prepared for them, or employment. It seemed to him that if prisons were made the last resort, then when they did send a person to prison they should not finally discharge him until they was sure that it was safe to do so. And the way to move towards that was to make this period of supervision indeterminate. Let the person remain under supervision until it appeared safe to finally discharge him. The difficult question arose as to who should say when he was to be discharged. It had been suggested that there should be a Court of Rehabilitation.

People were not born habitual criminals; there must be a time before they became so. The folly was that they were allowed to become habituals. With regard to inebriates, it had been suggested that they should not go to prison. A fine of 5s. or seven days' imprisonment was no cure for inebriety. They should be looked after in hospitals and industrial establishments if they were bad enough, and after-care should come in and a hold should be retained upon them until there was some security that they were cured. The Recorder of Worcester had defended him against the possible misconception that he meant to say that feeble-minded people were flogged intentionally. He did not mean that. There was a common idea in this country that any doctor could tell whether a person was feeble-minded or not. But they had it from those who were experts in imbecility that it was difficult to do so, especially in the more dangerous cases; that it required a long course of observation and inspection of history sheets. Therefore it was possible that the prison doctors might sometimes allow feeble-minded persons to pass through their hands without knowing that they were such. At any rate, whether these prisoners were feeble-minded or not, it was subversive of the proper tone and mental balance of an institution to have flogging going on in it. If a person were bad enough to be flogged he was bad enough to be segregated. (Hear, hear.) The discipline at Elmira was reported to have improved since they did away with corporal punishment. They simply segregate them for a time. They were given plenty of air and light, but were put away from the rest of the community, and were glad to get back again. With regard to wages and the payment of gratuities to the central Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, he thought that was an improvement and would enable some good to be done. But it was not really the payment of wages for work done. What he was speaking of was the bringing of some obvious relation between the work done by a man and his livelihood. If there was an objection to paying him in coin he might be paid in kind, but the principle of "nothing without labour" was one which should be introduced into such institutions. He had been hauled over the coals

because his proposal of working for money was immoral. But so was society. Society was built that way; and one could not expect prisoners to come out and devote their lives to work without pecuniary return. No one could do that in our society unless he was possessed of private means. They wanted to introduce the idea that he must work for the community if he expected support. And the one way of winning these people into ways of working was to get them to see the connection between their work and their livelihood. He supposed the best way would be to introduce the religious motive, and convert them to a higher motive of life. But in the meantime why should they not earn wages for their work, as well as other people outside? Why should they be made into slaves? At present they were slaves, because they were working for no pay, and they were working because they were made to. That was not teaching them to work and to like work; it was doing the very opposite.

One speaker said there were not enough volunteers. He very much doubted that; he was constantly meeting men and women who were capable of doing this very kind of work of influencing people and drawing out the best that was in them. But they had not got much chance of exercising it. The prison officers were not allowed to talk to their men; if they were seen talking in anything like a friendly way to a prisoner they were apt to be punished for undue familiarity. A system in which that was possible was ridiculous if reform were intended. One gentleman had complained that Dr. Devon had said prison authorities intended to degrade the prisoners. He did not think Dr. Devon had said that; he thought he said something to this effect, that the present system is calculated to degrade. Who that was acquainted with the system could say that was not so?

He was asked what statistics there were to show that the systems in Canada and America had better results? That was a difficult question. Statistics could not be got. He did not think any of the statistics produced were very valuable, even Borstal statistics. All they could say was that a certain number of people had been doing well for so many years, but they could not say that any of these prisons and institutions had had an effect on the criminality of the country. There was only one country that he knew of, of which that could be said, and that was New South Wales. He believed that there had been a tremendous decrease in criminality since the reforms brought in by Sir Charles Mackellar, who had spoken to them on the previous day, and Captain Neitenstein, who was Head of the Prison Department. The question could not often be satisfactorily answered as to general results, but one could see the effect in individuals. In Ontario, at Guelph, men came away saying " I feel fit to go to work "; and it seemed to him that that was only commonsense. When one had a system which increased the prisoner's self-respect it was bound to have a better effect than a system which obviously did the other thing. And if one did enter upon the task of trying to change a person's life, why not go on and keep hold of him in a friendly way until one had made sure of the change? That, too, was commonsense; and it was commonsense that was wanted in connection with this subject. At present officialdom was very much in the way. (Applause.)

Third Day, Thursday June 13th.

MORNING SESSION.

The Chair was taken by Dr. T. N. Kelynack. The subject discussed was INEBRIETY: CAUSAL FACTORS AND THEIR PREVENTION. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Inebriety and Feeblemindedness.*
By Dr. JAMES P. STURROCK.

2.—*The Relation of Inebriety to Feeblemindedness.*
By Dr. W. A. POTTS.

3.—*Inebriety and Destitution: Causal Factors and their Prevention.*
By Mr. J. T. RAE.

Inebriety and Feeblemindedness.

By JAMES P. STURROCK, M.A., M.D.

(Medical Officer, H.M. Prison, State Inebriate Reformatory and Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Perth).

THE correct relationship of states of mental defect to inebriety is as yet more a matter of theory and controversy than a basis of treatment. Solutions to vicious circles of any kind do not come from mere contemplation nor from debate as to what is cause and what effect. Whether hereditary influences, degenerate taints, and actual mental defects are the precursors of extreme alcoholism, or whether the causal relationship should be reversed, are matters of far less importance than that weak-mindedness and inebriety may exist quite apart from each other and that some more potent methods of dealing with each of them are urgently demanded. The common statement that inebriety is more often a symptom of mental defect than a cause of it has, I think, derived most of its apparent authority from its frequent repetition, and presents no definite solution. It would seem almost as if we were in danger of forgetting that alcohol is a drug which, whatever its results, produces at anyrate certain immediate and prolonged effects upon individual conduct, and that these are due to mental changes. The imbecile and those whom hitherto we have generally accepted as weak-minded are probably not more addicted to alcohol than the more normal population. Indeed, I have the authority of the Inspector of Poor of this city, who says that he does not recall any amongst the very numerous weak-minded persons boarded out by him in whom there had been at any time an element of drinking. Besides, it costs something to become a real inebriate, and the weak-minded are

not generally good wage-earners. There is, however, no doubt that where there is existing mental defect, the changes produced by alcohol are apt to be intensified, but whether that is always in the direction of anti-social conduct is a point that is not definite. Indeed, even in this class we must take into account another factor that is often lost sight of in the criminal inebriate, viz., the disposition of the individual. We hear much regarding double personality, sub-conscious manifestations, obtrusion of animal instincts, loss of self-control, etc., in alcoholic intoxication. Nothing, I think, could throw more light upon this matter than a careful study, such as I have made, of the conduct and disposition of recovered inmates in the Criminal Lunatic Asylum who have committed assaults in acute alcoholism or perpetrated frauds under the progressive moral decay of prolonged drinking. One can scarcely believe that the drunkard who beats his wife is either much attached to her when he is sober or is normally in a constant state of wishing to beat her from which his self-control deters him.

Inebriety is not confined to the criminal classes, but the definition of an inebriate has so widened the circle of abnormal conduct that shall come under the cognisance of the law that we must more than ever keep in view these two factors of disposition and the individual mental effects of alcohol. These effects are well exemplified in two classes of inebriates who are continually increasing, and who constitute perhaps the larger proportion of those who have hitherto been dealt with under the Inebriates Act. These cases of habitual drunkenness and cruelty to, or, strictly speaking, neglect of family, are really crimes of omission. Much of the debate as to mental defect has centred around these. The habitual "drunk and disorderly" constitute the large proportion of the prison "ins and outs," whose treatment there has been so hopelessly unsuccessful. Putting aside such evidently insane conditions as delirium tremens, epileptic excitement produced or intensified by alcohol, and also the numerous cases of occasional breaches of the peace, there is a large number of prisoners who are scarcely ever out of prison because they are habitually noisy or helpless through drink. That they are inebriates no one will deny; that they are all weak-minded is quite another question. Amongst this class there is a large proportion who show a marked intolerance to alcohol. This has been taken by some as evidence of mental defect, and has even been made a definition of inebriety. This intolerance is surely well marked in many persons who are neither inebriates nor criminals and who are far from being weak-minded. Besides, if it were of the nature of actual mental defect it would be reasonable to expect that after years of this conduct most of these habituals would become distinctly defective or insane. Some may, but there are many amongst the older habituals here who show so little mental defect that they cannot differ much in this respect from what they were when they began their disorderly career many years ago.

Much stress has been laid upon the statement that these prisoners show similar explosive tendencies in prison apart altogether from alcohol. Such is not my experience, and there are at least as many "explosives" amongst prisoners who do not drink. It will be found, I think, that these outbursts have chiefly taken place during reformatory sentences for reasons which are apart from ordinary mental defect. It is not to be wondered at if a person whose only offence is what is termed a "simple drunk" should in time show an irritable disposition towards authority when she finds herself confined for a period that seems out of proportion to the gravity of her offence, particularly if her disposition and desires are those of the city habitual. These outbursts are commonest among the women, and take place in lesser degree among female criminal lunatics whose recovery is complete

but whose detention has to be continued for some time thereafter. Such explosive cases form the greater proportion of the failures of the earlier attempts at reformatory treatment.

It is very misleading to say that this disorderly type of prisoner shows defective self-control in the form of inebriety when at liberty and of displays of temper when under restraint. It is this question of self-control that has made the subject of feeble-mindedness so prominent.

It may be presumed that everyone who is unable to stop drinking is defective in self-control. If a drinker is not conscious that he is any the worse for alcohol his self-control need not be said to be affected at all. The habitual inebriate then, who becomes excited after a small quantity of alcohol, though easy to classify as weak-minded in that his brain cannot carry much alcohol—a most pernicious definition of weak-mindedness—is a very difficult person to treat. Many such cases have passed through the reformatory, causing discontent and disorder throughout their sentence. Many of them were put on conditional license before their sentence expired and behaved well while they had the fear over them of being returned to complete their sentence if they took drink. When this was removed they reverted to their former habits, back to the freedom of a city after three years' deprivation of liberty and the irritation of a discipline which though always kind prevented them from doing as they pleased. The reformatory treatment that has been given these cases has been just what they will have if they are sent to an institution from the point of view of mental defect. Their behaviour there—and surely the question of treatment is not to cease because they are to be housed more indefinitely—will be no better. Indeed, from my experience the alcoholic who has been sent to an asylum, not to recover from alcoholic insanity but for preventive measures,—the explosive type,—is much more unmanageable there.

Detention for this large class of inebriates must therefore be on the understanding that according to the amount of freedom of action and approximation to conditions of liberty will be the success in regard to conduct and possible cure.

A closed building is useless. A complete labour colony is necessary that will provide variety of work and abundant scope for well-conducted inmates. The term of detention should be *in*determinate and the process of education must be one of advancement and deprivation of privileges, with numerous houses for separating various temperaments, and, if necessary, provision for temporary treatment of refractory inmates. Few people seem to take the suggestion of an island colony seriously, but a close study of these habitual drunkards will show how reasonable the idea is. If we cannot prevent their getting alcohol, we must approach as nearly as possible to this condition from the other side if we are to call our method treatment and not punishment. We must put them in such a position that they have practically the freedom they formerly had without the means of obtaining alcohol, and with supervision and inducements to help them to control their dispositions in other harmful directions. This an island colony may ensure better than any other. One unfortunate thing is that the theory of feeble-mindedness in these cases has induced in the public mind the idea that a certificate of insanity is the proper treatment for them. There seems to be a common impression that bad behaviour and vicious habits, of whatever nature or intensity, change their character the moment they have been legally ascribed to insanity. No asylum can give these cases the freedom they want and need if they are to do well. There is no more difficult institution task than that of treating a sane man as if he were a lunatic—I have had considerable experience

of it—and if these cases of inebrity are sane when deprived of alcohol their treatment under detention must be sane in all respects.

There is, in spite of much argument to the contrary, a great amount of mental defect resulting in inebriety that is secondary to ordinary prolonged drinking. The abolition of self-restraint which characterises the early stages of alcoholism is manifested still more as the disease progresses and becomes inebriety. Apart from cases showing an underlying criminal disposition, we see this progressive diminution in the power of purposive direction best in the well-to-do inebriate, who becomes irregular in habits, untidy and even filthy in dress, dull in mind, and neglectful of family cares and social duties.

Some such moral failure characterises the cases of neglect of or cruelty to children. There is little doubt that these women have been drinking for longer periods than they say. Their condition on admission is often one of obvious mental defect, but it usually shows itself to be a secondary condition by improving, which no primary or congenital defect does in the same time, or probably at all, at the formed age at which these women are received. Attention is often directed chiefly to their inability to cease drinking as being evidence of defective self-control, whereas it is in the actual results produced by their drinking upon character and habits that defective self-control is evidenced. These women have been moderate but steady drinkers for years in most cases before they became degraded inebriates, and in many the early drinking was associated with explosive outbursts which they no longer exhibit. Many of them can keep from drinking for months at a time, especially after a sentence, and very often it is no desire of their own but some accidental presentation of temptation that induces another bout. These cases require reformatory treatment to eradicate, if possible, the moral disability that is secondary to alcohol, and to remove any physical ailments that may be associated as a cause of the inebriety. There is thus a difficulty in fixing a period for reformatory treatment. If an inebriate is to be punished it should be done without any connection with reformation. It is not easy to combine them, and it is perhaps a pity that in so many cases the punishment sentences which precede and vindicate the reformatory one should only be put in force long after the person's moral disability marks them as suitable only for treatment. Reformatory treatment can never be a question of how long it takes to get the alcohol out of the system—a loose phrase which has no physiological significance and confuses alcohol either with its effects or with the craving, if there is such a definite state of mind. The real question is, what is the nature of the physical, mental, and moral dissolution of a particular inmate, and how long will it take to repair this sufficiently so that the inmate may go out with a reasonable hope of doing well?

For the proper place to train a person to do without alcohol is outside the reformatory. Self-control in relation to any vice will be best strengthened and guided where it has to be exercised. The inmates of a reformatory differ widely from each other, and it does seem futile to go on indefinitely treating such for one common symptom—inebriety—which for the time being none of them is afflicted with. Conditional liberation may be tried very soon in some cases, and though such a method of differentiation does causes jealousies, the ultimate results will doubtless be good.

The after-care is probably the most important factor in the treatment of the inebriate. Too much caution cannot be expended in deciding to how much of the former home surroundings and occupations he may return. Periods of probation, both before consignment to a reformatory and after a stay there, are most

promising methods. As the secondary mental defects should have entirely passed off before discharge, once he enters the reformatory he should be detained for five years if necessary, or more, instead of a statutory limit, and his probation should also be indefinite. At the first relapse then, or at anyrate when he seems likely to start on a period of drinking, he can then be safely sent, not to the reformatory, but to the labour colony.

Treatment of inebriety by dealing with the alcohol being apparently difficult, if very desirable, it is no wonder that the method of dealing entirely with the individual has led to suggestions for the wholesale cure of inebriety based upon the aspect of feeble-mindedness.

The most radical of these is that of the advanced Eugenist who believes that inebriety is nothing more than one of the evidences of a degenerate stock. The rooting up of this neuropathic taint, which shows itself by the inherited predilection to all the vices, and which is said to have a more than ordinary effect in increasing the population, is to be met by the permanent segregation of all the weak-minded before the age of puberty through the medium of the School Clinic. We must not forget that the tests of mental ability that have been suggested or employed as yet cannot possibly differentiate at an early age the character, the moral sense, the appetites that may be latent but have no call to show themselves in school life as they will appear when moulded in the school of experience. We may even be in danger of stopping the progress of many a mediocre child who, as so often happens afterwards, outstrips his more brilliant classmates. There can be no objection to an extension of the segregation of the evidently feeble-minded, which has been going on steadily in this country for years, long enough, in fact, to have already had some effect in reducing inebriety if the relationship were so intimate. These theories, however, can only lead us into the maze of statistics, so convincing and yet so contradictory. Only one set of statistics is reliable and unassailable in regard to this question, and that is that a hundred per cent. of inebriates partake of alcohol. Theories on heredity in relation to inebriety and feeble-mindedness must as yet be tempered by the facts that the race is more than two generations old and that alcohol is not an invention of the twentieth century

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The Relation of Inebriety to Feeble-mindedness.

By W. A. Potts, M.A., M.D.

(Late Medical Investigator to the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded).

It is not my purpose to-day to raise the vexed question as to how far chronic alcoholism is the original cause of congenital mental defect; that is a difficult question, not easily settled by observation or statistics, for the observation must extend over the greater part of three successive generations. Some statistics on the subject, which may appear at first sight to settle the matter, are misleading, because they do not extend far enough into the life of the second generation; intellectual capacity when of school age is no criterion of success or good conduct in after-life; nor are statistics comparing drinkers and abstainers of much use

unless it is shown that the two groups started in somewhat similar circumstances, and differed chiefly in their habits as regards alcohol. The great difficulty is due to the fact that mental defect is usually complex in origin, produced by several factors, none of which, acting singly, would have produced the condition. It is, of course, certain that in the majority of cases mental defect is simply inherited from former generations. Is it, however, really scientific to accept this as settling the whole matter? We want to know what caused the mental defect in the first generation in which it appeared.

Putting aside, however, for the moment this difficult problem, I have entrusted to me a much easier task, and that is to show you the close association of inebriety and feeble-mindedness. Of this there is no possible doubt. It is only necessary to refer to the investigations of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, and the interesting series of reports published by Dr. Branthwaite, H.M. Inspector of Inebriate Homes. In every one of these reports Dr. Branthwaite has shown that the majority of the inmates of such homes are mentally defective. Criticism to the effect that the mental defect is merely temporary and due to the previous indulgence is answered by a careful study of the reports, in which it is shown that the mental weakness is of a congenital type. Sixty per cent. at least of the inmates of certified Inebriate Homes show defective mental capacity, but only about 2 per cent. are suffering from insanity or acute mental disease; the others have been defective all their lives. No wonder Dr. Fleck, the Superintendent of the Brentry Certified Reformatory, said: "I cannot conceive the possibility of their ever acquiring sufficient self-control to be able to keep them from drunkenness and support themselves."

If confirmation were wanted, it is supplied by the testimony of other investigators, and particularly by that of Dr. Mott, who has the photographs of a number of chronic inebriates sent to reformatories; their physiognomies furnish evidence of innate degeneracy and feeble-mindedness.

Additional proof can be brought in from another side, and that is from the records of our After-care Committees. When I began to prepare the Annual Report of the Birmingham After-care Committee for the year 1911 I found among the first five cases two striking examples of the manner in which the feeble-minded drift into inebriety. The first is that of E. C., who left the Special School in 1897. For several years his conduct was fairly satisfactory; he retained his situation, and earned regular wages. In October, 1909, however, the visitor reported that he was going to public-houses; in 1911 it was recorded that he was going in for bouts of drinking once a month, and that his work was getting irregular. He has since lost his job, and is now earning nothing.

The second case is that of D. H., who left the Special School in 1899; for ten years he was fairly satisfactory, and earned regular wages. In 1910 the report was: "Drinks," and "is terrible when in beer." In 1911 the report was: "Earns hardly anything now, and what he does he lays out in beer." His parents have since supplied the information that he has left home, and is quite hopeless; drinking is not his only fault, for he has recently got a servant girl into trouble.

It is noteworthy that these two cases are taken from the first five on our books; I had not to look much farther to find the record of C. J., who left a Special School in 1901, worked hard and earned regular wages till 1911, when he was found to be out of work and taking to drink. This lad was at one time a rigid abstainer and non-smoker.

These three were all high-grade cases, of whom the inexperienced in these

matters would have expected better things. The boys had no great difficulty in getting situations when they first left school, and earned wages for some years. In each case, however, without subsequent control, the good training and discipline of the Special School could only influence them for a time; after ten or twelve years they joined the ranks of the unemployed and the drunkards.

These histories show you the earlier careers of many who drift later on into Inebriate Homes. The primary cause of the trouble, as far as they are concerned, is not bad environment, misfortune, or illness, but mental defect. How much happier and more useful would they be if they could be passed on from the Special School to a custodial home or farm colony, where the good results of the early training could be maintained. How much safer would the community be.

Although, as I said at first, the question of how far drink is the cause of amentia is a difficult one to answer, there is no doubt that alcoholism and degeneracy are closely associated; whether it is due to the alcohol or whether they are simply all members of a rotten stock, many of the offspring of inebriates are defective. Unfortunately, we also know that drunkards as a class are prolific; they have more children than sober parents. Of course, the infantile mortality among them is very heavy, but a sufficient number survive to become a heavy burden on the next generation. This is, therefore, a strong additional argument in favour of care and control of the feeble-minded. It is generally known that the chief difficulties of the prison and the workhouse would be removed if there were permanent care and detention for the mentally defective. Quite as strong a claim for detention can be made from the inebriate side. When we reflect that while not 1 per cent. of the ordinary population is mentally defective, yet 60 per cent. at least of inebriates are congenitally defective, the conclusion is irresistible that they are inebriate because they are feeble-minded. The proper way to deal with them is not by prohibition, not by secluding them and directing them for three years, but by granting powers of detention for the feeble-minded as long as they require care and control. The distinctive feature of the feeble-minded is lack of self-control; normal people can at first stop drinking when they have had as much as is good for them; not so the feeble-minded. It is a matter of common knowledge that the mentally defective are specially susceptible to the effect of alcohol; quite small quantities affect them seriously. Dr. Tredgold has recorded some striking examples of the effects of alcohol in such cases. In one instance a youth was repeatedly plied with cider by the yokels in a country village in order that they might be amused by his furious excitement, pretty much in the same way as a bull is baited in the ring.

It is often thought that the expense involved is a reason for delay; it is, on the contrary, one of the best arguments in favour of immediate action, for the number of defectives is continually on the increase, and will go on increasing as long as there is an absence of control for those who cannot manage themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence. The initial outlay required would repay itself in a generation. At the present time, under the policy of letting them drift, the expense to the community is not inconsiderable; it has been calculated that when inebriates are allowed the comparative freedom which enables them to commit repeated offences, their conviction and incarceration costs from £20 to £30 per annum for each case. Such considerations led the London County Council last year to appoint a deputation to urge on the Home Secretary the necessity for reformatory treatment of inebriates; it would be cheaper in the end. If there were powers of detention for the feeble-minded Inebriate Reformatories would be more useful. At present, while most persons treated in Inebriate Homes

relapse, something like 20 per cent. do well. Those who do well are chiefly those who took to drink from misfortune, bad environment, and so on. The failures, on the other hand, are chiefly those whose mental capacity is such that they will always go wrong when turned adrift in the world. The present want of classification in the Inebriate Homes is a stumbling-block in the way of treatment; a considerable and graduated measure of freedom, which is an important factor in reformatory treatment, is impossible so long as the mentally defective are dumped down with the others. At first, it is very difficult to distinguish between those who are violent and vicious as the result of mental instability and those whose bad condition is due to their own evil self-indulgence. But if the feeble-minded were segregated from the first the difficulty would not arise.

It ought to be mentioned that although further legislation is absolutely necessary, yet we might do more with the powers we already have. Under the Act of 1898 any habitual drunkard convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment may be committed to a Certified Inebriate Reformatory if the Court is satisfied that the offence was committed under the influence of drink, or that drunkenness was a contributing cause of the offence. The great majority of those committed to reformatories under this section are sentenced for cruelty to children, its application to the more common indictable offences being very little used. Only about thirty cases are committed in this way in a year. Although detention for three years or less is useless as a curative measure when the real trouble is innate defect of mind, yet it is always something to keep the feeble-minded out of harm's way for a time. If magistrates would make more use of their powers, the number of the feeble-minded at large would be temporarily diminished, and the case for their permanent detention would be strengthened.

In an appendix to the Report for 1909 of H.M. Inspector of Inebriate Homes, Dr. Mary Gordon, one of H.M. Inspectors of Prisons, shows that although among 243 girls and young women committed to Holloway drunkenness is the most common offence, yet most criminals begin their career with offences other than drunkenness; the conclusion is that the most common and immediate cause of delinquency is feebleness of mind.

It is a national reproach that in this twentieth century, four years after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, we are still refusing to take care of the mentally defective till they have become criminal or inebriate or both, and even then adopt the ridiculous course of placing them under control in the wrong place for a limited period only. Surely the time has come when the Government should endorse the principle of the Royal Commission, that "the mental condition of these persons, and neither their poverty nor their crime, is the real ground of their claim for help from the State."*

*Since this was written the Government have published their Mental Deficiency Bill, which is to come into operation on the first day of January, 1913.

Inebriety and Destitution : Causal Factors and their Prevention.

By JOHN TURNER RAE.

PRIVILEGED in having, since my youth, close association with men and matters medical, and having, from personal acquaintance with the pioneers, followed from their inception the organised study of inebriety and modern research into the nature and action of alcohol, I can fully appreciate the scientific or medical point of view. But it is as a layman, with an almost equally long experience of industrial workers and their environment, that I approach the subject before us, not only in the light of recent scientific investigation, but with the evidence of observation in social service among the actually and potentially destitute.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that any logical discussion must exclude the profitless controversy, which has so frequently obscured reason, as to whether Drink causes Poverty or Poverty causes Drink; nor may we dogmatically differentiate between the cognate factors governing the conditions which this Section seeks to alleviate. Inebriety as a causation of feeble-mindedness, and feeble-mindedness as a causal factor in inebriety; inebriety as a causation of destitution, and destitution as a causal factor in inebriety cannot be dissociated, either from the other. The practical problem that needs solving, therefore, is: Which is the original causal factor in creating the conditions that afford favourable ground for the propagation of the particular disabilities in mental and physical health, or of social and economic environment, which are contributory to destitution? This prime factor must be sought for much farther back in family history than the proverbial three generations.

The wonderful tenacity to life of the slum child, *after* it has persisted through infantile years, would, however, afford a somewhat misleading impression of the influence of heredity and environment were it not for the one defective (and often more) in the family. It was the presence of this particular ONE that led to the Edinburgh inquiry relating to children of school age, upon the data of which the recent Pearson-Elderton Memoir was based. The valuable biometric work of the Galton Research Laboratory was largely vitiated by the erroneous deduction presented. The negligible proportion of so-called abstaining parents in the number reported upon entirely restricts the comparison to the "sober" and "alcoholics." The fact, as stated, that little or no variation was discernible in the ultimate equation of their offspring indicates that alcohol is as deleterious in so-called moderation as in excessive use, a conclusion which is strictly in accord with modern science.

It is at the period of adolescence, however, that the natural state of nervous and functional unrest is aggravated by the disabilities arising from vicious parental or environmental influences. These are so largely alcoholic in their origin that there is no difficulty in connecting inebriety with the defective conditions so emphatically exhibited at this critical period. Professor Mott shows that "the great numerical incidence of the true insanities is during adolescence," and social workers know it is at 15 that their greatest difficutlies arise in the endeavour to guide the minds or control the actions of the lads and girls under their voluntary care. When it does not reach insanity, epilepsy, or feeble-mindedness, the prevailing feature of their deficiency is the lack of any sense of responsibility, and, moreover, a complete absence of power to accept any responsibility. Hereto may

be traced the moral delinquencies, as well as the inability to engage in any but blind-alley occupations, which provide the causal factors in the phase of destitution arising from premature and improvident marriages.

The mental and physical status of the husband and wife who set up "housekeeping" under these conditions justifies no expectation of good citizenship nor potentialities of sound stock to the nation. The deficiencies that have driven the young people into matrimony combine to hinder any desire to improve their conditions. Thus, again, comes into operation the cycle of influences reproducing defective offspring and generations of adolescents with cumulative tendencies to deterioration. The young parents may or may not drink to excess, nor may they have been drinkers at all before marriage; none the less were their hasty marriage, their post-nuptial environment, their lack of material possibilities, the outcome of the more or less excessive drinking of their progenitors. The great fact of modern research and social experience in regard to alcohol is that its results are exhibited not only in inebriety, but to an even greater extent in loss of will and moral power; in loss of resistance to disease, and loss of any desire for a higher standard of living. The problem of inebriety, therefore, is one of far wider application than merely in regard to the toxic action of alcohol on individuals.

This is seen to be particularly the case in regard to the influence of the working man's wife, whether she be herself a worker or a "stayer at home." The latter description is somewhat of a misnomer, for staying at home is the last thing she does; as the streets and public-houses in an industrial neighbourhood abundantly testify. The period during which the husband and elder children are at work or school is divided between the so-called "home," with its vicious circle of disease, and the tavern, with its still more debilitating environment. Substituting for the public-house the enervating atmosphere of the factory for an even longer part of the day, the conditions that encourage inebriety are similar in the case of the worker; the only chance of fresh air in either case being the walk to and from work or public-house with limited incidental marketing. The maternity of such women can do nothing for national efficiency nor racial persistence. The pre-natal and infantile environment of their offspring—vicious and alcoholic as it is—can produce none but defective adolescents, and a race of men and women which, but for the forces of regeneration happily now in operation, would continue to reproduce their like until the day of doom. And these conditions are not restricted to working women.

All classes of the community contribute to the volume of inebriety and exhibit, in a greater or less degree, indications of mental and physical deterioration for which poverty and destitution cannot be held responsible. Application is daily made to medical men and temperance officials for suitable "homes," or so-called "cures," on behalf of an alarming number of inebriates in monied families. The after history of these cases presents an insufficiently recognised causal factor in destitution, as well as in the further inebriety or the mental or physical disabilities which take its place. There is much justice in a recent protest by a Labour M.P., that were the industrial classes relieved from the influx of derelicts from the middle class and the aristocracy who, mainly through drink, swell their ranks, they would be able to deal effectively with their own moral and social difficulties. It is easy to maintain a reputation for increased sobriety by forcing the inebriate, through public opinion or private pressure, to disappear from his own sphere. He reappears at the dock gates or in some casual occupation, proceeds to fascinate with his manners the factory girls among whom he lives, and soon, with inherent parasitical instinct, he marries one and largely depends upon

her earnings. The combination of his attenuated physique with the anæmic organism of "the daughter of the slums," produces and reproduces the defective units, whose existence is at once the causal factor in that inebriety or inefficiency which brings destitution, and in that destitution which perpetuates inebriety.

It is the drinking workman, however, who is the most vital factor in the causation of industrial inebriety in both sexes. He is chiefly responsible for the intemperance of his wife, often directly by sowing the germ before or during early marriage life by persuasion to drink, although, of course, hereditary tendency frequently exists, or, as has been seen, inherent disabilities hinder resistance. In the last resort the man should be the object of influence, for morally, socially, and economically he is the chief hindrance to effective redemption. By his daily drinking he maintains the conditions which make for destitution. He is mainly responsible for his children being under-fed and under-clothed, for their premature employment, frequently for their mother having to work also, and certainly for the environment which produces the low physique and the liability to chronic disease which makes the medical profession declare that alcoholism and tuberculosis should be concurrently combated. The responsibility imputed would probably be repudiated by and on behalf of the men concerned, but it cannot be denied that the great majority are unconsciously existing in a state of constant narcotism, which hinders moral consciousness and social desires. An awakening is taking place amongst those who have benefited by the Elementary Education Acts, and a further awakening is in prospect when the full meaning of recent correlated measures of administration and legislation is brought home to the drinking parent, by the enforcement of penalties quite inconsistent with continued expenditure on alcohol.

The economic effect of working class expenditure on alcohol constitutes a causal factor in destitution which must be reckoned with. Without going back, with the cast-iron economist, to the Garden of Eden for the raw material from which to trace the exact proportion of labour, there is sufficient evidence in the recent Census of Production to show that the manufacture of necessaries and luxuries for the home will employ thrice the labour that is employed in the production of alcoholic liquors. While his present drink expenditure prevails the worker cannot reciprocally support the reproductive labour of his own class. Mr. Balfour asked the other day: What is the "control" of industry? Surely it is the influence of the "consumer," and until the great industrial population of the country stop the under-consumption of their own manufactures by diverting to their purchase their share of the National Drink Bill, they will continue to hinder their own independence, the natural increase of wages, and the power of effective negotiation with employers, all of which are essential factors in the prevention of destitution. It is not only the drinker who suffers, but the abstaining worker is prevented by the inefficiency of his drinking companion from deriving the full economic advantage from his abstinence. Moreover, in seasons of exceptional unemployment he stands at a disadvantage in regard to relief, given freely to his drinking and destitute brother, by possessing more furniture, a larger stake in his Friendly Society, probably no pawn tickets nor arrears of rent. A revolt on the part of the men who thus contribute to the stability of the State is inevitable against the burden imposed upon them by the self-indulgence of their fellows. As the true nature and effects of alcohol are more and more understood by the leaders and ranks of industry, the sooner will this causal factor in inebriety and destitution disappear.

The primary causal factor of inebriety is alcohol, *per se*, which the late Sir B. W.

Richardson called "an instrument of precision." Its use, even in doses usually deemed moderate, hinders the true appreciation of its effects upon the physical system and the body politic. Its toxic action on the higher brain centres is to deflect judgment and impair mental control. The present Lord Mayor tells how, many years ago, he abstained for some five weeks previous to a lecture by Dr. Richardson because he "would not be in a fit and proper state to argue the question" if he took alcohol. The scientific basis of this resolve is more fully accepted now than in Sir Thomas Crosby's younger days. It accounts for the difficulty so many social workers experience in realising the grounds upon which the modern temperance reformer insists that "the Temperance Cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform." The elimination of alcohol would stop the machinery of degeneration and break down the continuity of social conditions which otherwise, through a process of action and reaction, must perpetuate the inebriety, the mental and physical disabilities, the destitution, the prevention of which is the intention of this Conference. The combination of the typical considerations presented in the preceding paragraphs constitutes the problem as I see it. Its solution, while admittedly it may not be completed, will be materially hastened by a faithful study of the alcohol question in the light of modern science and practical experience. This, I think, may justly be claimed from any who demur to accepting the conclusions submitted.

Discussion.

Captain A. St. John said he had been asked to say something on a scheme which had been proposed for London. He could not say it was on foot yet. It generally happened that when anything was announced which was wanted for London, somebody else got up and said they had it already, in Birmingham, or Leicester, or other more foreign and northern parts. In London, at any rate, and in any large centres of population, he would recommend that this scheme be very seriously considered. The scheme was for a Home Hospital in London in the first place. It was proposed that this should be, at the commencement, for voluntary patients. A great many applications were received for people for some place, and generally it was asked in a hurry, for people who were victims of this terrible drink craving or drug habit, where they might be placed for treatment. The proposal was that there should be a Home Hospital started where patients could be treated by their own doctors, or by the doctor of the place, under any treatment advocated by their own medical men or by the medical officer of the place, if they so wished it. It was proposed to start one first, in a spot to be chosen in London; but the hope was that there would be many of these, and from his point of view, that of the Penal Reform League, the hope was that there would be many of them, and not only for voluntary patients, but that in time they would have a number of these small places for treatment and rest and observation, at convenient distances all over the Metropolis, and in other centres of population, where patients could be sent from the Courts. And the hope was that they would be sent early, or induced to come early, so that the disease might be treated before their condition became anything which could be called a disease. It was hoped also to establish in the country, by the seaside, and in convenient places, hospital colonies for those who required more prolonged treatment. And one of the features of this scheme was the providing of useful and interesting occupations and facilities for learning various methods of earning a livelihood. The Home Hospital would be a place of detention and observation where, he should hope, it would be possible to decide whether the case was one of feeble-mindedness or whether it was one of simple drink craving. With reference to that

and the frequency of the occurrence of congenital feeble-mindedness among inebriates, he always thought of what a magistrate told him not long ago. There was much evidence based on the fact that in the Inebriate Reformatories there were 60 per cent feeble-minded. This magistrate said, "We do not believe much in the inebriate reformatories, and we take care to send only feeble-minded cases to them." It seemed to him that the evidence taken from those inebriate reformatories was not reliable for the whole inebriate population. (Hear, hear.) He did not want to say much more about this scheme, except to tell them that it was being considered, and it was hoped that before long it would be published, and there would be begging letters and all that sort of thing. But he wanted them to consider whether something of the kind could not be done in every large centre, and also to say whether the centres in the North had already got it. With regard to these colonies or industrial hospitals, whatever they turned into, he would cite the example of Massachusetts, a very practical example. They had there a State Inebriate Hospital, and they treated all the patients, voluntary or involuntary, whether they came from the Courts or from other sources, as patients. They were given a certificate or bond to sign that they would obey the Hospital rules, and not go out or receive things contrary to rules. Having signed that, and the Superintendent having signed it, they were treated as patients with their liberty, not as prisoners. Their maximum term was two years, but the Head of the Hospital said that two years was too long, and he tried to get them out before that time. He did not send them out to find their own relations, as the unfortunate people were sent out from inebriate reformatories in our country, with the result that magistraes are bombarded by husbands looking for wives or wives looking for their husbands. A husband or wife will say: "I have been to the old home and found it empty." What chance was there for a person under such circumstances? That was not what they did in Massachusetts. They had an out-patient department, as they called it, or it might be called an After-care Department. And there was a Superintendent of this Out-patient Department, under the Superintendent of the Hospital. The duty of the Superintendent of the Out-patient Department was to prepare the way for those who were going to be discharged. He visited the home and told the people the patient was coming, and secured their co-operation. Therefore the person who came out found things ready for him, and a number of people ready to help him. And the Superintendent visited the out-patients, and sometimes found other people who were victims of the habit and advised them to come to the Hospital. People were encouraged to come back if they required treatment again. They were not sent out and no more care taken of them. That was a thing which required consideration in this country, and he thought it might be interesting for them to hear about it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that they were all very grateful to Captain St. John for having broached this scheme. He himself had heard nothing with regard to it before, and whilst he felt sure everyone would give a sympathetic consideration to such a scheme, he would say that he thought it should be very carefully gone into by representatives of medicine, of law, of economy, and also by representatives of societies dealing with inebriety and destitution, before it was launched upon a hopeful and well-meaning public. There were possibilities in it, and Captain St. John's friends would no doubt see that the scheme was thoroughly matured before it is launched on the public. In passing, he would say that they were very much indebted to Captain St. John's energy and enterprise for the organisation and success of the gatherings of that Section. He knew something of the work which had been entailed and the care and thought which Captain St. John had given to it, and they all thanked him. (Applause.)

Dr. CLAUDE TAYLOR (Society for the Study of Inebriety) said that Captain St. John had raised one of the points which he wished to bring out with reference to statistics of mental deficients in inebriate reformatories. It was only those who combined mental deficiency and inebriety who, in the main, were sent to these reformatories, and they did not represent the true proportion of what was called the inebriate population. The marked difference in the figures given in Scotland and in this country showed by the difference in practice of the magistrates that this was the case. And his own experience went to show that there were many inebriates who were not mentally defective, and many mentally defective people who were not inebriates. Both cases required some such treatment as had been made in the

various suggestions that morning. In a small observation ward in the Poor Law Infirmary where he had medical charge, there were at the present moment three adult men who were mentally defective, but none of them was inclined at all towards inebriety. In fact, either one or two of them were abstainers. But they were mentally defective, and the question arose what should be done with them. He had several children in that comparatively small Infirmary who were mentally defective and required some sort of institutional care. The difficulty was that there were no proper institutions for these cases. Inebriety and mental deficiency did not necessarily go together, and it was only when there was a combination of them that these persons were confined to any large extent in inebriate reformatories. The next point was that Captain St. John had suggested that it might be said that such institutions as he advocated were already in existence. These hospitals were already in existence in London, but under an unfortunate name, namely, workhouses, or workhouse infirmaries. They had those State institutions run by the community, only at present the system had so much of the stigma of the old system of pauperism. That was another argument in favour of getting rid of those institutions, and of putting the administration into the hands of people with fresh ideals and more enlightened views, so that those institutions which were doing this work already in a limited way might, by having their administration carried out on this more progressive and hopeful line, fulfil the functions that had been suggested as being capable of being usefully carried out by some such institution. They had a great many people sent to them who remained in the Infirmary for a limited time and were then sorted out as to whether they were inebriates or whether they were mentally defective. And one tried to do something for them afterwards according to the state of the case. But their possibilities at present are limited. On the previous Monday a man had come in voluntarily. He had fallen in through the door, following on the review of the National Reserves by the King. He was treated from the point of view of mentally defective or inebriate, and he (Dr. Taylor) thought there was no doubt that in his case it was pure inebriety. As regards the question of the original cause, of mental deficiency being in any stock, they had been recently surprised with some startling suggestions to the effect that it originated without cause, because it was suddenly found that there was no traceable cause for mental deficiency in the stock, except that it happened to be there. On the previous Monday Dr. Mott had read a paper at a meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine on "Syphilis in its Relation to Public Health," and in that paper he had more than once associated the effect of alcohol as being similar to the effect of syphilis in the way of its production of degeneration. He had said he could not see any reason to doubt that a poison like syphilis or alcohol had an effect on the germ plasm, so that although you had perfectly healthy stock, the next generation did become defective. That was strong evidence, and it was the position he understood to be taken up by Dr. Mott. It rather brought them back again to what they had thought to be probable, but which was challenged a year or two ago. Therefore they could say that according to the opinion of those best able to judge it was possible for mere drinking habits to start mental deficiency in any particular stock. They had also Dr. Hyslop's experience of his time at Bethlem Hospital, that if there were mental deficiency in a stock there was a natural tendency to eliminate that deficiency given healthy conditions otherwise; but that if alcohol were taken by those who had this tendency in their stock, it prevented that natural elimination.

Mr. WILLIAM MCCRINDLE (N.S.P.C.C., Glasgow) said that he rose chiefly to make a few remarks on the paper by his fellow countryman, Dr. Sturrock. He had told them in his paper that there were very few cases of permanent reform which followed the treatment of the habitual inebriate in the State Reformatory at Perth. He believed that was so. Dr. Sturrock might not be at the moment aware of it, but he thought it was the fact that he (the speaker) sent him most of his patients from the city of Glasgow; at any rate, more than he got from any other city or town in Scotland. He thought the cause of this want of permanent reform following the treatment in the State Reformatory was due chiefly to one fact, namely, that the criminal was not detained long enough in the Reformatory. Of course the three years' limit made their longer detention impossible; but it was a fact, and he thought Dr. Sturrock would bear him out in this, that a great number of the inebriates who were sent to the Reformatory did not put in their three years' sentence. Every little while he had communications from the Secretary for Scotland or the Prisons Commissioners asking if, in his opinion, Mrs. So and So

might be released on probation, because her husband or other relative had sent a petition asking that she might be released. Almost invariably his answer was, after having made inquiries into the circumstances of the case, that he thought that it would be better that the woman should be detained for the whole three years. The facts were that so soon as a woman who had been a habitual inebriate was let out on licence from the Reformatory she came back to her old environment and her old home, and she was frequently met at the railway station by some of her old cronies, in order to show their appreciation of her release, who welcomed her back by immediately proceeding to give her a treat. And again and again the Inspectors of the Society which he represented had found that the woman was drunk again the first night she was released from prison in response to a petition to the Secretary for Scotland. That was one of the reasons why he had almost invariably said it would do her good to remain for her full three years. He thought it would be seen from experience that even three years is too short a period. He strongly advocated the introduction of what had been spoken of as the indeterminate sentence. It was an enormous expense to the country, and a great trouble to officials who had to deal with prosecutions, to have a woman of this kind brought up again and again; whereas if she were committed to prison on an indeterminate sentence she could immediately be taken back if after release she gave evidence that she could not be safely set at liberty. And it might be left in the hands of some well-informed authority to exercise discretion as to when she should be released. Sometimes it would be right and proper, owing to family circumstances, that a woman should be released before the three years. But in most cases he thought it would be found that three years was too short a time, because one never found that a woman was tried and convicted under the Habitual Inebriates Act unless she had been a confirmed drunkard for a long time. It was hopeless to think that a woman who had got into that condition could be reformed in a year, or a year and a half, or even two years, in a State Reformatory. His experience showed that when a woman was liberated after serving a shorter period than three years she usually went wrong again. He would very strongly urge upon members of the Conference to use all the influence they could to get the law altered in this respect, so that there should be an indeterminate sentence given to all persons who were convicted of being habitual inebriates, in order that they might be detained until the Authorities were satisfied that they could be safely released; he meant safely in regard to themselves and in regard to the community. He was surprised to hear Dr. Sturrock say that there were many women sent to his establishment on the charge of cruelty to children who, it was found, had no children under twenty years of age. He did not see how that could be; he thought Dr. Sturrock must have got wrong in his facts, because the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children did not interfere in families where there were no children under sixteen years of age.

Lady MEYER said that there was only one point which she would like to refer to. It was that she thought a very great factor in this question, and in the question of the reproduction of children of drunkards, was the necessity for making some change in our marriage laws. As a social worker, she was constantly having brought before her the cases of respectable women who did not drink but who were the wives of drunkards, and who, although they have been repeatedly and brutally assaulted and hurt by their husbands, were unable to get a separation from them, because under the conditions of our laws it was impossible for them to prove the assault. And so, although they were respectable women, and women with a possibility of earning their own living and of keeping their own children, they were obliged to remain with their husbands and to be parties to bringing into the world more children of these irreclaimable drunkards. Only the previous day, in St. Pancras, she had had before her a case of a woman who was most anxious to get a separation from her husband, and who was able to keep the three small children she had, because she was a clever worker, but, in view of the fact that it had been impossible to prove before the magistrate that anyone had seen her husband striking her in the last six months, she was unable to get a separation from him. He was back again with her, and she was obliged to cohabit with him, and she was again pregnant by him and going to bring into the world another drunkard's child. These things were being constantly repeated, and she wanted to impress upon them how very much they needed improvement in the marriage law to give possibilities to women of that type to get separation from their husbands, and even divorce. And also the other way round, though that was not so often the case. A drunken woman could not

force her husband to cohabit with her, but a man in liquor could force his wife. And whatever they thought of the question of eugenics, they had arrived at the position that they did agree that habitual drunkards brought children into the world who tended towards drunken habits and proclivities, and they should try to get some remedial measure passed to enable a woman to refuse to be a party to bringing such children into the world.

Mr. F. W. SHERWOOD (Recorder of Worcester) said that the meeting was indebted to Lady Meyer for touching on a most important topic which belonged to that Section, but she and the meeting would forgive him if he did not take up the subject, because this was not a debating society, and he had offered himself as a speaker in order to make some slight contribution from his own experience on the topics which were discussed in papers. But he hoped that the matter referred to by Lady Meyer was not beyond the scope of the Royal Commission which had been inquiring into the Marriage Laws. They were awaiting their Report, and he hoped they might make some pronouncement and recommendations with regard to this question. It was anticipated that there would be recommendations to make it easier for people of good life to get rid of their unworthy spouses more easily than was at present lawful.

A great number of subjects had been raised in these papers, and one must choose some point upon which one had had some experience, because it would be wrong to get up and address a Section of that sort from a theoretical point of view, though there were many questions which tempted one to theorise. He would take as his text a passage in Dr. Pott's paper, where he spoke of the infrequency of the resort to the Act of 1898 with regard to dealing with inebriates. He (Mr. Sherwood) had had the ordinary average experience of a barrister, who for many years had attended eight or nine Assize Courts with considerable regularity, and he had had experience both in prosecuting and in defending prisoners. He had also had some experience of child prisoners, and he agreed with what Dr. Potts said as to the rarity of the instances in which this Act had been used. He agreed also with what Dr. Potts said as to the fact that the occasions on which it had been most frequently invoked were cases of cruelty to children. But for many years past he had seen instances, though not so commonly now as in the old days. He had not seen one on the Oxford Circuit for some considerable time; and of the instances he had ever known there had been but few. There was a great reluctance to resort to this measure, the Act of 1898, which enabled people who were tried for a crime to be also indicted for being inebriates and committed to a home. He thought it was due to something illogical in the English nature, some reluctance to face the facts. Something was due to the kindliness with which the English criminal law was administered. A good deal in the English criminal law looked horrible and frightening, but its administration was tempered to an enormous extent by the kindly spirit which animated most of our Judges, most of those who presided at the Quarter Sessions, the prosecution very often, and for the most part the police force and the Authorities. And when people had friends and children dependent upon them, the one idea was to save them from a long incarceration as inebriates, or to exempt them from punishment on grounds of insanity. He would point out how it worked out, this reluctance to recognise feeble-mindedness, lunacy, and the state of mind which he supposed was feeble-mindedness, which we spoke of when we said a person was an inebriate. There was a shrinking from recognising it until one got to the worst forms. He asked them to look at what happened in a murder case. Feeble-mindedness as such was not technically a defence in a murder case; one had to show insanity existing at the time of the act committed if the person was to be found "guilty, but insane." In a murder case every effort was strained on the part of the counsel for the defence to get a verdict of insanity if there was any sort of case of feeble-mindedness at all, and if the case was not very horrible, if it were one in which there was an element of pathos, such as a woman killing her child, or a man acting under provocation, that defence was eagerly accepted, and was benevolently watched, and sometimes helped, by the prosecution; Judge and jury being only too ready to accept it when they felt that, on the whole, that was the best way out of the painful process of finding a prisoner guilty when it was known the Home Secretary would, in the end, intervene. He had had a case himself, in which he defended. There was that element of feeble-mindedness, and the sense that the Home Secretary would never allow the person to be hanged. He did not quite succeed before the jury, and the case was taken to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

They said, "You have made out a case of feeble-mindedness, not insanity," and they practically said it would be good enough for the Home Secretary, and they would let him know that it was so. The result was, the prisoner was reprieved. But if he had committed larceny or a crime for which there would be a small sentence of punishment, it would not have been put forward as the act of a person insane, or even one who was feeble-minded. (Hear, hear.) And when one had a case of larceny the inebriate question was seldom brought up in association with it, the reason being that it was known that the sentence would be comparatively light, and it was no one's interest to saddle on the community another inebriate. And indeed it was often a question whether there was a place to send an inebriate to. He had often heard it said: "We do not know where we can send this inebriate to; I am told there is not a house near." A few years ago it was so. If a person was charged with larceny and his Counsel said, "I have here a case of insanity, and that is my defence," the tribunal received this statement with surprise, and hinted that the Counsel who could set up such a defence was not doing the best he could for his client. And he had heard Judges say, with the most benevolent intentions: "Well, you know, really, is that the best thing you can do for your client? He would have to go for some indefinite period to Broadmoor, whereas if he were found guilty here I should either bind him over or give him two months." That illustrated the illogical character of the matter; it was dealt with from the point of view of what was the kindest thing to do. If people recognised that these people were feeble-minded, and treated them as such from the first, the Courts would have less to do, they would see the matter in a different light. Those who had to do with the Criminal Law would hope that this Bill concerning the feeble-minded would be passed, with or without modifications. At all events, those who had to deal with Criminal Law administration were thoroughly agreed as to the usefulness of the principle which underlay the Bill which the Government had now adopted.

Dr. C. S. Loch (Charity Organisation Society) said that there were three or four points which he desired to refer to, arising partly out of Dr. Potts' paper and partly out of others. The last speaker had showed clearly that they should try to get sentiment in regard to this question of inebriety and feeble-mindedness on the right side. More turned on that than on anything else; and if they could put before the public reasons which would make them understand that the cases dealt with on the newer lines were dealt with for their own good and betterment, they would get sentiment on the right side. First of all, with regard to the question of the magistrate and the feeble-mindedness of the prisoner. All reason in this matter tended to show that they must deal with the case in its earlier stages. They knew that as a matter of fact these cases were postponed, and seldom came up till it was too late for what was called treatment. That in itself was a great wrong to the community, and sentiment, it was clear, was merely in favour of the magistrate letting the person off. What their suggested innovations proposed was a duplicate system, two elements to be brought into their thought: first of all, the question whether the person did or did not commit the alleged acts, and next, the responsibility of the person for his acts; and they were asking literally for a duplicate judgment. Did this man do an act contrary to law? and was he in a state of normal judgment when he did it? Therefore, whether it was arranged directly or indirectly, there should be some consultation between the magistrate and the doctor, or whoever represented that side of the question. But there was at present no general arrangement for carrying out this method of duplicate judgment. He hoped that the Bill which was now before the House would lead to a definite correlation of these two points of view in a large number of cases. Next, with regard to the inebriates who were feeble-minded. He wanted simply to impress upon them that until they had a settlement of the question of the feeble-minded, the mentally defective, they could not proceed further in social reform, at least in a very large part of its field. Once they had got this touch-stone applied, even to the extreme cases of feeble-mindedness, they could deal with the poor as they were in their homes with a thoroughness which was not at present possible. Now one had to try to deal with these abnormal men and women as if they were normal, and very often in the worst spots, spots which Mr. Charles Booth called "black spots," these people prevented reform at all. They were not malleable as in its degree most human nature was. The next point was that owing to their inability to deal with these difficulties truly and straightforwardly they made preventive laws which were not used for prevention. The Children's Act was a case in point; there was no general force of public opinion

behind the Children's Act to enable them to use it preventively. Public sentiment was on the other side. Another preventive method had been referred to and was but little considered, the use of reception houses. He thought it was very well suggested that these might be developed in connection with the Poor Law. It was a pity to set aside that enormous machinery which lay at hand as if it did not exist. He had seen the Reception House in Glasgow, which served a most useful purpose; it was an open Hospital available for cases which the police might bring from the streets. It gave room for a pause between the stray stupidity which an unhinged person might do and the committal of the person to an asylum for the insane, giving him a chance of rally and recovery before the attack went further. That seemed to be an extraordinarily good institution with which to endow a community. They were not so far from evil, insanity, foolishness or stupidity, most of them—(hear, hear)—and therefore they had a fellow-feeling for those who had attacks of it a little worse than their own. (Applause.) He wished further to remark on the aggregation of difficulties which they found in black spots. He thought in most work one had to deal with the child and the home at one and the same time; and the difficulty of the institutional life was that one might by it divorce the person from his home, but not necessarily from his bad connections. That was clearly so when a person came out from prison or an inebriate institution to rejoin his friends. What they wanted was an upward movement from the institution into society. Frequently they had no good apparatus to secure that. Thus in certain cases their work would not be effective unless they took a great deal of care to ensure that children did not get back into their old set. This showed where the stress lay. They had to realise that institutionalism, with all its advantages in certain directions, was a very limited instrument, and what they had to try to apply was a method by which at an early stage they might recognise the case as one of unfitness and might bring the force and resources of the local community to bear upon it as a whole—there where it was. He thought that an organisation for dealing properly with the local difficulty, the local "black spot," and the local "black" people, was what they had most need of creating; and they wanted the help of all the agencies which were attacking the question from different sides, the Poor Law people, the School Care Committees, and the voluntary societies and agencies such as the Penal Reform League and others. From his point of view they had now very good elements for dealing with this question. They had in the past relied too much on committal and institutionalism. They had now to rely very much more on the combined help of persons and agencies acting in local co-operation for a definite purpose. In the case of inebriety it was monstrous what went on; and if they could only know that a man was in the habit of attending public-houses even, and could get at him in that stage, before he had committed himself, then there was a chance. (Hear, hear.) He put before them then this general proposition: That social science was the science of prevention based on observation; that we did not observe enough, and therefore we did not prevent enough. And he thought the value of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded was very largely that it had forced on them two or three conclusions; that, in regard to a certain group of cases they had to form a duplicate judgment, to consider the responsibility of the man as well as the fact of the crime; that, in regard to cases of mental defect, they could not trust to institutionalism, the committal to prison, the admission to the workhouse, but in the main, if they made provision for them apart from the family, they had to use the comparatively novel form of institutions, which they called colonies; and that, institutions apart, if in these things they were to progress, they must have the co-operation of a very observant, critical, careful community, and, especially, must have the instructed judgment of trained magistrates who were able to do their duty well. (Applause.)

Mr. Richard W. Huie (Edinburgh Parish Council) said he wished first to make a remark with regard to Dr. Sturrock's paper. He entirely agreed with him on the question of the advisability of a closed building. In that connection he instanced the Bangour Village Asylum. They had there a farm of 1,000 acres. The whole was on a segregative system, different villas for different classes of lunatics who were graded. That had had a most excellent effect in the matter of cures. A very large proportion of the inhabitants of that establishment were employed on the farm, in the dairy, in the laundry, or the bakery, for they supply themselves with food of every kind. They had 800 patients there, and the staff was about 200. They avoided the appearance of restraint, which had a most excellent effect. They had

no gate; one could walk in and out as one liked, but notwithstanding that, there were very few attempts at escape. That convinced one that the idea was quite right. With regard to another paper which was read, Mr. Huie differed from Mr. Rae in regard to one matter. He had said: "The fact, as stated, that little or no variation was discernible in the ultimate equation of their offspring indicates that alcohol is as deleterious in so-called moderation as in excessive use, a conclusion which is strictly in accord with modern science." He ventured to traverse that. He was not a total abstainer, yet there was no man keener than he was on temperance, and that he had shown all his life. He was for total abstinence on the part of any person to whom the slightest quantity of drink was harmful. But he could not allow a statement like that to pass. His grandfather, his father, and himself had all been workers in social and religious matters. None of them, however, had been total abstainers. Was it to be stated there that his children were in exactly the same category as the children of a confirmed drunkard? If that was to go forth he would say it was intemperance in another form—intemperance in language.

Mr. ROBERT LAMBIE (Lanarkshire County Council) said he thought the subject was a very important one, and worthy of the very earnest consideration of the Conference which had met for the purpose of dealing with destitution and its prevention. He did not know what had been said before, as he had not been there all the time. There were none of them who had been engaged in public work in connection with public bodies who did not know that a great deal of the trouble and the expense which these bodies were put to was caused through inebriety. (Hear, hear.) He did not think that point would be disputed. How to combat it was the question. They had tried inebriate homes. They had had one in Lanarkshire, but it was now closed. There was a plague spot of enteric fever raging in a district. They found it was from contamination of milk or water. What did the Local Authority do? It prohibited the sale of that milk. If it was the water, the Authority stopped the people using the water until means had been taken to purify it. If it could not be purified it was stopped for ever. They knew the source of inebriety. (Hear, hear.) Though it went under many names—champagne, wines of various sorts, whiskey, beer—there was only one source and one ending. The last speaker had said that to talk in this way was intemperate. He asked if the Local Authority in Edinburgh, which had done so much in the fight against consumption, waited until the disease had made progress before trying to stop it. He had heard a man say he was immune to enteric fever and that he could drink a barrelful of the germs without harm. Well, he was welcome to them for him. (Laughter.) He wanted to show them how ridiculous such a position was. They knew the fatal results. He had been on the Bench as a magistrate for years, and he had no hesitation in saying that the bulk of the crime that he had had to deal with was traceable to this source of alcoholism. In his short life he had seen men who said they were strong, but who had gone wrong through alcohol. Why should they take the risks when they knew the cause? He would say, as the late Sir Wilfred Lawson said, "Turn off the tap." Others who might not be feeble-minded might think they were strong. Medical science showed that it could be done without; it said that the man who did not take it as a rule had the best of it. Why not turn off the tap? They were dealing with two black spots, consumption and the feeble-minded, and he believed it was possible to stamp out consumption in the same way as they had practically stamped out enteric fever, typhus fever, and so on. If along these lines they were going to make the nation strong, let them sell alcohol only as a medicine. People said they needed it as a medicine now, and yet they took a good deal without the doctor's prescription. If they wanted to save the inebriate—and he was worth saving, for he was their brother, and that woman in the gutter was their sister—they must turn off the tap. That was the secret of it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that those who had been in Glasgow or Edinburgh on a Saturday night could well understand and enter into the enthusiasm of the last speaker, and sympathise with the views which he had put before them.

Mr. J. G. HARRIES (Pontardawe Union) said that he was not a scientific man. He was working in a colliery when he was 10 years of age. He would like to make two or three suggestions, on the chance that they might be worth putting forward. It had been suggested that in Liverpool and in many places in Wales the public-houses should be closed in the mornings until 8.30 or 9. In Wales it would be a blessing, and a saving to a great many wives and children. He was living in an industrial and agricultural district in Glamorganshire. There used to be fifteen public-houses

there, but the number had now been reduced to eight. Two of them opened at 6 o'clock in the morning, and in the winter they had their long passages, and fires burning brightly when the people were coming home from work. Another thing was, the publican sometimes received kind instead of money. A wife would take a cabbage or something from the garden for drink. He did not know whether anything could be done to prevent those things taking place. Another thing which had been mentioned was that they had no power in regard to the children. But it was otherwise in Wales. They found the police were lax in carrying out their duty. They had the power, but they refused to use it. In his district he thought that in a short time the people would show that they would use that power if the police would not, and he hoped other districts would take steps to the same effect.

Alderman BENJAMIN CROWTHER (West Riding County Council) said that he had had a long experience in dealing with the effects of drink, and he thought it was time they found out means of prevention. He had had to do with their Inebriate Home ever since it was opened. One question he would like to ask Dr. Potts when he suggested a farm colony as a remedy was, where would the difference be, seeing that it meant detention all the same? In their Inebriate Homes they put them to farm or garden work, but they had many absconders. The difficulty in connection with the Inebriates Act was that the magistrates had not used the power which they possessed. What was the use of new powers if the magistrates would not use them? The Home Office had had to circularise them before they would do their duty at all under the Inebriates Act. But, as a rule, he thought many people who were sent to the Inebriate Homes were fit subjects for the Asylums. He had had a long experience in connection with Asylum work, and they had in the West Riding 6,000 to 7,000 lunatics, and a considerable number of them admitted that they came there directly through drink. He had been very much pleased with the papers they had had, and he agreed that inebriety was a very costly affair, which no working man could afford without seriously depriving himself and those dependent on him of the necessaries of life. It meant a bare home and scanty clothing. The " ins and outs " and " drunks and disorderlies " should be stopped, and every means of probation and attempts to reform tried. If unsuccessful, then there should be longer periods of detention without the option of a fine. The last paragraph on page 2 of Dr. Sturrock's paper appealed to him very much—an island without the drink was splendid. He was anxious that the island colonies should be the British Isles. Why not? Let them remove the drink, and it was done. He admitted that the wealth and power of the liquor interest was great, but surely that could not be allowed to stand in the way of the interests of the community. One fact he gave could not be disputed, that 100 per cent. of inebriates took alcohol, and it was only reasonable, fair, and just that alcohol should pay the whole cost of dealing with them, instead of it being put on the back of the innocent ratepayer.

Mr. H. W. DAY (Chesterfield Union) said that he was very diffident about criticising the gentlemen who spoke after the reading of the papers. But he wanted to say that in his opinion not one of them had gone down to the bed-rock principles of the cure of this evil. If they were going to prevent this evil they must start with the children. He had had experience as a Poor Law Guardian in the big colliery district covered by the Derbyshire coalfield, and his experience had convinced him that they would not cure the evil as long as they waited until the people had grown to adult years. He wished to draw their attention to the schemes which the Board of Education had provided for them in Elementary Schools. He was Headmaster of a Council School, and he felt that the application of that scheme and the teaching of temperance, hygiene, and the evil effects of alcohol on the system, starting from the children in the Elementary Schools, would do very much towards ridding the next generation of this curse. (Applause.)

Councillor J. SLATER (Edinburgh District Lunacy Board) said he would like to say, with reference to Mr. Huie's remarks, that he himself was a life abstainer, but he did not think that those who are out and out teetotallers should do or say anything to alienate the sympathy of those who did not go quite so far. Social workers who were not abstainers might not have the same influence in reclaiming the victims of intemperance, but they could do a great deal to help on the reforms that they all so much desired. Much had been said about the administration of the Poor Law by Guardians and Parish Councils, but he maintained that, in Scotland at least, it was not the administrators who were to blame but the system. With regard to Captain St. John's remarks as to separate homes for cases of incipient insanity, etc., he

might say that the Edinburgh Parish Council had had this under consideration for some time, and were at present looking out for a site for a Mental Observation Hospital, but, under the present Poor Law, such a building must be in connection with a poorhouse. By arrangement with the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, they had been able to show that, by the treatment of incipient cases in a temporary home, they could save upwards of 50 per cent. of cases from being certified, and they were thus saved the stigma of having been in an asylum.

Mr. G. PIRIE (Paisley District Asylum) said that the question raised by Lady Meyer seemed to him a very important one, namely, the means of dealing with drunken husbands and wives. It had been his painful experience to deal with the awful results accruing from this source. He had had under his care a family of three, who, in his opinion, became mental degenerates as the result of alcoholic and underfed parents. He would also like to touch on the remark made by Mr. Sherwood with reference to the examination of the mental condition of those brought before Courts of Justice. One case in particular which he had under his charge was that of a man 45 years of age, whose history he would endeavour briefly to give. At the age of 14 years he was sent to an Industrial School; after serving a period there he was liberated; two months after his liberation he was arrested for a serious crime, that of stabbing, and was committed to a Penal Settlement in England. From the age of 14 to 45 he was practically confined to prison life. His (Mr. Pirie's) contention was that this patient was a moral imbecile from birth, and should have been taken care of by some other method than that of dealing with him as a prisoner in a Penal Settlement.

Dr. STURROCK, in reply, said that he remembered one case which Mr. McCrindle had sent to them. It was her second or third sentence, and she said her youngest child was 19. The point he had wished to make was that they were not active cases of cruelty, but cases in which the woman was simply helpless and unable to look after her home. Another point was the detention. Prohibition, he felt sure, would not come in his time, and meantime they had a crop of inebriates with whom they must do something. Mr. McCrindle objected to allowing them to come out in three years. A large number were sent out eight months and six months before the sentence was completed, and during that period they kept sober because they had sufficient control, knowing very well that if they broke down again in that time they were sent back. They would keep sober for eight months, and the first day they knew the law had no more control over them for the past sentence they would recommence drinking, and, going to excess, another sentence followed. It must be called a sentence; it was not reformation if it had to be carried out in a building such as they had. They could not do better at present. They had a closed building in Perth, which had to do for all the different types of women—decent married women and women who were drunken from the street. And this combination was not good. The experience at Bangour Village Asylum was not quite applicable to the inebriate, because he did not think all the people who came to be treated for inebriety were mentally defective. But the experience of his own criminal lunatic asylum, where there was practically no seclusion, was in favour of making a segregated colony for the inebriate and calling it a Reformatory, not a prison, a place where these people could have freedom, as much as possible, and where they could be prevented from getting drunk. If a person were detained simply because his brain was easily upset by drink he must be given every comfort, and his conditions must be in every respect what they would be if he had a free choice outside.

Dr. POTTS, in reply, said he was asked if by a farm colony for defectives and inebriates he did not mean detention. Of course, they must have powers of detention. He was also asked whether an Inebriate Home should not have a garden where the inebriates could work. It would do perfectly well if the garden were large enough and supplied sufficient work. The point was, that one must not have an institution of the nature of a prison; it must be an institution of the nature of a farm colony. As Mr. McCrindle clearly explained, what was wanted was the indeterminate sentence. One wanted these people kept until they were in a fit state to go out into the world. He was grateful for the explanation that the reason why there were so many mental defectives in Inebriate Homes was that in England the cases were not usually sent there unless they were both feeble-minded and inebriate. They must agree with Dr. Loch, who had shown clearly that the feeble-minded blocked the way. They must first get the Bill dealing with the feeble-minded

passed; then, when they had got that necessary reform, they would be able to carry out other useful measures which were required as well.

Mr. RAE, in reply, said that the only criticism he had to answer was that raised by their friend from the Edinburgh Board of Lunacy (Mr. Huie). That was in reference to a paragraph which he did not completely read when presenting his paper to them. It had special reference to the Pearson-Elderton Memoir, based on the report by the Edinburgh Charity Organisation Society upon defective children in a particular area of Elementary Schools. He traversed in that paragraph the conclusion that Professor Karl Pearson came to, based upon the data which were presented and derived from this report. They would remember there were some 730 children dealt with, and out of that number there were eighteen who were supposed to be children of abstaining parents. The character of the abstaining parents can be imagined from the fact that some of them, certainly one or two of them, had only begun to abstain several years after the birth of the particular children dealt with. So that that was negligible, and it was so recognised by those who were abstracting the data; they bundled all these children in among what they called the sober parentage. On the other hand, they had a class of parent, some of whom were excessive drinkers, and others occasionally excessive drinkers, and they put these together, and in the Galton Research Laboratory compared the children of these two sets. The result was that they discovered that there was little or no variation in the product of the two groups; and they said therefore alcohol had little or no influence on the physique of the offspring. It was a curious result, because they were not comparing children of abstaining parents with children of drinking parents, but were comparing really two classes of drinking parents, one a "sober" class as they called them, the so-called moderate class, with the children of "alcoholics." The result was, as was stated, that little or no variation was discernible in the ultimate equation of their offspring, indicating that alcohol was as deleterious in so-called moderation as in excessive use. They could not get away from it; if they accepted Professor Pearson's method they were making a wrong comparison. He (Mr. Rae) had had a long experience in regard to the alcohol question, and his statement was correct. The statement put forward by Mr. Huie was not scientific at all; it was a personal *ipse dixit*, which did not affect his point. But he wished to call their attention to the fact that another paragraph of his paper which he did not read said this: that any who demurred to accepting the conclusions which he submitted in his paper, he would call upon to study faithfully the alcohol question in the light of modern science and practical experience. With all respect, he commended that to Mr. Huie.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 14th.

MORNING SESSION.

(*Joint Meeting with the Education Section.*)

The Chair was taken by Sir John Macdonell, who delivered his Presidential Address. The subject discussed was THE BEGINNINGS AND CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. The following papers were taken :—

1.—*Education and Crime.*
Mr. G. L. BRUCE, L.C.C.

2.—*The Beginnings and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency.*
By HARRIET FINLAY-JOHNSON.

The Presidential Address.

By SIR JOHN MACDONELL, C.B.

I HAD at first intended to devote my address as President of this section to certain aspects of crime to which I happen to have given special attention. But upon second thoughts, and when I saw the character of the valuable papers which have been read, I decided to speak to you of certain fundamental matters, questions of the first order affecting criminal law, and to point out some far-reaching changes which are going on in this country in the substance and administration of that law. Whether they are in progress eleswhere I cannot say; I speak mainly as to England. I believe that we shall not be dealing with present realities, we shall not be making due provision for the future, unless we recognise and take account of these charges.

Every system of criminal law rests on certain ethical assumptions or postulates; some of them of very ancient date, and common to all criminal systems in modern civilised countries. Most of them were at one time in full accordance

with popular conceptions as to crime. The strength of the criminal law is to be found in the general accordance between it and the public conscience; and, broadly speaking—though, of course, subject to very many exceptions—that harmony has existed in the past. The point to which I invite your consideration is that some of these postulates and fundamental conceptions are changing; that there is a process of disintegration going on very rapidly in some parts of criminal law; that there is a break up of the old basis, the intrusion of new elements, the expulsion of old; that, in the phrase of Nietzsche, in this region there is an *Umwerthung aller Werthe*, with the result of the disturbance or impairment of that harmony between the opinions of plain men and the principles of the criminal law, which was the best security for its observance and the true chief defence of society. No one can be familiar with the Criminal Courts of this country without being aware of new doubts on the part of those administering the criminal law; whether it is what it ought to be; whether its ponderous machinery does much good; and readiness on their part to admit that it is at best a clumsy instrument for the repression of crime. It is found that not a few of the prisoners look at their punishment in a very different light from that in which their predecessors did; they, too, have their "new horizons of criminal law." The books and the letter of the law in regard to several matters—*e.g.*, infanticide of illegitimate children and insanity—are in marked discord with popular sentiment. If I am not much mistaken ours is a time when, in regard to criminal law, men officially profess doctrines which they do not practise, and practise that which they do not openly profess. There is much underground work going on in this region. I will try to examine its nature.

I may note, as a significant circumstance, that two European countries have of late adopted new criminal codes—Holland in 1881, Norway in 1903—and, further, that no fewer than three European countries are now engaged in altering their criminal law, and on a great scale. Austria, Germany, and Switzerland have, for some years, been preparing new codes.* In several of our colonies, self-governing and Crown colonies, new criminal codes have of late been adopted. In this country a similar movement—I might well say revolution—is going on, and nowhere with equal rapidity, though it does not take the form of a general measure of codification. We are doing piecemeal what these countries are doing wholesale and on a large scale. The circumstance that we take one step at a time hides the magnitude of the changes accomplished in a given period. And what strides have sometimes been made at once! The late Mr. Justice Stephen studied criminal law as no one else of his generation did. Let any one turn from his book, the *History of Criminal Law* and *Treatise on Criminal Law*, to the recent reports of the Prison Commissioners, or to Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in July of 1911, and it will be seen how far we have travelled and at what a pace.† These volumes, which are not much more than twenty years old, which are read by all law students, and are indispensable for examinations, belong, in some respects, to another world. They put in the forefront of the objects of criminal law the satisfaction of the thirst for vengeance,‡ the doctrine which you find in primitive criminal codes; for example, in the early laws of Iceland, where men kept up their feuds for years, and where it was deemed

* "Ce malaise génèral qui dénote la rupture du système ancien des desirs et des idées réglé superieure de la conduite." (Tarde: *Philosophie Penale*, 405.)

† See Mr. Galsworthy's letter. *Times*, July 23, 1910.

‡ *History of Criminal Law*, ii., 82.

highly honourable that one Icelander had travelled all the way from his home to Constantinople to slay someone who had killed a kinsman.*

The progress of disintegration and transformation is not new. But it is much more apparent and more rapid than it was. Subversive doctrines, once unknown, or confined to books little read and to theoretical teaching, directly affect legislation and the administration of the criminal law in ways never before known. These changes are now coming to a head. They are the work of many causes. Chief among the immediate causes have of late been books, poems, and plays which have popularised the newer doctrines; such as *Les Miserables*, *The Resurrection*, *Crime and Punishment*, Galsworthy's *Justice*, *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*.† With these changes going on, in what direction are we moving and what are the driving forces at work? These are the questions for which I seek answers.

It will, I think, be found that great changes, productive of others, are observable. The first is a widespread and growing sense of the inevitableness of many crimes, the helplessness of most or many of those who commit them. Under all criminal law hitherto has been the assumption that men were masters of their conduct; that they were what they made themselves that their acts were their own. Now that belief is shaken there is the widespread belief ever hardening that the criminal even if completely sane is generally not his own master; is not self-sufficient for guidance of his own conduct. Sometimes it is said that he did not make himself; that he is the last of a long series of individuals; that the potter is not more to blame for the flaws in his own character and the results of them than are the vessels which he turns upon his wheel. According to a doctrine often heard in foreign Courts, and now becoming familiar in ours, heredity determines the character, and the character determines the crime. We are what our fathers have made us; so far as we are not, we are, it is said, the creatures of circumstances. We all know how much the *milieu* may affect the young; how crime naturally comes in certain circumstances. The idle and unemployed cannot be expected to keep out of mischief, or to be sober and well conducted. The environment is everything, it is said, to the ordinary human being, young and old. And then the determining all-powerful environment may, if I may use a paradox, be so remote. A bad harvest in America or failures in Germany or United States—these incidents, unforeseen and uncontrollable, may produce distress and thereby crime against property in England. All that is expressed in such sayings as "the environment makes the criminal," "Society is responsible for crime," "Society has the crimes which it deserves"; sayings which were novelties when Quetelet first propounded some of them, but which are now part of the creed of the man in the street, and are often pleaded, sometimes sincerely, as defences or extenuations by prisoners.

So far as crimes against property are concerned, they are very largely the results of squalid poverty, just as are also certain diseases. In our English prisons, at any one time, about 15 per cent. of the inmates are there for such offences. It cannot be doubted that this would fall to a very small figure if there were a general rise in comfort.

I need not say that this sense of the inevitableness of much crime is strengthened, perhaps erroneously, by the familiar fact of the apparent regularity of

* See Heusler, *Das Strofrecht der Isländer Sagas*.

† *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. It is noteworthy that Godwin's *Justice* had a like effect more than a century ago. So had his novel *Caleb Williams*; the most powerful satire upon the criminal law of the eighteenth century.

criminal statistics. The coincidence which they reveal between the increase or decline of crime and certain economic phenomena is impressive, to some minds conclusive. The figures, especially in simple communities, where there are not many complex or disturbing causes at work, show certain crimes rising or falling according to the price of food, which price may be regulated by causes over which the sufferers from them have no control.

A further important change is to be noted. I mean the growing sense of the failure of criminal law to accomplish its chief ends—either to deter, reform or prevent. On all hands this is admitted, even by those who most freely admit the admirable work which is being done. Let me quote one of the latest dicta on the subjects by Professor Willoughby: "As a matter of fact, so far as regards the reformatory idea, there would probably be a consensus of opinion that upon the whole criminal law, as it has actually been administered in the past, was far more corrupting than elevating to the individual punished." That may be an extreme statement. But it is now generally admitted that the influence of punishment as a deterrent from crime was enormously exaggerated in the past, and not least by those who, such as Bentham, honestly sought to reform the criminal law. To operate as an effectual deterrent the prospect of future punishment presupposes a certain degree of imagination, some power of self-restraint, and of sacrificing the present pleasure in view of the future. The normal man is capable of that. The practical problem is how to deal with the mass of more or less feeble-minded persons who are not. They might be deterred from crime if a policeman was always on the spot. They are unable to grasp clearly the idea that they may be punished to-morrow, or a few week's hence.

Yet another change; one akin to those which I have just named. There is an almost universal disbelief in the efficacy of the prison in attaining its objects. This is no accident. The different aims in view are well nigh irreconcilable. I do not refer merely to the conflict between humanity and deterrent effects; the difficulty of finding punishments at once dreaded and yet not injurious mentally, morally, or physically. There is the difficulty due to the presence or collection of such heterogeneous elements. "Roughly speaking," writes one very familiar with our prisons, "the men and women who inhabit our prisons may be classified under five heads; first, the feeble-minded; second, the physical weakling; third, the vagrant; fourth, the casual offender; fifth, the habitual offender . . . . It is certain that a tremendous difficulty arises where the discipline and routine of any one prison, however well conducted, is made to serve for the whole of the classes." [Mr. Holmes, *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1910, p. 113.] It is a difficulty which we seek to surmount by splitting up the prison into several parts—the industrial school, the reformatory, the Borstal institution, the convict prison, etc. It is a difficulty which cannot be altogether overcome. I do not wish to pitch the argument too high or to speak of the bankruptcy of punishment. Its limitations are more and more recognised.

I put much the same facts in another way in saying that there is a widespread sense of the imperfection of criminal law as an instrument against crime; of its limitations, the clumsiness of it all; the fact that the criminal law reaches only a small class of the enemies of societies; that many evil-doers and, I may add, some of the most dangerous and powerful wholly escape its operation. I do not refer merely to the practial immunity of certain classes of offenders, owing to difficulty in obtaining evidence or the uncertainties of trials. I speak of the abstention, necessary abstention, of law from interference with actions admitted to be more mischievous to society than the bulk of the offences at

which it strikes; for example, its inability to deal effectively with fraud and deceit in the many forms in which they flourish in our society. Murder, theft, embezzlement, are not the offences most fruitful in evil; the libertine, the prodigal, the filthy-minded writer, the irresponsible journalist may be ten times more mischievous.

I come to a deeper change. Philosophy is always an unbidden guest, a troublesome intruder, among jurists. But there is no shutting it out. It will enter in disguise if it is not invited. It may be tabooed and warned off the premises. But it will somehow gain admittance. Our choice here is between good philosophy or bad. What the best minds, pondering long on these subjects, think, gradually and inevitably percolates into others and one day affects daily practice. Great is the might of facts, but greater still that of ideas, which propel or drive home facts. For centuries men had talked "facts" and allowed hideous practices as to punishment to continue under the cover of law. A few jurists—Beccaria for example—propounded a pregnant idea as to punishment, and these practices were condemned and doomed to disappearance.

Now one cannot but recognise the fact that a large number of persons believe either that free will is a delusion or that some form of determinism which practically excludes it is the truth. It may not be expressed dogmatically; the belief may take various forms and some tentative and vague. But we stand face to face with the fact that free will, *i.e.*, the *arbitrium indifferentiae*, which was deemed—it may be quite erroneously—essential to responsibility, is not accepted by many*; that if a reality, it must be understood with large qualifications. Centuries ago the churches of the world had to try to reconcile their doctrines as to sin and guilt with predestination; to-day the State seeks to reconcile punishment with the absence of free will. I am aware that in the view of others, so-called freedom, in the sense that no one, not even a man himself, can tell what in any given circumstances you will do, annihilates the conditions of responsibility.†

I am not inquiring into the justification of these changes; I am only noting facts, and inquiring what must be the results. First and foremost is the fact that the conception of sin is gone, that the sense of guilt as to crime is disappearing, and with it the sense of abhorrence of crime. Partly from a sense of pity, partly from indifference, and partly from causes more obscure, there is toleration towards offenders such as never before known. There is a complete revulsion of feeling. The man who, according to the language of indictments of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was "moved by the devil," who, in the technical language of present criminal law is actuated by malice, is now believed to be the creature of circumstance. How can it be possible to abhor one who is, in the language of modern criminology only an "element pathologique" [Duprat. *L'Instabilité Mentale*, 203], and of whom the most that can be said is that he cannot form with others a coherent whole? Far be it for me to deprecate this sympathy. It remains to be seen how far sympathy with the criminal is compatible with sympathy with his victim.

One point is fairly clear. The conception of guilt, even if it survives, as attaching to crime, must be affected profoundly. That conception has more than once changed. It attached, according to ancient ideas, when there was no personal wrongdoing. Œdipus was guilty though he had done wrong unwittingly. He killed his father; he married Jocasta; he did all unknowingly.

* Free will: "Cette Momie qui encombre le chemin de la science." Maus, *Justice Penale*, p. 22.

† For example, Bradley, *Ethical Studies*, p. 11.

It was guilt all the same. It might attach to the descendants of the actual offenders.* A later conception imposed a subjective test of guilt; there must be conscious wrong-doing. The modern notion is to eliminate guilt altogether; the notion of sin has gone; guilt must go with it. I may here quote the saying of Von Liszt, the leader of the new school of criminal law reformers in Germany, "*Schuld und Sühne* may live in the creation of our poets; against scientific criticism they cannot stand"† (*Shofrechtliche sufsätze* ii. 229).

I come to a central question, With these changes, what becomes of responsibility‡; in what sense is it true of the criminal if he is not a free agent? To believe M. Ferri and the members of his school that is a delusion; it was the weakness of early criminologists not to recognise this. Speaking of the exponents of the classical school he remarks: "Beccaria, Bentham, Romagnosi, etc. renferment toujours dans leurs systeme, comme criterium et condition superieure á l'utilite ou necessité sociale cette ideé de responsabilité morale que nous au contraire exclusuons tout á fait de la fonction defensive sociale" [p. 20 quoted by Gretener, *Die Neuen Horizonte im Strafrecht*].

Another class of writers, alarmed at the consequences of this theory, indulge in such sayings as these: "Ohne Willefreiheit weder Schuld noch Vergeltung" (Liszt, quoted by Birkmeyer, 14); "Under the reign of a mechanical determinism the notion of personal guilt is quite illegitimate" (Galloway, "Principles of Religious Development," 327); "Wenn es keinem freien Wille gibt, so ist der Verbrecher nicht anders anzusehen als Tier, das man zu zähmen und zu dressieren versucht" (Von. Hertling, p. 152). I repeat I am not discussing the accuracy of these circumstances. I am quite aware that under a determinist theory of morals a meaning may be given to responsibility, and that indeed according to the contention of some it is incompatible with freedom of will in the sense of ability to act independently of motives. All the same, the opinion that the two cannot go together exists; and the new doctrine seems incompatible with that hatred of or repulsion for crime which was one of its chief preventives. To read some of the modern writers on criminology, criminals are to be regarded just as one regards a wire fence or a high explosive. They kill or stab, or steal, because, in the words of Dr. Watts, "it is their nature to." Godwin, in his *Political Justice* (Book vii.), anticipating some modern teaching, says "the assassin cannot help the murder he commits any more than the dagger" with which the deed is committed. Some modern criminologists do not hesitate to draw similar conclusions. If a human being, says one writer, has bad dispositions implanted by Nature there is one reason more for merciful treatment.

What are likely to be the consequences of these changes? Some of the results are still problematic; still incomplete. Others are already written on the statute book. If we are not to punish the criminal but to reform him, if not the crime but the criminal is to be considered, and the punishment is to be adapted to his condition, what does this involve? Obviously a complete reversal of what for years was the doctrine of reformers of criminal law. It means uncertainty in punishment; the abandonment of any clear preappointed consequence of the infraction of the law. The reformers of the beginning of the last

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* Schmidt *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*. I. 71.

† I know no more powerful presentment of the modern idea than in the novel by M. Rod, "Le Glaive et le Bandeau," from which I have borrowed the above illustration.

‡ One of the characters in M. Rod's novel says: "Suppose que la responsibilité est un fait reél, et nous savons fort bien que ce n'est une fiction—une des nombreuses fictions qui nous aident á vivre" (p. 248).

century—I say all the great reformers since the time of Beccaria—were bent up introducing certainty into the administration of the criminal law. They said, and with truth, that punishment could be an effectual deterrent only if it were known what must be the consequence of wrong-doing. They explained the futility of the death penalty, so frequently imposed, by the fact that juries often refused to convict, that pardons were freely granted, and that wrong-doers trusted to the chances of immunity. If the mental and moral condition of the offender is to determine the punishment, each wrong-doer may take to himself the comforting assurance that there is something in his case which will secure him escape from the worst consequences.

There is a further consequence which, startling though it is, some modern jurists are prepared to face. If the condition of the criminal is the great fact of consequence ; if the chief business is to correct his evil disposition, why, assuming that disposition is proved, wait for the accident of the crime ? Why not take measures as soon as the dangerous disposition is revealed to protect society ?* It seems folly to delay, or to be fettered by such antiquated maxims as *nulla poena sine lege, nullum crimen sine lege.* The element of what is " Anti Sociality" may be revealed in small as well as great things ; in the child as well as the man. One writer, Tagantzeff, goes so far as to say that the man who strikes a dog or kills a canary reveals a blood-thirsty disposition (Gretener, p. 108n.) and should be promptly dealt with as a danger to society. It is, of course, admitted that it may be extremely difficult to ascertain the presence of the disposition which society has to dread. But when it is detected the time for intervention so as to repress the germs of a habit has come.

Usually the exponents of these theories advocate mild treatment of criminality. Consistently they need not. Some do not. If the prison is a hospital, why release the patient until he is cured ? If he is incurable, why release him at all ? The Canon criminal law—to the spirit and some of the methods of which we are unconsciously returning—imposed no limit to incarceration except true repentence. The contention of some is that the imprisonment shall end only with the cure.

A further result here and elsewhere has been to throw into confusion here and elsewhere the legal doctrines as to insanity. The old criterion has been abandoned. The new one has not been found. It has long been clear that the old tests of insanity need revision or modification in the light of the teaching of psychology, respecting the will and diseases of it. It is admitted, even by those who cling to a belief in the freedom of the will, that it may be paralysed wholly or partly ; that certain habits enfeeble it ; that, on the other hand, it may be educated and strengthened. It may not be possible, by training or otherwise, to alter the deeper and more permanent elements of character (Ladd's *Descriptive Psychology*, p. 372). But habits of will may be formed or destroyed ; the intelligence may be clear, and the will weak. It follows—and all psychologists apparently admit—that a perception of the moral quality of conduct may coexist with inability to restrain conduct ; an admission fatal to the test in McNaughten's case. Whether logically or not the conception of limited or attenuated responsibility has got a footing in legal systems. I note in many recent writers a tendency to give a very comprehensive meaning to insanity so as to include all instances of excessive instability of mind, the tie between acts being feeble or uncertain.

* " Plato on one occasion reproved a boy for playing some very stupid game. " Thou reprovest me," said the boy, " for a little thing." " But," replied Plato, "habit is not a little thing." (Momerie on Character, p. 20).

I have described some of the chief changes which have been going on. I have sought to state these new principles in their nakedness, and to draw from them their logical conclusions. But the advocates of them as a rule shrink from the latter. Thus few would go so far as to punish the mere disposition irrespective of conduct or the attempt to commit a crime with as much rigour as the actual crime.

A further subversive consequence. It was the object of the older criminologists, in accordance with an instinct in men, to establish some sort of proportion between the gravity of the crime and the punishment; to make the offender in small things suffer lightly; to visit great crimes with heavy suffering. Bentham is all for "proportionality," and he blames his predecessors in this field of inquiry, Montesquieu excepted, for ignoring it. Yet if we are to think solely or even chiefly of the mental condition of the criminal, rules as to proportionality have no meaning or justification; there must be no stickling about equality. What reason for retaining the distinction between great and small offences since the anti-social feeling may be revealed in both alike? As M. Tarde justly says, "Le malheur est que individualiser la peine, c'est inégaliser pour des fautes égales" (quoted by Gretener, p. 109n.).

To sum up and to define the present situation: we are in a dilemma. We wish both to reform the criminal and to protect society. But the more the criminal law becomes merely reformatory or educational the less does it become a deterrent; the more it becomes a deterrent, the less it is educational. We wish both to deter and also to be human. But the more we act in one way the less we act in the other. We wish to treat each person according to his individual needs, and at the same time to make the operation of the law certain, so that every offender may know what is in store for him. But the more we individualise punishment, the more uncertain it becomes. We wish to be humane and yet to reform and deter. But it is found that the repeated imposing of short sentences, which the late Mr. Hopwood thought the great desideratum, may be mischievous and futile. We wish to protect Society and at the same time to be humane. The attainment of the former may be impossible without measures such as prolonged incarceration, from which humanity recoils. In this conflict between antagonistic aims and modes of treatment seems to be the bankruptcy of criminal law as hitherto understood.*

What conclusions do I draw from these remarks? The first is that you must endeavour to restore, if possible, this lost harmony. In the administration of the criminal law, in the classification of crimes and in imposing punishment, you cannot eliminate one element; the sense of justice; whatever be its ultimate analysis, whether it be a remnant of the retributive theory, or the desire for revenge; whether you call it the demand of the conscience of people or "ce besoin étrange et profonde de symetrie" (Tarde, *Philosophie Penale*, p. 38), or as, I believe, a growth in moral perception. If you do not satisfy that sense, I may add the growing sense of justice, your criminal law has no support except that which force gives to it. It is something apart from the people. While becoming more scientific, it becomes pedantic and inoperative. According to Athenian law, each guilty person proposed the punishment which he deemed proportionate to his fault. Literally observed, this law could not be; and Socrates, we know, found that where it existed it did not always count for

* It is notable that almost all the modern school attack the jury as being unreasonably lenient (Tarde, *Philosophie Penale*, p. 435).

"When punishment is no longer a terror to the law-breaker it will no longer be a protection to the law-abider" (Correspondent of the *Times*, Sept. 6th, 1910).

much. But underlying it was the truth that punishment should be that which the community, or the best part of it, would approve.

The second conclusion which I draw is that there is no ground for despair—rather is there ground, if we take long views, for much hope. Let us see what the actual problem is, so far as England and Wales are concerned: On the 29th of August, 1910, there were in custody in convict and local prisons about 12,060 for what I may call offences of a truly criminal character. Many of these no doubt returned to prison in the course of the year. But multiply that figure by two or three, and assume a large proportion of them to be criminally disposed, you are dealing only with a small town—numerically, an insignificant part of the nation. The Prison Commissioners, in their report for 1910—1911, remark—

> "Judicial statistics have for many years included, in the term crime, many new indictable offences which are criminal in character, and it is a fact that if they are computed together with indictable offences strictly so-called, there has been a very remarkable decrease of offences committed; whereas in 1900 a total for both classes was 152,511—for the last recorded year it was 141,555." [p. 7.]

These are large though diminishing figures; but they are small as compared with the figures for pauperism. On the same date (August, 1910) the paupers in England and Wales were 763,954; of these 118,864 were insane; and the expenditure was £14,479,028. In other words, crime, in its strict sense, is of much less consequence than it was, whether measured by population or wealth, and of far less importance than pauperism. Not wickedness, but weakness or inefficiency is the enemy to be dreaded.

The third conclusion which I draw is that the weight of law and of public opinion should be thrown, not as in the past into punishing, but into eradicating the causes of crime. Each rise in any particular form of crime—and it is one of the chief conclusions which I draw—should be the subject of inquiry. Not only should each State, but each town should make it a duty to investigate the causes of crime within its borders, just as it would investigate the causes of disease. I hope that some day there will exist machinery by which every community will be able to learn the causes or occasion of all crime committed within its area.

One result of such inquiries would be to break up the society in which many a hardened criminal lives. Dr. Mercer remarks with truth, "The defect of the acknowledged criminal is not that he is impervious to the motives of seeking approbation and avoiding its reverse; but that the approval that he seeks, or the disapprobation that he tries to avoid, are not these of society at large, which are adapted to its own welfare and maintenance, but of a small community, parasitic on society, in which morality, so far as it exists, is different from that of society at large" ["Conduct and its Disorder," p. 176]. Such societies, the breeding places of crime, are to be destroyed.

The last conclusion which I would draw is that crime must be combated outside prisons. You must inspire hope rather than fear, and hope does not flourish within their walls. You do not get to the roots of crime unless you deal with three things: poverty, the accompaniment of almost all crimes against property; disease and low vitality, the sources of not a few crimes; existing defective moral education, the source of most other crimes. In combating and vanquishing poverty, ignorance, want of self-control and diseases, you are combating and vanquishing crime also.

Education and Crime.

By G. L. Bruce, L.C.C.

I have no intention of discussing the general relation between crime and education, nor even the perennial comparison of Board Schools and Church Schools. Reams of bad argument and worse statistics have been devoted to these matters. To-day I want to draw your attention to a set of statistics which are sound so far as they go, and then to invite discussion on the proper conclusions to be derived from them. I owe them to the kindness of an old friend, a manager of some East London schools and a barrister.

Some years ago, turning over a list of prisoners committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, we were struck by the large number of those who had apparently left school in the lowest classes, and the extreme rarity of those who seemed to have reached any of the higher classes.

The figures—as was, perhaps, natural—were even more striking at the Sessions for North and South London, where the immense majority of cases not summarily dealt with in the police courts are tried.

For the last two and a half years my friend, whenever he has attended Sessions, has sent me regularly a summary of the education statistics of the prisoners as shown in the calendar. I have fifty-five such lists, either for North or South London.

The first I possess—September 7th, 1909—shows the following results:—

Standard reached.	North London.	South London.
Unknown —	15	3
Standard 0	2	0
Standard I.	5	1
Standard II.	18	10
Standard III.	20	6
Standard IV.	11	3
Standard V.	5	0
Standard VI.	1	1
Standard VII.	2	1

There were also two foreigners, whom I omit as irrelevant to my present purpose. Most of those who were unable to say what standard they had reached might safely be placed in the lowest two or three. I leave the figure just as it stands. It may also cover a few cases of old scholars who were ashamed to bring discredit on their old schools, and of others who came from Special Schools for mentally defective children.

Omitting these twenty cases, we have eighty-six left, and of these fourteen had left school in the fourth standard; sixty-two had left in yet lower standards; only ten had left in standards V., VI., or VII. How does this compare with the numbers leaving these standards? The ages of the prisoners were various. I take the School Board returns for 1901, which represent fairly the average age, and assume that the returns, if they existed, for the Voluntary Schools would have shown substantially similar results.

About 60,000 children left the Board Schools of London in that year. Of these there left, in round figures:—

In Standard 0	50
In Standard I.	300
In Standard II.	1,000
In Standard III.	3,000
In Standard IV.	8,000
In Standard V.	14,000
In Standard VI.	17,000
In Standard VII.	12,500
In Standard Ex. VII.	4,500

These figures rather understate the standard reached, as they are taken more than two-thirds of the way through the school year. But the result is striking. Four-fifths of those who left were Standard V. and upward. Seven-eights of the prisoners had left school in Standard IV. and downward.

I summarise the remaining results. They tell the same story year by year:—

North London.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Unknown —	64	76	108
Standard 0	22	43	43
Standard I.	24	40	24
Standard II.	102	172	133
Standard III.	155	363	393
Standard IV.	108	231	196
Standard V.	19	43	34
Standard VI.	12	26	18
Standard VII.	10	11	14
Superior	2	7	13

"Superior" includes all forms of secondary education. Omitting them, we have 187 prisoners who had left in Standard V. and upwards; 2,049 who had left in Standard IV. and downwards. Nine-tenths of the prisoners came from one-fifth of the scholars:—

South London.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Unknown —	23	33	52
Standard 0	8	23	4
Standard I.	18	23	19
Standard II.	48	107	86
Standard III.	50	172	147
Standard IV.	38	106	73
Standard V.	7	12	25
Standard VI.	2	7	6
Standard VII.	2	7	4
Superior	—	—	3

Once more we have the same story. From Standards IV. and downwards we have 917; from Standard V. and upwards 72; from "superior" schools, 3.

Of course, all these prisoners did not actually come from London schools. Obviously, too, the figures depend for their accuracy on the statements of persons shown by that very statement to be often quite uneducated. But the steady repetition of the same story in fifty-five separate and quite independent sets of figures leaves no doubt of its substantial accuracy. The scholars who subsequently appear as prisoners charged with crime are, with few exceptions, drawn from those

who never had a chance of profiting by their schools. They may in some cases have been very dull. In a few cases the schools did not give them a fair chance. In most cases they probably drifted from school to school, and were persistently absent from class. The best teacher can make little of absentees. In all, 2,956 prisoners come from one-fifth of the scholars; only 259 come from the other four-fifths; and of these 259 only 119 come from Standard VI. and upwards. Yet more than half the scholars who left had reached Standard VI.

Cause and effect are as usual entangled. The same circumstances—character, health, parents, home surroundings—which kept the child from school may well have helped to bring the man into the dock. Even if he had spent a year, or two years, in the upper classes of the school, if he had shared in the more responsible work and come under the more individual influence which upper classes imply, he might still have found his way downwards. As usual, unto those that have is given. The careful parent sends his child to school; the child profits by the school. The shifting, shifty parent only sends his child when forced; the child grows up an outcast or a rebel. It is degrading mentally and morally for a boy of 14 to be taught with children of 8 or 9. It is not easy to put a big, ignorant lad of 14 to work with scholars who in their school work are four or five years ahead of him.

Still, when all allowance has been made for *post hocs* which are not *propter hocs*, there are certain conclusions which I venture to suggest to your consideration.

In the first place it is abundantly clear that so far from education producing crime, curiously few of those who are educated appear subsequently in the dock. To a very small extent this conclusion would be modified by the statistics of the Central Criminal Court. It is at least probable that such crimes as forgery presuppose a certain amount of intelligence and education. Further, it is obvious and regrettable that we only have the statistics of unsuccessful crime. The statistics of successful fraud are not obtainable. They might seriously modify our figures.

Next, it may, I think, be fairly argued that these old children, who leave school without reaching the upper standards, constitute a very important problem in education.

Twenty to thirty years ago this class was much larger than it is to-day. For twenty years the regularity of attendance has steadily improved; and the would-be truant has been affected indirectly by the common discipline of the school, directly by the greater attention it has been possible to pay to such cases. The supply of schools improved rapidly up to 1903, and since 1903 a good deal has been done to improve the staffing.

The result is that, so far as I can judge, many children who would have escaped the influence of school twenty years ago are to-day working in Standards V. and VI. A few head teachers now dare to do what very few dared to do in 1892—place boldly a boy or girl of 12 in Standard V.—giving up all hopes of spelling and the like, but trusting that he will take away with him something of the discipline and energy and responsibility of a well-ordered school, which he could never have learnt in Standards III. and IV. These are exceptions. The problem arises in every school, more or less acutely.

Three things are mainly necessary if the problem is to be fairly met.

First, and above all, our classes must be reduced in size—a big class brutalises teacher and children. In a class of sixty it is absurd to expect the individual care and influence which these children need. In the not rare case of a town school

of six classes and 360 children, the slightly abnormal child is bound to go to the wall. Twenty-five is the normal class in a secondary school. Twenty-five should be the normal class in an elementary school.

Secondly, we need the means of teaching quite a small number of children separately in various classes at various times to enable them to keep up with the others. Rather backward children, and children admitted from other schools, could often keep pace with their class if once they could catch it up. Some figures recently supplied show that in London alone there were 50,000 transfers from school to school in the last year. Each of these means a "new child" who has to learn the ways of a new school. The loss of pupil teachers has been heavily felt in this respect. Where classes are small the need is, of course, less. Where classes are large it is essential that there should be one teacher free to help the stragglers. The need is double where, as in some towns to-day, the scarcity of school places involves a cast-iron system of promotion.

Thirdly, there is a real need of greater elasticity in our curriculum. Boys who have no taste for languages or for mathematics, often have a real gift for drawing, and wood or metal work; and it can scarcely be doubted that many boys who have vainly struggled with their three R's, and see themselves beaten day by day by boys three and four years younger than themselves, might hold their own and win and maintain their self-respect under more congenial conditions. The only excuse for the enormous schools that are constantly built is that the greater number of classrooms should make possible a certain variety in the curriculum.

Sufficient school-places, sufficient teachers, smaller schools and smaller classes, more individual care and a more elastic curriculum—these, with the extended school-age which we are promised would, I believe, go far to sap our supplies of criminals.

Beginnings and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency.

By "HARRIET FINLAY-JOHNSON" (MRS. WELLER)
(Author of "Dramatic Method of Teaching," and late Head Mistress of Sompting School).

IT seems to me that the proper natural environment of children is that which is provided for in Nature's own scheme of things, viz., freedom to grow and develop on all sides under the guardianship and guidance of parents. But civilisation and the growth of what I may term the communal way of living, by which one man undertakes all the bread-making and becomes a baker, and another undertakes all the teaching and becomes a teacher, has broken up Nature's *home-plan* and substituted another. But there is still lurking within most of us the idea that the "home-plan" is right. Hence the baker who wants to attract us advertises his bread as "Home-made bread" or "Best farmhouse bread."

So long as children are protected in *good homes*, the only places where they can come in contact with wrong-doing are schools and those places where children

are gathered in numbers by various philanthropic agencies such as bands of hope, clubs, and the like. In these places the children are often herded in large numbers under very inadequate supervision. Their attention is not always held and attracted by the subject in hand; they look about for something that *will* interest and attract, they pursue this other interest in an underhand fashion, and unconsciously absorb their first lesson in *deceit*.

The State can regulate behaviour in the street and can minimise the dangers of contamination there for the greater portion of the juvenile population. Things are not so bad, for instance, as they were in Dickens's time. The State also can, and surely will, adjust the conditions of our schools to the needs of the "home" plan. Its first care to this end should be the provision of the *right kind of teacher*. One of the first results of placing the Elementary Schools in the hands of County Council Committees and the consequent drawing of money from the *rates* for the schools was the alteration of the plans for training teachers. No longer was the Elementary School the actual training ground, but promising pupils were taken from those schools and placed in Secondary Schools for a term, from which they went on to the Training College, and so back to the Elementary Schools as finished articles. It has not yet been demonstrated that these young people have had much opportunity for child study other than from books. The flighty young "Miss" who has spent all her leisure in cycling and sport, and who craves every spare moment for "bridge" and dances (innocent amusements though these may be), who has been clever enough to dash through a certain number of exams., and who has a superb contempt for her headmistress as a "frump," and is frankly bored to death by those "horrid kiddies," seems to me a poor substitute for the mother—earnest, kind, sympathetic, tactful, long-suffering, yet bright—which Nature designed for the guidance and guardianship of children.

Here is *one cause*, then: the *wrong point of view* in schools, treating the school as a place where children are to be taught the three R's by methods suitable for older folk and by the wrong kind of teacher or by the wrongly trained teacher.

The way to deal with such a cause is obvious. It lies with Inspectors of Schools to weed out the wrong kind of teacher and insist on the right kind of training, viz., *in schools* among "live children." Supply generally follows demand. The demand should be for smaller classes, and a greater number of probationary teachers under the supervision of teachers of assured experience.

Secondly, schools will never be "home-like" until there is less of *machinery* about it. The remedy here is to abolish such things as quarterly exams., record-books, and the like. If a child has failed to absorb his lessons during the quarter or term, it is too late to *find it out* at the *end* of the term, and disastrous both to teacher and child. Smaller classes and proper supervision AND proper treatment of the child, viz., allowing him to *learn* instead of *teaching* him, should do away with the necessity for term exams. And so on with other parts of the machinery.

If the school influence and habit be strong enough, it will minimise the dangers from other directions. More particularly will this be so if *parents* be interested. Children trained by the "self-expressive" methods *do* become little ambassadors to the homes. My experience is that they educate their parents unconsciously but firmly!

A word as to "George Junior Republics." It seems to me that the best way of adapting these to English needs is to establish a *probationary* class in connection with these colonies. The boys ought to feel that they have to prove themselves worthy of *citizenship* before they are admitted to the privilege of citizenship.

They might live on the colony in a separate house and might consist of scholars chosen by teachers as those most in need of special treatment (from neglected homes or bad homes, etc.). They might join in all the work and see the working of the colony, but have no vote and no citizen's rights at first. Just as in the world there are *children* and *adults*—the former needing guidance at times although allowed self-expression *to* the guardian, the latter walking alone and framing the laws for the guidance and protection of the younger members—so these probationers might be the children and the citizens the adults. In time a stronger tone or tradition would be formed, since it *began younger* and *persisted longer*.

A last word regarding organisations for children other than those provided by the State. These, including Sunday-schools, Boys' Brigades, and Boy Scout movements, may defeat their own ends if worked by what I term "well-meaning idiots." I have known a boy become profane through attending a Sunday-school and hearing other boys in his class jesting on holy subjects in the presence of a weak-minded teacher. Children will join all sorts of organisations in order to get out in the evenings, or they may be persuaded to join through pressure being brought to bear on their parents to cause them to join.

It seems to me that no real progress in getting at and curing the beginnings of juvenile delinquency will be made until the churches organise and supervise their institutions for evening work and Sunday work among children. Such classes are often the beginning of the habit of going out at night, which later develops into going to public-houses, etc. It is of little use to organise our day-schools, which occupy only one-fifth of the child's time, and leave him then as if he were hermetically sealed against the influences which operate during the other four-fifths. As a matter of fact, it is often the four-fifths which count most. My advice, then, is: first, organise and attune schools to present-day needs on the "home plan"; second, provide properly instituted organisations for the after-school time if they are needed; third, educate the *parents* of all classes, by all means, to work *with* the schools; fourth, *discourage* the irresponsible and wrong-headed amateur in all things that pertain to childhood.

Discussion.

Mr. HOLMAN (Child Study Society) said he took it that the general subject before them was the relation of moral efficiency to industrial and social efficiency; and secondly, the relation of school training to moral efficiency amongst the young. He should address some remarks to them from that point of view, and not follow the interesting Address of the President and Mr. Bruce's paper, which would need much statistical knowledge. He thought there was a great deal of moral inefficiency leading to industrial and social inefficiency, and therefore destitution, that resulted from faults in school training. He threw in a saving clause in regard to this, because destitution was often not directly the outcome of moral inefficiency, but of economic conditions which overrode even full moral efficiency. He used the term "moral efficiency" in a broad sense. Inefficiency on the part of the schools was due, he thought, to the public attitude towards the schools, which seemed to him to be essentially wrong, as had been well shown during the course of the Conference. On Wednesday they had considered the school in relation to destitution, and he had

found there was a tendency to regard the school from the adult point of view—that is to say, from the point of view of what they wanted children to be and to do when they became men and women. They had the opposite view put before them by Mr. Arrowsmith, who had said, "Let us consider what the child *is*." And Professor Findlay had brought them back to this: that they should consider the child's own attitude in regard to work. But he (Mr. Holman) thought he was too apologetic with regard to what the adult expects from the child, and that, after all, the child should do some adult kind of work, although he might not receive wages for it. That attitude had got to be corrected, he thought, if they were to do what they ought in the schools. The oldest ideas they had on education were as true to-day as ever they were. They would remember Plato, in his "Republic," said there were three types of men: those who might be regarded as having more of iron in their nature, the quality of lower metal—though they knew it was actually the best—and those who had silver, and those who had gold; and they must treat them accordingly. But should they happen to find iron in those born of the gold class they must be careful to put them amongst the iron class and treat them accordingly. And should they find among the iron section those who had gold in them, they must put them amongst the gold. This recognised that the first thing to consider was: what was the individual in his own nature? If they wanted moral efficiency, the first point was to develop a child physically; and they must think of that specially during the first few years. Its muscles and senses must then be trained, because through those its brain was reached. But what did they do? He would give them an extreme case, because he wanted them to see it easily in the gross. They recognised cases like Byron's, where physical deformity had such an effect upon the moral nature. Certain physical diseases transformed the moral nature; the Chairman gave examples of that. They saw the evil in the case of the dog or the horse when they took the trouble to train them. If they were not properly handled they became vicious in temper and inefficient in work in consequence. We cannot make as many mistakes with dogs or horses as in the case of the child. They must come back to the fact that if they did not educate a young child right physically they could not educate it right morally. But instead of doing the former for the first seven or eight years, what did they do? He had heard children of 3 or 4 years sitting in a gallery for nearly an hour, shouting out, like talking parrots, descriptions of sin, descriptions of God, and descriptions of faith; and this was done morning after morning, when they ought to be developing their bodies predominantly, because that was the way to develop their minds. It was very serious, and he did not hesitate to throw out this challenge to religious teachers and to moral teachers, that with all their devotion and sincerity, they were making sceptics and atheists, because they would not consider the nature of the child; they would not consider what the child *was* now, and what it *could be* now. Only by realising that could the child be what was possible hereafter. Professor William James, the great psychologist, who had written as no man had written of recent years on psychology, education, and religion—as to their deepest foundations—said he had seen University students, young men at College, who had been for ever unfitted for the study of philosophy by beginning a year too soon. That should be written in letters of fire as a maxim for everyone who wanted to teach morals and religion to the little child. The idea that if you began in matters of religion with the little child you were sure to be right was mistaken; for if you began with a little child in this way you were sure to be wrong. One extreme led to another, and so when the child should be beginning the purely intellectual and moral—at adolescence—and getting away from the more concrete, strangely enough, that was the very time when they took up manual training. Let them make the child the best child it could be as a child, and later on it might be the best it could then be.

Mr. F. W. Warne (Bradford Distress Committee) said he did not happen to be a professor, and so he would take the place of the man in the street. There had been a great many professors at the Conference, and some had had axes to grind. He was not aware of having one himself. He had come there to find out what benefit he could do to his fellow-man and woman. Seldom, in listening to the speeches, had he heard to his satisfaction the keynote for which they had assembled, the prevention of destitution. (Hear, hear.) Of course, they could turn these various subjects into some way of stopping destitution, but it would have been better if the meetings had been called Labour Conferences, or School Teachers' Conferences, or School Life

Conferences. He was surprised that more was not made yesterday of the paper read by the Secretary of the National Temperance Association. He believed there was no one breathing who would not bear testimony to the fact that the child brought up as a teetotaller must be the best person and make the best citizen. If he had his way, even if some of the subjects now taught in schools had to be omitted, he would have, as one of the subjects, temperance. What had this Conference done for the improvement of home life? Some people looked with disgust on what Germany did; he would not speak of the school hours in Germany being thirty-four as against twenty-five in England; but he had been in Germany eighteen months ago, and he saw as bad slums as there were in the East End of London or in any other city in this country; but he saw the children come out of school in Germany in far better condition than in this country. They were clean and tidy. Instead of having holes in their boots and clothes, they were patched. He was told that the laws in Germany compel the father and mother to be the custodians of their children. We missed the point in England, where we even wash as well as clothe and feed the children. There was a saying that many can help one, where one cannot help many. His view was, let every mother and father be compelled to look after their offspring after bringing them into the world, or else be punished for it. It might be said that one could not stop these people from drinking. There were representatives there from West Ham, with its nice rates. Let them go back to "The Denmark" and the "Bowling Castle" and see that class of people there, and the money which was being spent in strong drink every night of the week. Was there anything which stopped parents from keeping their children clean? ("Poverty.") It was not poverty. Where he lived, and probably where they lived also, there were brushes and materials found for poor people to keep their houses clean: the only thing they did not find was elbow grease. (Hear, hear.) Why should the rates stand the expense of doing everything for the people? It was common knowledge in his town that women asked: "Why should I get up in the morning? They will wash my child for me, and they will give him breakfast, and in many cases they will give him clothes." The clothes did not come out of the rates, but from the organisations outside. He knew West Ham and Canning Town, and the wages which were paid there. Let the people look after their children instead of spending their money in riotous living.

Dr. C. S. Loch (Charity Organisation Society) thanked the President for his Address and for his large and splendid handling of the subject. Mr. Bruce, he continued, had brought them on to the right line for discussion. First as to the question of responsibility. There was no one who had had to deal with mental defect in regard to either children or adults but could feel that a new spirit was creeping over the whole consideration of this matter. But when one came to definition it was difficult to find one which was generally accepted. They asked the College of Physicians to make definitions, and they asked others of very great ability to do the same. Those definitions were quickly accepted by those who were *au fait* with these things and who were interested in the care of defectives. But as soon as they passed into the outer world they found the problem to be as it was stated by the Chairman. There was no quick accord between the common view of these matters and the precise and careful view of those who were more or less expert. The outsider said at once: "Feeble-minded! Are not we all feeble-minded? Why, therefore, define at all?" And yet the whole question of responsibility depended ultimately either on definition or on very precise and careful discrimination. He commended this point to their attention, because it seemed to him that upon its settlement rested very largely the beneficial results of any progress they might now make. The other question he wanted to raise was this. He had been very much struck with the amount of apparent feeble-mindedness amongst even remand children—children, for instance, who had gone off wandering and been put on remand. Next, he had been struck with a point which Miss Marshall brought out clearly in evidence at the Poor Law Commission, that a marked proportion of the men who in successive years were out of work were men who had been in the lower classes at school. This, he thought, supplemented a point which Mr. Bruce had referred to that morning. It showed clearly the relation of the school children in the lower grades to the adult unemployed in the district in question. Dr. Parsons, again, had inquired, for the Poor Law Commission, into the physique of men in workhouses, and it had been shown that in England and in Scotland the men had a considerably lower physique

than had the common outdoor adult labourer. Here, therefore, they had three or four distinct points which had a kind of correlation. He would like to supplement them by one or two other facts. One was connected with an experiment which was made in London for feeding the children in a phthisical school. The plan adopted was not to provide them with meals in the school, but to let them bring their meals to school, and to visit the parents and get them to improve the dietary of their children. It was thought to be very successful, but owing to the pressure of the Authorities the meals were provided in the schools. After experimenting in this way, however, it was found that the plan of providing meals in the school did not answer so well as the other system, by which the child brought its meal to the school and a visitor went to the parents and, advocating a better dietary, dealt with the parents and the children together. Further, if they turned to housing, they found how well the same method, that of dealing with parent and child together, had answered. There was no question that Miss Octavia Hill's success in housing had been due to treating the family as a whole in the dwelling, and not dealing with the dwelling as apart from the family. If those points which he had put before them meant anything, they meant this—and Mr. Bruce had shown it well—that they had to be specially on the look-out for the individual idiosyncrasies and difficulties of the children in the lower classes, those who did not pass above the fifth standard. What then one asked at once was: Who are the parents of these children; and are we educating the parent with the child, and *vice versâ?* If this line of argument were right, it meant that a school could not be isolated; it must be surrounded in some way by those who had touch of the families; and they only got a difficult class dealt with properly if, as a rule, they did that—and this not in one direction only, but alike in housing, for instance, and in helping. Therefore by feeding without regard to the family of the individual they might accentuate the evils which they desired to meet; their aid might lose its preventive quality. They asked, then, for a new standpoint. Say they were dealing with crime in relation to destitution; they might, after all, be merely giving meals, or whatever the relief was, to so many children, whilst taking for granted the old slums from which they came. In fact, they might be dealing neither with crime nor with destitution. He thought that the great bulk of the people got on well enough, so they need not trouble about them. But there was a very difficult group which was the seed plot of many of their troubles. Could they deal with that group? If they worked the matter out, either from the Poor Law side or from the school side, they found a large number of the cases came from a certain area. He believed very much in what the last speaker had said about forcing, or persuading, the parents to do their duty by their children. The key to the matter lay there. If they got to their defective area he suggested a convergence of forces. Could not they, and school people, teachers and others, and the Poor Law people, use the Care Committees and all the other machinery which they had now, more or less complete, for the purpose of elevating the parent and the child, and so pushing up the population now here, now there?—not treating the younger generation apart, and thinking of them as school children, but as "home plus school children." When they had the better knowledge which this method set before them and the desire for more individual and effectual treatment they would understand more clearly the problem of the relative responsibility of the child and the parent. To treat these children and their parents alike and to give a great mass of children meals was wrong. And directly they had realised that they would try to create a sense of responsibility, and would urge that there should be a concurrence of forces to deal systematically with the family and to elevate child and home together. So they might make progress. He did not see how they were to do so on other lines.

Mr. C. B. Snelling (Chelmsford Union) said he came to hear something about the prevention of destitution in relation to crime and inebriety, and he was sorry so much time had been taken up with the officials emphasising the various benefits which their particular occupations could receive from such a meeting as this. He thought that they were wrong when they put children into occupations which would produce money without gratifying their desire for creation. Children desired to make something; it was a pleasure to them and exercised their minds, and then they would often desire to receive intelligence from the past. Long before the time of Christ someone had said to a feeble-minded person: "Thy father begat thee when he was in drink," and to get the prevention of crime and inebriety they must insist not only on abstinence from alcohol, but also from excess in nicotine; people,

both workers and shirkers, should recognise their responsibility to their future children.

Mrs. George Guy (Reading N.C.P.D.) said that if they were dealing with the education of their children, a point to be carefully considered was that teachers must deal with the material which they have to work with. Before they could consider the curriculum which they would enjoin in a school they must pay heed to the kind of children who came to be taught. Mr. Warne had spoken of the responsibility of the parents. That led her to consider the kind of children who went to their schools. The previous day in the forenoon it had been mentioned that the naughty child had great advantages over the good child, for the naughty child was sent to a Reformatory and had great advantages up to the age of 16, whereas the good child had to leave school at 13 and begin to earn its own living. She had done some work in a Special School in Reading, and she knew the kind of material which came to be taught. In the old days before the Special Schools were started that kind of child was the bane of the teacher in each class. Such children were now weeded out and went to Special Schools. It struck her that many of those children ought never to have been born; they represented to her mind a line of vicious and degenerate living in the parent. She had heard of a case where one of these children was one of a family of nineteen. The doctor said to the mother: "You have a delicate child!" She said: "What can you expect? It is the nineteenth!" Four of the children in that family had died of consumption, some had rickets, others had other complaints, and the mother herself was consumptive. She thought it would be the duty of those who were interested in education to aim at getting legislation passed providing for the segregation of the unfit, so that they should not be parents. In a Special School she spoke of they had a splendid bathroom, with hot and cold water, midday meals provided, tables daintily laid out, and the children taught proper table behaviour; whereas in the ordinary school, where the children came from poor homes, and their parents were worthy people, though poor, there were not the same comforts. They were bolstering up bad things and putting a premium on what ought not to be. She was afraid that in every school there was an absence of any strong bias in the direction of personal hygiene. She had sometimes been in a poor Church School where the boys and girls had stood with broken boots and the toes out of them; they had held up their faces to sing the morning hymn, with their necks as dirty as they could be. The parson came and prayed to the Lord who made them all, and then he put on his hat and walked out, without, she believed, seeing how they were dressed or how dirty they were. It made one wonder what sort of homes they came from. In some of those homes there was one tap to three houses, the houses standing back to back, with no open space between, rag-picking going on in the front yard, which was the only garden, and the filthy germs from the rags going through the house. All this personal neglect and bad housing led to destitution. If they thought of education properly it took them back to the housing of the children and the conditions in which they lived, to the employment their parents were engaged in, or the lack of it. Therefore teachers must aim at getting good material to teach. It was no injustice to a child which was not in existence to say it should not be born, and there were many children whose birth was only to be regretted. The rickety frames, the deformed backs, the unclean, diseased eyes, the badly-shaped mouths, the diseased skin, all told the same tale, of which thinking people, and teachers especially, knew the meaning.

Mr. William McCrindle (N.S.P.C.C., Glasgow) said that he would not say anything on the two papers which they had just heard, but would like to make some reference to the President's Address, because there were one or two things in it which he wanted to take exception. It was a most admirable Address, and one which would probably be approved by the whole Conference. But he wished to sound a warning note and ask, when they were considering the amount of pity which was to be bestowed upon the criminal, if present-day sentiment were carried out, where would it land them? The present-day feeling seemed to be in the direction of pity and forgiveness to the criminal. He supposed he was as humane in his sentiments as any member of the Conference, but he thought there was a fear that they might allow that sentiment to carry them too far. How far ought they to go in this benevolent treatment of the criminal? For instance, it led to this other question: What pity were they to extend to the victims of the criminal? He had in his mind a case at the present time of a man in Glasgow whom he was the means

of reporting to the Criminal Authorities, and who was coming up for trial probably the following week. He was a master painter, and he had a shop of his own. He got young girls to come in, and in a short time it was found that one girl had to leave. Another girl came in, and the same thing happened. He had criminally assaulted these girls. He (the speaker) had information from the family of one of them, and that information put before the Procurator Fiscal caused the man to be apprehended. He had been released on a £100 bail. Would any of the ladies or gentlemen there who had a daughter in circumstances like those feel it in her or his heart to extend sympathy and pity to a criminal of that type? ("Yes, why not?") Well, they were apt to go too far in that direction. Punishment for crime should be deterrent, but it was not so if they treated men like that in the way that had been suggested by many of the speakers at the Conference. Let them have as much reform in the treatment of criminals as possible, but he would be very much inclined to inflict as much punishment upon such as he had mentioned as would be a deterrent to other evildoers. They had it stated that those who bore the sword should be a terror to evildoers, as well as a protection to those who did well. It had been said by their President that morning that if the cause were removed—and ignorance was one of the causes which he had mentioned—crime would disappear. They had had compulsory education in force for forty years now. Had that removed crime? Was crime less to-day? ("Yes." Well, it had been hoped that when the compulsory Education Act was passed ignorance would be removed; that there would be an improved state of things, and that it would bring about, if not the millennium, a great advance towards the highest civilisation. The last speaker had attributed destitution to drink. He had some experience in Glasgow, dealing as they did in Scotland with 22,000 destitute children every year, and he was bound to say, after very careful consideration, that 90 per cent. of that destitution arose directly from the intemperance of one or both of the parents. His object in speaking had been to sound a warning note regarding the tendency of sentiment in the Conference leading to maudlin leniency to criminals.

Mr. H. W. Day (Chesterfield Union) said he would like to say a word on the Paper written by Mrs. Weller. In that Paper all the blame for juvenile delinquency was put upon the schools, either the day schools or the Sunday schools. As far as day schools were concerned, he repudiated it utterly. They were too well looked after by the managers and Government Inspectors, and if there were any want of discipline leading up to such results as those mentioned, the teachers would very soon be cleared out. And he did not know why blame should be put on the Sunday schools. They knew they were not the best disciplined institutions in the country; he could say that, as he had been a Sunday school teacher; they certainly did require better discipline and better teaching; but they could not put the blame for juvenile delinquency upon those schools. In the portions of the country with which he was familiar, the chief cause was the early marriage of the parents. He was often in the offices of the Registrar in his district, and it was appalling to see the mere boys and girls who came there to be married, very often because they must. And the most unfortunate thing in the case was that the girl did not usually look upon being in that condition as in any sense a disgrace, but rather as one of the accidents of life. That brought him to this question of sex hygiene. They could not teach it in the schools, because most girls left school before the age when it would be proper to teach that subject. He had investigated the matter, and that was his emphatic opinion and experience. But the girls should be compelled to attend classes, and thus be kept under school influence, until they were 14, 15, or 16 years of age. Early marriages led to lack of parental control; these young people soon had three or four children. Another reason for juvenile delinquencies was severity of parental control; if parents were too strict with their children, they would break away with a vengeance when they got a chance, would become little sneaks, and do things behind one's back which they would not do before one's face. Then there was the vicious literature, of the Dick Turpin type, which had an enormous circulation throughout the country. Another cause was the great number of picture palaces up and down the country. He thought the authorities should keep a strict look-out on the kind of pictures which were exhibited there.

Councillor William Crow (West Ham County Borough Council) said he gathered that what Mr. Bruce wished them to understand from his paper was that if people were educated up to the Seventh Standard there would be much diminution of crime

in the country, and his facts, as far as they went, supported that theory. But he hoped they would not have the idea that it was a scientific fact, because Mr. Bruce did not claim it to be such, and he suggested there were other causes which made for criminality. He was a member of the Education Committee of West Ham. It was his unpleasant duty to sit once in three months and hear the excuses of parents for not sending their children to school. The first thing which impressed one was the type of parent who came to make excuses. For the most part they were the worst type of people in the locality. One did not find the representative of the well-kept home coming to excuse non-attendance; only in a few cases did the better class people come, and that was owing to the sickness of the child. It semed to him that there was something which was destroying the home life of the people. Mr. Warne had given a very graphic description of some of the public-houses in West Ham, and his remarks might lead them to suppose that West Ham was worse in this respect than other great towns, such as Bradford. But their public-houses were large ones, and the evil was more apparent; but the evil existed all over the country, and in many places in small public-houses it was hidden away. That was an evil which this Conference must do something to combat. They should try to insist that school attendance should be more regular. Another thing was that inasmuch as the potentalities of crime rested, at the end of school life, with those who had reached only the Fourth and Fifth Standards, there was a chance for an employment committee. Special care should be taken with regard to those who, either through their own laziness or that of their parents, had not been good in attending school. Let them consider the case of a lad who had been kept at school well past school age, but had only reached the Fourth Standard. The schoolmaster said if he could be kept at employment for a few months he was sure that under good influence he would improve. But suppose he failed to be employed, and he drifted? He became one of the unemployables, and he had no stamina. He would apply for situation after situation, and, failing to get work, went to crime inevitably. The problem they had to face was, when the boys or girls got to the end of their school life, and were still inefficient, what was to be done with them?

Dr. Lewis Hawkes said he thought it might be of some interest to them to hear the experiences of one who, as medical officer to a Place of Detention (Pentonville Road) was in actual contact with juvenile delinquents. The Places of Detention or Remand Homes were first opened ten years ago, and since that time more than 20,000 children had passed through them. The number of children below, and of, the infant school age was small—under seven years of age only 5.3 per cent. From the time the child entered the upper school there was a steady increase in charges for delinquency until the age of fourteen was reached, the percentage then being 68. After leaving school there was a definite drop in the number of children charged. The child under seven was kept at home, and was too young to wander far afield or mix with older boys and girls. The child from ten or eleven years of age to fourteen was not wanted in the house; he wandered about the streets without occupation, with no home lessons, and with a fund of high spirits which sought some form of outlet. This outlet was often a breach of the law. Nearly 40 per cent. of the charges were for stealing and pilfering, 26 per cent. for wandering and playing truant, 14 per cent. for begging, and 3 per cent. for residing in disorderly houses. It was interesting to note that not 1 per cent. of children admitted to the Homes had been educated at Secondary or Public Schools. The primary cause of juvenile delinquency was want of parental control and judicious discipline. When a child committed a fault or stole from his parents, instead of receiving a good thrashing he was handed over to the police. He (the speaker) had worked for a number of years in the slums about Finsbury, and the extraordinary ignorance of the parents made him wish that all children could be taken away and educated by the State. The effect of daily discipline in the schools was more than nullified by the home conditions; and as, in many cases, the moral conditions were lax, the child had no chance. To know what some of the parents are like, one must visit the Children's Courts and see them there, sordid, debased with drink, and criminal, or else weak and without backbone. There was little wonder if the children followed in their footsteps. They found children deliberately committed offences on purpose to be sent away from home. If discharged one week, they were brought in a few days later, and if asked why, they said they could not remain at home. There was always the factor of the children themselves. From 4.30 until 8, 9, or later, they were wandering about the

streets, full of animal spirits and lacking occupation of an interesting character. One vicious boy would corrupt his companions and lead them into mischief. A great factor in producing juvenile delinquents was the lust for amusement. London was full of cheap music halls and picture palaces, and it was in the endeavour to satisfy the appetite for enjoyment that petty pilfering was so much on the increase. He knew of one case in which a girl was sent to buy a certain quality of tea for her mother. She bought a cheaper quality and pocketed the difference. The remedy lay with the home and the mother. Let the girl be trained to know how to manage a home, and when she married let her be instructed in the way to care for her child when it was born; for it was the influence exerted by the mother on the child during the first years of life that gave the keynote to the future character.

Mr. W. A. Buckner (Edinburgh School Board) said that Mr. Warne had made some remarks which, as a working man, he could not listen to without wishing to reply. One of them was that the cause of crime was very largely the neglect of the parent. This came round in a vicious circle to something else. He thought the cause of juvenile delinquency was poverty. He worked in a large factory, and at the beginning he was a "half-timer," working one week afternoons and the other week mornings, and he maintained that the great mass of delinquents came from poverty-stricken homes. He sat on a Board which dealt with defaulting parents, and the delinquents of a criminal type were nearly always drawn from that one section. It had been said that it was very largely due to drinking. He was in a factory of 600 workers, and he should say that drinking, as a habit, was largely the result of the piece-work system, which resulted in men and women having a good deal of time on their hands, and the easiest way to spend it was by drinking. He quite agreed that there should be a better enforcement of parental control than at present. But something else arose out of that. Some years ago the State recognised the duties of parents to educate their children; but poverty came in in certain cases, and the parent could not do it; so the State took over the duty. If they were going to enforce this principle of parental control, then they must recognise that the circumstances of parents do not always allow parental control to have full sway. They must also recognise the Right to Work, and until the State did recognise that, the State could not very well enforce parental control. The one thing he was sure of was that men went down when they were on the idle list. When they had recognised this Right to Work they would have done much towards removing the beginnings and causes of juvenile delinquency.

Miss Hessel (National British Women's Temperance Association) said that in 1909 an excellent Temperance Syllabus had been issued by the Board of Education. It was intended that it should be used by the different Education Authorities throughout London and the country. But it was only permissive; it had not been made compulsory yet. Investigation by the Society of Friends showed that it had not been taught generally in the schools, and the London County Council was the greatest delinquent in this respect. Some time ago she had been asked to address a number of teachers belonging to the London County Council schools, and she found that they did not even know that there was a syllabus; that was two years after the syllabus had been published. It was an excellent scientific document, carefully prepared and graduated according to the intelligence of the children. What could they do to bring this into general use? It should be a compulsory measure. If they were to prevent their children from belonging to the destitute class, one of the best methods was to train them in Temperance. The science of Temperance was so interesting; there was no need to talk to these children about horrible stories. It was necessary that the instruction in the training colleges also should include the scientific study of Temperance. This was done far better in American schools, and so was sex education. As to punishment for crime, it was much more severe for offences against property than for offences against women and children. It should be remedial; but she agreed that for outrages on little children, who have no means of protecting themselves, there should be something which is really deterrent. In this country the punishment for such offences might be anything; it depended on the magistrate. The man might be dismissed without punishment, or the sentence might range from a fortnight to two months. In New Zealand, where the woman's point of view found expression in public life, the punishment was from eight years to twenty years.

Mr. G. R. BRIDGWATER said he had one suggestion to make. He was glad to have followed the last speaker, because she, like Mr. Warne, had referred to the need of teaching Temperance in schools. He thought in our elementary schools children should be taught an elementary idea of law: the way to live rightly, the rights of property, the rights of the individual, and the position of the State. The earliest acquaintance with or knowledge of law was seeing the police van go by to the police station. Why the law should be taught to only older people he could never understand.

Alderman N. KING (Keighley Borough Council) said he did not think the ordinary teacher should be called upon to teach the ordinary laws of life and health study, but that it should be done by a special teacher. What they had done in Keighley was to appoint a special teacher of hygiene, who was prepared by the Medical Officer of Health to lecture. He or she must deliver these lectures to scholars immediately before the leaving age. It was very simple indeed—the simplest teaching on the subject which could be given. That was one of the great questions for them to consider; how to prevent destitution in the form caused by lack of knowledge of these laws of life and by the dire consequences which followed. This peripatetic lecturer of theirs went from one school to another amongst fifteen schools.

Captain ST. JOHN said he wanted to say a word on the question of leniency which had cropped up. It seemed to him that there was no question of leniency in the matter. It was a question of dealing effectively with the problem. They ought to have a principle to guide them in all these matters. Even where the offence was worse than murder it was not a question of revenging themselves on a person; it was a question of understanding the case. They were asked: "Could they pity the man who had committed this most awful offence?" That was the man you should pity most. What an upbringing he must have had! He must have been dragged up from the gutter; he must have had most awful antecedents. It was not a question of whether they should punish him severely or leniently, but whether they could turn him into a useful citizen. To do this they should keep him under supervision till they had attained their end.

Miss EPSTEIN said that with regard to parental responsibility, since so little was known about the best thing to do in regard to young children, if they were to enforce the attendance of children at school she would like to see something done to make attendance in the case of children under seven permissive and voluntary, instead of compulsory. The compulsory age, she thought, should be from seven to sixteen. Where the home conditions were worse than those at school, the permissive age might be four. To force the attendance of children five years of age in all kinds of weather, when there was no one to take them, was a crime. With regard to English housewives, she did not think there was much use in teaching domestic subjects in the schools to girls. French and German housewives had learnt these things from their mothers at home; it was not at school they learnt to cook and wash. And at home there was more importance attached to meals. She did not think they could blame the school curriculum for shortcomings in this respect. It was difficult to compel parents to care for their children. If the father was looking for work, and the mother was at work all day, what opportunity had they for looking after the child? In London, in a bad area, the school children fell more and more below the standard as they grew up. At five years of age they were more or less normal, but between ten and twelve especially they fell very much below the standard of other districts.

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