

Social work of the London churches : being some account of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, 1843-1937 / prepared under the direction of the Executive committee of the association and in co-operation with the London Association of Voluntary School Care Committee Workers, by J.C. Pringle.

Contributors

Pringle, John Christian, 1872-1938.

Publication/Creation

London : Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1937.

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SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Being Some Account of the
METROPOLITAN VISITING AND
RELIEF ASSOCIATION
1843—1937

by J. C. PRINGLE


OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

Much of the social work in London which used to be done within the framework, and with the machinery of, the Parish, has now become centralized and laicized. The author of the present book believes that our Public Social Services will never achieve complete success unless the spirit of Parochial devotion and enterprize can be revived. He surveys here what has been done and what left undone: his pages are at once a record and a plea. He speaks with authority as well as eloquence, for he is Honorary Secretary of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association and of the London Association of Voluntary School Care Committee Workers.

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OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

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SOCIAL WORK
OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

METROPOLITAN VISITING AND
RELIEF ASSOCIATION

1915-1917

Prepared under the direction of
the Executive Committee of the Association

and in co-operation with the

LONDON ASSOCIATION OF
VOLUNTARY SCHOOL CARE COMMITTEES
WORKERS

J. C. PRINGLE

Secretary General of the Association

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, HUMPHREY MILFORD

SOCIAL WORK
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571/58

55. vol

194

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
 AMEN HOUSE, E.C.4
 London Edinburgh Glasgow New York
 Toronto Melbourne Capetown Bombay
 Calcutta Madras
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BISHOP OF LONDON (1828-1857)

and

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.

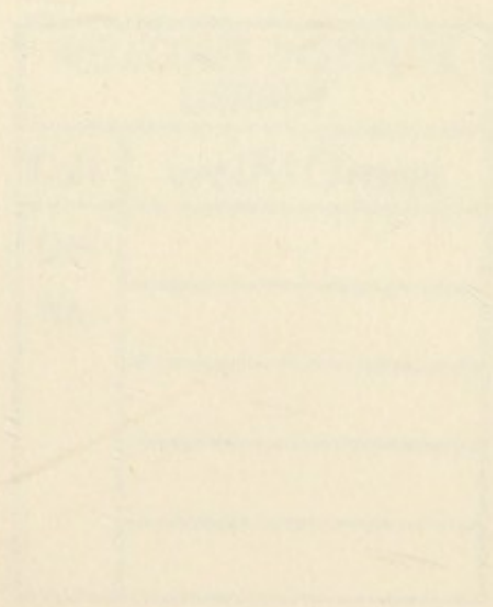
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and

WILLIAM HOWARD GLADSTONE, M.P.



COMMENDATION

THE author of this book was a much honoured colleague of mine in East London in the days, some time before the war, when the parochial system was seen at its best, and the Church in that part of the metropolis was well staffed, with the consequence that families were visited and social and spiritual contacts were possible. This book seems to me to be a powerful and needed plea that we should face the altered conditions of to-day. If the Church is to recover the ideal of pastoral family visitation, the clergy must be trained to fulfil what the writer has shown to be a vital function in the social services of to-day.

I commend this book to clergy and other workers, and especially to those who are concerned with training for the ministry.

Signed, HENRY MOSLEY
Bishop of Southwell

COMMENTARIES

THE author of this book was a much honored
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Arch. Henry Murray
Bishop of London

ASSOCIATION *for Promoting the RELIEF of DESTITUTION in the METRO-
POLIS, and for Improving the Condition of the Poor, by means OF
PAROCHIAL and DISTRICT VISITING, under the superintendence and
direction of the BISHOPS and CLERGY, through the Agency of UNPAID
VISITORS, and without reference to religious persuasion:*

or

METROPOLITAN VISITING AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

ESTABLISHED 1843

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DENISON HOUSE, VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, S.W.1.

METROPOLITAN VISITING AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

DENISON HOUSE,
296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON, S.W.1.

AIMS

1. To assist the Clergy of the Church of England in the Metropolitan area in giving financial help in their parishes.
2. To assist Clergy whose aim is to help in constructive social work by providing financial help for cases where permanent good results may be expected.
3. To assist Clergy who co-operate with other Agencies engaged in social work.

RULES

1. Clergy who desire grants to be made to them must apply on the form provided for this purpose.
2. Relief must be given in money, directly or through some recognized charitable agency, and without consideration of the religious persuasion of the applicants, and no relief shall be given until the house of the applicant has been visited.
3. No part of a grant may be used in paying the salary of a parish worker or district visitor, or for supplementing relief from Poor Law Guardians, or for paying arrears of rent.
4. An Incumbent who applies for a further grant must supply a statement showing how the previous grant was expended.
5. In the event of a public appeal being made by an Incumbent, on behalf of the poor of his district, any application for a grant must be accompanied by a full statement of receipts and expenditure of money received in response to such public appeal.
6. Reference must be made to the local Relieving Officer, the secretary of the local Charity Organization Society, and other charitable agencies, in order that there may be as much conscious co-operation and as little unconscious overlapping as possible in the giving of assistance.

A good man was ther of religioun,
 And was a povre Persoun of a toun;
 But riche he was of holy thoght and werk.
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
 That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;
 His parisshe devoutly wolde he teche.
 Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
 And in adversitee ful pacient;
 And swich he was y-preved ofte sythes.
 Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,
 But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute,
 Un-to his povre parisshe aboute
 Of his offring, and eek of his substaunce.
 He coude in litel thing han suffisaunce.
 Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder,
 But he ne lafte nat, for reyn ne thonder,
 In siknes nor in mischief, to visyte
 The ferreste in his parisshe, mucche and lyte,
 Up-on his feet, and in his hand a staf.
 This noble ensample to his sheep ye haf,
 That first he wroghte, and afterward he taughte;
 Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte;
 And this figure he added eek ther-to,
 That if gold ruste, what shal iren do?
 For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
 No wonder is a lewed man to ruste;
 And shame it is, if a preest take keep,
 A shiten shepherde and a clene sheep.
 Wel oghte a preest ensample for to yive,
 By his clenness, how that his sheep shold live.
 He sette nat his benefice to hyre,
 And leet his sheep encombred in the myre,
 And ran to London, un-to sēynt Poules,
 To seken him a chaunterie for soules.
 Or with a bretherhed to been withholde;
 But dwelte at hoom, and kepte wel his folde,
 So that the wolf ne made it nat miscarie;
 He was a shepherde and no mercenarie.
 And though he holy were, and vertuouse,
 He was to sinful man nat despitous,
 Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,
 But in his teeching discreet and benigne.
 To drawen folk to heven by fairnesse

By good ensample, was his bisnesse :
But it were any persone obstinat,
What-so he were, of high or lowe estat,
Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones.
A bettre preest, I trowe that nowher noon is.
He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, and first he folwed it himselve.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, The Prologue, pp. 13-14,
Oxford University Press, 'The World's Classics' series.

She [the soul] sees that in no other way can she become grateful and acceptable to me, but by conceiving hatred of sin and love of virtue; and when she has thus conceived by the affection of love, she immediately is delivered of fruit for her neighbour, because in no other way can she act out the truth she has conceived in herself, but loving me in truth, in the same truth she serves her neighbour.

The Dialogue of St. Catherine of Siena, p. 14,
English Translation; Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1925.

Agoracritus the Sausage-seller announces how his bath has changed Demos back to his pristine valour and virtue :

Joyous and bold, as when feasting of old
When his battles were ended, triumphant and splendid,
With Miltiades sitting carousing at rest,
Or good Aristides, his favourite guest.
(DEMONS arrives.)

There see him, behold, with the jewels of gold
Entwined in his hair in the fashion of old;
Not dreaming of verdicts or dirty decrees;
But lordly, majestic, attired at his ease,
Perfuming all Greece with the odour of peace.

Aristophanes, *The Knights*
Frere's Translation, lines 1587-90, 1599-1603.

CONTENTS

Preface	PAGE I
-------------------	-----------

CHAPTER I

THE PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES: NEED FOR PAROCHIAL SERVICE TO MAKE THEM EFFEC- TIVE: AS SHOWN IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Introduction	11
i. The Handicapped and the Social Problem Group	16
ii. The Uncivilized	19
iii. The Call for More and Better Parochial Service for the Mothers	20
iv. Mothers Unmotherly	24
v. The Mothers who Die in Childbirth	27
vi. The Toddler	30
vii. The School Child	31
viii. The Adolescent	37
ix. The Unemployed	41
Occupation Centres. Placing in Employment. Vocational Guidance. Industrial Misfits. The Unemployment Assistance Board.	
x. Local Government and Parochial Service	57
xi. The Aged, the Widow, the Orphan, Savings, and Housing	58
xii. The Sick: the Enigma of Medicine To-day	65
xiii. The Needy: the Enigma of the Poor Law	66
xiv. Misfortunes	69
'The Backward Child'. The Mentally Deficient. The Epileptic. The Cripple and the Invalid. Workmen's Compensation. The Blind. The Deaf and Deafened. The Mentally Afflicted. The Delinquent.	

CONTENTS

CHAPTER II

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA: IS A REVIVAL NOW DUE?

	PAGE
i. Man Only Essays at Infrequent Intervals the Most Baffling of all His Tasks	85
ii. Re-integrating Religion with Life	90
iii. The Greatest of the Professions: Can Mankind Afford to Let it Die?	103
iv. Temporary Eclipse of the Parochial Clergy in the Social Services	107
v. 'The Most Miserable Year'	114
vi. 'Gaps' and 'Cover'	126
vii. The Coming of the Category	130
viii. A Single-minded Parochial Objective	135
ix. What We Believe: the Choice of the Parochial Idea as the Instrument of Progress	138
x. Category 'Re-invading'	152

CHAPTER III

THE METROPOLITAN VISITING AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 1843-1937

i. Historical Sketch	161
ii. The Two Situations, 1843 and 1937	177
iii. The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association and Its Allies	188
iv. Two of Our Founders:	196
(1) Charles James Blomfield, D.D., Bishop of London	196
(2) William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.	200
v. A Pillar of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association: Miss Louisa Twining	204
vi. Our Greatest Ally: Sir Charles Stewart Loch	211
vii. Progress of the Parochial Idea even after 1886	220

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

	PAGE
i. The Place of this Book in Training for Church Work	236
ii. Recruiting: (1), (2)	242

CHAPTER V

WHERE THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE MEET

i. The Parochial Clergy and the Transcendental	249
ii. The Literary Background of 1843	260
iii. Philosophy in the Eighties	262
iv. Pronouncements in 1936-7	264
v. The Ninth Adam	265
vi. Towards a Definition of Our Idea	270
 Bibliography	 275
 Index	 283

PREFACE

GOOD NEWS

THE Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, with the London Association of Voluntary Care Committee Workers, have decided to publish this account of their combined experience, because they know they have, in this time of despondency, two items of good news to offer.

(1) It is noteworthy how the oppression of gloomy forebodings diminishes when we perceive that we have already emerged triumphant from other equally menacing situations. A remarkable series of Statutes and official Reports¹ have in the last four years revolutionized both the conception and practice of Social Service in this country. This is widely interpreted as

¹ The whole of our first chapter is occupied with a detailed expansion of this statement. Meantime, some of the principal documents are: Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934; First and Second Reports of the Unemployment Assistance Board, 1936 and 1937; ('Wood' Report on Mental Deficiency, 1929;)* and Report on Three Years' Work of the Maudsley Hospital, 1936; 'Harris' Report on Social Services in Connexion with Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, 1936, and Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act, 1937; (Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth (Scotland) Report, 1926;)* Scottish Health Services Report, 1936; First Report of the Advisory Committee on Nutrition, 1937; Reports of the Minister of Health on Maternal Mortality, 1937; Widows' Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937; Workmen's Compensation; Committees at Home Office and Ministry of Health (Interim Report), 1936-7, and proposals of the Trades Union Congress, September 1937.

* Both these Reports appeared before 1934. Both establish in a striking manner the need of professional Parochial Service in their respective spheres, viz. social inadequacy perhaps due to retarded mental development; and the paramount importance of the mother's role. They therefore helped to bring on the general *volte face* of 1934-7.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the defeat of a democratic ideal. By going back beyond four, through thirty, and then through a hundred years, we find this to be an illusion. In fact, the change is an awakening from a nightmare of mechanistic materialism and a rebirth of the true spirit of liberty, and therefore of democracy.

Far from the legislative changes and projects since 1934 being an abandonment of any principle, they point the way to a much more adequate fulfilment of principle than characterized the 1905-34 period. We shall see that what the recent changes are really calling for is a renewal of the partnership between Social and Parochial Service which we in our Association¹ know to have worked admirably between 1843 and 1905.

(2) ²The renewal has a significance transcending its immediate administrative benefits. Professors and preachers are deploring the spiritual and intellectual chaos of to-day. They are in error. The rediscovery of the wholeness of human personality—meaningless without a corresponding conception of the universe, which our members find to be spreading amongst all those whose contacts with the people are at first hand—shows that, actually, the powers of integration are regaining ground against those of disintegration. A new Age of Faith is rapidly occupying the ground surrendered by the Age of Agnosticism. It is by no means less effective because it is taking the form of a renewed appreciation of what Otto calls the 'numinal' quality of man's struggle with the vicissitudes of daily life. This is obviously an item of news which only those with

¹ In every instance the hundred years' experience of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association is reinforced by the thirty years' experience of the London Association of Voluntary School Care Committee Workers. We beg the reader to keep this in mind.

² This topic is expanded in our fifth chapter.

GOOD NEWS

first-hand human contacts have the opportunity of acquiring.

The Parochial Idea

We realize that we are attempting an extraordinarily difficult feat. We are trying to express in language and to get on to paper the direct human contacts to which we are referring. The device we have adopted for the purpose is to bring together what are apparently two separate disciplines, viz. (1) that of the Parish Priest, Church of England or Roman Catholic; of the Free Church Missioner; and of the Jewish Rabbi; and (2) that of the Family Case-worker, and Settlement and Personal Service Worker. We are convinced that they are essentially one and the same; that their experiences are fundamentally the same; and their technique interchangeable. We are convinced that our Chairman in his parish in Southwark; Captain Basil Henriques or Miss Harford in their Settlements; Dr. Porter Lee at the New York School of Social Work; Professor E. J. Urwick at Toronto University; and the District Secretaries of the Charity Organization Society, are all equally members of one profession, and that the oldest and greatest in the world.

The Parochial Idea in this book, then, means the effort to live a true life in, and through, neighbourly service, as laid down in the Scriptures, by St. Catherine of Siena, *circa* 1370, and by Thomas Hill Green, *circa* 1880. There have been in the last hundred years a very large number of most brilliant exemplifications of it, and we deprecate the reader calling to mind some particular individual parish with which he is, or has been, acquainted, and then deciding that our terminology, being inapplicable to it, is therefore inapplicable everywhere.

The lesson which is forced upon us by our study of

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the century of our Association's experience is that Parochial Service and the Parochial Idea have exhibited during two portions of that century a notable flowering; that the development of the Public Social Services of the last thirty years, far from replacing or excluding it, has created a very great and splendid opportunity for a third flowering to-day. Three things are requisite for that flowering: (1) that the clergy and Parochial Workers should not regard this service as one to be rendered in odds and ends of time left over from quite other duties; (2) that those who are detailed for it should be adequately trained for it; and (3) that those who are responsible for standards and quality in the Church's service to society should foster and exact the highest, not any second-best, quality, in this branch of it.

The Public Social Services and the Civil Service

This book does not contain a criticism, but a grateful appreciation, of the Public Social Services and the officers who operate them. Not a little bitter experience has taught us the risks inseparable from a plea such as the one upon which we have embarked. We know too well that we shall be told, 'You do not want the poor to get anything. You grudge the rates and taxes you have to pay for the Social Services. You have the impudence to attack the brilliant and devoted work of the Civil Service, and the unselfish labours of the elected representatives of the people on the great local authorities. You say the parsons can do it all much better, and the Social Services ought to be handed back to them.'

Our submission is that we NEITHER THINK, NOR SAY, ANY OF THESE THINGS; and that, if any one is at the pains to read the book before making these assumptions, he will find that it does not contain any of them. What

GOOD NEWS

we do say, and have written the book to say, is that, outside the Poor Law and a department of the War Pensions Administration, the Public Social Services do not undertake 'case-work' in the recognized acceptance of that term, and have not so far purported to undertake it, partly because Parliament is opposed to the idea of their doing so, partly because, as they have frequently pointed out, they have nothing like enough time at their disposal to do so, nor have they received the requisite training. Some outstanding authorities, speaking from the side of the Public Social Services, have declared emphatically that a large volume of case-work of high quality is required to bring those Services up to the desired degree of effectiveness, and that that is the function of voluntary effort and the test of civic virtue. The address given by Mr. Ronald Collet Norman, the leader on the Public Assistance Committee of the London County Council, on 16 January 1933, and which is available in print, is an authoritative pronouncement of this view. Such case-work service, and, thereby, such raising of the degree of effectiveness of the Public Social Services, is being given. What all competent observers without exception declare is that there is nothing like enough of it. The public speeches of Sir Wyndham Deedes, Chairman of the London Council of Social Service, delivered in 1936 and 1937, are authoritative here.

But this case-work requires for its effectiveness certain conditions. It must come from near by. That means that it must be organized in small, well-defined districts. It must be a partnership between the religious urge in the client and his family and the religious urge in the case-worker: and by 'religious urge' we mean the courage, hope, and, above all, faith, to live, to go on—not to linger and merely drift on. It is work which can only be organized and supervised, and, in more

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

difficult situations, carried out, by workers of suitable temperament, background, and training. No body of people has ever answered this description better than have many of those clergy and Church workers who have, from time to time, come under the observation of this Association in the past hundred years.

A last word. We have said—on their own authority, not ours—that those operating the Public Social Services do not officially perform social and family casework. That a great many of them manage to give personal service of the highest quality and devotion, sometimes during official hours, but more frequently in their own time, we have ourselves observed upon innumerable occasions. We have had good reason to do so, for they are the very people who have frequently put us in the way of doing some of the best of our casework.

We beg the reader to bear these paragraphs in mind when he hears people who have not read this book brushing it aside with some such phrase as, 'Oh! another of those dog-in-the-manger attacks on the Public Social Services!'

Repetitions. We had to decide whether to burden the text with repeated descriptions of the recent Acts of Parliament and official Reports, which constitute our most important material, or to mention each of them once, and, thereafter, confine ourselves to footnote references. We decided that it was better to endure criticism for repetition than to put the reader to this inconvenience. Besides, he might not turn back—and then our argument would lose all force.

Similarly with regard to more general conceptions. In attempting to dissect, for the purpose of setting it out at all clearly, so living and organic a reality as the parish and the service of the parish, we have again found it impossible to eliminate repetitions. The entries

GOOD NEWS

in Gladstone's diary in the thirties and forties are equally essential for the history of the period, for the history of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, for the ideal of a parochial service, and to help those responsible for the professional training of the clergy of 1940 to realize that ideal. The burning enthusiasm of C. S. Loch in the eighties, when carrying all over the world the Fiery Cross of a better human society which he had received from the hands of T. H. Green, is required for our account of the situation in the eighties, but equally so for our attempt to show how the terrible onslaught of Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer was met, and for the 'song to march by' which we are offering to the 1940 ordinands. The same applies to a long list of the names quoted. We appeal, therefore, here and now, against the charge that they are a stage-army. But we admit that perhaps we resemble Nicias in the last phase of the Syracusan Expedition. Like him, we feel impelled to go on, desperately, reiterating our points.

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?

Does it *matter* that an old age pensioner is lonely, untended, unhappy, haunted by fear, so long as his income suffices to buy the calories necessary to keep him alive and to pay his rent?

Does it *matter* that a widow is steadily losing ground, and giving up the unequal struggle to bring up her children as she would like, so long as she can make two ends meet?

Does it *matter* that a child gets on its mother's nerves, brings out all that is harsh, and even cruel, in her, and is itself progressively unhappy and maladjusted to life, so long as it has plenty of food and clothes and attends school regularly?

Does it *matter* that large numbers of people in receipt

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

of adequate maintenance from public funds find life a distasteful bore to themselves and themselves a distasteful bore to their neighbours?

We believe that the religious institutions of mankind grew up just precisely because, in the great eras, it was widely felt that these things did matter; and that they were the challenges *par excellence* to the best that is in us: above all, that the institution of the parish, i.e. of neighbourly service, was the extremely well-thought-out device for enabling good men and women to meet those challenges. After all, why were parishes ever thought of at all?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our Chairman, the Very Reverend Provost J. B. Haldane, Provost of Southwark Cathedral, and the Executive Committee of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association have now been conscious for ten years of an uphill struggle in their endeavours to secure acceptance, on the part of the parochial clergy of the metropolis, of the principles laid down by its founders in 1843, and regularly reiterated by its leaders ever since. In this volume they are endeavouring to win support for these same ideas from a wider public, but most especially from those concerned with the training of the clergy. They desire to acknowledge special encouragement to persevere with their endeavours and to compile and publish this book, first from their President, Arthur Foley, Lord Bishop of London, who most graciously consented to make a broadcast appeal on behalf of the Association on his birthday, 26 January 1936; second, from Henry, Lord Bishop of Southwell, a friend of the Association of thirty-five years' standing, and a Vice-President while Bishop of Stepney; third, from Miss Theodora M. Morton, O.B.E., Principal Organizer

GOOD NEWS

of School Care Committees for the London County Council, 1908-29: and from Professor Edward J. Urwick, to whom our members, like most London Family Case-workers who learned their work between 1890 and 1923, owe what understanding they have of the philosophy behind their endeavours.

They also desire to thank Miss Elsie Keilly, their Assistant Honorary Secretary, without whose indefatigable efforts neither the work of the Association nor the compilation of this book would be possible.

London,

November 1937.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY
JOHN STOW
1618

London: Printed by I. Iaggard, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1618.

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CHAPTER I

THE PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES CALL PAROCHIAL SERVICE TO THEIR AID

Introduction

NOW is the appointed hour. A revival is more than due of the Person of the Town and the service he can give. There is an immense campaign on foot at this moment for bringing the family doctor into his own again. The parson and his staff are, and always have been, his natural counterparts. No argument is required to show that Parochial Workers can render Social Service, since all of it (outside the Poor Law) was given by them and their allies prior to 1905. What we are concerned with is where they are most wanted again to-day, and how best they can render their service at those points. From a Parliamentary point of view, Social Services supplying all felt needs are now in full operation. In fact, the Parliamentary programme of Social Service is so complete that its three main 'planks' to-day—viz. Housing, Nutrition, and Physical and Recreational Training—belong to the stage when the people have to be told they have wants of which they were largely unaware.

This chapter contains some of the most recent examples of statements by the chief officers concerned of the urgency of obtaining, in their respective fields, further service of the kind which they cannot supply. That further service will be found in every instance to be of the *Parochial type*. It was service which parsons, ministers, rabbis, and their staffs gave, along with their material service, in the pre-1905 period. To-day the public authorities have taken over a large part of the material side of that service, although in certain fields

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the provision is still predominantly voluntary, e.g. convalescent homes, homes for mothers and babies, day nurseries, and home nursing. The present appeal for partners competent to come in and add the imponderable factors which shall make the service once again an integrated whole is as manifold and insistent as it is poignant.

It is neither a paradox nor an exaggeration to say that we have amongst us to-day all the material for an appeal to our sympathies different, very different, from, but fully as agonizing as, Hood's 'Song of the Shirt', Mrs. Browning's 'Cry of the Children', Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, or Reade's *Hard Cash* and *Never Too Late to Mend*.

It is a fair claim that the Civil Service is rapidly removing, where it has not already removed, the material factors in the situations with which those writers so effectually wrung our hearts. The terrible human situations of to-day—and the numbers of them are enormous—only begin to show themselves in all their sinister grisliness when the taxpayer has put down his annual £600 millions and the Civil Service has done its splendid best.

So far as law and administration and public expenditure can prevent it, there is no ostensible reason why any one on this island should lead a wretched, unhappy, harassed, thwarted, stunted, terrified, tired, or bored existence. But they do; and many observers think there are more such lives than ever before. True, there is, of course, a very much larger population to provide them. Nature is just as red in tooth and claw as she was when Tennyson wrote 'In Memoriam'. She seems to have no difficulty in exhibiting that character in other ways when man the gardener has eliminated all her first crop of weeds.

Nor is there lack of analogy. The wart and the red

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

spider infest the best kept tea-gardens; bovine tuberculosis, foot and mouth disease, and swine fever defeat the most careful stock-raisers; poultry and bee disease make bankrupt the most vigilant and learned poultry-farmers and apiculturalists.

Material and mechanical advances bring enormous boons, and no one is more thankfully appreciative of them than the Parochial Workers. They know what the telephone, the motor ambulance, and the anaesthetic mean in the daily terrors of human life, but that is not all. The ships that bring the vitamin-rich orange bring also the sugar which the Sir James Mackenzie Institute says has caused a general deterioration in our health compared to that of our forebears. The fast insulated vans, refrigerators, clean shops, imposing shop-fronts, and staff in white overalls, sell us food which the Peckham Pioneer Health Centre assures us is dead before we get it. We cite the views of what are admittedly the leading authorities of the moment. Meantime, at the other end of Europe, the Roumanian Bulletin of Health¹ complains that the health of the people is retarded by adherence to old fashions in foodstuffs.

But it is not because we all eat too much sugar, and most of us stale cabbages, that we signal here a clamant appeal for Parochial Workers to resume the labours they began to drop in 1906. It is not too much to say that if there were no parochial tradition in our midst, if Gregory the Great had never cared for the poor of Rome, if the Anglo-Saxons had evolved no institution of a parish from which Alfred the Great could exact enhanced efficiency, the position to-day might make the stoutest heart despair. It is just because as a community we do, through the Civil Service, so much, that the revelation of so many lives needing so much

¹ Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic și de Institutul de Igienă și Igienă Societa, Cluj, Roumania.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

care and not getting it is so shattering. The discouragement arising therefrom has engendered a recrudescence of the *laissez-faire* spirit among the most ardent of that noble body of men and women, the Civil Service itself. 'We see to it that they are all in receipt of adequate incomes. It is their affair to spend them. Most of them know well enough how to do it'—but, as the little lady in *Quality Street* said of algebra, 'They know in their hearts that it is not true'. It will be found that in every instance the need emphasized by the officers of the Public Social Services is for some one (1) who cares deeply for individuals; (2) who thoroughly understands what is required of him and her; and (3) who reckons time no object when sitting by the fireside or bedside of one who needs him. 'Aye! there's the rub', as Hamlet said. Such caring comes not by nature but by grace; such knowing is the fruit of a long, stiff training of a most exacting character; and such willing bestowing of time, that modern 'pearl of great price', is an outcome of the first two. *Without* the grace and the knowledge, the average man or woman could not begin dimly to perceive what possible rhyme or reason there could be for a worker embodying two thousand pounds' worth of college education spending an hour in a slum-dweller's kitchen: with all that equipment, and much more, the Parochial Worker wonders what else there is in the world worth doing at all.

George Meredith makes his Dr. Shrapnel say, in the fifties of last century, 'Trust me, Beauchamp, if we shun to encounter the good warm soul of numbers, our hearts are narrowed to them. The business of our modern world is to open heart and stretch out arms to numbers. In numbers we have our sinews; they are our iron and gold.'¹ The generous British public has obeyed him. Our Widows', Orphans', and Old Age

¹ *Beauchamp's Career*, p. 485, 1894 edition.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Pensions Act caters for 17½ millions; our Unemployment Assistance Board undertook a million cases, besides their dependants, on 7 January 1935; we have built three million houses since the war.

Dickens thought the opposite. The pride of Paul Dombey was spreading misery around him. It took Dickens 800 pages to 'do a good case-work job' on that one man, but he thought it well worth while. It took as long to work out the consequences of Lady Deadlock's youthful indiscretion, John Harmon's escapade of changing clothes with a seaman, Papa Dorrit's bad luck in falling among thieves, or the adjustment to life of the mentally defective boy, Barnaby Rudge; and Robert Browning counted three volumes short in which to study adequately one incident in the sordid attempt of Guido Franceschini to marry money.

Émile Zola convinced the world that twenty volumes was a reasonable number in which to elucidate the results of a marriage between a Rougon and a Macquart.

The Russians, on the contrary, have always fancied large-scale operations. At present they are working a system designed to make 180 millions of people all happy at once. André Gide, a fervent admirer, has just come sadly back from a pilgrimage to that Utopia, repeating a dictum of his own of 1910. 'L'humanité n'est pas simple . . . et toute tentative de simplification, d'unification, de réduction par le dehors sera toujours odieuse, ruineuse, et sinistrement bouffonne' (*Retour de l'U.S.S.R.*, p. 77).

For sixty years Britain took the advice of Dickens and Browning; and Parochial Service was the instrument employed. In 1906 it switched over to the Benthamite, Dr. Shrapnel, handled numbers, and has gone on doing so. In 1937, the officers it has put on to handle millions are pressing insistently that it shall

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

listen to the individual treatment preached by Dickens, Thackeray, Reade, and Browning, as well as to the wholesale-ing of Bentham and Shrapnel.

Nor must we forget their predecessors :

The evangelicalism of the Church had leavened the Toryism of the gentry, so, in the times which followed, the evangelicalism of the sects leavened the radicalism of the middle class and the labourism of the Trade Union world. . . . Let post-Victorian England remember her debt to the spirit not only of Victorian, but of pre-Victorian, England.¹

The challenge made to us by the great Victorians, to care deeply for, and serve patiently, individuals, and to consider time no object while doing so, was about the most impressive ever made to mortal man. Yet it is surpassed in the blue-books of to-day.

1. *The Handicapped: What it Means to be Born into a 'Social Problem' Circle*

Where shall we begin? At birth, or before it? At the latest blue-book, or the largest, or the most emphatic? We propose to let the urgency of the call for Parochial Service settle the order.

When the latest American calculating machine has turned out its last table of figures, and the most obdurate of statisticians has gone at last to golf, we still know little of human life till the revealer comes. Balzac, Hugo and Zola, Ainsworth and Dickens, Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis are such, but all of those discourse 'mellow music matched to' the Lidbetter Pedigrees,² the Report of the Departmental Committee on Mental Deficiency,³ Blacker's *A Social Problem Group*?⁴ or Chief Sanitary

¹ Élie Halévy in *A Century of Municipal Progress*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935, p. 36.

² *Heredity and the Social Problem Group*, vol. i, Edward Arnold, 1933.

³ Board of Education, 1929, known as the 'Wood' Report, pp. 80-90 of vol. iii, should be referred to.

⁴ Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 228.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Inspector Martin's *Slums and Slummers*.¹ These four volumes deal with the same phenomenon.

Zola imagined all the blights, diseases, handicaps, perversions, and vices in a family tree that might afflict any particular child born into the group. Mr. Lidbetter gives us the actual genealogical tree of each of his families, extending, in some instances, for a hundred years, with a little square for every individual born into that genealogy, and inside it a symbol to indicate the actual blight or vice which in fact rendered that life a useless burden upon the backs of its fellow citizens. As we sit staring at these battalions of wicked little squares, there rise before us pictures of the lives of these poor blighted wretches, of the mothers who bore them and the children who cherished them, of the brothers and sisters dragged back by them in their careers, and from our hearts escapes the cry, 'Was there any one who, for love of Christ, studied and understood them, cared for and guided; suffered them gladly and comforted them?—and not only the handicapped individuals themselves, but the bright, intelligent, devoted, self-sacrificing Nancies, Little Dorrits, Lizzie Hexams, and Jenny Wrens who have known no existence but the service of these Rogue Riderhoods, Bill Sikeses, Noah Claypoles, 'good Mrs. Browns', and Gaffer Hexams?

The theory of a Social Problem Group put forward in the 'Wood' Report is that some families have a terribly high proportion of mentally handicapped babies born into them, and that these handicapped families tend both to intermarry and to congregate in certain districts. The Lidbetter Pedigrees show that an exceedingly high proportion are physically handicapped as well. There are found to be 'pockets' of population too much handicapped to preserve good social habits or to learn them, and containing most of the people

¹ Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1935, 6s.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

who cannot or do not lead 'civilized' lives. Amongst them are to be found most of the prostitutes, alcoholics, criminals and semi-criminals, and chronic paupers. It is not difficult to surmise the feelings of a sanitary inspector towards them, and Mr. Martin's description on pp. 72-104 of his book tempts the reader to ask whether civilization and 'social progress' are not illusions. Captain Blacker put a question mark, not to the lifelong observations of people like Mr. Martin, but only to the theory of these unhappy individuals constituting a 'group'. No queries can invalidate the appalling and progressive tragedy confronting the least serious student in the Lidbetter Pedigrees. This Social Problem Group is estimated to constitute a tenth of the whole population! That would give 850,000 in London and Greater London alone! Here is a demand competent to absorb all the Parochial Service the people of this island are ever likely to offer!

To the statistically minded person that figure, as soon as it was published, suggested compulsory sterilization at least on the scale of Nazi Germany. A thousand discussions of savants have warned us to 'lay not that flattering unction to our souls'. The amount of reduction possible by that means is believed to be very small and uncertain. The late Dr. Frank Shrubbsall, after a prolonged study, reached the conclusion, 'Nature returns to the average'. In the heart of the parochially minded there instantly arises the ambition to be an effective comforter in at least one of these blighted homes, perhaps even throughout one of these ill-starred circles. To take only three examples, this is precisely what, in our time, Wainwright and Pollock achieved in Wapping, Iselin in St. George's, and Gardiner in old Lambeth; what hosts of their parochial forerunners had achieved before them.

It is an essential part of the argument of this book

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

that each of these men was in the very first rank of experts on the whole vast and complicated subject of the Social Services. It is improbable that any department could have produced an officer with their complete knowledge of his work as well as of that of his colleagues in other departments. Only Parochial Service in the spirit of St. Catherine of Siena avails. We yield to nobody in admiration of the Salvation Army, but we know, from many years of personal observation, that the influence exerted upon these lives by the playing of a band by a group of charming people in blue and red uniforms is precisely nil. The S.A. have to throw off the wholesale and adopt the parochial method before they can achieve anything here.

II. *The Uncivilized*

The Parochial and Family Case-workers can not only supply the additional type of service of which the Public Social Services are feeling so acutely the need; by their residence on the spot, and their familiar life-long contacts, they bring a point of view indispensable to a true grasp. Mr. Martin appreciates the difficulties of the handicapped, but he lays far more emphasis upon the reckless indifference and contemptuous defiance of administrative effort by the 'roughest' types.¹ Many of these latter are free from

¹ Here is a sample of Mr. Martin's vigorous description:

'This type of woman, if still young enough to have hazy ideas of romance, squats most of the day reading cheap novelettes, or, if age and experience have dispelled youthful illusions, she props herself against doorposts, leans out of windows, or flops herself into any position requiring a minimum of effort. Thus she will remain for lengthy periods, arms folded over greasy breasts, gazing vacantly into space. Dirty and unkempt in appearance, with shoes unlaced, stockings sagging about her ankles, and clothes almost dropping from her for want of needle and cotton, she is a disgusting specimen of femininity. Her gait, speech, and habit

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

physical or mental handicaps. They are fine specimens of the human animal, but deplorable elements in a community endeavouring to secure progress along certain lines for its rising generation. Their children also, whose home is far more truly the street and alley than the tenement it is Mr. Martin's duty to inspect, are in their own way excellent specimens. How are they to blend their gay, courageous, independent, but quite savage spirit with the cultural needs of their long-suffering neighbours? Administratively, 'answer comes there none'. Parochially the reply is, 'Gain their love and confidence and they'll do anything for you. We civilized millions of them in the last hundred years. Trust us, and we will do so again.'

III. *The Call for More and Better Parochial Service for the Mothers*

We are confident that the reader is remarking, 'You know who really bears the brunt of all this? Why, the mothers, of course!' We agree. The mothers occupy the centre of the picture on two counts; they bear the brunt, and, so far as it can be saved, they save the situation. We are not stopping to discourse generally upon the life of the British mother of to-day, because our allies in the C.O.S. have lately done so twice in a very thorough and comprehensive manner.¹ We accept the verdict reached with such infinite pains by portray chronic idleness going deep to the bone, which neither homilies from seasoned women social workers nor the forceful tactics of sanitary inspectors can do anything to cure' (*Slums and Slummers*, pp. 90-1).

See also *The Nation's Appeal to the Housewife*, chap. i, Longmans, 1932, 2s. 6d.

¹ (a) *The Nation's Appeal to the Housewife*, Longmans, 1932; (b) *Charity Organization Quarterly* for January, April, and July 1937. Cf. also 'The Sociology of Compulsory School Attendance,' *Charity Organization Review*, May 1910.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Drs. Noel Paton and Leonard Findlay and recorded by them in *Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth (Scotland)*,¹ viz. that in all the infinite complex of factors that make up modern, especially city, life, the competence and exertion of our mothers matter more to us than anything else in the world. We can cite in support a similar verdict of Professor Cyril Burt,² who says, 'If I were to single out the one feature in the home which showed the closest relation to the child's school progress, it would be, not the economic or industrial status of the family, but the efficiency of the mother'; and a testimonial to the wide prevalence among the mothers of a high standard of competence—'marvellous'—by Drs. Cathcart and Murray in their *Dietary Survey*.³

It cannot be contested that these findings—coming from independent sources, for neither of the others cite *Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth*—are the last word of science⁴ on the whole subject, to-day, 1937. 'Dull must he, or she, be of heart, who can pass by' this challenge to enter Parochial Service in some capacity or another and stand by the mothers in the breach!

We are willing that the entire contention of this book should stand or fall with this triple finding.

It is surely not enough, like Captain Cuttle, to 'make a note of' the testimonies of celebrated physicians to the preponderance of the mothers' burdens and the 'miraculous' skill of their performance. Rest assured they are weary enough, forlorn and discouraged enough, overwrought, all too little cherished and

¹ Medical Research Council, Special Report, No. 101, 10s. 5d., 1936.

² *The Backward Child*, London University Press, 1937, p. 133.

³ Special Report, No. 218, p. 6.

⁴ Professor E. P. Cathcart's nutrition findings, but not his praise of the mothers, have been queried by Drs. McCance and Widdowson (cf. *British Medical Journal* for 14 August 1937, p. 312).

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

cosseted, through the endless hours of their devoted toil.

It follows equally that, where the mother is not endowed by nature either with devotion to her offspring or natural ability for her task, the lot of that offspring is one calling for all that Public Administration can accomplish and all that Parochial Service can add to it.

All we need say here, from the point of view of this volume, is that Parochial Service has always been, throughout the ages, a service offered first and chiefly to mothers, and that appreciation of it has come in the main from them. We refer elsewhere to the companion campaign with our own—that for the Restoration of the Family Doctor, the mother's other natural ally, and himself the old-established partner with the parish priest. We say with all the emphasis we can command, 'Carry on, Parochial Workers, your service to mothers, but let us implore you to equip yourselves adequately for it. Have you, for example, really mastered all there is to be learned from the Lidbetter Pedigrees?'

We would by no means be thought to suggest that the families in the Social Problem Group, whether we are thinking more of the handicapped or of the fit but 'rough', miss the ministrations of the Public Social Services. They consume the lion's share of them. They receive allowances in cash and kind, a subsidy to their rent, free doctoring and medicine; free clinic, hospital, sanatorium, and convalescent treatment; free milk and meals; free clothing and boots; free surgical instruments; guides to lead their defective, or carriages to convey their crippled, rheumatic, cardiac, asthmatic, feeble-minded, deaf, and blind children to school or centre; but all these services together do not make a home in which these unhappy, blighted little mites

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

can receive such nurture as alone would give them a chance in life.

This last is the task of Family Case-work or Parochial Service, involving intimate personal knowledge and an expenditure of time beyond the reach of any public official, and the public provision detailed above loses half its effect without it. Every social worker knows countless tales of the absurd fiascos which ensue when incompetent families are rashly assumed to understand what it is a department of Public Social Service is trying to do for them. Not least among the jobs of Parochial Service is that of Bunyan's Interpreter.

A handicapped boy or lad has the same desire to stand well with his mates, and to be admired, as any other. Yet how hopeless is the quest, and how appealing in its hopelessness! He has to make up in recklessness and braggadocio, or else in whining, for the failure to be an effectively ferocious animal to which nature has doomed him. There is for him only one road to happiness—the one, to be quite candid, expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. Who shall put it across to him? And how? There is no more splendid service conceivable than this.

We leave the Social Problem Group, strictly cautioning the Parochial Worker that it is still there, with undiminished insistence upon its need for his intensive service. It is agreed that thirty years of unparalleled public expenditure and effort have hardly improved it. In certain important ways it is admitted by all parties to have made things worse.¹ This is one reason

¹ This sounds so like a paradox that an example may be welcome:

If, on the one hand, the wholesale Social Services, despite the fine, conscientious work undoubtedly performed by their staffs, do not seem to discover or aid the Jimmie Whitakers,* it is an

* *I, James Whitaker*, the autobiography of a Lancashire operative, published by Rich & Cowan.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

why the Central Council for Building Research were forced to the conclusion that the expenditure of £1,000 millions upon housing since the war had 'left the problem in some ways as acute as ever'. This is the motive for the drastically compulsory eviction clauses in the 1935 Housing Act.

iv. *Mothers Unmotherly*

Dr. Eric Pritchard opened the Maternity and Child Welfare Campaign a quarter of a century ago by saying that mothers were the last people who should be entrusted with the upbringing of their children. Earl Russell was responsible for a formidable tome entitled *The New Generation*;¹ Drs. Veeder and Schwab gave us *The Adolescent—His Conflicts and Escapes*. These and innumerable similar works testified to a conviction on the part of some people that, after all, the 'home' and the 'family' are not the effective institutions mankind imagined; and that they conduce rather to friction, thwarting, and repression than to the happy and healthy blossoming of youth.

It would be inconsistent with all we know of human unfortunate incident of their wholesale character that at times they create situations positively detrimental to the persons for whose benefit they are operated. A certain widow suffered from epilepsy and alcoholism. She had one child, a little boy. Under the Act of 1925 she drew 15s. a week on a 'ring paper', her circumstances being no concern of the officer who paid out the allowance. Owing to the high price of alcoholic drink, she found her income insufficient, and applied to the Poor Law Authority for a supplement, also to the Education Authority for free meals for the boy. Owing to the deplorable health and habits of the woman and the state of her home, both authorities urged her to seek admission to an epileptic colony for herself, and to a residential school for the boy. Unfortunately, the 15s. a week payable under the 1925 Act enabled her to defy them both, and the child lived on in the same terrible conditions.

¹ George Allen & Unwin, 1930.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

existence if the two most worth-while prizes in it—happy married life and happy family life—came without conscious application to their achievement. Earl Russell was not the first to observe the difficulties. Mrs. Tulliver was not too successful with Maggie, nor Dooce Davie Deans with Effie. Lear misunderstood Cordelia, nor could David manage Absalom, passionately as he loved him. In the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, Any wrote: 'Be not rude to a woman in her house if thou know her thoroughly. Do not say, "Where is that? Bring it to me," when she has put it in its right place and thine eye hath seen it.' Yet Sir Flinders Petrie considers family life was less strong in Egypt than further east.¹ Moses did not include the fifth among the Ten Commandments because everybody automatically honoured father and mother. Confucius believed himself to be prescribing exacting rules of conduct when he gave paramount importance to behaviour in the family relationships. No one alive to-day has a better understanding of Parochial Service than Mrs. Luke Paget, J.P. She holds that a successful restoration of the spirit of the fifth commandment would do more for us to-day than anything else, but it is to the tried parochial method that she looks for its accomplishment. The upbringing of the gentlest children by the ablest and most devoted mothers is difficult enough. What of the mothers who have little capacity and *little or no inclination* to trouble about their offspring? In so far as they are born that way we cannot share Sir E. B. Poulton's² exultation in the blessings of natural selection, nor is it any too clear why 'Nature' should go on 'selecting' for survival such an undesirable type for a thousand million years, or whatever the latest calculation is. All we can do is to

¹ *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, p. 85.

² Presidential Address to British Association, 1 September 1937.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

recognize the type quickly in its career of motherhood, and render exceptionally watchful Parochial Service in the case, since, even if she were compelled by the policeman to take the baby to be weighed once a week, drawing at the same time free rations of Glaxo for it, the lot of that baby, toddler, and child is going to be a hard one.

We pass, therefore, to the woman who started with maternal instincts but who has become indifferent to the care of home and offspring. Reacting to 'the acids of modernity', in Sir Josiah Stamp's phrase—sizing up, perhaps, an evolutionary world, and deciding to leave Sir E. B. Poulton and his evolution to do the best they can with the 'kids'—she swallows a 'quick 'un', powders her face, puts on a 'fag', and goes out to look for a little 'pleasure'. The next morning she feels a little like the women Chief Sanitary Inspector Martin describes. Is there a remedy? Surely. If she has reacted in one way to one set of influences, she can react differently to another, if that other can be brought to bear. That is the immemorial job of Parochial Service. For we are convinced that, through little or no doing of hers, life has all along presented itself to that woman in a guise which includes no incentive to effort. Who is responsible for that presentation? Surely all the writers and talkers of the last two generations who have with such fervour, and amid such plaudits, busied themselves in eliminating¹ the concepts of personality, responsibility, and duty, and substituting an impersonal and mechanical explanation they are pleased to call evolution.

It is quite impossible for Parochial Workers to hold any such view. If they did, they would hardly go in

¹ Cf. André Maurois's *Études dans la Biographie*, p. 37, 9th edition, Au Sans Pareil, 1928: 'L'analyse de Proust réduit en poussière l'idée de personnalité.'

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

for parochial work! There, the fostering of character, courage, mutual affection, and sense of duty, and the understanding and appreciation of devotion, are the business in hand.

Plenty of readers will say, 'You have drawn a lurid enough sketch. Whatever could a parson, of all people, do in such a *galère*?' The reply is not far to seek. No single person who knew anything of their work would dream of saying, 'What could Dolling or Lawley or Gardiner, or Wainwright or Basil Henriques—we only mention a few out of a great host—do in such a case?' No! They would exclaim, 'Ah! if only one of them were here now!'

At this point a reader will say, 'You are going to cite specialist reports on particular aspects of the Social Services. Why do you not first tell us plainly what each service is?' Unhappily, our limits of space do not admit of it, but the remedy is simple. Keep at hand, while reading this chapter, any up-to-date guide to the Social Services such as *The Prevention and Relief of Distress*,¹ and consult the appropriate section.

v. *The Mothers who Die in Childbirth*

'That is surely the field of the specialist and his attendant midwife, or of a hospital ward. Where does Parochial Service come in? You do not suggest that the dear old maternity bag in the vicarage cupboard will help in this deadly business?'

This chapter undertakes to bring to the Parochial and Family Case-worker only the challenges issued lately by high public authority. In his Report to Parliament² in

¹ 35th edition, September 1936, pp. 255, price 2s. 6d. from P. S. King & Son or the Charity Organization Society, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

² Report on an Investigation into Maternal Mortality, Cmd. 5422, pp. 353, 5s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

April 1937, the Minister of Health said (p. 41), 'From about 1927 to 1934 the puerperal mortality rate shows a definitely significant though slight rise.' (He has been delighted to report a slight *fall* since then.) Amongst his endeavours to account for this disappointing and disconcerting phenomenon, he says (pp. 116-18):

A statement on the environment of any group or community in this country, however brief, would not be complete without some reference to the world-wide social changes which have in the present generation profoundly altered the interests, the habits, and the mental and physical reactions of the masses of the people.

In industry the physical conditions of work are much improved and hours are shorter; but large-scale organization has brought greater speed, loss of initiative for the individual worker, impersonal management, and to many the sense of being a 'misfit' in a system which denies them creative outlet; into this modern industry women have largely entered—as also into the professions, into trade and commerce, and frequently on an equality with men.

While working hours are shorter, there is less home life. The number of children is restricted, domestic service, however valuable as a training for after-life, is at a discount as a means of employment, despite the labour-saving appliances which now render it less irksome than formerly. There has been a great extension in the opportunities for recreation, which is facilitated by arrangements for transport exceeding in speed and convenience anything contemplated even a generation ago.

The sensationalism of the popular Press, the emotional stimulus of the films, the never-ceasing impact of the radio, the speed of machines in factories and of the traffic in the streets, to which the physical reactions of men and women must be adjusted in this mechanical age, inevitably give rise to increased nervous tension. The fashion of 'slimming' and the habit of cigarette-smoking on the part of women are also features of the present age. It is true that there have been compensating assets in a healthy realization of the advantages of sunlight, fresh air, and the open-air life, and in the greater leisure in which to enjoy them.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

The increased sensibility to pain and discomfort has led to the movement to secure for women of all classes the relief from pain in childbirth which was formerly accepted as part of the course of nature.

Since the Great War there has been a loosening of the conventions which formerly governed the relations of the sexes; an extended use of contraceptive measures and a reputed increase in the practice of abortion.

It is hard to say what effect these manifold changes may have had upon the course and issue of pregnancy and childbirth. The physical health of the present generation of mothers is no doubt better than that of former generations. Though childbirth is a physiological function, when society becomes highly organized and sophisticated and nervous sensibility is heightened, as at the present day, there are possibilities of disturbance even of normal functions from which the processes of pregnancy and childbirth are not exempt. In comparing the maternal mortality rate of this with that of pre-war generations, the changes which have taken place in habits and mode of life must not be overlooked.

Here we are back with Chief Sanitary Inspector Martin and André Maurois. If personality has melted out of our thoughts and imaginations, what is left of the sacrament of bringing a new personality into the world except the bodily torture? When Victor Hugo finally brought Marius and Cosette together, he did not speak of the affair in biochemical language. The truth is, mankind has at times had such thoughts about life that the pain and risk of childbirth appeared small compared to the glory and the joy. It is the function of Parochial Service to re-create the latter attitude, for we accept Dr. Marett's view that there is no phase of humanity known to anthropological research in which the parish priest, or his equivalent, has not fostered the will and the courage to go on, and the belief that life is worth living, and, therefore, worth procreating.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

VI. *The Toddler*

Readers of *Mother and Child*, of the *Day Nursery Journal*,¹ of the official publications of the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, or of the Annual Reports of the great local authorities, know that one of the main campaigns of the moment is for more nursery schools.² School-teachers and doctors complain bitterly that children enter school in very poor condition, and attribute this to the apathy and indifference³ of their mothers during the 'toddler' or pre-school period. National and local governments think and act in reference to large numbers. The nursery school is an appropriate escape from their embarrassment. In other words, the toddler presents a sufficiently formidable task to the mother (added, of course, to all her other tasks) to make it advisable that some one should relieve her of it during a brief portion of five days in each week except holidays. Provided this can be done without setting up in the infant mind the conviction that mother tenderness is a rare exception, while an aloof, mechanical, wholesale handling, prickly with rules and prohibitions, is the normal, but undesirable, phase of existence, we wish the movement well. The call for it is unmistakable proof that the mothers are not receiving adequate Parochial—in the home—Service, and constitutes an official demand, on a vast scale, for its revival. The reader will easily recall the innumerable devices developed in the great days of Parochial Service, 1845–1905, by which the ample staffs of the Church of England parishes, Free

¹ Organ of the National Society of Day Nurseries, price 3d.

² Cf. also Dr. McCleary's volume, *Maternity and Child Welfare Movement*, P. S. King, 1935.

³ Cf., e.g., *The Health of the School Child* (Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education), published November 1936, p. 85.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Church Missions, and Roman Catholic and Jewish Churches, aided the mothers to nurture the toddlers.

VII. *The School Child*

Our theme, the difference between a Departmental Public Service and Parochial Service (family and personal case-work), and the need for both, is admirably illustrated by education. Education is both the imparting of groups of symbols, often considerably removed from life's actualities, and a project of caring for the rising generation which becomes daily more ambitious, inclusive, and possessive. Step by step with the replacement of the personal, human relationships of a century ago, by the impersonal, mechanical, urbanized relationships of to-day, has advanced this curious dual movement. As the parish lost its familiar authoritative seat at the hearths of the people, so the education service, from being a matter of the three R's and a birch, became the department of to-day which speaks with horror of a 'period during which a young person is not in touch with any Government department'.¹ Despite these ambitious aims, for the most part the service of the child, excellent as it is, presents the familiar features of present-day Public Services, and does *not* resemble the Parochial Service of the past. The opportunity of blending education with Family or Parochial Service was lost in the denominational controversy, and by reason of the Legions of Devil's Angels brought into the field by that controversy. A remarkable exception to this all-round divergence from the aims and methods of Parochial Service is presented by the School Care Committees, organized in 1908 with such skill, and maintained with such courage and devotion till the present time by Miss T. M. Morton, O.B.E., and her wonderful

¹ Cf. 'Malcolm' Report.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

band of 'Organizers'. We refer to it again in our section 'Progress of the Parochial Idea after 1886'. But the Care Committee system is hardly to be found outside the County of London; it is not to be found, for example, in the parishes of Greater London which now contain more of the people of London ($4\frac{1}{2}$ millions) than the County does. We are in hopes that, if Parochial Service wins that revival which we are advocating, a great extension of the School Care Committee will ensue. Returning from this notable exception, we ask ourselves our own particular question: Granted that the Public Social Service for school-children must go its own way, what partner, allied, ancillary, or complementary service can the parish offer? In other words, what can a service do in this field which is planted on the spot, which cares above everything else in the world for the individual and the individual family, and which, careless of all statistical and ostensible 'results', is ready to give unlimited time?

What shall be imparted or inscribed upon the cortices of children compelled by the 'sword of the magistrate' to make some 4,300 attendances is a theme as intensely interesting to the parochial clergy of the future as it was to the Duke of Wellington, Bishop Blomfield, and Mr. Gladstone when our Association was founded; but we say no more about it here, for the simple reason that the parish priest will not, in the near future, be consulted by the great and powerful public authorities concerned. We turn, therefore, to that group of services, mostly medical, for which compulsory attendance at school affords the opportunity. The latest available official document to-day (17 June 1937) is the Report of the School Medical Officer for the County of London for 1936.¹ This is a record of laborious, anxious work—carried on with unfaltering

¹ No. 3277, 1937, p. 81, price 1s. 6d.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

vigilance and devotion since the Education Act of 1902 came into force—by an immense staff of able, experienced people, rigorously supervised, and sleeplessly scrutinized, to discover any flaw or omission. If the method of Public Social Service can yield a complete system of nurture and care for the child population of school age in the County of London, here is the record of it.¹

¹ The average attendance at London public elementary schools for the year was 444,369. Medical inspections and re-inspections totalled 479,582, including 184,733 assessments of nutrition. Here are some other items:

‘Upon the routine inspection of the children as one of the foundations is built a complete system of care’ (p. 10).

‘The seven to eight year period corresponds to an ancestral beach where profound alterations of bodily development, attended by the possible manifestation or unmasking of physical defects, are taking place. The plan was therefore adopted of rapidly screening over the eight-year-old children’ (p. 9).

‘Over and over again it has been shown that it is unsafe to rely upon the teachers for bringing before the school doctors children who appear to them to need medical examination’ (p. 10).

‘The number of children referred for treatment was 54,677—40·2 per cent of the number examined’ (p. 11).

Personal Hygiene Scheme. ‘At the rota visits of the school nurses, in 144,965 cases the child was noted as verminous.’

‘Overcrowding accounts for only a very small percentage of scabies and impetigo’ (p. 34).

‘It is regrettable that the control of infestation by lice and ringworm, which has succeeded so well, had not its counterpart in the control of scabies,* which shows no progressive diminution’ (p. 13).

* Scabies was also a source of great trouble to the Houseless Poor Society in 1820.

‘Enlarged tonsils and adenoid growths—6,808 were referred for treatment’ (p. 4).

‘276 children were found to be hard of hearing . . . 1,990 to have heart defect, 837 to have anaemia, 653 to have rickets, or effects of early rickets; 181 eleven-year-old girls had spinal curvature; 1,276 children flat foot’ (p. 15)

The Council has eleven Nutrition Centres, ‘intended to be

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

The carious and crooked teeth, infected tonsils and adenoids, deaf and suppurating ears, defective and

places of study and advice, but one after another the physicians in charge confessed they felt the need of being able to prescribe simple supplements' (p. 21).†

† In a 'Christian' country, the 'outward and visible sign' is now, invariably, a 'bottle of medicine'; in Buddhist countries it is an amulet. The brief reference on p. 21 is an acknowledgement of a defeat—albeit only local—in one of the longest drawn out battles of our time. In 1906 Parliament said 'feed' (Education Provision of Meals Act). The Parochial Workers, still numerous and strong, retorted, 'Useless without a response in and by mother and home.'

In 1911 to 1915 the Local Government Board slogan was, 'Free milk for mothers and babies'. The Parochial Workers countered, 'Valueless unless she understands her task and responds to your stimulation.'

The Nutritional Service is an attempt by Sir Frederick Menzies and his staff to stimulate by encouragement and advice more skilled child-nurture by the parents. Poplar defeats him. 'Give us a free issue of *something* and don't lecture us.'

The comments of the physicians are significant:

'The evidence at the Paddington centre points to environment and way of life, and not to food. . . . There is often ample evidence of unhappiness in the home. . . . Good food is easier come by than a good home' (p. 21).

'In contrast with some of the other centres, secondary (nutritional) anaemia is found to be common at the Poplar centre, 54 of the 80 children having haemoglobin percentages below 80 per cent. It is found that amongst the children in this centre the economic factor is of great importance' (p. 21).*

* We have inquired locally about this last sentence. We learn that fully as many people go into Poplar from outside to earn their living as there are unemployed in Poplar; that, compared to many parts of London, rents are low and housing modern. *Per contra*, the enormous expenditure on relief† even in times of marked prosperity has produced what local officers call a 'pauper mentality', a chronic conviction that it pays to be in want and, still more, to have one's children in want. No other explanation of Dr. Elman's nutrition report seems to be forthcoming.

† Between 1923 and 1929, when London industries and the trade of the port were expanding very rapidly, in addition to all insurance benefits, old age, widows', and war pensions, local rates of 26s. in the £ and over, £3 millions was drawn from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund for expenditure upon outdoor relief among the 166,000 people of Poplar.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

squinting eyes, &c., &c., detected at medical inspections, and treated at the Council's great organization of treatment centres, are just the things that kept our founder, Bishop Blomfield, awake at night a hundred years ago, and we know with what immense satisfaction he must be perusing the very Report we have before us.

What is the challenge here to the parochial spirit and its expression in Parochial Service? Does not this mass of figures instantly bring before our eyes millions and

'193,990 children were found to require dental treatment' (p. 25).

'*Rheumatism Scheme*: 2,342 children were nominated for institutional treatment. . . . Cardiac involvement was already present in 37.7 per cent of the children admitted; 442 reports showed that the home conditions were unsatisfactory' (p. 32).

'32,089 children caught measles and German measles, 4,852 scarlet fever, 3,268 diphtheria, 7,303 whooping-cough, 8,659 chicken-pox, 7,844 mumps, and 473 ophthalmia' (p. 37).

'59 cases of vulvo-vaginitis were reported from the Council's remand home, and all were removed to hospital. Examination revealed gonococcal infection in 19 of them' (p. 44).

'40 per cent of the children have really good posture in school' (p. 50).

'6,258 children had free dinners at school, 3,415 for part payment, 1,083 paid for by the Public Assistance Committee. . . . 315,000 received milk. . . . 64,987 children were under regular observation by the school doctor and school nurses for their nutritional condition' (pp. 53-4).

'4,299 children were examined with a view to admission to special schools' (p. 54).

'622 boys and 474 girls were referred to Child Guidance Clinics, nervous disabilities, behaviour difficulties, backwardness, enuresis, and stealing being the main causes of reference' (p. 63).

'Of the 97,000 children between the ages of three and five in London, 50,000 attend babies' classes in the Council's elementary schools' (p. 65).

'3,511 children were in hospitals where education is given' (p. 71).

'3,911 boys and 43 girls applied for medical certificates in connexion with the employment of school-children out of school hours' (p. 73).

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

millions of anxious hours and sleepless nights; of distracted efforts, on the one hand, to comfort frightened, weeping, and resentful children,¹ to fit in, on the other, visits to medical inspections, hospitals, treatment centres and clinics, with the innumerable demands of the rent collector, school attendance officer, sanitary inspector, not to mention those of father and the rest of the family? Will any one pretend that it is no loss to these women not to have a familiar friend from church or chapel who knows it all, down to the last detail, and understands what it involves? The mothers counted upon those visitors in the great days of Parochial Service. Cannot we see to it that they shall not fail? As we said at the outset, all that is required in the County of London is that Parochial Service should have a professionally trained personnel, adequate in numbers and dovetailed into the School Care Committee system as it was thirty years ago by the Rev. Henry Iselin and the Rev. Thory Gage Gardiner. Elsewhere the advantage of inaugurating the Care Committee system, or a local modification of it, might well be considered.²

¹ The difficulty of reconciling children to dental treatment is a constant strain upon good mothers, and a duty which indifferent mothers consistently shirk. The researches of Mrs. Mellanby and the pages of the *British Dental Journal* raise hopes of prophylactic measures which may lessen this strain.

² A very striking example of what this means comes from an unexpected source. Our extract from the Report of the School Medical Officer refers to the Council's Nutrition Service. Unquestionably the British public think along the lines set it by Sir John Orr and others—viz. twenty million people undernourished, and mostly without the means to purchase the food they need. The Council has for years recorded the nutritional condition of every child presenting the least symptom of indisposition, and, in consequence, the County simply does not contain school-children answering to the popular conception. An even more intensified nutritional campaign than usual, covering the last few years, did

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

VIII. *The Adolescent*¹

Parochial Workers who think us capable of helping them to take stock of their position in a rapidly changing world will concentrate upon this section. So far they have commented impatiently upon each of our sections, 'You are too late: all that has been taken over by the public authorities: they must dree their own weird for

not bring to light any hungry children, but did reveal* children requiring even more individual study and care than they were already getting, chiefly, of course, in the environment of most of their lives, viz. at home. The nutritional centre required turned out to be, not at all a place for handing out to each child a sandwich containing all the calories and vitamins the meals its mother gave it lacked,† but a further development of Child Guidance Clinics,‡ or, as they should be called, Child and Parent Guidance Clinics, such as the one in Highbury Crescent so admirably conducted by Dr. William Moodie.

* Cf. Report of School Medical Officers, County of London, for 1935, p. 25.

† This remedy for present ills is recommended by the Medical Officer of Health for Glossop, cf. *B.M.J.*, 8-8-36, p. 280.

‡ Cf. address by Dr. Morgan, Assistant School Medical Officer, County of London, published in *Mother and Child*, January 1937, p. 387.

But Dr. Moodie's principal aim is to mobilize and integrate with his own the best Family Case-work and Parochial Service he can find. In short, the great Nutritional Campaign, the most 'boosted' wholesale-ing in Social Service of our time, is found to be the precise opposite—an urgent need for intensive individual care!

A parallel case is the campaign against rheumatism in children. There the need is for vigilant visitors enjoying the confidence of the mothers, competent to aid them to detect the earliest onset of the trouble.

¹ The literature is enormous, and eminently readable. We confine ourselves here to the mention of *Club Leadership*, by Basil Henriques (Oxford University Press, 1933), and *Junior Instruction Centres and Their Future*, Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, by Valentine A. Bell (Constable, 1934), but the background of all our thinking on the subject is Stanley Hall's *Adolescence*.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

all the help they will get from me.' Now these critics are saying something very different: 'But we are in full possession of that field: beside our clubs, brigades, and camps, the public authorities, with their evening schools which have never really caught on, are nowhere.' Such speakers are the heirs and assignees of a hundred years' service of a one hundred per cent parochial type. Clubs and settlements *et hoc genus omne* sprang up out of the ground because ardent altruistic souls felt the need of them in the course of first-hand human contacts on the spot. The mainspring of Captain Basil Henriques's Settlement in Berner Street, London, E.1, to-day does not differ by a hair's breadth from Dolling's in his gymnasium in Clarence Street, Landport, or Douglas Eyre's in the 'Webb Institute' under the management of the Oxford House, or Lawley's in his institute at St. Andrews, Bethnal Green, or St. Clair Donaldson's at the Eton Mission in Hackney Wick, all of them in the eighties.

The first project of organizing downwards from a head-quarters in a Government department was the 'J.O.C.',¹ set on foot by Mr. E. J. Metters of the Home

¹ Juvenile Organizations Committee. There was to be one in the area of every local authority and a grand head-quarters at the Home Office. The latter was soon transferred to the Board of Education. During a short period, contributions by firms were exempted from taxation, and considerable sums of what was really public money were contributed. Although the Education Act, 1921, provided powers for expenditure by local authorities on such purposes, the contributions of the Ministry of Labour during the recent depression to occupation centres for the unemployed, and now the £2 million grant under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, are the first resummptions of this branch of public expenditure since the war and a very brief period following the war. The boys' clubs run by the London County Council for the last ten years count as Continued Education. The grants made, for thirty years now, by the London County Council to Play Centres, also an invasion of this voluntary field, also come under the head of education.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Office in the latter part of the war, but inspired by contact with one of the best-known workers this branch of Parochial Service ever possessed—C. E. B. Russell. The translation of the latter from voluntary service¹ at the Heyrodd Street Club in Ancoats, Manchester, to the Reformatories Department of the Home Office, was the foundation-stone of the official developments that loom so large in 1937.² The challenge in this case is not, as in all the others, to come and give Parochial Service because a public department has reached the end of its capacity, and feels that its work is only half done, or not effectively done. The challenge is rather, 'Carry on! Do not "turn away back" because you see Acts of Parliament passed, and millions of pounds granted from taxation, and Civil Servants appointed all over the country to promote physical recreation and training and cultural activities: or because you see powers given to local authorities to provide everything required and charge it to the general rate. By unstinted devotion you have in three generations—our founder, Bishop Blomfield, was fully alive to the need of promoting clubs and hobbies—built up this magnificent movement. It cannot be that you will let the voluntary spirit and the voluntary factor fade out of it now.'

The great army of club workers to whom we have just addressed this appeal like to go their own way. Men and women of a certain temperament enter this field and find that its day-to-day content absorbs all the time and tissue they have to give. The rank and file—we mentioned some exceptions just now so brilliant as to be included in no rank and file—are equally indifferent to the activities (*a*) of public departments on

¹ In business hours he was an official of the Midland Railway Co.

² Under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the one hand, and (b) the Family Case-work and Parochial movements on the other. Many years have convinced us that it is idle to expect anything else from them. Attempts to co-ordinate them, 'get them together to face issues', are usually signal failures. They are too robust and 'healthy-minded' for that sort of thing. We are far too grateful for their work to wish to cavil.

(a) Speaking from an 'O.P.',¹ we descry the fact that that old typical voluntary parochial 'stunt' for boys and girls, the Band of Hope—the most delightful thing in the whole of industrial London before the war—has given place to Children's Play Centres, subsisting principally on grants from the rates; that the London County Council has now for some years run a number of large boys' clubs of its own under the designation Junior Men's Institutes with Social Bias; that the adolescents' sections of the Unemployed Assistance Act, 1934, are designed to implement the concept enunciated by the Malcolm Committee, viz. that 'no young person should ever be out of touch with some Government department'; and that the National Advisory Council for Physical Training and Recreation set up under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, and its Central Grants Committee, which has the spending of £2 millions of taxpayers' money, involves the incorporation in the Civil Service of quite a phalanx of leaders in the voluntary club movement.

We are not qualified to query the comment which most people will pass: 'All that is all to the good.' We merely record, for the use of readers engaged, or to be engaged, in Parochial Service, that the quondam purely voluntary field of work for adolescents has been invaded to-day, with large and powerful forces, by the Board of Education and the local education authorities, by the Ministry of Labour, by the Home Office, and by

¹ Observation point.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

the new department set up under the Act of 1937. What is the relationship between the adolescents (boy or girl) and their homes? Have the 'acids of modernity' converted them from their mothers' chief joy and standby in time of trouble to callous indifferents, and even wreckers? No one knows enough to say. Drs. Schwab and Veeder¹ think it natural for them to be the latter. The most painstaking study of the problem known to us is contained in Chapter I of *The Nation's Appeal to the Housewife*.² The Parochial Worker has an unsurpassed opportunity to-day, if adequately (professionally) equipped for the purpose, in the task of reintegrating the relationship between adolescents and their parents. The inroads of public departments into this field are at present meagre. The officers of the Unemployment Assistance Board are confronted by its problems daily and hourly. What will they make of it? Meantime the old-fashioned relieving officer, who used to tackle it in his capacity of family friend, tends to fade out of the picture, as his service is assimilated to the impersonal mechanical attitude of 'modern Social Service'. To our minds the post-war failure to develop this fine and ancient service (the Poor Law service) on Family Case-work lines is one of the major set-backs of the age. True, it makes the opening for voluntary Parochial Service greater than ever, but it deprives the Parochial Worker of a tried and staunch ally he can ill afford to lose.

ix. *The Unemployed (The Biggest of all the Opportunities for Parochial Service)*

No single item or incident in the whole of contemporary social work exceeds in interest the experiments

¹ *The Adolescent: his Conflicts and Escapes*, by Dr. Schwab and Dr. Veeder, 1929. Cf. also *The New Generation*, pub. George Allen & Unwin, 1930.

² Longmans, 1932, price 2s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

in service to the unemployed being made at Brynmawr, in South Wales, and at Upholland, in Lancashire, by Mr. Peter Scott. His aims are two, and are thus defined by him :

I want to give the men a chance to dig their souls out of the soil and so possess them again. No staff is of any use whatever for my purpose that is not animated one hundred per cent by the religious motive.

Two outstanding applications of ability and devotion amounting to genius to the service of unemployed persons are the work of Miss Hilda Jennings in Brynmawr, South Wales—part of it in association with Mr. Scott—and that of Miss Alice Cameron¹ in Lincoln.

Long experience has taught both these talented workers that almost unlimited individual and personal study of each person—his setting, his background, his ideologies, his idiosyncrasies and those of his family—is indispensable to any measure of success at all. Miss Jennings has effectively made the further point, viz. that assistance, to be lasting, must aid, and give a fresh start to, the family circle as a whole. Here is service of

¹ Miss Cameron writes: 'I am sure you are right about the peculiarities of individuals. One knows how, in so-called educated families, the same environment and upbringing (as far as can be managed) produces black sheep as well as noble and good citizens. The special question I should like to ask you is whether you think that, other things being equal, long-continued unemployment under the present conditions is not a contributory cause of delinquency, and whether you think that the Unemployment Assistance Board should do anything to help such cases. Should it, for instance, give financial support to schemes like ours, or should it appoint a sort of probation officer of its own? The whole question has arisen in connexion with a scheme for merely compelling all youths under twenty-five who are out of work to attend re-conditioning centres for a short period. I do not feel that this meets the problem either in particular or general. What I should like the Unemployment Assistance Board to do is to set up an informal commission, including Mr. Burt and other people with experience, to draft some recommendations.'

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

the parochial type. Clearly this cannot be undertaken by public officials: plainly there is a magnificent opening for 'that parson chap'.

When the experience of the officers of the various departments dealing with employment and unemployment has been fully recorded, and even when the far more searching psychology which characterizes the Quarterly and Annual Reports of Mr. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, has been studied, it is remarkable what a large proportion of all the factors involved in these relationships have not come under notice at all.

The fact is that, when the most conscientious and sympathetic officer has done all, and more than all, that his Statute requires of him; when a trade-union secretary of immense ability and indefatigable devotion has left nothing undone—even of all those services of thought and action which the great trade-union movement demands from him—every instance of obtaining and losing employment, of being with or without employment, includes a wide range of factors upon which these writers do not touch, and which obviously fall outside their scope. In Parochial Service nothing is commoner than to know of a competent workman who loses his position because he insists upon telling the foreman or the manager how a job ought to be done. Another man keeps losing his position because his feelings are hurt by something which is said or done, without, perhaps, the slightest intention of being offensive. Another man is an excellent fellow against whom nobody has a word to say, but who, none the less, seems frequently to be squeezed out of a position which his abilities qualify him to hold securely. He is a little bit independent. He is not a very good mixer. He does not care for alcoholic refreshment. He is not 'matey'. Opportunity offers, a word is said, and out he goes

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

to make room for a boon companion of the men or lads in the shop. The same, of course, applies to girls and women. These are merely one or two illustrations of a phenomenon as varied and complicated as life itself. We do not say that the parson has at all often the opportunity of putting in a word with the firm leading to the restoration of the man to his position. What he *can* do—and it is, in regard to most of the matters we are discussing, his highest function—is to help the man enormously by being a ‘consecrated listener’. It is remarkable how much less the injustice and the grievance seem when an opportunity has been offered of pouring them into understanding, sympathetic, and patient ears. But there is more than that. Man has shown that, by and large, he can endure almost anything better than he can the lowering of his pride. The central psychological lever in all the human relationships that take place between the hundreds of millions of the Chinese and other Far Eastern peoples is the fear of losing ‘face’; that is to say, of accepting the lowering of one’s pride. Precisely the same is true of the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of India and the Middle East. There the word is *ābru* or ‘*izzat*’. The great religious philosophies of those countries have confirmed in those peoples the natural urge to defend ‘face’ or ‘*izzat*’ at all costs, or, alternatively, to withdraw from the world altogether. Only Christ can inspire us with the conviction that it is when ‘face’ and ‘*izzat*’ have been surrendered that spiritual greatness in our contacts with our fellows begins to appear. If we are right in our conjecture that the difficulty of giving in is the most formidable of all the obstacles to the sympathetic working of human relationships required by industry, then the function of the parochial clergyman stands out unmistakably.

True enough, says an objector, but what wage-earner

who has kept his pride and lost his job will seek sympathy from a parson? Here is our reply. All the elements which make up human society are subject, no doubt, to perpetual change, but they do not all change at the same pace. In the last half-century social importance, and those circumstances which enable one man to issue commands to another man, and the second man to accept them as a matter of course, have changed almost completely. We have only to turn over a few pages of Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Trollope, Charles Reade, Meredith, or, more recently, W. H. Hudson, to feel the magnitude of this change. Trollope has left us immortal studies of the extent to which the clergy were identified with the landowners and other groups of people who habitually commanded and were obeyed. It follows that it was the exception for a clergyman to be at all an obvious repository of the confidences, especially in regard to chagrins and humiliations, of weekly wage-earners. Many a parson, to whose heart these chagrins are very near indeed, is himself humiliated to think that any man in his parish could hesitate to regard him as an obvious confidant. The changes are slow and uneven, but they are inexorable. No one to-day yields instinctive obedience either to the owner of the land as such or to the head of the business as such. To-day the officials and delegates of the great trade unions, the officers of the great State departments, the officers and more prominent members of the great local authorities, are the people whose word is law. The parson is fortunate if the weekly wage-earner still thinks of him as 'just as good as we are ourselves'. Nothing is more certain than that the clergyman of to-morrow who looks out open-eyed on the society round about him will see that barrier fast melting away. What is absolutely indispensable is that he *must* grasp the points at issue; he *must* understand

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

what the man is talking about. There are not so many people who understand, that the sympathy of any one of them should go long unutilized.

The modern adage is, 'Nature abhors a vacuum.' The old one was, 'The Devil will find mischief still for idle hands to do.' Until quite recently, most human beings had a considerable portion of their attention absorbed in matters which might be said to concern the unseen world and the unknown generally. In the West, by the diligence and persistence of certain people aided by the printing press and by compulsory education, these have been eliminated, leaving a vacuum. Unhappily, as Christ taught, it does not remain empty. It is immediately occupied. No sooner are we without duties we must perform than we become aware of some bodily discomfort, or even pain, which went unnoticed when our attention was taken up. This is invariably accompanied by the mental factor—fear of its going on for a long time, getting worse, perhaps involving disablement. Most people then have recourse to tobacco, alcohol, or one of the innumerable other drugs obtainable, but these do not occupy the attention, and do not therefore serve the purpose in the way that occupation does. Out of all comparison, what keeps the attention of most people away from their ailments is something they have got to do. The fact that we always resent the element of compulsion in what we have got to do completes the removal of our attention from the ailments. Release from compulsory occupation appears a boon until it comes. The prospect of it is valuable, taking attention off what irks at the moment. Its actuality is dangerous for most of us, and not infrequently fatal to mind or body, or both.

An unemployed person drawing unemployment benefit, or an unemployment allowance from the

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Board or Poor Law, does not, in fact, lack the necessities of a healthy life; but his mind, released from attention to his work and all its concomitants—travel, equipment, preparation, &c.—is free to become aware of discomforts and ailments, and the needs consequent upon them, of which he was not previously conscious.

The present writer once asked a Hindu official who was retiring on pension, with obviously many years of life and strength before him, how he would occupy himself. The reply was, 'In prayer, for the most part.' The peoples of the West have lost that rich resource. Of all the paradoxes and absurdities with which modern ideologies are so replete, few are more grotesque than the one which lays at the door of the industrial entrepreneur the blame for the irritated boredom of a people which, having lost the power and even the very notion of prayer, focuses every moment, not compulsorily employed, upon ailments and grievances!

This very great evil—dwelling upon ailments—increases, for most of us, with age, and all movements designed to deprive ageing people of the occupations which take their minds off their increasing and often very real ailments—minor though many of them may be—are both stupid and cruel. If the distribution of 'work' is to be directed by considerations other than those of economy and efficiency in getting the task performed, the work as a means of saving ageing people from absorption in ailments should have a first claim. No one who enjoys intimate personal friendships with aged wage-earners can be cajoled into thinking that a seat in an open space, or a free library, or a game of dominoes in an Occupation Centre, takes an ageing man's mind off his ailments as effectively as work—the performance of a task he is bound to perform—does. The young can be distracted by almost any sort of sport, play, mischief, or 'fooling about'.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Not so the ageing or the aged. These are matters which, for the most part, only Parochial Workers know.

Occupation Centres. In the great days of the Parochial Idea we thought little of a plant which did not include one or more halls, and classroomsgalore. Children, lads, girls, women, mothers, fathers, veterans, &c., &c., expected accommodation for most of the hours and pursuits of their leisure. In those days the Churches, Established and Free, could have undertaken the whole of that occupation of the unemployed in which the National Council of Social Service¹ and the Ministry of Labour have been so prominent of late. There is nothing to prevent the Parochial Idea from coming into its own again here. It can hardly be said to have lost ground appreciably since the various bodies who have taken a hand present no essential differentia from Parochial Service as understood and practised for a century and more.

Placing in Employment. This is another of the numerous cases of an appreciable failure on the part of the planners of our Public Social Services to realize the time factor. The staffs of the employment exchanges, although, after nearly thirty years' service, still only securing about a quarter of the placings, are generally respected as an obliging and devoted body of officers. They ask, however, what can fairly be expected of them when one and a half minutes is the average time they have available for each exemplar of that extremely complicated human relationship—employment. If there is any accuracy whatever in our estimate of its complexity, no conceivably feasible expansion of one and a half minutes will meet the case.

This difficulty is actually felt in regard to making compulsory attendance at Junior Instruction Centres

¹ Cf. their Seventeenth Annual Report, 1936-7, obtainable at 26 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, price 1s.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

and Classes. Thus p. 7 of the Sixth Report of the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment: 'There can be no doubt that the numbers whose attendance could not be required because of home circumstances would in practice have been higher, if the issue of a requirement had actually had to be considered and home circumstances investigated.'

But why make a long story of it? This is, in our country, an industrial age. The complications of life which industry brings with it are of the very essence of the parson's job, since he has been called to minister in that age. 'Pain, fear, loneliness, humiliation: the job of the parish priest' was suggested as a title for this book. It was not accepted. It is not the less the theme of the book.

Nor can the trade-union secretary, able, diligent, well-informed, thoughtful fellow as he is, give much help. He is a very busy person, with an enormous lot to do which takes precedence of patient, sympathetic chats with his unemployed members or with those who are unhappy in their jobs. The fact is, there is no finer scope than this for the parson, provided he is equipped for it.

The literature is enormous. There are the eighty Industrial Health Research Board Reports, besides the far longer list of Reports of the Medical Research Council 'related to the work of the Board'. How we welcomed, in the great days, that marvellous monthly now known as the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* (then 1d., now 6d. O tempora! O mores!). It is still as good as ever, a *vade mecum* of the finest quality for the Parochial Worker. The Annual and Quarterly Reports of Mr. W. A. Appleton's General Federation of Trade Unions our parson will also read, mark with copious red ink, learn, and keep by his bedside.

Vocational Guidance and Industrial Misfits. The former

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

topic was to the fore when a small experiment was made in one London district some years ago. The procedure was confined to one interview with the school-leaver and one home visit—practically valueless unless Parochial Workers with some real knowledge of the background can be mobilized through the School Care Committee or otherwise. A substantial effort to mobilize this knowledge for unemployed young people was set on foot in London. Volunteers were enlisted to act as liaison officers between the juvenile employment exchange and the homes of the children through the medium of the School Care Committee. The scheme was a sound one, and would have flourished and rendered fine service in the golden age of Parochial Work (1880–1905). In our present mechanistic atmosphere it failed. A revived Parochial Service will pick it up at the point where it fell. It could not have been conceived, far less attempted, had not that fine branch of Parochial Service, the Care Committee, been in operation.

The unemployed constituted, in Periclean Athens, in the Rome alike of the Gracchi and of Julius Caesar, in the Ephesus of St. Paul, in the London of Richard II, in the Ghent of the fifteenth century, and upon countless occasions in countless places, the crucial test of man as a constructive social planner. To-day, although Dr. Lewis Faning has proved beyond dispute that the bodily health of the residents of the distressed areas of Great Britain is as good as anybody else's, the mental condition, at least of some of them, is described on high authority as 'anguish'. Again, although, here and there, a Charity Organization Committee may perform wonders in setting up an individual in a completely new walk of life, Parochial Service has tended more and more, during the thirty years of enormously

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

expanding Public Social Services, to throw up its hands at the baleful word 'unemployed'.

We cannot, of course, accept this situation as a lasting one, nor would any of the parochial clergy we have in mind think of doing so.

Employment and unemployment are human relationships in which is involved the very core and mainspring of life, the character, self-respect, faith, hope, and charity, beauty, goodness and truth, of and for the human being involved.

The precise lineaments of the subject have so long been wrapped in the murk and mist of the party struggle, that it would hardly be blameworthy if we shirked the task of explaining how 'that parson chap' is to extend his foothold in this field again, even to the proportions of 1905; and to do so within the baffling and difficult ambits of 1937.

Assistance, Benefit, &c. The rabid exploitation of unemployment by the party politician with a single eye to his own ambition has given rise to two slogans. The first is an electioneering one: 'We reject all individual treatment'—presumably because the mere discussion of it diminishes the *élan* and dramatic appeal of the sweeping wholesale proposals which are an indispensable feature of all electioneering.¹ The success of this ever alert group affects Parochial Service in two ways. Officers, to whom the legislature only entrusts contacts with applicants of a purely mechanical character, have no personality problems to share with 'that parson fellow'. On the other hand, the unemployed person, finding himself only a number at the office where cash

¹ A very curious and solitary exception—surely due to momentary lapse—is to be found in a speech by Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons in December 1934, in the debate on the Regulations under the Unemployment Act of that year. He said, 'I do not think the men will get enough individual consideration.'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

is paid out to him, will very often appreciate an understanding ear into which to pour the complicated story of his woes.

The other slogan is an administrative one, viz. 'Always aim at getting the highest possible proportion of your unemployed inside a scheme in which no questions are asked; in which the contacts are impersonal, and where there is no talk of rehabilitation or training; in other words, extend insurance to the widest limits and keep assistance within the narrowest.' The motive of this slogan is to evade political turmoil, and, like the previous one, it leaves fine scope for the Parochial Worker.

*The Unemployment Assistance Board.*¹ It is impossible, in the space available, to exhibit at all adequately the concern of Parochial Service with this epoch-making enactment. We cannot doubt that the Board stands, as Moses once did, between the people of Great Britain and such anger of the Lord as has visited the unhappy peoples of Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, and, in a less degree, France. Its crucial importance as a political question is demonstrated by the fact that, although the proposal received four years' constant discussion, first by a Royal Commission which met in public; then in Parliament; and at every local council; and, although the Bill was thought, when introduced, to be an agreed measure; yet it was no sooner put into operation (in January 1935) than furious political controversy burst round it, and has continued to rage ever since. With that we are in no wise concerned.

Our submission in this volume is that service of the parochial type is indispensable to the progress and

¹ Set up under the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934. First Appointed Day for entering upon its functions, 7 January 1935; Second Appointed Day, 1 April 1937.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

well-being of the nation, not in the least as a rival to, or alternative for, the Public Social Services (save in so far as the devising of those has been influenced by wreckers and persons only interested in their own mundane ambitions, or persons guided by philosophies which we believe to be utterly untenable in the light of experience), but as the willing handmaiden and ally of these. Parochial Service is individual. It craves permission to cross the thresholds of the lieges and sit by their firesides. So long as it is voluntary, the lieges have nothing to do, if they do not want the service, but neglect to open the door. The situation alters when the trespasser, the 'means test man', like the relieving officer, brings, and can take away again if not admitted, the wherewithal to live. The Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, cancelled for about half the unemployed—i.e. at that time for about a million persons (and their homes and families)—the plan of providing maintenance from public funds without personal and family relationships and contacts. From the ending of the war till December 1934, politicians and administrators alike had clung to the hope that somehow this could be continued. Even when more than a million persons had been, many of them for years, receiving weekly allowances from the overdraft of an Unemployment Insurance Fund into which they had paid little or nothing, the fiction was kept up that in Great Britain unemployment was met by the device of insurance. In 1931, Viscount Snowden rebelled against such a piece of make-believe and declared that the unemployed without a proper claim upon the fund by reason of their own share of contributions must be maintained by a payment from the Exchequer of the same nature as outdoor relief. This immediately raised the question: Were these payments to be handed out like wages, or were the immemorial 'home visit' and 'investigation'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

to be re-applied? The answer was, 'The latter.' With this decision, embodied in the Act of 1934 and entrusted to the Board to implement, by far the most important of all the Public Social Services re-aligned itself with the philosophy, psychology, sociology, traditions, and emotions of that Parochial Service which Gregory the Great organized for Christendom fourteen centuries ago. The next question was: Would the officer of the Board, like the probation, discharged prisoners', employment exchange, mental welfare, Poor Law, and many other officers, say, 'The essence of my work is intensive study of my cases and I have not one hundredth part of the time requisite for it: I must interest that "parson chap" in them'? Or would he say nothing of the kind? The operative section of this Act, viz. 35 (2),¹ certainly suggests that he would. In addition, a large part of the Board's First Annual Report was taken up with the individual character of the work² and the co-operation of its officers with a great variety of voluntary agencies.

In the Board's Second Report (for 1936, Cmd. 5526), the realization by its officers that the work is necessarily individual, and cannot be carried out by wholesale, impersonal, mechanical methods, is emphasized even more.³ But this is a terrific undertaking. Well may the

¹ By which the Board is responsible for 'the assistance and promotion of the welfare of persons in need of work . . . for the improvement and re-establishment of the condition of such persons with a view to their being in all respects fit for entry into or return to regular employment'.

² In the First Report (for 1935)—Cmd. 5177—the officer for Birmingham and district, for example, said that nearly half his cases presented individual traits not covered by the Board's very elaborate Regulations.

³ Cf., for example, the Chief Regional Officer for London and Home Counties, p. 65; the Regional Officer for East Midlands, South, and South-West, p. 73; the Regional Officer for North-East, p. 88.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

chief officials hesitate and state in minimum terms their sense of any such liability! But that is only the beginning. The hopeful notion that unemployed persons can be dealt with wholesale receives a sterner rebuff when it comes to training. Let us not forget that the persons most responsible for substituting impersonal and mechanical Social Service for the old Parochial Personal Service—Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb—always taught that unemployed persons must be kept under training as a matter of course for the usual hours during which they were accustomed to work. What is the experience of the Board? 'In the Newcastle district, of 54,042 men interviewed with a view to training, only 6,149 signified willingness' (p. 85). 'In Manchester, less than 1,000 out of 20,000, in Preston, 968 out of 8,940, accepted training' (p. 103). Similar figures come from Wales (p. 110) and Scotland (p. 123).

On the other hand, when approached about the help which the Mutual Registration of Assistance can give his officers by informing them of social agencies with which they might co-operate on their cases, the headquarters officer who was consulted, while expressing general approval of the device of mutual registration, added, 'After all, our business is confined to meeting his immediate needs and getting him fit for work. His background, antecedents, and personality problems do not really concern us.' This pronouncement we take to be the most authoritative opinion available after two and a half years' daily contact with the actualities of administering the Act. The officer making it would be the very last person to regard it as final. Perhaps the soundest interpretation is that the change, after thirty years of designedly impersonal contacts in the Public Social Services, back to service of the parochial type, is so great that it must proceed by

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

stages; that the stage reached by the Board is distinctly promising;¹ that, in any case, a staff of 6,000 is totally inadequate for case-work on a million cases; and that the prospect for 'that parson chap' is really very bright indeed of lending a hand in this greatest and newest of all our Public Social Services.

The lesson appears to us very clear. The Act, and the constitution of the Board, undoubtedly bring back the parochial principle. The experiences of the officers endorse it. The Board's Reports are perfectly frank about it. Given this basis, it is unnecessary to argue that here is an urgent demand, on a huge scale, for Parochial Service in partnership with the greatest of the Public Social Services. If 'that parson chap' is competent, it is impossible to doubt that the Board's officers, once they realize the fact, will 'rope him in' quick enough to help them with their cases.

An administrative issue of first-class importance, and one which must affect the position of Parochial Service *vis-à-vis* the officers of the Board, is the question how far the other Public Social Service required by the families subsisting upon the Board's allowances will still be rendered by the various departments of the local authority. Their attitude is by no means always so cordial to us as that of the officers of the Board. There is no logical reason why the Board should not assume responsibility for the whole family of each of its clients.

The reasons for the anomalous step of entrusting the Board with the complete care of the unemployed individual—except medical service—while leaving his medical care and all the needs of the rest of the family to be met by local authorities or other Government

¹ Our latest information is that one of the new 'Welfare Sub-Committees' of a Local Advisory Committee appointed by the Board spent two hours over six cases.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

departments, are doubtless: (1) the unwillingness of local authorities to part with so many of their functions; and (2) the difficulty of reaching the necessary financial adjustments without political turmoil. The situation illustrates the enormous difficulty in selecting, or setting up, or adapting, units of administration in the Public Social Services, and the present not inconsiderable confusion in which many of the said units find themselves.

x. *Local Government and Parochial Service*

'Oh, yes,' we are told, 'we know all about that. In the eighteenth century the Justices of the Peace governed England, the bulk of them and the best of them being parsons. Well, we've changed all that. This is a secular century. Elected local authorities do it now.'

It is not at all so simple as that. The Ray and Lovat Reports of 1932 revealed the parlous position of our local government finance. Both Liverpool and Manchester have been observed begging at a certain door in Whitehall.¹ We would invite the too optimistic believer in the efficiency of our local government to consider two other examples:

Considerable Press publicity was given to the Report on Merthyr Tydfil, occasioned by the necessity of reducing its status owing to its financial difficulties. The anomalous position of our local government units has, however, only once been completely analysed, namely, in the volume on Brynmawr, by Miss Hilda Jennings (published by Allenson & Co., 1934, price 10s. 6d.). Miss Jennings presents for our consideration the strange spectacle of a township in a state of irremediable debt for houses built under post-war Acts, for which neither rent nor rates are ever paid; a township quite incapable of financing the educational and other services imposed upon all local authorities by Statute;

¹ That of the Ministry of Health.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

a township whose principal income consisted of £80,000 a year payable from London (the Exchequer) to its unemployed workpeople; and she adds a masterly analysis of the psychological reactions of the population to this situation.

We are not dreaming of proposing that even such bankrupt authorities as these should hand back their powers to parson J.P.s. What we desire to suggest is another reason for reviving that parochial type of service in which the parson used to be the expert and leader, alongside of the local government services, some of which are in queer street.

XI. The Aged, the Widow, the Orphan, Savings, and Housing: Limited Aim and Scope of the Acts: Need of Parochial Service

From 1886 to 1907 a steady stream of argument, expounded and supported by a host of illustrious names, was addressed to legislators on the subject of provision for old age. A flat-rate cash allowance to all persons in receipt of incomes below a certain figure, coming down out of the sky without reference to the individual temperament and circumstances of the recipient, was deprecated by the Parochial and Family Case-work groups: in its place, the fostering of all the numerous devices worked out by the people for themselves, and supplemented by neighbourly benevolence, endowments old and new, and, in the last resort, the Poor Law, was insistently advocated by them. In his Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, Mr. Asquith chose the former and rejected all the latter devices. At the same time the wording of the Act, and the entirely novel method of administration—the 'ring paper', cashable weekly at a post office—eliminated ruthlessly the notion of accompanying the allowance by any form of personal service or case-work. This is the classical example of a wholesale, mechanical, impersonal,

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

categorical Social Service. It is a highly instructive one, for several reasons. It was obvious that many of the recipients would urgently require personal service and case-work.¹ Despite all that was said then in

¹ We have not burdened our text with any elaboration of this point either in regard to the aged, the widows, or the orphans. It is impossible to doubt that the responsible politicians and draftsmen who produced these Acts, while careful to exclude all reference to Parochial Service, were in their own minds relying upon it. Who could dream that a community's care for its aged members ends as they walk out of a post office in which 5s. (now 10s.) has been handed to them by a clerk precluded from concerning herself with their loneliness, failing health, memory, and mental power, or their incapacity to keep themselves or their premises clean and free from vermin? All too frequently the feeling of independence engendered by the weekly cash payment induces them to think they can quarrel with their kith and kin with impunity. We look to the Petre-Williams Commission on the training of the clergy to schedule amongst the first duties of 'that parson chap'—provided, of course, he has a sufficient supply of visitors—that he should small-tooth-comb the parish till he has ascertained all the desperately forlorn old age pensioners in it, likewise all the widows whose cash allowances tempt them, also, to struggle with a home and a complex of family difficulties beyond their mental and moral resources. We have already referred to the melancholy fact that, provided she can get all her children of school age to school in time and reasonably tidy, and provided they sit still when they get there, her unsuccessful attempts to give them a good upbringing are unlikely ever to come to light. In saying this, the last thought in our minds is adverse criticism of the teachers. They have plenty to attend to, and the present form and operation of the educational machine does not, in fact, lead to the discovery, succour, and care of the 'Jimmie Whitakers'* We cite Jimmie because his father's work constantly kept him away from home and Mrs. Whitaker was practically a widow.

* *I, James Whitaker*, is the autobiography of a Lancashire factory operative, born in 1906, brought up in Edinburgh, then in a small town in the west of Scotland, and then in Liverpool. It is a most moving story of the terrible and pathetic hardships borne by a thoroughly respectable family, and strangely, disturbingly, unsuccoured by Social Service, public or voluntary. It was published by Messrs. Rich & Cowan in 1934.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Parliament about removing the aged from the Poor Law, with its individual treatment and personal and medical care, in fact to-day a large proportion¹ of old age pensioners are in receipt of Poor Law relief as well as pensions, and they appreciate the personal service with which that relief is accompanied. Again, a very large number of pensioners are in receipt of care and allowances from a great array of charitable case-work agencies. None the less, even if that, the test Act, has failed largely to realize the aims of its introducers, it was itself re-enacted without change in 1936, and remains the exemplar. It is, essentially and designedly, a redistribution of property by the method of taxation in favour of a large category of the people, without regard to personal needs, troubles, temperament, character, or circumstances.

It may not be an ideal social procedure, but in a rough and ready world it may well be an unavoidable one. Our point is that it is unwise to regard such a purely cash transaction as a complete Social Service.

The story of the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age

¹ The total number of persons over sixty-five years of age in England and Wales in receipt of relief under the Poor Laws (excluding rate-aided patients in mental hospitals) on 1 January 1936 was 287,401; of these, 202,438 were in receipt of those State pensions, contributory and non-contributory, which were designed to liberate them from all connexion with the Poor Law.

Of the 130,530 widows in receipt of Poor Law relief on that date, 57,022 were in receipt of State pensions, intended by the legislature to achieve the same end. The Poor Law Act of 1934 requires Poor Law authorities to 'ignore' various portions of those State allowances which were introduced to 'keep people off the Poor Law'. This provision is a handsome premium, and so a powerful incentive to people in receipt of these allowances to apply for relief. This may, or may not, be good administration. It is certainly a *reductio ad absurdum* of a quite enormous quantity of political propaganda and Parliamentary eloquence.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Contributory Pensions Act, 1925, is similar.¹ The Act itself differs from the Act of 1908 in that one-third of the finance is provided by compulsory contributions on the part of those likely to benefit. Here, again, the widows, orphans, and aged persons were certain to require all sorts of personal service and case-work, and many of them supplementary allowances from Poor Law or charity. All reference to anything of the kind was rigidly excluded from the Act. (The same applies to Sir Kingsley Wood's Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937, by which men with incomes up to £400 and women up to £250 can come into the State scheme.)

In reply to representations made to the Minister on the desirability of including in the Bill some reference to ancillary case-work service, he replied that, if it was right to exclude case-work services from the non-contributory Act of 1908, still more was it sound to do so from Acts which included the contributory principle. The Act of 1925 was not introduced because there was any lack of provision for widows or orphans. An official investigation carried out in 1920 showed that widows and orphans were everywhere adequately maintained and well cared for by the Poor Law Guardians. The purpose of the Act was to take them out of a Public Social Service including individual care, and to bring them under the operation of the new mechanical and impersonal principle.

A proposal to include a reference in the Housing Act, 1935, to voluntary case-work service was rejected, although the forcible removal of families from clearance areas was notoriously an operation certain to

¹ By a curious inconsistency, a solitary exception was made in the case of the War Pensions Acts, and on p. 4 of the *Survey of War Pensions, 1916-36*, we read: 'Committees (of voluntary) workers have performed a task that must never be underrated.'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

require, in most instances, that kind of service—a surmise which experience of the Act has amply endorsed. No further evidence is required of this than the bare fact that 10,000 of the families specially selected to occupy houses built by the London County Council on its Becontree estate moved away from the estate in *one year*. In the three years 1934-7, 62,546 persons were displaced in the County of London under clearance schemes. Of these, 39,869 were re-housed by the Council. In these days when house-room is found with such difficulty and at so high a cost, one wonders what happened to the 22,677 not re-housed.¹ As Family Case-workers and Parochial Workers we are called upon daily to assist these people in the perplexities arising in connexion with these removals. Again, the Ministers concerned were good friends to Voluntary Social Work.

This steadfast attitude persisting through half a century surely teaches us a lesson which we, as Parochial Workers, must not only accept, but act upon and profit by. In the opinion of those best qualified to speak, amongst those who have spent the best years of their lives in Parliament, the process of re-distributing, by taxation, the property of the nation among the lieges, grouped under large categories, as an incident in the Endless Adventure of Governing Men, is, as we saw just now, one thing; is to all time a separate thing from, and cannot be blended with, Parochial, personal Case-work Service, except to the peril and detriment of both.

In the twenty years 1886-1906 of the great old age pension controversy, the case-work group learned their lesson and acted upon it. Abandoning the idea of legislation and administration built upon, and dovetailed into, voluntary effort, the majority of the Royal

¹ Statement made in the debate of the Council on 2 June 1937.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Commission on the Poor Laws recommended the formation of Voluntary Aid Councils alongside of, but quite outside, the Public Assistance Authorities. The best known are those of Liverpool, Hampstead, and London. With the two latter, the name of Thomas Hancock Nunn—one of the young men of the eighties—is indissolubly connected. The London Council to-day enjoys the talented and vigorous leadership of Sir Wyndham Deedes.

Abstract theory, and man's expectations based upon it, are rarely fulfilled. The Family Case-workers who contended so courageously against imposed, flat-rate, mechanically administered old age pensions, have learned greatly to appreciate that and the similar enactments to which we have referred. It saves an infinitude of trouble and negotiation to know that this income will be available almost as a matter of course, and that the officers disbursing it have no concern with the personal problems and perplexities of the recipient. It is difficult to see how friction could have been avoided had it been otherwise. (As it is, the position of these mechanically administered allowances when the recipients become inmates of public institutions continues to be a subject of controversy.) Thus it may be that legislators, necessarily absorbed in their own plans and point of view, laid wiser foundations than either they or their critics knew. That this should be so is also in keeping with the tenets of T. H. Green, Nettleship, Bosanquet, J. A. Stewart, and Urwick.

In these last observations our members have endeavoured to remove a misunderstanding and to bury a hatchet as tough as some of those in the halls of Odysseus. Such as it is, they would like to dedicate it to the memory of their great teacher, Bernard Bosanquet.

Saving and Parochial Service. It requires first-hand

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

experience of Parochial Service to convince us how important a part it has played in building up the £3,000 millions of small savings in this country. Rational common-sense people with a good deal of experience say, quite frankly, that their savings depend upon some one having cared enough about it to keep them up to it. This applies still more to young people. Conversely, a thoroughly reliable friend close by, preferably at the mission or vicarage, who will hold her small savings and let her have them at a moment's notice, is a very great benefactor to the struggling mother. The really great part played in this connexion by our Association is recorded in the historical section.

In a remarkable brochure¹ entitled *Saving Through the Ages*, Professor J. L. Myres brings out the deep social significance of saving.

Housing. Actually, at this moment, if an experienced Parochial Worker were asked what single factor in the present situation makes the biggest demand upon Parochial Service, he or she would reply, 'The new housing estates.' We only begin to realize what is meant by an old civilization when we are confronted by the forlorn and helpless desolation of the families who find themselves in a charming, well-built little house in a good garden, but ten or twelve miles from the spot—? slum—where they have left behind them all the human ties of all their lives. It will be remembered that one of the great notes of nineteenth-century Parochial Service was Miss Octavia Hill's demonstration of the fundamental truth that needy and troubled people cannot be helped to a more satisfactory existence even by the free gift of bricks and mortar, however deftly fashioned into a dwelling. There *must* be personal, i.e. Parochial, Service with it.

¹ National Savings Committee, London, 1937.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

XII. *The Sick: The Enigma of Medicine To-day*

We do not propose to dwell long upon this theme, because our allies in the C.O.S. have had a great deal to say about it in their quarterly magazine, more especially in the issue of April 1937, the whole of which was devoted to 'The Mother in her Home', and half of it to citations from outstanding physicians in regard to her competence or otherwise. The position of the medical profession of to-day is equally symbolic and revealing of the present juncture in man's thinking about his affairs, with the position of the parish priest and the relieving officer. It is exquisitely portrayed in the play of Martinez Sierra translated under the title *The Two Shepherds*. There we see the old-fashioned priest and the old-fashioned doctor—close allies in their personal and paternal care of all the inhabitants of the village—replaced by up-to-date representatives of their respective professions.

The new priest arrives, bristling with academic qualifications—a noted and erudite preacher. The new doctor arrives on a motor-cycle, with a case full of mechanical gadgets.

The same theme is deliciously handled by Dr. F. G. Layton of Walsall in his stories *The Old Doctor*, *The Grey Doctor*, *The Little Doctor*, and *Hanged by the Neck*.

Despite the stabilizing of his somewhat precarious livelihood by the method of National Health Insurance, the general practitioner of to-day is compelled to watch an enormous drifting away from himself to the hospital, the clinic, and the chemist's shop. His patients do not seek his personal care, but some 'solution', mechanical or magical, of an ailment which they conceive of in terms borrowed from machinery or

plumbing.¹ The leaders of the profession are unanimous in deploring this trend, and discuss, ceaselessly, plans for winning back the old family doctor position. The Report of the Scottish Health Services, which we quote so frequently, makes that its central recommendation,² and makes everything else it has to recommend depend upon that recommendation. The reader will by now have perceived that it is one hundred per cent the same recommendation that we are making in this book in regard to the parish priest and the Parochial Worker. Of all the officers whom we hope to hear of saying, 'I must interest that parson chap in my case', we place the doctor in the forefront.

XIII. *The Needy: the Enigma of the Poor Law*
The coming of the Adjudicating Officer; the Morrison Report
of 1934

The Poor Laws have often, and not unjustly, been styled an enigma. It is an enigma whose importance to our discussion defies computation. Loath are we to dismiss it with the jejune discussion which follows.

First enacted in 1601 merely to give statutory expression—consonant with the setting up for the first time on this island, by the exertions of Thomas Wolsey, of a centralized Government—to the immemorial customary procedure of the Anglo-Saxons, and, perhaps we may add, of the rest of the human race as well, their administration was parochial in every sense till 1834. Despite the centralizing and from-above-administrative tendencies of Chadwick—the first Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners—the relieving officer has remained the friend, confidant, and natural ally of all

¹ Cf., e.g., in our section on the School Child, the attitude of Poplar parents to the Advisory Nutritional Centre set up among them by the London County Council.

² Cmd. 5204, 1936, price 6s. net, sections 460–75.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Family Case-workers and Parochial Workers till the present day. The division of labour was a simple one. Long-suffering fellow, he took on all the most difficult, desperate, and incurable cases, most kindly referring to the Parochial and other voluntary Case-work agencies the promising and the easy ones. The clergy and ministers supplied a large proportion of the leaders, members, chairmen, friends, advisers (and, in the case of the voluntary agencies, financiers) of both the Poor Law and the voluntary services. All through the avalanche of social legislation which, as we have seen, took extremely good care 'not to know Joseph', whether the Joseph of the Poor Law or the Joseph of the parish, the Family Case-work and Parochial Groups have persistently but vainly reminded the public that in the Poor Law it already possessed all the forms of assistance it was legislating to obtain, and that, too, accompanied by individual treatment and the allied services, medical, educational, &c., indispensable for any effective relief work.

To-day, taking the place, in London and some of the other large aggregates of population, of the Poor Law Committee of the last hundred years, arrives each morning with a 'quiet firm step' the adjudicating officer—not a Parochial Personal-service Worker, but an administrator, complete with a set of precise scales, determining alike the allowances and the liabilities of every applicant and of all the liable relatives. He makes a judicial decision, in accordance with his rules, upon the report made to him by the other, older, immemorial type of officer, the relieving officer. We are told, on the best possible authority, that the system is working with unexampled smoothness. Does this not mean that the Poor Law is being swiftly assimilated to the new mechanical services? That the people know what to expect, and, with their fathomless fund of patience,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

take it and say nothing? Such acceptance does not imply that their lives become smooth, simple, and uneventful. Far from it. The 'acids of modernity' can be trusted to see to it that the turmoil, tears, and trials so familiar to the Family Case-worker increase and do not diminish. It means, surely, that the last of the public authorities has withdrawn, after 1,300 years, from the Family Case-work field, leaving to the Parochial Workers the entire arena in which to realize, in neighbour service, the truth that human life is designed so that it may express the divine. This sketch of the present Poor Law position is thrown out as a pure speculation. It is, we submit, one not without importance to those concerned with the ministries of the Churches.

It may legitimately be claimed that *at this moment*—1937—the smooth functioning of the adjudicating officer is prominent by contrast with the irrelevant, unseemly, and cruel party brawling which sometimes disfigured the work of the Relief Committees whom he has replaced. He can hardly be, we think, the last word upon one of the longest-drawn-out efforts of suffering mortals to deal with a perennial surd in community life, i.e. with the stock, the family, or the individual who cannot, or possibly will not, pull his weight, play the game of social life, and share the burdens as well as the benefits. If, in 1937, the Poor Law Service seems indifferent to any aid which might be forthcoming from Parochial Service, a very different note was struck so lately as 1934. In March of that year a distinguished political leader, the Right Honourable Herbert Morrison, and his followers, came into power on the London County Council. (This sounds very like 'politics', but it is of vital moment to the theory and practice of Parochial Service.) They had formed the opinion that it was possible to dispense with the Poor Law altogether, and to relieve every applicant

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

under Acts of Parliament purporting to benefit the blind, sick, old, mentally afflicted, children, unemployed, &c. A special committee, with Mr. Morrison himself in the chair, sat for eight months, and produced a Report which was accepted by the Council in December of that year. That Report showed that their investigations, guided by their Chief Officer, Mr. E. C. Blight, had, for the nonce, profoundly modified their convictions—however much these might ‘spring back like a broken bow’ later, under the relentless pressure of party exigencies. The Report re-instated in full the Public Assistance, or Poor Law, Department which was to have disappeared; set out in detail the liability of the members of the family for the support of one another; and—most important for us—defined with no little eloquence the subtle psychological and spiritual character of a relieving officer’s contacts and human relationships. However mechanized and impersonal the Poor Law service may here and there become, this document will live as a protest against all such trends. Thus the group of persons and politicians most deeply pledged to eliminate the Parochial Idea from the life of the community did, in November 1934, over their own signs manual, confirm the need of it, and re-establish the public and official performance of it. Their definition of the duties of their officers does not differ from the outline we are trying to give of the duties of the ‘parson chap’ of the future. The alliance between the two, which has weathered every storm for thirteen centuries, and which was as dear to King Alfred and King Edward III as to Gladstone and Bishop Blomfield, will, we trust, be continued.

XIV. *Misfortunes*

So far we have been concerned with the urgent and enormous demands for a quite unlimited amount of

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Parochial Service of the highest professional quality made to-day by the ordinary 'chances and changes of this fleeting life'. The Public Social Services have greatly helped to reveal and define this demand, but in no single case to satisfy it. The function entrusted to them by our legislature is a parallel but different one. These parallel services are, in fact, complementary to each other, in no sort of sense rivals, still less antagonists. We now proceed to ask, What is the Parochial Worker's share in the service of families where there are backward, mentally deficient, epileptic, crippled, blind, deaf and deafened, mentally afflicted, or delinquent members—and of the individuals thus handicapped?

'The Backward Child'.¹ Dr. Cyril Burt's long and eagerly expected volume has appeared at last. In brief, what is his message? 'So far as possible, explore the mental background of each individual child: find out what thrills him most. . . . Give the peculiar interests and aptitudes of every individual full scope to develop and show themselves, how they will and when they will, even at the cost of order and routine. . . . Never be content with discovering merely where the child is weak and backward. Make the most of each one's strongest points and compensating attitudes. . . . Avoid reproaches, and remove the ingrained sense of failure by giving him some special kind of work in which he can quickly achieve a conscious improvement and taste the triumph of a personal success. Never let the child lose heart: for once he has lost heart he has lost everything' (p. 624).

A Churchwoman once undertook, for the love of Christ, to do her best with three children all pronounced to be totally ineducable. She made a little class of these three in her own home. One of them won a scholarship. Both the others made substantial progress.

¹ University of London Press, 1937, p. 694, price 20s. net.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

No one was to blame for the previous failure; but she was greatly to be commended for the subsequent success.

If we were seeking an authoritative prescription of the aim and method of Parochial Service, we could not ask for a better one than the lines just quoted. Nor do we know a better authority than Professor Burt. He is a man who can make his listeners feel that a genuine technique has been discovered and is being effectively employed, but he never gives the impression that the technician can do all that is required. In other words, he always leaves the lion's share to those who are prepared to give personal, individual, human 'case-work' care to the handicapped individual and to the family involved. To apply Dr. Burt's principle to the Social Services all round is the whole purpose of this book.

In London, for more than a decade after the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, the London Association for the Care of the Mentally Defective, the agency operating the Act, performed its statutory functions by employing organizers whose duty it was to bring the cases to the notice of the clergy and Parochial Workers, and to collect reports from them at regular intervals. The plan has been superseded temporarily, it is true, by confining the whole service to a small paid staff employed by the London County Council. But this is really a perfect illustration of our argument. When the Act of 1913 came into operation, it was assumed that in the parishes were still to be found the skill, knowledge, and personnel of the great days of Parochial Service; and that these constituted, ready to hand, volunteer executants of the purposes of the Act. By 1931 two things had happened: (1) the parishes were by no means all functioning as in the great days; and (2) the fashion of 'breaking up' Social Service into a number of categories, and operating these by separate

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

and largely watertight compartments each with its own exclusive hierarchy, had reached its zenith. No authority has ever so much as hinted that in caring for mentally undeveloped persons it was safe to disregard their individual personality or their family and neighbourhood affiliations, or that it was possible to pay for numerous enough officials to deal adequately with them. None the less, the power of fashion, accompanying heavy leeway in Parochial Service, did result, in the County of London, in the year 1931, in this paradoxical administrative decision and action, viz. the abandonment of the liaison with the old-established Parochial Services on the spot, and an attempt to render a complete service by means of a very limited and centralized staff of paid officers.

It would be quite unjustifiable to regard this decision as an important set-back to the idea of partnerships between Parochial Service (which is one and indivisible) on the one hand, and the several Public Social Services on the other. Far from it. During twenty years, the London Association for the Mentally Defective was, on the official side, the recognized and subsidized agent of the Local Education and Local Mental Deficiency Authority, the Ministry of Labour, and the Board of Control; on the voluntary side, operated a fully organized partnership with Parochial Service wherever available. Possibly another trend is observable here, viz. the supersession of *ad hoc* voluntary societies by public departments, leaving the whole ground free for partnerships between the said departments and Parochial Service.¹

¹ Official information on this subject is obtainable in the Annual Report of the Board of Control (Part I, Administrative, Part II, Research), and the Annual Reports of the Mental Deficiency and Mental Hospitals Departments of Local Authorities, e.g. London County Council.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Our plan requires a discussion here of the 'Wood' Report, the Lidbetter Pedigrees, and Dr. Blacker's *A Social Problem Group*? For this we ask the reader to turn back to pp. 16-18.

The Epileptic. Epileptics are a group peculiarly apt to the ministrations of 'that parson chap', provided he understands the subject. They find it very difficult to retain employment. They are always worth 10s. a week in relief to their families provided they neither go to work nor to an epileptic colony. They need a trained, ingenious, resourceful friend to bring colour, meaning, and purpose into their lives.

The Cripple and the Invalid. This obvious demand for Parochial Service is admitted by all. In regard to children, the Parochial Worker has long been very effectively 'roped in' by the Invalid Children's Aid Association and the School Care Committees. Enjoying a generous subsidy from Lord Nuffield, the Central Council for the Care of Cripples is applying the same methods to adult cases. We implore the clergy and ministers to see to it that they and their staffs are not left out of this new development.

Workmen's Compensation. The most difficult and exacting branch of this great subject is that of the victims of industrial accident. In consequence of the peculiar character of our law and procedure in regard to Workmen's Compensation, the demand for Parochial Service of professional quality is clamant here; and the leeway in that service is a source of constant anxiety to at least one county court judge, responsible for an enormous circuit, of our acquaintance. Reports by a Home Office Committee and a Joint Committee of the Home Office and Ministry of Health are shortly expected. Meanwhile, we have nothing to add to the excellent exposition of the parochial aspects of the subject contained in the memoranda submitted, to the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

two official committees just mentioned, by the Charity Organization Society.¹ With these should be read the Report of the British Medical Association on Fractures.²

The Blind. The Parochial Service of the Blind is so tremendous a theme that we do not attempt to deal with it in a section of this Part, but suggest to the reader the perusal of a paper³ written by one of our members in response to a query posed by Dr. Alice Masarykova, President of the Red Cross of Czechoslovakia. The most recent document is the Report of the Committee on the Prevention of Blindness;⁴ but every Parochial Worker must, and will, take in *The New Beacon*.⁵ The Minister of Health has announced a Bill to reduce the age for blind pensions, at present fifty.

The Deaf and the Deafened have long enjoyed, besides others, the services of two societies,⁶ and Parochial Workers have co-operated with these. There is now a movement on foot for special public provision analogous to that made for the blind.

The Mentally Afflicted. Of all the subjects their work inclines them to study intensively when opportunity offers, psychiatry is, with those engaged in Parochial (i.e. Family Case-work) Service, *facile princeps*. The brief statement which follows in no way represents that concentration. 'Never forget, mental service is very expensive service', said Mr. Barry Smith, Director of the Commonwealth

¹ We strongly recommend the reader to obtain a copy of the latter from the C.O.S. (address below).

² Price 6d., and obtainable from the offices of the British Medical Association, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

³ Obtainable in the Library of the C.O.S., 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

⁴ Price 2s. 6d., obtainable through the National Institute for the Blind, 224-8 Great Portland Street, London, W.1.

⁵ Monthly organ of the National Institute for the Blind, price 3d.

⁶ The Royal Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb (1840) and the National Institute for the Deaf (1911).

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Fund of New York, which has poured so many tens of thousands of pounds into this country for the promotion of that service. It is exceptionally expensive for one reason, and one reason only: it takes an enormous lot of time.

'*Canst thou minister to a mind diseased*' in the modern community on this island? and how? are the questions posed and partly answered by Dr. Edward Mapother in his Report¹ from which the paragraphs which follow are cited. The great responsibility of the position occupied by the writer, his unsurpassed acumen and independence of mind, lend to the document an importance for those concerned with the training of the clergy for Parochial Service which cannot be exaggerated. To the doctor's two questions we add a third, viz. 'What scope does the situation he outlines offer to the parochial clergy?' And we answer, without hesitation, 'Infinite scope.'

The late Dr. St. Clair Donaldson (Bishop of Salisbury) used to maintain with emphasis that it was more useful for a clergyman in training to understand Communism than to understand the Public Social Services. Dr. Mapother, characteristically, gives the alternatives a 50/50 importance.

On p. 7 (see the extracts) he asks whether it would help the mentally diseased (alcoholics, &c.) if we lived in communities where both our financial affairs and our thoughts were settled by some one else, e.g. by the Nazi or Fascist parties or the O.G.P.U. Those who care about personalities, he surmises, will say 'No'. Administrators, he hints, will say 'Yes'. The latter, Dr. Mapother surmises, will incline towards 'simple-minded views', such, doubtless, as those which prevail

¹ *The Maudsley Hospital*, Medical Superintendent's Report, period from 1 January 1932 to 31 December 1935, published by the London County Council.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

in Germany, Italy, Turkey, Japan, and Russia. It is not, of course, true that the peoples of those countries are neither troubled by thought nor by financial anxiety. Far from it! But they live under régimes which purport to relieve them of both; and Dr. Mapother thinks that the public authorities who shall in future 'minister to minds diseased' in this country will also favour arrangements of society which purport so to relieve their patients. Clearly, then, he supports Bishop Donaldson's contention that the clergyman must be an adequately equipped listener to persons, prone to mental trouble, who crave for totalitarian types of society. Equally he must offer a patient ear to those whose equilibrium is upset either by the fact or the thought of living under a totalitarian State.

Where do the parochial clergy come in, in individual treatment, where the equilibrium of personality has already been, or is liable to be, upset? Obviously, everywhere. Dr. Mapother deprecates the charge of cynicism, but he shows that, whether regard be had to the available statistics (see pp. 19 and 20; and he has a word of criticism for these, p. 21), or to the amount of time available for individual treatment at all, the limitations imposed upon his staff are inexorable. If the clergyman and his staff, in their capacity of consecrated listeners, have the qualifications enabling them to supplement the eleven-minute treatments which are all the staff have time for, the opportunity is unlimited (see p. 33).

We recall what Mr. Barry Smith said about the costliness of mental service. The British public has not yet begun to study or criticize the cost of the Public Social Services. Even so, the prospect of its being able to add greatly to the length and number per patient of those eleven-minute interviews, i.e. to pay for very much larger psychiatric staffs, is small.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

On p. 21 is revealed the difficulty under which Dr. Mapother and his staff work. Interviews are all-important, but where is the time for them? How gladly would he say, 'That parson chap knows what we are after, and he has listened to this patient for hours. I will talk to him'!

When we come to his pp. 28 and 29 we are right inside the parson's own preserve. It is there that Dr. Mapother refers with contempt to 'conflicts of abstractions'. This is one of the stoutest blows struck for Parochial Service since 1905, and this brilliant mental specialist is the very man to strike it. However far Dr. Mapother rises in the realm of administrative head-quarters, he will never fall into the snare of confusing 'conflicts of abstractions' with effective service to actual individuals suffering from mental trouble; but how many Mapothers are there? Is it not true that it is so difficult for head-quarters staffs, and for any of those whose minds run on head-quarters staff lines, and head-quarters problems, to get beyond 'conflicts of abstractions', that few ever do so?

We now cite, with his permission, Dr. Mapother's own words.

Page 7, 'Results of the Economic Crisis':

The question raised as to the influence of financial stress is part of an even larger one—how far mental disorders are problems of individual psychology and how far problems of sociology. In other words, how far they are the peculiar province of the psychiatrist and how far of the community. Naturally opinions will differ. Those whose attention is focused upon subtle speculations as to the development of personality will stress the efficacy of these. Others who have to concern themselves with administration and drab reports may tend to simple-minded views.

All this is obviously true of the effects of alcohol, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that in dealing with morbid alcoholism, as regards both prevention and arrest, social efforts

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

are far more effective in respect of those to whom they apply than is individual treatment. Rationalization of collective thought and action might control the incidence of neuroses to an extent which cannot be predicted.

Page 19:

TABLE XV

Condition of Patients on Departure after Treatment

	1932	1933	1934	1935
Total treated . . .	890	920	943	960
Number died . . .	22	17	16	10
Departures . . .	642	673	711	721

Departures:

Further Institutional treatment <i>essential</i> . . .	28%	28.6%	27%	25%
Of which Improved . . .	6.7%	4%	3%	6.5%
Not Improved . . .	93.3%	96%	97%	93.5%

Departures:

Further Institutional treatment <i>not essential</i> . . .	72%	71.4%	73%	75%
Of which Recovered . . .	28%	29%	26.3%	15.5%
Improved . . .	51%	50.5%	54.5%	60.5%
Not Improved . . .	21%	20.5%	19.2%	24%

Page 20:

TABLE XVI

Condition after Treatment of all Out-Patients who have attended Three Times or More

	8th year	9th year	10th year	11th year	12th year	13th year
Not Improved	354	259	398	434	572	524
Improved . . .	278	314	264	451	570	651
Recovered . . .	33	27	88	83	91	76

Page 33, 'Psychological Treatment of Functional Disorders':

In 1934, 1,780 new patients received an average of forty-four minutes each of the time of the psychiatrist; 16,216 subsequent interviews were given. The apparent average time available was only eleven minutes per patient per visit. Since, however,

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

most of the time necessary for the treatment of the organic cases was provided by in-patient medical officers, a more correct average would probably be about fifteen minutes per patient per visit.

The whole literature of this subject bristles with points endorsing with emphasis our contention of the scope this field of service offers to adequately professional clergy and parochial staffs.¹

Thus all the books reviewed in the current issue of *Mental Welfare*² teach the same lesson, notably Dr. William Brown's *Mind, Medicine, and Metaphysics*; Dr. Blacker's *A Social Problem Group?*; Dr. Kimber's *Practical Psychology*; Dame Ellen Pinsent's *Mental Health Services in Oxford City and Shire*; Dr. Cattell's *Fight for our National Intelligence*; and, most of all, Miss Ikin's *Background of Spiritual Healing*. The last writer, we are told, 'is devoting her time at present to bringing these views to the notice of the clergy and . . . medical profession in the endeavour to promote a sympathetic and close working co-operation' (p. 92). Her reviewer makes a point we quote frequently in this volume, from Dr. Jessie Taft, viz. 'Psycho-therapy generally necessitates a facing up to reality if cure is to be obtained.' That is precisely what it is so difficult for a public authority to make us do; its imposing resources seem to us so much more adequate to facing up to the grim realities that confront us than our own are! In other words, the more magnificent a public Mental Welfare Authority is, the less fitted it is for this part of its job! Dependence upon so grand a concern seems so natural. But dependence is the enemy of 'facing up to reality'.

¹ A standard work in which individual treatment is emphasized is *Textbook of Psychiatry*, by Henderson and Gillespie.

² Organ of, and obtainable (price 10d.) quarterly from, the Central Association for Mental Welfare, 24 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

That the opening for Parochial Service in conjunction with psychiatric clinics, child and adult, is unlimited—provided, of course, ‘that parson chap’ and his workers understand what is afoot—is an actual, and not an imaginary, one, is demonstrated by arrangements which have now been working admirably in North America for considerably over a decade. If we are right in considering the Parochial Service, in which the clergy were leaders and experts before the war, to be synonymous with Family Case-work, we can cite, as illustrations, the arrangements under which a leading psychiatrist is a part-time officer of the principal Family Case-work agency in Cleveland, and another in Philadelphia, and under which the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in combination with two kindred agencies, maintains a complete psychiatric unit.

The Delinquent. The *vade mecum* on this topic for some years to come will be the Report of the Harris Committee.¹ If no other of all the official documents and relevant volumes and papers cited here had appeared, the Harris Report alone would constitute a challenge to the Churches to revive Parochial Service. This authoritative document is largely taken up with stressing the two points which concern us here, viz. (1) that the Social Services devolving upon probation officers are neither more nor less than an exacting type of Social and Family Case-work; (2) that specifically religious work must in future, as in the past, be one of the most powerful levers available for the accomplishment of the end in view. Here a *caveat* by Dr. Hugh Crichton Miller

¹ Report of the Committee on Social Services Connected with Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, 1936, Cmd. 5122. An important companion volume is *The Handbook of Probation*, obtainable from Mr. H. E. Norman, General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, 47 Whitehall, London, S.W.1.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

warns us that it is not simply any clergyman willing to help who is wanted there, but a fully trained Case-worker. He points out that to attempt to introduce the delinquent abruptly to dogmatic and institutional religion is frequently quite disastrous. The trained Case-worker understands this and will bide his time. In this service it is notorious—and the officers themselves are never tired of expatiating upon it—that the probation officer rarely has so much as an appreciable fraction of the time he requires to do his work in the manner laid down, or in a manner satisfactory to himself. He requires an ally on the spot who understands what he is attempting. In future we hope he is going to say, 'That parson chap understands—I'll see if I cannot interest him.' It will be remembered that the late Mr. Clarke-Hall exerted himself for years to make precisely this arrangement a going concern in East London.

A branch of this subject is that of the discharged prisoner. Here we have the advantage of other recent official Reports.¹ A great proportion of the work being done at present is felt by the excellent people engaged in it to be hardly scratching the problem. Again it is a question of time. Trained people willing to give time, and thoroughly posted in the latest principles and methods, are desperately wanted. 'That parson chap?' The need of adequately trained Parochial Service in this field has been urgent for many years. Miss Elizabeth Kelly, J.P.,² showed in a recent remarkable paper that, since the year 1800, every known variant

¹ Cf. Report of the Commissioners of Prisons (Cmd. 5430, April 1937), esp. pp. 41-3, and Report of Departmental Committee on the Employment of Prisoners (Cmd. 4897, May 1935).

² The Report on three years' working of the Children and Young Persons Acts, 1932, 1933, just issued by the Portsmouth Juvenile Court, of which Miss Kelly is chairman, should also be consulted.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

has been displayed in the attitude towards delinquents, from the judges who hanged and transported men of sterling character for stealing a little food, to the judge who, the other day, gave four 'respectable' young men six months each for combining to rape a girl in turn. The circle has come full round, and nowhere has satisfactory handling of the problem been found. Outstanding authorities on both sides of the Atlantic—Dr. Cyril Burt here, and Dr. William Healy there—assure us that every statement, whether about the cause of the crime or the punishment, treatment, and after-care of the offender, which is general, or proceeds upon preconceived ideas about him personally, is wrong: absolutely unprejudiced and infinitely patient study of each individual, perfect readiness to admit error and try again, are the only attitudes they feel they can commend at all. Is it not simply 'seventy times seven' over again? If there is the least doubt about the opening for Parochial Service here, perusal of *The Young Delinquent*,¹ by Cyril Burt, or of any of the great series of books by William Healy and Augusta Bronner (the latest is *New Light on Delinquency*),² will set such doubts at rest. Nor, in fact, is it possible to imagine any one carrying out their precepts who was not animated by the love of Christ and a real longing to absorb His attitude and to work by His methods.

At the Clarke-Hall Fellowship Dinner on 28 April 1937, Lord Halifax pointed out that 'the age-group 13-17 was responsible for more offences than any other', and Lord Hewart said, 'What is really needed is the care and patience required.' At the twenty-fifth National Conference of Probation Officers on 4 May

¹ University of London Press, price 7s. 6d.

² Published by Yale University Press for the Institute of Human Relations, price \$2, 1936.

SOCIAL AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

1937, Mr. B. J. Reynolds, O.B.E., head of the Probation Branch of the Home Office, said, 'The first essential qualification—the sense of vocation—is the one most commonly found: and it is the only one which ever runs to excess. The second—the right type of personality—is by no means so common. To find both coupled with an adequate technical equipment is rare, and, so far as men candidates are concerned, almost unknown. . . . The gravity of the problem of selection may perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that although 500 applications for training reach the Home Office every year—and every applicant may be assumed to have a sense of vocation and, if we may rely upon testimonials, the right personality—it has been difficult to select more than twelve or fifteen candidates who may reasonably be supposed to have the makings of good probation officers.'¹

One of the friendliest references to religious ministrations of recent years appears in a Report on Juvenile Delinquency composed by a group of officers in the Education Department of the London County Council.² Thus p. 2:

1. *Statistics.*

5. The actual number of London children and young persons who appeared before Metropolitan and other juvenile courts during the year ended 31 March 1935 was 3,365. This was an increase of 45 per cent over the figures for the preceding year. The reasons for the appearance of the juveniles in courts are indicated in the following analysis:

¹ The citations are from *Probation* (the organ of the National Association of Probation Officers, see above) for July 1937. It is frequently helpful to consult *The Penal Reformer*, quarterly, and *The Howard Journal*, annual, issued by the Howard League, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

² February 1937, No. 3256, price 6d., p. 23; obtainable from P. S. King & Son. Cf. also Report of Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis, for 1936, Cmd. 5457, p. 22.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

(a) In need of care or protection	238
(b) Offences	2,966
(c) Beyond control of their parents	126
(d) Truancy	35
	<hr/>
	3,365

Juvenile offenders charged April to September 1936 numbered 2,439, an increase of 55 per cent over the figures for 1934-5 (p. 5).

. . . if it could be assumed that the falling off in the adult membership of religious organizations has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in membership of secular organizations with equal standards of social conduct, it might be inferred that the standard of such conduct has suffered no injury. No such increase has occurred. . . . It is essential to point out that any slackening of effort on the part of religious organizations cannot but react unfavourably on the problem of delinquency (p. 21).

The Harris Committee dealt with domestic relations as well as delinquency and probation.

A still more recent Report¹ puts forward specific plans for bringing into the Administration of this branch of the Peace persons experienced in Parochial Service. The reader will not be surprised to learn that the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937, although it only comes into operation on 1 January 1938, has already brought a crop of conundrums to Parochial and Family Case-workers.

¹ The Report of the Departmental Committee on Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in the Metropolitan Area, 28 June 1937, p. 49, price 9d. See especially pp. 21, 29, 31-3. Cf. also Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act, 1937.

CHAPTER II

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA: IS A REVIVAL NOW DUE?

1. *Man Only Essays at Infrequent Intervals the Most Baffling of all His Tasks*

THE idea of the parish is the idea of human relationships thought of as taking place within a small area—a few hundred yards or even very much less—in a town; a few miles' walking distance even in sparsely peopled country.

The larger the numbers and the greater the distances involved, the simpler and the more similar do these relationships appear. Obstacles to dealing with a great many people in the same way, i.e. of standardizing both the human varieties and vicissitudes, and the relationships that arise from them, tend to disappear, and we readily fall into the error of supposing they do not exist. The same is noted of large audiences and small. Speakers accustomed to both assure us that the larger the audience the broader and more general and abstract the lines upon which the speaker finds himself handling his subject. Large administrative units necessarily involve the elimination of that endless variety of temperament and circumstance which characterizes intimate personal relationships. *Per contra*, the nearer we come to human relationships, the more difficult they are seen to be. The two gentlest, most patient, most considerate, refined, and cultivated people you know will tell you, if they have tried to live together in amity as husband and wife, mother and daughter, a pair of brothers or sisters, cousins, or friends, how difficult they have found it, and how far it has fallen short of being a success. They will add, however, that to make a success of it is more worth

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

while than anything in the world; while to make a failure of it makes everything else—life itself—appear a failure. This is, of course, what any of us would expect who regard personality as the only true reality and all else as having only a kind of second-hand or borrowed reality.

Confucius has the credit of having inculcated principles which have proved more effective, and more lasting for a greater number of human beings—and those the most talented, and in many ways the most remarkable, in the world—than anybody else. He put the most intimate, least escapable, human relationships in the forefront. If, he said, you can make a success of the relationships of father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, your adjustment to life need cause you no anxiety.

Miss Mary Richmond, the most highly honoured teacher of social science in America in the last hundred years, in the final effort of her life, bade her disciples inform themselves thoroughly of the facts of the marriage relationship in North America, and she set to work upon the quest herself. Translating the experience of the very best pairs of people we know into movements affecting groups of such people, and, through them, their times, we find mankind ever and anon saying:

Let us try again. The people are unhappy: the basic relationships are strained: the world is out of joint:

O excellent gift of Providence, who has given us a lifetime in which to set it right!¹

Our historical sketch reveals a peak in the curve of this secular effort round about the year 1843. It was characterized specially in several ways. Besides being due in the fullness of time, it burst out, in reply, (1) to

¹ At less happy moments the exclamation runs, 'O cursèd spite! that ever I was born to set it right!'

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

the popularity of one of the most mechanical and most popular formulae ever contrived—Jeremy Bentham's Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number; (2) to a salutary enough centralization and mechanization, largely engineered by Edwin Chadwick, of the immemorial public relief of needy persons by, and in, the parish; and (3) to a frontal attack upon the whole idea of a religious interpretation of life and upon religious institutions; finally, it aimed at helping to better those human relationships—in need of which people of all social grades constantly stand—in the social groups and strata which specially interested Christ, and amongst whom He found the best material.

If we are right in our slogan, 'Social life is nothing if not religious: religion is nothing if not a quality of social life', it is normal to expect an institution to be a religious one which has been associated throughout the ages with the inescapable crises of life, marriage, birth, adolescence, death. Unless a religious character can be imparted to these, the hope of constructing a truly human society is remote. At the time when our Association brought them such effective assistance in 1844 and subsequent years, we find the parochial clergy occupied, during a large part of their time, with the weddings, christenings, and funerals of the rapidly growing populations of the great industrial parishes.

Our study of a hundred years reveals a *crescendo* of intellectual interest in the parochial idea, i.e. in the discovery of the basic truths of philosophy and religion in the intimate human relationships. We take, by way of illustration, the succession of great names connected with one Oxford college (Balliol), viz. Jowett, Stanley, Green, Nettleship, Bosanquet, Loch, Marett, and Cyril Bailey. We find this wave at its crest in and about 1880, and we note at that time a galaxy of youthful talent seeking the consecration of all their

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

lives in fostering idealized human relationships in the tiny clusters of humble streets which make up an East End parish. The curve falls abruptly as we approach the Niagara of the Great War, and we are only realizing now how completely, during five years, our powers of attention, observation, and sympathy were absorbed in that event. As we have slowly and gradually recovered the power of observing life in terms other than those of war—and great numbers of the most learned and exalted amongst us have, so far, made no such recovery—we are aware of a very strange phenomenon. It is true that intimate human relationships, and the enormous difficulty of effecting them in amity and mutual helpfulness, are being studied once more, but how? Where? And by whom? By psychiatrists and psychiatrically trained social workers at newly established clinics, or departments of hospitals; and serving, especially, delinquent, backward, difficult, and unhappy children, and difficult and unhappy adults. The cases are studied with a care and elaboration which constitutes an important recognition of the sublime character we are claiming for our subject, human relationships, i.e. the Parochial Idea. We esteem, and are grateful without stint to, these skilled and devoted Case-workers. But we submit that, obviously, the setting up of a few psychiatric clinics is not a substitute for a universal Parochial Service.

We are asking, therefore, whether the time has not fully come for an effort to attain another peak in the immemorial curve of Parochial Service. We plead, in other words, that this is no moment at all for the clergy to abandon this whole conception of the method of their ministry and to become congregational or itinerant preachers.

To-day the Church is beginning to receive as ordinands the generation which has grown up to fill the

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

grisly, yawning wounds of war. What is the opportunity she is offering them? Does she hold out to them, as of old, in her parishes, an opportunity to bring balm to troubled hearts, to 'ravel up the sleeve of care', to smooth out twisted, tortured human relationships and bring peace and goodwill where friction and unhappiness have blighted the lives of young and old?

Or does she only say, 'You can announce all that from platforms and pulpits of a varied assortment, if your eloquence can collect an audience, but the day of carrying it to the firesides of humble folk is gone.'

We submit: (1) that worse situations than the present have been met and triumphantly saved; (2) that, alongside of discouraging signs and portents, the present days exhibit other and heartening ones.

We submit that in 1843 the Church, confronted by a far more perilous situation than this one, chose the Parochial Idea as the best way to deal with it, and won all along the line for forty years; that the Church was again confronted by a formidable crisis in the eighties, again countered with Parochial Service, and was again blessed with success for another twenty years; that a third crisis matured between 1906 and 1909, but that, then, the Parochial Idea, contrary to expectation, suffered a signal defeat; and that developments have taken place between 1906 and 1937 which can be interpreted in two ways, viz. (1) as the final destruction of the possibility of effective Parochial Service; or (2) as affording opportunities for Parochial Service more copious, varied, and promising than any ever known before.

If we accept the most depressing interpretations which can be put upon these developments, it is possible to argue that every one of the great series of Acts of a social character passed in the years 1906, 1907, 1908,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

1910, 1911, 1918, 1925, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, was made an occasion for specifically despising and rejecting the co-operation of Parochial Service: but we deprecate any such interpretation. On the contrary, we claim boldly that these Acts between them have made the present golden opening for Parochial Service.

II. *Re-integrating Religion with Life*

It is true that the business of organizing religion, and, therefore, the task of those who are called to organize it, is to give to the human beings in their 'cure' the courage, hope, and faith to go on, to endure; to care for, and maintain in themselves, ethical standards; and to present to their imaginations visions.

It is true that the aim of this service is, in an important degree, to liberate them as individuals from the oppressiveness that human contacts engender when spiritual motives and objectives are absent.

BUT the rendering of this service itself involves human relationships; and it is only, as St. Catherine of Siena taught, the exceptional human being who can get very far with spiritual life in isolation.

The question of good human relationships—in practice, of the improvement of human relationships—emerges thus from any attempt to define the business of a minister of religion.

The method of the greatest masters confirms this. Plato led us to the Vision of the Idea of the Good, and Aristotle to the Contemplation of God; but both bestowed much attention upon human relationships on the way, and those of their works which Christendom has selected for perpetual study are largely taken up with the latter.¹ Our Saviour Himself, who carried,

¹ The *Republic* of Plato and the *Ethics* of Aristotle.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

and ever carries, us so far out of the reach of 'the Prince of this World', and who consigned to the scrap-heap so large a proportion of the types of human relationship thought important in His day, bestowed, none the less, a remarkable amount of attention upon certain relationships. Again, difficult as it is to help souls to love God in isolation, it is, in practice, staggeringly difficult to help them to live in peace and goodwill with one another; or to help them either to escape from, or bear, the hindrances to the spiritual life which arise from contacts with their fellows.

These contacts arise in many ways, some unnecessary, but it is perfectly clear that the dispensation under which we live involves certain ones, viz. all that we mean by family, and all those arising from life's uncertainties and vicissitudes. Our Saviour stresses both of these. It would appear, surely, to follow that all ministers of religion and Church workers who undertake general case-work—what we call Parochial Service—must aim at equipping themselves to handle these human relationships in such a way as to make them, so far as may be, helps, as little as may be, hindrances, to the spiritual life. It might not be too much to say that it is here, *par excellence*, that they will discover the acid-test of their ministry.

It would appear, then, that skill in dealing with certain human relationships is indispensable to clergy and Church workers.

Is there any particular purpose in studying the efforts made by the Church, or the Churches, or the allies and associates of the Church and Churches, to improve human relationships in the last hundred years? There is at least one reason for replying in the affirmative.

There is an appreciable consensus of opinion that human relationships were approached in a more

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

religious spirit between 1840 and 1886¹ (some say 1840-70) than in the period 1886-1937. In other words, the community has inclined towards leaving the clergy and Church workers out of its plans for improving human relationships since 1886. This seems to us a reason for studying somewhat closely what was done and attempted before 1886.

There is another reason. While it is true that the community has left the ministers of religion at work in industrial parishes out of its deliberations since 1886, it has failed signally to discover an aim different from that set before themselves by persons interested in human relationships in the more religious 1840-86 period. It is reasonable to infer from this that the community has not been particularly sagacious in leaving out the clergy and Church workers. These latter may, of course, have been themselves to blame. Have they persisted, in all cases, in the endeavour to equip themselves to deal in the wisest possible manner with these complicated, baffling, and elusive relationships upon which the Saviour laid such stress? It is worth their while, is it not, to make themselves acquainted with the efforts of those of their own body and their allies who did exert themselves to attain proficiency in a service enjoined upon them in such striking terms by their Master? The story of the Metropolitan

¹ We have taken 1886 as marking the commencement of an epoch because the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (1906-9) took that date. Others might prefer 1888, because of the Local Government Act passed that year. The existence of the great local authorities has inclined the people more and more to transfer to the shoulders of public officials the struggles with life's vicissitudes in which character and personality are built up. When these are abandoned, the clergyman finds his 'occupation gone'. Our thesis is that the capacity of the public official to take over all that is involved in life's vicissitudes has been found to be more limited than was expected, and that the clergyman has a chance of coming into his own again.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

Visiting and Relief Association is the story of those efforts so far as the metropolis is concerned.

'*Signally failed.*' On 15 June 1937 there appeared No. 101 of *Planning*. Pages 1-13 have the heading, 'The Social Services Surveyed'. On p. 12 we read, 'The guiding principle should be permanently to minimize the number of people in the community who cannot stand on their own feet.'

This was the guiding principle enunciated by Mr. Gladstone and his friends when they founded the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association in 1843; and again when they founded the Charity Organization Society in 1869; and it has continued to be the guiding principle in both of these closely allied organizations ever since. It is a principle not difficult to state but infinitely difficult to apply, and one whose application challenges the whole of the spiritual equipment of those who obey the call to try to apply it. May it suffice for the moment to say that many years' study of much of the relevant literature throughout many climes and ages leaves the present writers with the impression that this challenge is the most far-reaching, and the most difficult to meet, known to mankind?

At this point it will be asked, and with justice, 'What purpose is served by all this pompous verbiage? Will any one deny that the clergy of to-day are a keen, vigorous, alive, sensible, unselfish body of men, that they will quit themselves like men whatever challenges affront them, and that in a real day-to-day practical world Aristotle himself would not have asked more of them?'

It is just because we concede gladly and wholeheartedly the first of these three propositions that we reject peremptorily the other two. We believe that this admirable body of men is almost completely deprived of the opportunity of quitting themselves like men upon

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the greatest and most frequent of all the occasions which arise in their service, through lack of specific training; and that even those of them who still have the advantage of studying Aristotle's *Ethics* are deprived of the opportunity of applying its teaching because no one ever makes the slightest attempt to indicate to them of what this application consists.

The training of the clergy is, almost inevitably, in a state of chaos, for the very good reason that the thinking of the nation is in that state. It is our submission that the pea-soup fog which spread over that thinking in the period 1870 to 1930 is passing, and that the hour has come for some such revival of firm grasp upon the oneness of religious and social problems and principles as characterized the third, fourth, and fifth decades of last century. Our commencing date, 1843, is one of the dates at which that revival was at its height. If we gird ourselves to-day, 1943 might well occupy a similar position.

The attitude of the 'average man' to what he calls religion to-day, and his conception of that religion which he rejects, are both, in the light of common sense, absurd. He can no more reject religion than he can 'reject' his lungs or his liver, and any concept of religion which he can at all effectively reject must *ipso facto* be an utterly inadequate one. Religion is either the very warp and woof of his daily existence or it is nothing at all. The administration of Public Assistance, Unemployment Assistance, Widows' and Old Age Pensions, School Medical Inspection, Housing Acts, an anti-tuberculosis campaign, an anti-maternal-mortality campaign, &c., &c., are either religious through and through, or they are futile. That is, they are either adjusted to the service of whole personalities or they will fail of their effect. The two writers who have exerted most influence in these connexions during

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

the last two generations are, without serious rivals, Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb. In the first three decades of their career they endorsed this assertion, and have been known to add, 'Had we been brought up to it we should have been regular Church-goers.' By an unexpected *volte face*, in their latest and biggest book, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?*, which they have taken steps to circulate throughout the intelligentsia of the Labour Movement, they declare that the decision of the present rulers of Russia to 'eliminate the supernatural' has enabled those rulers to introduce to the world a new and better civilization than it has ever known (pp. 1004-16).

But it is impossible to 'eliminate the supernatural' from human life. Whence arises this disastrous paradox? Surely from the Church's usual, average, ordinary, most widespread, presentation of the 'supernatural'? The Webbs welcomed the appearance of Whitehead's books on religion. They are systematic thinkers. This pronunciamento in their book on Russia constitutes, therefore, a challenge the Churches cannot ignore; and all the more because the ruling coterie in Russia reject mechanistic materialism with a vehemence equal to the Webbs' rejection, on Russia's behalf, of the supernatural! (Cf., e.g., the chapter by Levisky in *Christianity and the Social Revolution*, edited by John Lewis, published by Gollancz, 1935, pp. 270-2.)

Doubtless little man is committed, by the only thinking, speaking, and writing apparatus he has been able so far to evolve, to divisions and sub-divisions and watertight compartments of the business of life.

Doubtless the division of labour, and of the professions, crafts, trades, and faculties, has conduced to a certain proficiency; but both alike only at a cost always threatening to be ruinous. Doubtless bishops and bishops' chaplains, Regius Professors of Divinity,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

deans and canons of cathedrals, clergy permanently seconded for the service of missions and retreats and quiet days, staffs of theological colleges and the like, have rendered, and render, invaluable service to God and His people in His Church. None the less, it is from their ostensible segregation from the give-and-take of social, industrial, commercial, and administrative life that has grown up the monstrous fallacy that religion is something separate and separable from daily life, as chemistry is, botany is, conveyancing and the higher mathematics to some extent are.

To some restoration of the point of view of the great ages of man when his faith permeated his life, the medical profession is making the biggest contribution to-day. This is there, for him who runs to read, in a book so determinedly popular as Sir Henry Brackenbury's *Patient and Doctor*; in addresses given by Lord Horder, Mr. Wilfrid Trotter, Sir Walter Langdon Brown, Sir Farquhar Buzzard, Dr. Henry Yellowlees, Dr. George Scott Williamson, and a very great many more. In every instance these writers sought only to help the general practitioner to do his job. None of them imagined they were writing theology. They were doing so, however, as Dr. H. P. Newsholme, Medical Officer of Health, Birmingham, shows explicitly in his two remarkable volumes, *Health, Disease, and Integration* and *Evolution and Redemption*. The same thing forces its way to the light even in documents like the Report on the Scottish Health Services (Cmd. 5204, 1936; see pp. 150-6), and Investigations into Maternal Mortality in England (Cmd. 5422, 1927), especially pp. 116 and 117, and Wales (Cmd. 5423, 1937), especially pp. 100-1, 115-20.

It crops up in Section 35(2) of the Unemployment Act, 1934, and in the Unemployment Assistance Board's First and Second Annual Reports. It permeates

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

the Report on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (Cmd. 5122, 1936).

Is there, then, some powerful and not-to-be-denied factor common to the experience of those responsible for these ostensibly divergent and unconnected branches of human enterprise? There is, indeed. Is not each one of these practical people, engaged as they are in utterly 'everyday' avocations, forced, willy-nilly, ineluctably—even fighting desperately, it may be, to remain in the segregated comfort of his own profession and department, under his own statute and regulations—forced up against the dire necessity of dealing with the whole man, woman, boy, girl, even family, or else of failing miserably to make his work, his service, effective?

The cat is out of the bag! The whole man! That is a tall order! What the office-boy would call a 'shipping order'! As Dr. Henry Yellowlees says of 'the psychiatrist to be', 'It is a hard thing to say about a man, but I am afraid he will have to believe in a future life.'

To the historic Church, as she has evolved through the long ages, sixty thousand, a hundred thousand years, a million years—whatever the latest estimate of Sir Arthur Keith, Professor Elliot Smith, and Dr. Marett is—the counterpart of this everyday life in which doctors, bureaucrats, magistrates, and probation officers are driven, by the cruel lash of their own failures, to try to discover and deal with the whole man, is her Parochial Service. Ever and anon she has striven to get back from the deadly departmentalizing process which was making her and her officers a thing apart and, *pari passu*, secularizing life, and to revive her hold upon, and service to, the 'whole man'. The year 1843 was one of the most outstanding of those moments, and W. E. Gladstone one of the most fervent of all her seekers after re-integration of religion and

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

daily life. The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association was the result of his passionate quest. Benjamin Jowett and Thomas Hill Green (1836-82) were also outstanding seekers after that re-integration, and no man ever strove more valiantly to make it real and effective than did their pupil, Charles Stewart Loch, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society (1876-1915) and close and lifelong ally of the M.V.R.A.

Once more, then, 'The clergy are good, keen fellows: what is all the fuss about?'

Just this: the evidence shows that, under pressure of the exigencies of thought, expression, and the business of life, man is always 'Sunday-fying' religion again; always 'backsliding' from the realization that all life is either religious or a failure; and the clergy, wittingly or unwittingly, are always being driven out of everyday life into a black-coated, dog-collared, Sunday isolation and ineffectiveness. The force of a revival is soon spent, as the prophets of ancient Israel and the apostles of Christ were always finding. The revival of 1843, so popular in the Church and in the metropolis for a decade, had to be renewed by the foundation of the Society for the Relief of Distress in 1860, and of the Charity Organization Society in 1869. In 1887, speaking in Paris, C. S. Loch believed that the re-integration of religion with everyday life was in such a full tide that, with a little more enthusiasm and faith, it might, at that moment, 'lead on to victory' all over the world. In fact, a 'backsliding' had already set in, in his own country, which was to lead down into something not readily distinguishable from the abyss.

To-day the Oxford Group Movement seems to us an authentic symptom of revival, but it is a young people's movement, a movement of big gatherings, eloquence, enthusiasm, and confident expectation. It has not so far made much contribution to the

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

Technical Aspect of the Question. None of the leaders of the medical profession ; none of the experienced Civil Servants in the Home Office, or the Unemployment Assistance Board, whom we cited just now, has ever suggested that eloquent exhortation, even accompanied by deeply felt conviction, will alone enable a general practitioner, a nurse, a midwife, an unemployment assistance, relieving, or probation officer, to deal with the 'whole man' or 'whole woman'. The application of that conviction is an exactingly technical process, as Dr. Cyril Burt, for example, says so well at the end of his classical book on the young delinquent.

But be it observed: be each and all of those practitioners *never* so convinced of the holism required by his profession, he finds himself, inescapably, the slave of specialization and departmentalism at every turn. To be a persistent holist he must also be a persistent rebel against the most ineluctable conditions of his service. A moment's thought or recollection will convince any one that this must be so. Not so the parochial clergyman and Church worker. There is nothing to prevent their regarding every parishioner as 'whole'. Their difficulty is, of course, to get a chance of regarding them at anything like close quarters at all. For all the workers mentioned above, their human contacts are ready made. It is true they are to-day narrowly specified and rigidly mechanized contacts. Still, an officer or a doctor can always at least bring a holist quality into his contacts. The parson and Church worker have no ready-made contacts. They have to make every single one for themselves. That is why their profession is, and always has been, by far the most technical of all.

Can we say that the technical equipment of a clergyman of the Church of England to-day is comparable to that of a doctor, a Jesuit priest, a Scots minister, a

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

rabbi, at least of the great age, a teacher in the Academy, or the Stoa, a barrister of the time of Cicero, a hospital almoner, a C.O.S. secretary of to-day, or any other type of person who has shown anywhere, or at any time, proficiency in the art and technique of integrating religion with everyday life?

What is this Technique of Human Relationships? In the Far East it has been, and still is, dominated by the teaching of Confucius. In the West it has been dominated by the name of Aristotle. In the Middle Ages it was known, and very thoroughly known, through his interpreters the Schoolmen, who built up an imposing body of instructions upon his admirable foundations. From the Renaissance until far on into the period of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association (1843-1937) every educated man in western Europe was expected to be familiar at least with his *Ethics*. From Chaucer to James Barrie, Robert Bridges, and Humbert Wolfe, the literature of this island has been rich in precisely the material required for equipping the parochial clergyman to be a Family Case-worker. We doubt if any literature contains a case record that can compete with Browning's 'Ring and the Book'.

The part played by Hooker, Milton, Defoe, Fielding, Wordsworth, Blake, Tennyson, and, above all, Shakespeare, in forming that Art of Human Relationships which we call Family Case-work, becomes ever more vividly present to us as we proceed through life; but it is not obvious to the deacon upon his first arrival in an industrial parish. Its specific and methodical application to Parochial Service, perfected by the Schoolmen, had fallen somewhat into abeyance, so far as the clergy were concerned, when Thomas Chalmers became minister of the Tron Church in Glasgow in 1815. Besides being the best of all parochial organizers, Chalmers was an eloquent writer and speaker, and

Mr. Gladstone himself relates how he was one of an audience 'packed to suffocation', and 'including most of the leading personages of the day', who heard him lecture not long before the founding of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. Besides our own Association, a number of Family Case-work Societies were formed about this time (1843) on both sides of the Atlantic.¹ It is useful to note that in no instance were these societies formed, any more than the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association was, because there was any lack of activity in helping the needy in cash or kind. Quite the contrary. In every instance the aim was to restore the Family Case-work method to the extensive relief operations which have never ceased since our first parents left Eden, but which have constantly been subject to deplorable 'backsliding' in the matter of method, and of the application of the Science and Art of Human Relationships.

Thanks, as we shall see, to the genius, burning enthusiasm, and sleepless devotion of one man, Charles Stewart Loch, that particular form of backsliding has never been allowed to become complete on this island since 1876. Innumerable parochial clergy and Church workers have been, and are, staunch disciples of Loch. This well-known fact hardly needs illustration. The present Bishop of Southwell—the Right Reverend Dr. Henry Mosley—always insisted, when Rector of Poplar and, later, of Hackney, that every junior clergyman and Church worker passing through his hands should take part in the work of the local C.O.S. Committee. The same is true of the late Lord Wenlock in his service of the Eton Mission, Hackney Wick, at St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green, and at St. John-at-Hackney (1881-1911). His influence has long outlived him. A visitor to the Hackney C.O.S. Committee in

¹ Cf. p. 168.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

June 1937 found the Rector, and two of his curates as well, besides the Vicar of Homerton, present and taking an effective part.

But it is not enough for an incumbent, and even a bishop, to say to a junior clergyman, 'I require you to associate yourself with the work of the local C.O.S. Committee', invaluable as that requirement is. We venture to submit that specific instruction and training in the Science and Art of Family Case-work according to the best models, and illustrated by the best literature on the subject, should be just as much a part of the clergyman's equipment as it has now been, for a quarter of a century, part of the equipment of the one section of the women Church workers with diocesan recognition. We do not deny for a moment that a parson who has been 'through the C.O.S. mill' knows what to do for a parishioner in trouble, with a readiness, precision, and effectiveness rarely, if ever, discoverable in those who have not been through that 'mill'. We should be the last to minimize that priceless boon. But we are a Church Association. For us, there is more at stake than the competence of the parochial clergyman to do 'a good case-work job' on it, real though that is, when confronted by a parishioner in trouble. Taking in our mouths the names of Gladstone, Denison, the Bosanquets, Loch, Mary Richmond, and Jessie Taft, we plead that steps be taken to enable the parson to grasp the fact that, in doing that 'case-work job', he is 'showing forth Christ' *many times more effectively* than is possible in any sermons or addresses, Bible, confirmation, or even communion class instructions. We go a little further. We are bold to submit that until he has learned, painfully, to do a good job of case-work, he will be without anything approaching an adequate understanding either of the Incarnation or of the Holy Eucharist.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

But our object is not to glorify the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. It is rather this. Fifty years ago we read the Bible, Plato, and Aristotle, and we said, 'Now we want to do that, and to do it at those standards.' To-day we are told, 'You can't do that unless you are a Civil Servant.' Meantime, the science, art, and discipline of this pastoral service have left old England and passed to the New York, Philadelphia, Toronto, Stockholm, and Vienna Schools of Social Work.

III. *The Greatest of the Professions: Can Mankind Afford to Let it Die?*

What is this lack, this loss, which seems to be shared by all the departments of life? What is this lag, this surd, this missfire, which seems to say to progress at every point, 'Thus far and no farther!'

Responsible officers are telling us that they all fall short in their handling: (1) of personality, and (2) of the personal relations side, whether of their service, of their objective, or of the problems these present. Their exposition of this common failing we cited in detail for each of the Social Services in Chapter I. Our purpose here is merely to recall the obvious fact that these have always been the hardest nuts to crack in human affairs; and that humanity has at all times employed, for their cracking, professional experts—that is, men and women trained to function at the highest level, and holding a university degree, or whatever corresponded to it, to prove they had been so trained. Great Britain is in the act of dropping this profession. Like everything else of high quality, its nature and function have never been at all widely understood. It can easily drop out, unnoticed by any section of the busy world, and its disappearance be signalled only when, in the words of an unemployed

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

man a few weeks back, 'I can assure you this old world will eventually destroy itself by hate and greed. We are living in a world of madmen.'¹

In all that can be done wholesale, generally, mechanically, this world, as exemplified by Great Britain, is to-day far more sympathetic with the unemployed man's particular misfortune, and generous in succouring him, than any community known to history. Why does he only perceive hate, greed, and madness? Because Great Britain falls short on the personal side of this problem, and her chief officers, handling it for her, find themselves compelled to write—e.g. Lord Rushcliffe, Chairman of the Unemployment Assistance Board, 'There have been difficulties in obtaining applicants for the training schemes conducted by the Ministry of Labour'; and Mr. N. B. Batterbury, Chief Regional Officer—of a deplorable case—'No doubt a period at a training centre would be beneficial to him if he could be induced to undergo a course' (pp. 4 and 65, Second Annual Report of the Unemployment Assistance Board, Cmd. 5526, July 1937).

These are just instances of the 'hardest nut to crack' all down the ages. Under Providence the parish priest was for thirteen centuries the professional man called and sent to toil at its cracking—never on wholesale, statistical, advertisable, Parliamentary lines, of course, but leavening the lump through individuals and little groups. Can Great Britain afford to drop him? It will be said, 'Very well, if Mr. Peter Scott (Brynmawr and Upholland), Lord Rushcliffe, and Mr. Batterbury know all about this lag, cannot we leave it to them?' We rejoin, 'Such realization is far from being universal. The important and brilliant Inter-departmental Committee on Rehabilitation of Persons Injured by Accidents

¹ Quoted in Annual Report on the Brynmawr and Upholland experiments, p. 64.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

have produced an Interim Report (June 1937) without so much as a whisper that any personality problems are involved in their reference! Yet we are unacquainted with any situations, in the whole range of human vicissitude, more poignant than those which frequently arise over the claims under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, with which the Committee is chiefly concerned.'

Warnings and exhortations pour in from widely separate fields of human endeavour. Sir Arnold Wilson, writing¹ on St. George's Day, 1937, on the big topic of industrial assurance, in which the British public had £366,289,000 of its 'small savings' invested (cf. last Report of the Industrial Assurance Commissioner on 22 July 1937), first quotes Professor Pigou:

The main cause of this success has been the simple and almost mechanical action of the forces by which the modern social order has built up an organization of effort so intricate that it could not be described in a long study.

And then adds the warning:

Whether we like it or not, the vast scale on which the business is conducted is no longer simple, mechanical, automatic: its effects upon our social structure (and therefore upon the personal lives of the citizens) are of growing significance.

From far-off Victoria (Australia) the *Hospital Magazine* (pp. 9-11) for July 1937 takes up the ever more menacing lag in our social relationships, 'Care of the Sick: Payment Problem: Average Income Cannot Meet Hospitalization Cost'. Among exhortations, the *Compass* for June 1937 (organ of the American Association of Social Workers—one of the most expert professional publications in the world) devotes thirteen closely printed columns to an article by the Assistance

¹ *Industrial Assurance*, Oxford University Press, pp. 519, xxiv.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Director of the County Relief Board, Philadelphia (staff of 1,800 dealing with 100,000 families), upon the personality adjustment required for successful administration, in which worth-while personnel 'yearn to have a vital relation to the thing which is important' (p. 23).

Does some one ask, 'Where does the parish priest come in?' We reply, 'It is as "consecrated listener" to the chagrins, resentments, and despair of one here, one there, of the millions who fail to adjust themselves to one or other of these and similar vast undertakings, that the parish priest plays his part and leavens the lump.'

We concede that his individual contacts are no more than grains of mustard seed, but we recall the promise that, if he is faithful, the birds of the air, the sparrows¹ of the modern world, the humble folk in the big industrial parishes, will come and build the nests of their souls on the branches thereof.

The specific function of the parish priest—that of rescuing the people from fear, reconciling them, one by one, to pain, physical and mental, as the very source of strength and goodness in mansoul—is still very far from being taken over, even by the splendid sciences of to-day. From the *ne plus ultra* of up-to-date medicine, the Sir James Mackenzie Institute (St. Andrews), come these words: 'It fell to me to plan and to carry out . . . experiments and observations which could throw light upon the mechanism of the production of pain. . . . We soon discovered that the subject was an almost unknown field, and that no definite and precise knowledge existed upon it.'² What candidate for election can tell a voter, what official an applicant, that

¹ The reader will recall that, in *Chantecler*, Rostand brings on the sparrows to represent the children of industrial Paris.

² *Paper for the Weekly Staff Meeting*, by Dr. D. Waterston. p. 25.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

only humility without fear or subservience can bring an improvement?

Yet, without it, the 'rhythmical human companionship' which Dr. L. P. Jacks, following Carlyle in borrowing the thought from Plato and Aristotle, calls 'the essence of good citizenship', cannot exist.

How little they are rescued from fear was emphasized a few weeks back by Dr. Edward Mapother when he pleaded for some means of 'eliminating from military units men subject to panic who can destroy the morale of the whole body of their comrades'.

IV. *Temporary Eclipse of the Parochial Clergy in the Social Services*

The Darkest Hour is that before the Dawn

What is the question we want these hundred years, and the men and women of these hundred years, to answer?

We want them to tell us NOW—1937-8—(1) what re-arrangement of our affairs and thoughts, if any, will make it a better world for the ordinary man, woman, and child; (2) what part the clergy and Church workers can and ought to play; (3) whether the small territorial parish, in which the parson and his staff, if any, are geographically the neighbours of those ordinary people, has a future; and (4) whether the institutional exposition of the Christian message, and the administration of the Christian Sacraments, can usefully be any longer ostensibly associated with neighbourly service.

The 'man in the street' (a considerably more articulate, even opinionative, person than the 'ordinary man', who may be opinionative but is certainly not articulate) answers: 'When I am in need, I want to know what the Unemployment Assistance Board or the Minister of Health, either directly (through his agents,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the Customs and Excise Department, if I am over seventy), or indirectly, (a) through an approved society, (b) through my local authority, is going to do for me:

‘When I, or my dependants, are in pain, or sick, or injured, above all—and most frequently—when I am *frightened*, I want to know what medicine is going to do about it, by way of a doctor and his dispenser, an apothecary, a nurse, a midwife, a health visitor, a psychologist, a psychiatrically trained social worker; in a consulting-room or in my home if it is a minor affair; at, or even in, a hospital if it is serious. I want those services of up-to-date type and readily available. I do not understand at all clearly what the present arrangements are—free-lance family doctor, “panel” doctor, clinic doctor and satellites, voluntary association nurse or midwife, local authority nurse or midwife, voluntary hospital, municipal hospital—but I should have thought a straight State service from top to bottom, like the Unemployment Assistance Board, would work better. There are, besides, those people who come round and talk about our health when we are neither sick, in pain, injured, nor frightened. They tell us, “Drink more milk”, “Eat more fruit”, and I believe they do more and more about it in the schools, especially in regard to teeth. Well, good luck to them! After all, we need not do what they say unless we like.

‘When my wayward impulses run away with me, and I, or one of my family, gets across the police or the magistrate, I expect the Home Office to do the best it can for me and mine. As for the education of my children, and the cultural development of my mind and body, and theirs, that has long been the affair of the Board of Education. I believe my local authority thinks it ought to have a finger in the pie, though I cannot imagine for what reason.

‘Industry—my job? Jobs for my sons and daughters?

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

I cannot think why that is not arranged like all those other things. Meantime, the people at the exchange are very nice, and seem to do their best for us when we ask them.

'Religion? That is another affair altogether. I can assure you it has nothing to do with my needs, my pains, or my fears. But I like to hear a good sermon at times myself, or an anthem well sung. I quite often put the wireless on for those. One of my lads is very keen about early morning communion. I think that is a very good thing too, for those that like it.

'The Church of England parish, parish church, and vicar? I see no purpose whatever in any of those. I recollect when I was a boy, thirty years ago or more, the *Daily News* took a census of religion. Mr. Mudie Smith wrote it up, and I agreed with what he said. The Christian message, if it interests you, is best delivered in large, comfortable, well-lighted, well-upholstered, and well-heated halls, by eloquent, attractive, popular preachers, and with a first-class equipment for "community" singing. The Church of England arrangement was then, and is still more now, completely out of date, and serves no useful purpose whatever. The modern young Church of England parson says exactly the same as I do. A young cousin of mine got in with some parsons, and they found the money for him to attend King's College. I have heard him say, many a time, "What I have got to do is fill my church, increase my communicants' roll, and keep up my supply of candidates for confirmation. I can tell you it is a full-time job. Parish boundaries simply do not interest me except as regards wedding fees. As to Social Services, they are the business of the State. Let the State get on with it." I have heard him say that the late Bishop of Salisbury, whom he regarded as his leader, was quite opposed to the clergy taking

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

part in Social Service. "If you want to go outside the Gospel," he used to say, "get a thorough grasp of what the Communists are teaching, and see if you can counter it."'

'Is your cousin not invited to take part in Social Service?' 'Oh, yes, to some small extent. He was asked to open his parish hall as an occupational centre for the unemployed. He had a very unruly mob there for a while, but he is of opinion—and so were the unemployed—that a proper training centre run by the Ministry of Labour or the Unemployment Assistance Board is what they want. He was asked to join a School Care Committee and look up the children in his parish whose teeth and ears required attention. He could not see that it was his job, and refused. He has not been approached about any other Social Services.'

'Does your cousin think his work will be affected by the new cultural organizers and community cultural centres that are to be introduced everywhere either by the Board of Education or by this council of which Captain Ellis is the secretary?'

'He does not think his own work will be affected because he has never touched the recreational side of things. He thinks many of his clerical friends, whose whole energy goes into Boy Scouts, football teams, evening club and gymnastic work, Church Lads' Brigade, summer camps, and the like, will be left high and dry with nothing to do. He doubts very much whether that type of man should be ordained at all, and he thinks the bishops have "led these men up the garden" by encouraging them to waste their time in such ways. If these were ever useful approaches to human souls, they are not so to-day.'

'You spoke just now of psychiatry, and of people who are frightened. I suppose you were referring to what is called the "mental factor in disease"? Does

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

your cousin think there is any opening for the parochial clergy there?’

‘No, he does not. He thinks the clergy might have got in there fifty years ago, if they could have forecast the future. To-day, he says, such cases are sent as a matter of course to psychiatric clinics either at general hospitals or independent of them; and no one would dream of sending them to any parson at all, much less to a man merely because he happened to be the parson of that parish.’

Let us pass from the ‘man in the street’ to a more precisely informed challenger. He puts us this query:

‘You say that, in regard to the possibilities of quality in human relationships, the ordinary man has never seen anything beyond the shadows of the Clay Images in the Cave;¹ that what you are pleading for is continuity in applying, in the Cave, the glimpses you have caught of the Vision in the Super-Heavenly places; and that that continuity is manifested, you say, in a very perfect and splendid manner in the Family Case-work of North America to-day. How do you account for the fact that, far from being in the hands of the parochial clergy, the manifestation is performed by a body of laymen who claim that they are members of a profession of equal status with, but totally independent of, the parochial or any other clergy?’

This challenge is not easy to meet. Elsewhere we quote what the greatest American authorities are saying to-day about the necessity of permeating the Social Services with the case-work idea. Possibly there is an historical explanation of the present situation which gives this challenge a turn, more favourable than might be expected, to our argument. The point was put the other day to a leading member of that profession.

¹ Figure used by Plato in his *Republic* to signify the most superficial level of intellectual activity.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

He replied, 'Most of us were ministers in one or other of the denominations. When we specialized in social work, we saw that, unless we cut ourselves completely off from the ministry, we should never build up a profession of social work, but always remain a mere side-show of the Churches.'

There is to be heard an equally strong chorus of voices pitying our grandparents because they lacked our conveniences—motor-cars, wireless, aviation, and Social Services—and of voices deploring the present-day disintegration, alike of the social fabric and of the characters of the people who compose it.¹ Perhaps the strongest single testimony is the one we cite elsewhere, viz. pp. 116–18 of the Report of an Investigation into Maternal Mortality in England, 1937. We do not think any reader will ask us to produce a plethora of citations in support of a thesis which he is prepared to endorse himself from his own observation without calling in any outside authority at all.

No one doubts that the stage is set for another revival of human values and valour. The questions here are, Have the parishes and parochial clergy any part to play in it? Has the record of the revivals and 'backslidings' of the last hundred years any hints to offer?

There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to victory. In this book we are taking 1832–52 and 1880–1900 as 'floods', 1910–34 as the 'ebb'.

If we posit the notion that influences coming to an articulate focus in Jowett, Green, Nettleship, Bosanquet, and Loch found a less articulate but more poetic

¹ *Preface to Morals*, by Walter Lippmann, is a widely read book in which this view is taken. Cf. *The Modern Temper*, by Krutch, *Man in the Modern Age*, by K. Jaspers (Eng. trans., Routledge, 1933), or *Salavin*, by Georges Duhamel (Eng. trans., Dent, 1936). Sir Josiah Stamp spoke the other day, in a speech, of 'the acids of modernity'. Another very strong expression of it is Carl Jung's volume translated under the title *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

and deeper expression in that surge into Parochial Service of youthful talent and devotion which marked the eighties and nineties, we must then ask how that surge came to be submerged in another flood, which led on to victory—not the Parochial Idea, but the notion of a highly but quite mechanically articulated social life, functioning more and more perfectly on paper, but accompanied—with or without any connecting-links—by a rapid decay of its vital energy. And, before we say anything to emphasize the disintegration, let us repeat our belief that the Social Services do, in fact, function in, by, and for themselves ever more and more perfectly; and, in doing so, reflect enormous credit upon the Civil Service which operates them. The responsibility for creating them must on no account be laid at its door. The functioning is so smooth that it is the envy of the world.

Gladstonian Liberalism, with its markedly religious character, was replaced slowly but surely by the ever more completely secular Socialism which is the creed of all political parties to-day. Why? And how? To begin with, Jowett could not live for ever, and Green and Nettleship died young. It so happened—is it fair, perhaps, to claim this as a coincidence?—that the rival outlook, that of Huxley, Herbert Spencer, the Darwinians, and their offspring the Fabians and Marxists, was susceptible of *far easier presentation than theirs*. In most past eras this would have availed it little. On the contrary, it was too superficial and commonplace to have attracted the intellectual coteries of any of the great epochs in any country. It would have fallen unheeded alike in Han or T'ang China, in the Greece of Plato, the Rome of Seneca, the Paris of Abelard, the Italy of Aquinas, the Londons of Sir Thomas More, of Hooker, of Milton, of Wordsworth, or of Browning. It happened upon the England which the Education

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Act of 1870 had produced. The deadly advantage of the Huxleian message was that it was so *easy to understand*. This easy gospel surged up round the feet of Green's disciples, rose ever higher, and drowned them. The ablest men who were undergraduates in Balliol College in the decade before the war assure us that they never heard Jowett, Green, or Nettleship mentioned, and were taught the simple gospel of 'Webb-Socialism'. Let us observe that Shakespeare said 'victory', not 'permanence', and warns us to 'Lay not that flattering unction to our souls'. Our hundred years present a rapid succession of revivals and backslidings. It is the perennial character of the present to have an extraordinarily stable air. Man never has any sort of idea what the next phase will be. We have none now. We only know, and certainly, that it will differ from this one, and that it will come soon.

v. '*The Most Miserable Year*'

When Mr. George Lansbury, P.C., M.P., said publicly, in 1929, 'I have never known a more miserable year in Poplar', he was not referring to the weather; to the state of trade or employment (both unprecedentedly good); to any particular prevalence of sickness; or even to lack of public expenditure in relief of need—that had been, in Poplar, during the six years preceding, far in excess of any precedent in any portion of the globe, and had accompanied great prosperity and industrial activity. He meant—and his outstanding ability, experience, and devotion combine to make him the best possible witness—that he did not recollect, in the fifty years he could look back upon, *more unhappy people*. His dictum has been widely endorsed by persons of all schools of thought. Nor is the explanation far to seek. It is the inevitable consequence of *the substitution of arithmetic for personal*

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

service. It will not be difficult to establish the contention that that substitution was already, in 1886, preparing with unerring accuracy the unhappiness which Mr. Lansbury's experienced and compassionate eye and ear detected in 1929. For it was not pure arithmetic; it was arithmetic as the tool of an egalitarianism which, based upon the Darwinian monkey, was to obliterate all regard for personality, heroic or mean, callous or considerate, good, bad, or indifferent. Although Mr. Lansbury has advocated the distribution of public funds to needy persons, and has himself so distributed them, upon an unprecedented and unparalleled scale, no man living has expounded to better effect than he has the paramount importance of the spiritual factor in human happiness and well-being. (It is also true that he misses no opportunity of vituperating the 'case-work' method. But it is an *ira amantium*. It is not because the case-work societies seek to foster character that Mr. Lansbury attacks them. It is because he believes their methods to be ill devised to achieve that end.)

Our point here is that Mr. Lansbury, speaking after a very full development of the Public Social Services (*introduced* in 1906, but *incubating* in many brains, as we believe, since 1886) finds the people unhappy as never before.

Witnesses to the same effect, though of far inferior authority to Mr. Lansbury, are legion. Nothing is commoner than to hear young people who have begun to interest themselves in the difficulties of the less prosperous wage-earners exclaiming, 'And nothing is done! Absolutely nothing is done!' The proposition *qua* proposition applied to this country is, of course, absurd. The most learned of all American observers has lately spoken¹ of 'public assistance which every

¹ Professor Frank Bruno in *Social Work Year Book*, 1937, p. 173.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Englishman claims as his right, and that claim is enforceable by a public opinion more insistent, probably, than anywhere else on earth'. Though absurd, it is none the less instructive. Humanly speaking—by contrast with materially speaking—when public money has been distributed in a mechanical and impersonal manner, nothing has been done which makes the needy feel it a better world. What has that effect is to have been in trouble and to have found that *somebody cared*. In the eighties of last century, when Social Service was personal and parochial, no one thought of saying, 'Absolutely nothing is being done.' They admitted that a great deal was being done, but they urged the need of more workers and greater resources. Forty years before, when Dickens was reproaching the public for its indifference to the hard and cruel lot of many among them, what he wanted them to do was to bestir themselves, take a personal interest, and act. The gravamen of his attack upon the Poor Law was not based upon its failure to spend money—he regarded public authorities in general as extravagant—but upon his belief that its officers were not kind, gentle, and considerate, personally and to persons. The *locus classicus* for Dickens's attitude is the case of the aged widow, Betty Higden, in *Our Mutual Friend*. What Betty yearned for was not money, but kindly sympathy with her point of view, her yearnings, her anxieties. She readily made shift to do without money when short of it.

If we take the view that the public authorities of this century have accepted responsibility for supplying all the material needs of the lieges, we are faced with the enormous chasm between this amiable purpose and the popular attitude. No one can pretend that the attitude of the average citizen is, 'All my wants are cared for. I have nothing to worry about. My country is a perfect

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

earthly providence to me.' Far from it; his spokesmen—if we may accept their claim to voice his views—assure us that he feels himself so badly treated that nothing save a violent revolution, accompanied by bloodshed and destruction *ad lib.*, can possibly satisfy his craving for a modicum of 'justice'. Curiously enough, the sense of being cared for would seem to be in inverse ratio to the development of Public Social Services! Mr. W. H. Hudson observes that to a rustic the services of the local hospital appear a work of 'pure divine love and compassion',¹ whereas 'all the townsman has to say is to find fault with the hospitals and cast blame on them for not having healed him more quickly or thoroughly'.

These phenomena present no riddle to the Parochial Worker, however deep a mystery he may recognize in them. In the last resort, pain, sickness, bereavement, failure, misfortune, besides every phase of 'man's inhumanity to man', are tolerable, acceptable, precisely in the measure that we are able to feel that God wills them for us. We think we shall be comforted by doctors, nurses, anaesthetics, tonics, and the like. So we shall, up to a point, but only up to a point. Beyond that, only assurance of the divine will and compassion, direct or mediated, avails. How can that be mediated by public administrations designedly made as impersonal as possible?

In the long run it may prove that, under Providence, these mechanical administrations are offering the Parochial Workers of the Church the very heaven-sent opportunity they so badly require to regain the position in the hearts, and at the hearths, of the people which they have lost. There would certainly appear to be a splendid opening for a service of mediation and interpretation of these services. If that is so,

¹ *A Shepherd's Life*, p. 28.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

then it is requisite for Parochial Workers to understand clearly and fully how this situation has arisen. We know no better source than the records of the M.V.R.A.

We are assured in a great variety of quarters, as we saw just now, that the more or less ordered society we live in on this island is threatened with very early disruption; that, in the aggregate, dissatisfaction, suffering, and unhappiness are present in such volume as to make the idea of violent revolution widely attractive. We are told by very carefully selected speakers at the microphone that the conditions in which a large part of the population of this island live are intolerable, and that 'nothing, or practically nothing, is being done'. Out of every shilling received by our fellow subjects—whether by millionaires, Ministers of State, or messenger-boys—twopence is applied in rates, taxes, or contributions to social insurance to defray the cost of services designed to make the lot of the people happier, healthier, and more comfortable. Three hundred and thirty thousand persons serve the State departments seeking to accomplish this end; and another great army—of which the numbers are not known—serve the great local authorities; to which must be added 147,000 elementary school-teachers. These three bodies of men and women contain within them a formidable proportion of all the best brains and noblest characters among us. If we inquire in regard to the services which cost the community these large sums, and are operated by its most select members, we learn, as might be expected, that they are working punctually, courteously, and smoothly, and that complaints on the part of the individuals affected are comparatively few.

The people of Great Britain have shown in recent months that they are determined that everybody shall

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

enjoy adequate house-room, however large a proportion of his income he may apply to alcoholic refreshment, flat racing, and the like; and that, whether he contributes anything in return, either by way of effort, care, or thought, he shall be given the opportunity of being as well nourished as any prize-fighter. The nation is perfectly willing to take the risk of a certain proportion of unappreciative irresponsibles, provided it can make sure that nobody whatsoever is in any danger of going short. The most recent indications of the community's wishes are exemplified in the National Health Insurance Arrears Regulations, 1937, or in the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937. Under the latter the Exchequer offers benefits worth fifteen shillings to meet contributions of fifteen pence—an advance from 1911, when Mr. Lloyd George only offered ninepence for fourpence. Despite this sacrifice of cash and talent, despite these convincing proofs of generous intentions, the average of speeches made on the subject leave one the impression that if not twopence in every shilling, but twelve pence in every shilling, were absorbed by the Social Services, this would still be considered a 'miserable' country to live in.¹

¹ Thus, for example, the offer of fifteen shillings for fifteen pence, just mentioned, was greeted by speakers in the House of Commons as a deplorably shabby one. We ought, probably, to discount, even disregard, the utterances of party politicians. But contributors to *The Highway*—the organ of the Workers' Educational Association—such as Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, Fellow of New College, Oxford, or to *Labour Research*—the monthly circular of the Labour Research Department—mean us to take seriously their extreme dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs; so do Father Demant and his friends in *Christendom* (quarterly).

That this dissatisfaction is not based upon material considerations becomes patent when we realize that 72 per cent of all persons drawing allowances from the Unemployment Assistance Board receive these allowances in full without any deduction due

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

There is another large group of testimony. The unemployed man and his dependants draw allowances equivalent, in many instances, to any wages he has ever earned, and calculated, in any case, to cover all his necessities and a not inconsiderable provision for luxuries: we are assured by almost innumerable observers, including writers of eminence like Miss Nora Milnes and Mr. E. W. Bakke—to mention two out of many hundreds—that very large numbers of them are so unhappy as to merit the application to their feelings in all seriousness of such expressions as ‘mental anguish’.

From the observations of the economists we turn to general literature. *Love on the Dole* has enjoyed equal popularity as a novel, a play, and a film. The public have overlooked, with one accord, its many important errors in regard to the Social Services, because the public felt that the general picture of unguided, uncared-for misery was true to life. In *I, James Whitaker*,¹ a factory hand described his childhood, boyhood, and youth spent in Edinburgh, the west of Scotland, and in Liverpool—all of it after most of the great Public Social Services had been well established. His life and that of his family—a virtuous, unselfish, and harmonious one—was filled with quite terrible hardships, and yet there is not a single hint anywhere that it was anybody’s affair or duty to take this child or his poor struggling mother by the hand and make things a little easier for them.

In the house of a most respectable citizen, occupying to a Means Test. Yet the Means Test grievance is the most bitter of them all!

Equally strong and thoroughly reasoned dissatisfaction is expressed from a very different point of view by such writers as Captain Bernard Acworth, of the Liberty Restoration League (cf., e.g. *The Unseen Net*, June 1936).

¹ Published by Rich & Cowan Ltd. in 1934.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

a permanent appointment with pension rights, four little children could be beaten and otherwise tormented daily by a sadistic stepmother, their lives, during seven or eight years, rendered a nightmare of pain and terror which will haunt them to the grave, and from which one of the four is unlikely ever completely to recover his mental equilibrium. Those children were all attending first-class elementary schools under 'the greatest local authority in the world'. They were under the expert observation of teachers—an observation so expert that we are constantly assured (though the school medical officer for London differs) that no unhappiness or untoward conditions of life can escape detection. Not only did no one discover the hell in which they were living, but there was no one who inspired any one of these very intelligent children with sufficient confidence to induce him or her to reveal the simple and abominable truth.

The latest authoritative statement upon the present position of child life in this country is that of Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., in his paper at the Eighth Imperial Social Hygiene Congress, 9 July 1937. Referring to the operation of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, he said, 'No doubt there have always been some cruel parents, but the slums of the great cities now contain a larger submerged and degraded layer than ever before, and folly and vice threaten the child with as great dangers as deliberate cruelty.'

If we strike a balance-sheet between the effort and intentions of the community on the one side, and, on the other, first, the enormous output of expressions of dissatisfaction, second, the inescapable fact of a vast measure of unhappiness, what kind of reconciliation between the two columns can we effect? By all the laws of thought we must suppose there is something lacking on the effort side to make it equal to the task of

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

cancelling the formidable deficit on the satisfaction side. The most disturbing feature, to many, of this situation is the realization of the fact that the English have in the past achieved prodigies of valour and exertion all over the inhabited globe; have in the past been intensely proud of their country and gloriously happy, and both on a fraction of the comfort now so anxiously provided for them. A year ago a leading Swiss authority¹ commented that his people were the most comfortable and the most discontented in the world; and he went on to offer a solution—'Parochial Service' in the sense in which we are using the word in this book. We propose to describe in detail the triumphant application of the Parochial Idea to very similar situations round about the year 1843, and again round about the year 1886. We also have to record a signal failure to make any attempt to apply it in 1910. Curiously enough, a galaxy of talented people who had devoted many years of their lives to the Parochial Idea and Parochial Service were expected, as members of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1906-9, to produce plans developing, expanding, and establishing that service to such a degree that the social fabric of England might be built upon it for many generations yet unborn. They made their enormous investigation. They toiled incessantly for three long years. They published forty-four folio volumes. They produced their plans—and admirable plans they are, when we read them again to-day—but the people would have none of them. We refer again to this strange happening when we come to talk first of the men, then of the ideas, of the four epochs under discussion. We are confining ourselves to these four epochs, and the quite equally important years between, because our own Association

¹ M. Vieillard, in a paper contributed to the Third International Conference on Social Work, London, July 1936.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

has played an active part in all that story. It would be totally misleading even to suggest by silence that the revival of the Parochial Idea was any novelty in 1843. Archbishop Honorius carried out a systematic revival of the Parochial Idea in A.D. 636; King Alfred, when rebuilding in A.D. 871-900 a country devastated by rapine and murder, utilized with characteristic energy the immemorial parishes of the English.¹

We hope we have shown in this book that what is lacking is precisely that which we call Parochial Service—what is also called ‘personal’ and ‘case-work’ service—and we ask for a revival of the Parochial Idea. Our contention is that the Parochial Idea has saved the situation many times before. It has been selected, time and again, by the greatest leaders who have ever risen up amongst us. We are confident that we can exhibit a convincing argument that it can do so again, and should be selected again.

We are assured that the monasteries—although, not unlike the Public Social Services of to-day, they had drawn to themselves a preponderant share of the wealth and talent of the nation—never effectively survived the Black Death. But the parishes survived it, and they were found ‘ware and waking’ when the storm of destruction broke over England in the reign of Henry VIII. How many of our most precious edifices, and portions of them, have been saved to us because, when they were to be destroyed as portions of conventual establishments, the people of the parish claimed them and undertook their maintenance? It was to the parish that the Ministers of Elizabeth turned to face the social revolution consequent upon the conversion of England

¹ That great authority, Toulmin Smith, brought a mass of evidence to show that the parish was a pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon institution. It is more usual to cite Gregory the Great as the originator.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

from an arable to a sheep-farming country. It was the parish again that endured and survived the second storm of destruction in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. It is upon the parson J.P. and the 'Squarson' J.P. that the Webbs bestow the praise for the best local government transacted in this country in the eighteenth century. Of the many gifts to contemporary thought for which we are indebted to Sir George Adam Smith, none is greater than his re-discovery in Jeremiah of the prophet of the parish. It is from the life, from the perils, from the hardships, of the small community—a handful of people, a handful of domestic animals, the birds of the air, the wolf of the evening, the mountain stream in flood—that were drawn that insight into the unseen background of life which we feel in Jeremiah to be almost equal to the task of rending the veil itself, and far above that ever exhibited by any other human writer. As the greatest of all prophets drew his inspiration from the humble affairs of the parish in the seventh century B.C., so it is to similar scenes that Edmond Rostand turned from the mechanized artificialities of the twentieth century and found there the material for his exquisite *Chantecler*.

Military historians, professors of architecture, students of the history of local government, are willing to do the parish justice in certain epochs. What of the Church herself? Should we be asked, 'Of what use is it to remind us, in 1937, of triumphs of the Parochial Idea in other times and to meet other problems?', we should reply, 'The past triumphs of the parish pale into insignificance when compared to those that await it in the future.'

When we come to our study of the last hundred years, we shall find that when Otto Rank and Jung between them overthrew, in recent years, the formidable ascendancy of Sigmund Freud, they were reviving,

but adding nothing to, the far-reaching speculations of the youthful Gladstone a century ago. We shall find that the Parochial Idea is equipped to-day to meet the assaults of Freud with the same armour that availed then against Hume and Bentham, at the middle date, against Darwin and Huxley. To-day's struggle of the philosophic minds in the medical profession to escape from the deadly heritage of Descartes is vain without the Parochial Idea and Parochial Service. When that profession raises up the super-psychiatrist to whom Dr. Henry Yellowlees looks forward, his coming will be in vain unless he finds again, as he found so oft in the past, a parish minister with whom he can share his aspirations.

Wreckers and Raiders. It is as legitimate and praiseworthy to plan human betterment from the point of view of a head-quarters staff as it is to plan it from the point of view of the man on the fire-step. Our point of view is the latter, but we are prepared to give all honour to those whose time and minds are fully occupied with the former. We submit, however, that it is not only absorption in head-quarters interests, planning, and point of view that has resulted in the move away from, and apparent rejection of, the parish. There have also been at work talented wreckers—all those bright but vengeful spirits to whom what is distasteful, deplorable, despicable; who are well content to see it sink in ruin and desolation, provided it makes an empty space in which to build that better society of the future of which, they tell us complacently, they will draft the plans when the time comes! Nor is there absent an appreciable strain of the wrecker in all of us. It was no misanthrope who described man as a 'malign, mischievous, murderous monkey'.

That the urge, conscious and unconscious, to sweep away the services and social conceptions which, by

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

reason of a prodigious amount of devotion on the part of highly talented workers, had gained acceptance from 1843 to 1905, was in some conspicuous instances mainly an urge to wreck, was a dictum of the late Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, L.C.C., whom we cite on the point with confidence. We do not suggest for a moment that there is no useful place in human policy for the wrecker. The scriptural authority for his divine mission is very strong. All we desire to provide against is that he should be taken for anything else but a wrecker, or be given credit for any merit except that of a tool serving this terrible purpose of Providence.

With the wreckers should perhaps be grouped the purely piratical raiders. In these years characterized by the unthinking fashion that a thing is always better done if it is done by the officers of an elected authority, and at the public expense, numerous instances have occurred in which an officer, or a department, has seen his way to more pay and promotion by simply raiding a field of service occupied by a voluntary agency and annexing it. The first step is usually a grant-in-aid! The voluntary agency fails to act upon the adage, '*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*'. Frequently it has not been an officer, but an elected member or group of members of the local authority, who has filled the bill of filibuster.

VI. '*Gaps*' and '*Cover*'

It is the bounden duty of all of us to recognize that our angle of approach is only one of many; that the others have as good a claim to a place in the sun as ours; and to hearken unto the injunction, '*Judge not, that ye be not judged*'. Furthermore, we can only hope to be forgiven for our trespasses if we forgive them that trespass against us.

Well, we try not to judge the advocacy of removing

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

gaps, and to forgive it its trespasses against us, but they are, we think, many and grave. Our charge is a simple one. Human interest in any problem is exiguous. The more it is canalized in any direction, the less there is available for others. We do not know why this is so, but our experience tells us that it is so.

Quite probably the long (1843-1905) triumph of the Parochial Idea, with its familiar study of individuals and families, its contentment with *ad hoc* development of specialized societies and institutions to take up the needs and problems of those individuals and families as they arose, delayed the onset of the sweeping measures introduced since 1906. This may be a fault. We are willing to plead guilty.

Per contra, the notion that when you have provided everybody with 'cover' against life's ordinary vicissitudes, and filled the 'gaps' in your 'cover', you have done the job, and the forty millions may now be 'safely left to spend their own incomes their own way',¹ appears to us a fell disaster.

If it were natural to mankind to say, 'We have made sure that a payment from public funds will be available upon the incidence of A, B, C, D, &c. vicissitudes; now we can with lighter hearts apply ourselves to the innumerable, unfathomable, baffling idiosyncrasies of each one of those fifty millions', we should have no complaint at all to make. But they do not. In 1923 Lord Passfield wrote an open letter to the Press complaining of 'gaps' in the public provision of 'cover'. The Inter-departmental Committee's Report of 1924 was the reply. Among other things, it stated that the Poor Law afforded a residual service to pick up those needs which fell into the 'gaps', and recommended mutual registration of assistance.

¹ Cf. Lord Rushcliffe in the Second Annual Report of the Unemployment Assistance Board, p. 5, lines 6-15.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

We believe that this description of the Poor Law has done damage which may even be irremediable. The Poor Law has three centuries of statutory experience and 1,300 years of customary experience of service to individuals and families, including those of them which present the most terrible problems, alike baffling to themselves, their neighbours, and whatever institutions, services, or authorities may be compelled to treat them. To write off so priceless an organ of community service as 'residual', and to link it up with such external and superficial concepts as 'gaps' and 'cover', appear to us unpardonable offences. We have a suspicion that gap-filling and cover-providing are perhaps even basically fallacious ways of going to work; that the services so produced may not necessarily help more than they hinder *any* of the forty millions. This sounds very ungrateful on our part, since Parochial Service to individuals is enormously facilitated by the fact that the client has a reliable income from a gap-filling and cover-providing public service; but this experience brings home to us all the more the forlorn position of many of those who receive no other care than that public service.

Again, what of the loss in civic virtue and altruism of all those who cease to interest themselves in their fellows, believing that all are 'covered' and there are no 'gaps'? For us, the well-being of the community is proportionate to the volume of that altruism. To many, we know, there is something contemptible about philanthropy. There again, perhaps, it takes all sorts to make a world. The callous and careless are also required to die and build the coral reef!

The Hospital for August 1937 contains, on pp. 223-30, an article by the alert, able, and witty Principal of the University of London, Dr. H. L. Eason, entitled 'National and Regional Planning of Hospital Services'.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

There is not the slightest trace of the 'human' element. Administrative machinery, the elimination of gaps and overlapping by head-quarters staff work, fills every line. Two columns exhibit in tabular form the immense variety of the bodies rendering health services before 1929. They had grown up. Is it entirely foolish to wonder whether, as they had all grown up to meet actual human needs, they were, most of them, more likely to do so effectively, as they grew, than as seemed good to some administrative dictator from above?

As we go to press¹ the British Association for the Advancement of Science is providing a banquet of mechanical-mindedness. Mr. H. G. Wells, presiding over the section of Educational Science, exhibited his conception of life upon this planet as a species of Meccano when he said, 'The little region of Palestine is no more than part of the highway between Egypt and Mesopotamia. . . . Nothing began there, nothing was worked out there. . . . Solomon's temple was smaller than most barns'; and advised the section to exclude any reference to that region from their informative lessons (*The Times*, 3 September 1937).

On the same day, Dr. R. B. Cattell advised the Psychology section to go on with the analysis of personality by means of objective measurement, and to distrust intuition.

To crown all, the President offered as a cure for war the theory of natural selection! Sir James Jeans told a recent meeting of the Association that we can only know the phases of our own minds, and can never know what causes them. The theory of natural selection is surely one of the ugliest and most grovelling phases ever displayed by a human mind. Has it ever given one single human being the will to endure, to

¹ 6 September 1937.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

carry on, and to resolve to work a little harder tomorrow than he did yesterday?

VII. *The Coming of the Category*

The year 1886 was selected as the watershed year by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws when it met in 1906 to commence its three years of toil upon its reference. The occasion for its selection was the issue in that year, by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, President of the Local Government Board, of his circular to local authorities asking them to put in hand public works in order to give employment to unemployed men above the status of applicants for Poor Law relief. The project was only new officially, and only important historically. The march of time has shown it to be an unfruitful one—nor need we add here to the scathing condemnation it has received upon many occasions from Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb. Its historical importance lies in its ostensible breaking away from the idea of assisting Thomas, Richard, or Henry on the ground of *his* need and that of *his* dependants, and substituting the assistance of a category of men and of need.¹ First the category is defined; then a general measure is enjoined. The question whether Thomas, a weekly wage-earner not at present in receipt of wages, will appreciate the measure, or reap any advantage from it, is not asked. The Webbs assure us that almost to a man the Thomases, Richards, and Henrys, for whom Mr. Chamberlain, and innumerable politicians since Mr. Chamberlain, purported to cater, have, from that day to this, given any such works a

¹ In practice, not the slightest notice is taken of the category. Bill and Jack and Jim are taken on mostly because the foreman knows or likes them, or because some one has 'spoke for 'em'; rarely, if ever, because they answer to Mr. Chamberlain's category, which, in fact, has not even proved to be a serviceable category.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

wide berth, while these very works have gathered round the borough surveyor's yard what the Webbs call 'stagnant pools of unskilled labour'. By this striking phrase they mean groups of men, of inferior competence, falsely led, by this so-called 'employment', to suppose they have gained a footing in the labour market when they have done nothing of the kind.

When a politician brings forward a project designed to make the people happy, it is usual to assume—especially if he wins an election or two—that the people are enthusiastic about the project. The groups who have applied the Darwin-Huxley-Spencer concepts to social administration, and their friends, have now been for fifty years denouncing as 'charity mongering', 'Lady Bountiful', 'tainted with pauperism', what had become by the eighties of last century a wonderfully complete and thought-out scheme of Social Service, the stem of which was Personal, Parochial, Family Case-work and visiting; the branches and twigs an array of specialized societies and institutions to the list of which little, if anything, has been added since. Is there any evidence to show that large, general, official measures, based upon statistical investigations, are esteemed more highly by the people than that system of Social Services which grew up out of first-hand contacts and reached its apogee in the eighties? The 'P.E.P.' Society assured us in a recent issue of *Planning*¹ that, on the contrary, bitter dissatisfaction prevails. It is notorious that the voters have become progressively less interested in those organs of local government which are entrusted with most of the new-fashioned services. In fact, this apathy was successfully urged in 1934 as a principal ground for transferring, by the Unemployment Assistance Act of that year, the assistance of unemployed persons who had exhausted their

¹ July 1937.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

claims to insurance benefit from those very local authorities to a single Board sitting in Westminster.¹ In populous areas of London containing tens of thousands of voters, two hundred votes have long sufficed to secure a seat on a Borough Council or on a (pre-1929) Board of Guardians. At a London County Council election, with annual expenditure for their succour and comfort of anything up to £40 millions at stake, half the voters will not take the trouble to cross the street to vote. Even in districts where agitation of a 'left wing' character has long been noisy and dominating enough to make it impossible for an opposition candidate to hold a meeting, the poll is a mere fraction of the number entitled to vote. By way of contrast with this apathy about the great Social Service authorities of to-day, we note that, in 1888, at the very moment when the new brooms were starting to sweep away all she stood for, Miss Louisa Twining submitted forty years of 'charity-mongering' and service under the 'tainted Poor Law' to the verdict of the electors, as candidate for a seat on a London Board of Guardians. Out of a register very much smaller than would be in use to-day, she polled OVER 10,000 VOTES!

We recognize that this argument would be effectively countered if it could be shown that the electorate are so well satisfied with the Social Services that they do not wish to use their votes to make any change in them. No one has attempted to show any such attitude on their part!

The man with the finest political *flair* of our era has said—and we see no occasion to doubt his sagacity—that the appeal to the sense of social inferiority in his hearers is far the most profitable appeal a politician can make, and that he may safely neglect all others. This appeal was for many years contemptuously dubbed by

¹ Unemployment Assistance Board set up by the Act of 1934.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

the Fabian Society 'the muddy stream of Radicalism'. It was only when, urged on by Mr. H. G. Wells, they abrogated their self-denying ordinance, and entered the arena of party politics, that they found themselves as little exempt from Lloyd George's dictum as any other group engaged in 'the endless adventure of governing (or seeking to govern) men'.

No other problem has exercised human ingenuity in the Western world in this unhappy mechanistic and materialist epoch anything like as much as unemployment. In no field has individual study and personal service—the case-work method—been ruled more completely out of court. It is significant that it was to meet unemployment that the categorical, impersonal method was first introduced (1886), and that the highest authorities have proclaimed it an utter failure. Mr. Clement Attlee, Leader of His Majesty's Opposition, showed well where this method belonged when he said, at a conference soon after the war, 'It is easy to point out in theory the fallacy of this method of help; it is extremely difficult, in the hour of need, to devise any other.' It is, in fact, an improvisation very frequently forced upon those responsible for carrying on the King's Government.

The change-over in method, aim, presupposition, and psychology, which followed 1886, is being illustrated to-day in a significant manner.

Not only was Family Case-work to be left behind, but voluntary enterprise—that English habit of 'forming a society for it' which amused the Continent so much—was to make room for the activities of elected public bodies, a device fondly imagined to be more democratic, freer from patronage, and, surely, more popular.

Half a century of mechanical, impersonal handling of the unemployed, advocated and supported through thousands of pages of Hansard, has 'free-wheeled' down

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

to a sad enough denouement in April-May-June 1937. In the Agenda Paper of the Public Assistance Committee of the London County Council for 21 July 1937, p. 5, we read, under 'Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, Transfer of Cases on Second Appointed Day':¹ 'Several of the officers refer to the attitude of the recipients of relief at the hearing of the appeals against scope decisions. They draw attention to the apparent indifference of the applicants as to which authority should in future be responsible for dealing with their need during unemployment, and there has been a complete absence of evidence of any urge to escape from Public Assistance (Poor Law) administration . . . 154 men at Sutton Training Centre declined to interview officers of the Board or to make applications for allowances . . . 9 men persisted in their refusal to leave the Centre and accept allowances from the Board. . . . Matter referred . . . with a view to instituting proceedings against each man for failing to maintain himself.'

A correspondent writes (21 July 1937) from a Yorkshire industrial town:

In connexion with Section 40 of the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, we have had one case where the Unemployment Assistance Board decided to pay part of the benefit to the

¹ By the provisions of the Act, the Board assumed responsibility on the First Appointed Day for persons previously dependent upon transitional payments under the Unemployment Insurance and National Economy Acts: on the Second Appointed Day, 1 April 1937, for all able-bodied unemployed persons insurable under the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts, 1925-36, including those dependent upon Poor Law relief.

The men mentioned above objected to having their maintenance transferred from the Poor Law, but all the legislation from 1886 till the present day has been expressly designed to confer upon them this very boon which they reject—that of being relieved under some other Act than the tainted Poor Law!

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

wife and part to the man. This went on for several weeks, and then the man came and pleaded to go back to the normal method of payment, promising to be a good boy if this were approved. The reason for his improvement is interesting. When Section 40 is being operated, the man has a different coloured form at the employment exchange. The inquisitiveness of the other unemployed soon discovered the reason, and he became the butt of the crude, caustic humour of his fellow men and decided it was more comfortable to try to be a better husband and father.

In the face of such very 'human' evidence as this, it is not easy to think highly of wholesale social legislation. The difficulty of applying in practice the category 'unemployed but in the industrial field and available for work', upon which the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, is based, is, naturally, proving tremendous.

VIII. *A Single-minded Parochial Objective*

'The people would love you, and any of the clergy, to come and see them, if only you would not ask them to attend church.' This remark was made by a very friendly disposed parishioner in Poplar in 1902, sixty years after our Association was founded to strengthen visiting, irrespective of creed, of the inhabitants of such parishes as Poplar.

'I am not sure that I ought to be here. I believe I ought to be visiting the sick and the old people in my parish.' This remark, of the same date, was made by the Rev. James Carter, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Poplar, at the flourishing branch of the Society of Sacred Study which then met at St. Frideswide's Clergy House every Monday morning, and which was, at that time, enthralled by James Gairdner's volume (*Henry VIII and Edward VI*) in the History of the English Church.

'If I tell you the honest truth, I dare not let the schools go on the rates, for fear lest Father Lowder might beat me in the next world.' So said Father

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Wainwright when he had already completed fifty years' service at St. Peter's, London Docks (1873-1923). Those humble, shabby little schools offer a significant contrast to the large dignity of the schools of the London County Council, towering far above the houses in all directions; and, still more, with the magnificence of Raines School, once housed close by St. Peter's in a little eighteenth-century red-brick building, now removed a mile or more away and developed, at the ratepayers' expense, into all the splendour of a 'first-class modern secondary school'. It was obvious that, once Wainwright was dead, this little-known, unassuming epic of the Parochial spirit would 'cease upon the midnight without pain'. Wainwright, backed by his teachers, had struggled on to preserve the ideal of Parochial Service. 'We care so much for the children born, and growing up, on this spot, that we and our friends still want to offer them their education as a service of love, and not as one which they are compelled to pay for, along with their rents, whether they love it, desire it, or not.' He accepted the Exchequer grant, which, although perhaps ultimately a burden borne, at least in part, by the parishioners themselves, was at least not taken from them under pain of distraint every Monday morning with their rents. For the sake of that ideal, he and the school staff had put up with unmended windows, worn-out paintwork, and *salaries in arrears* all their lives. It was only a part—not the largest—of the service which Father Wainwright and Father Pollock,¹ following in the footsteps of Father Lowder, gave, between them, for three generations in that portion of Wapping—within a stone's throw of that Execution Dock where pirates were 'hanged in chains for three tides'; not far from where Dickens pictured Rogue Riderhood trying to do John Harmon to death;² so

¹ 1894-1936.

² *Our Mutual Friend*, p. 392.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

wild a quarter that Judge Jeffreys all but escaped the fury of the populace by hiding there in 1689; not two hundred yards from that 'Ratcliffe Road' (more correctly Highway) immortalized by Kipling in 'The Ballad of the *Bolivar*'.

And into Wainwright's bosom was poured the loving appreciation of the parishioners, irrespective of creed, race, colour, or political 'ism', however frantic, 'in full measure pressed down and running over', not for any material gifts he had to give them. 'Silver and gold have I none' was almost comically obvious in his case, 'and', he would have added, 'if I had, I should pay it into the schools account.'

Of course, Wainwright and Pollock wanted them all to become whole-hearted Anglo-Catholics, and to worship and communicate at St. Peter's; but the people were fully convinced that they cared for them, felt personally their joys and sorrows, whether or no they came to St. Peter's; just as they were, and are, convinced that Miss Elliott, a few streets away, while she longs to see them at Mass in St. Patrick's, loves and cares for them, whether or no. This is no rhetorical claim. So long as there is any one living who remembers Wainwright, Pollock, or Miss Elliott personally, that person will endorse these remarks.

Whatever may be decided about the training of the clergy and the future of the territorial parish, however completely the clergy of the Church of England may become congregational or itinerant preachers, this very great and lovely thing, this realization of the truth expounded by the greatest philosophers and prophets of all ages, will be freshly remembered: how humble and saintly priests, and sisters, living close by, never sleeping out of the parish even for one night, and sitting often by their firesides, 'minded' and taught their children *because they were inhabitants of the parish*,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

whether or no they attended the parish church, endorsed its dogmas, and received its sacraments. For it really happened, and has borne fruit, under the eyes of men who cannot deny it, some sixty and some an hundredfold.

IX. *What We Believe: The Choice of the Parochial Idea as the Instrument of Progress*¹

The clergy of the Church of England are abandoning to-day the opportunity afforded them by their territorial parishes. The pressure upon them to do so, both from inside and outside the Church, is, to most of them, irresistible. They have almost nothing to oppose to that pressure, often because they are unaware of what has gone before. To men in the situation in which most of them find themselves, talk of 1843 must seem like 'auld wives' tales'. They say, 'You tell us some Church leaders got together and tried to bolster up the old idea of the parish. Very probably. Plenty of people will bolster up any old arrangement with great tenacity. There are 5,000 parishes to-day, the Bishop of Gloucester says, which ought to be absorbed. They are preserved in a spirit of "dog-in-the-manger" obstruction. It is for you to show us that we have anything to learn from the forebears of these obstructionists in 1843.

'What was the situation? Does it bear the least resemblance to ours?

'Who were the men? Had they the slightest inkling of our problems?

'What were their ideas? Did they share a single one of the ideas that can be called up to date now?

¹ Mr. W. E. Gladstone helped to make that choice: meantime he was snatched away and engulfed in another instrument of progress—party politics. When, fifty years later, he emerged from that vortex, he was emphatic in his judgement that the method of party politics was the inferior one.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

'You admit that the movements inimical to the parish finally won, albeit only after sixty years. Were not those movements proved by their victory to be the more progressive? What measures did your founders forecast in regard to health, physical or mental, or education, or unemployment, or old age, or widowhood? Had they any suspicion of the difference Freud, for example, was going to make to the entire situation? Had they any mental equipment which could have enabled them to make any sort of stand against Darwin? Had they any but the most impossible, crude, and archaic notions about the handling of delinquency?

'What did they foresee of the size and scope of the Public Administrative units—our great national services, our great County and County Borough Councils—which would be required to give the people even the elements of a civilized existence?'

We have endeavoured in Chapter I to meet these challenges *seriatim*. We do not ask the reader, as in a children's game, 'Which do you like best? In health, Newsholme the uncle, and Soviet Russia, or Newsholme the nephew, and Brackenbury, Trotter, Shaw, Hutchinson, Langdon Brown, Noel Paton, Findlay, &c., &c., and the Scottish Health Services Report? In psychology, Freud, or Jung and Jessie Taft? The old or the "new" education (not yet ten years old)? The pre-Burt and pre-Healy treatment of delinquents, or the new? Chadwick (and the Webbs) and centralization, or Toulmin Smith (and Dr. Baty) and local self-government? The totalitarian State, or all those institutions and arrangements, voluntary or official, through which liberty and democracy can still, perchance, at the eleventh hour, be saved from "the quiet, firm step of the dictator" announced by Spengler?'

Nor is the reader being asked whether or not he admits that, in fact, the trends to centralization, big

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

administrative units, and complete bureaucracy have not revealed of late alarming rents in their garments, and have not in fact come under fierce condemnation in unexpected quarters.

No. He is being asked to make up his mind whether he can commend this little book as containing some hints likely to be of use to the parish priest of to-day and to-morrow.

Our first plea is for an impartial exploration of these questions. We point out that, however judicial the reader may be, research is always purposeful. Nothing, in fact, could be more misleading than even to imagine as possible a detached, 'objective', 'purely scientific' research into any branch of human affairs. It is the end in view which determines the selection and arrangement of the material. We of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association give up time and tissue to its work because we believe in the Church of England parish, in its past, and in its future. We believe that the men and women who founded, cherished, and worked before us for the M.V.R.A. were fine people and wise people, animated by great ideals and competent to make sound plans for their application; that the steadily gathering forces of a hundred years have exhibited a trend hostile to those plans does not, we feel, necessarily prove them unsound. It is much more likely—for all human developments are one-sided, fragmentary and partial, and, most of all, political ones—that what is most lacking in the trends which have ousted the Parochial Idea is precisely what the Parochial Idea can best give.

We believe in humble, unnoticed, neighbourly contacts, in which lurks no suspicion of power or domination. We believe in the potentiality of the socially insignificant to exhibit greatness and beauty of soul, if the right rays of the right kind of light fall upon

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

them. We believe that religious faith and social life are not two things, but two deeply, inextricably interwoven aspects of one thing; and that, whenever in thought, sentiment, or even institutional arrangement, they seem to fall apart, to be estranged from one another, a disastrous fallacy is poisoning the thoughts of all involved. We believe that in these crude words we are giving to-day something like an accurate presentation of the convictions alike of our founders and of all those, named and not named in these pages, who have sought during a hundred years to carry out their plans.

From this statement of the postulates which condition our research we pass to an authoritative inquiry into one of the topics enumerated just now by the present-day objector.

The first 188 pages of *English Poor Law; The Last Hundred Years*¹ is devoted to problems of relief in this country in the period which saw the foundation of our Association. On pp. 14 to 20 occur quotations from Thomas Chalmers and a reference to Thomas Walker.² Nowhere else in this elaborate discussion of a closely allied topic, or in its copious footnotes, with their extremely numerous references to publications of the time, is there the faintest acknowledgement of the existence of voluntary Social Service or of the Parochial Idea, despite its respectable antiquity of 1,200 years! The theme which exercised so intensely the mind of Gladstone secures no place in this treatise. The learned and painstaking authors find it sufficient to quote an entry about the Poor Law, which is *their* subject, made by him in his diary in 1897!

These observations are not offered as criticisms of

¹ Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb, 1929.

² Referred to as an authority by Toulmin Smith in 1851, in his defence of the parish against the vogue of big and centralized administrative units.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the Webbs' discussion of their theme—by no means—but merely to illustrate the truth that every investigation is conditioned by its purpose. It follows that the material collected, even in so authoritative a book, does not prove that the Parochial Idea was a vain one. It does not prove anything whatever about the Parochial Idea. We submit, in consequence, that our contentions cannot reasonably be rejected on the grounds that they fail to find a place in the Webbs' account of the subject. The whole of our material is additional to, and different from, theirs. Furthermore, it has this vastly greater importance. Of all the people with whose welfare Gladstone was so deeply concerned, of all the people upon whom those engaged in pre-1843 parochial service, and in the large and numerous charities at work before that date, bestowed so much thought, enthusiasm, and wealth, only a tiny fraction came under the Poor Law administration at all. It is only, therefore, to this fraction that the Webbs, in fulfilment of their purpose, devote all their space. Without the least desire to minimize the importance of their subject, we claim with confidence that ours, judged even by the numbers involved, is an incomparably greater one. It may doubtless be urged that the tightening up of Poor Law administration, which marked the decade preceding the foundation of our Association, had much to do with bringing it into existence. In this connexion it is important to remark that the assumption that parishioners kept clear of the Poor Law is as readily found in contemporary writers before that tightening-up as after it.

In fine, the generation 1906-37, which is in such haste to disagree with Mr. Gladstone and his friends about the Poor Law, has never informed itself at all about their great efforts to give alongside of it a far better service than it was within the scope of the Poor

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

Law of that day to give. Yet their efforts were so successful as not to be called in question during forty years, and not to be superseded for sixty. When they were superseded in 1906 and subsequent years, it was quite as much because the creed of the Churches which were rendering the Parochial Service was called in question as because the efficacy of that service was found wanting. To the theological change must also be added the political, and, even more, the social, ambitions of groups newly risen to power and importance, for whom the unspectacular character of Parochial Service had, and has, no attraction. We must give full weight to all these considerations before we ask ourselves whether, in truth, those services, now superseded, were, after all, so little satisfactory.

The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association has never faltered during ninety-four years, in fair weather or foul, in advocating and fostering that *fleur fine* of Parochial Service which the world calls to-day Family Case-work—but the weather has been mostly foul.¹

A formidable body of thinkers and writers aimed throughout the period—the Duke of Wellington had already selected the menace of it as the greatest issue before Parliament in 1838—at sweeping away equally the religious institutions which in fact rendered the Parochial Service, and the personality values without which it is meaningless.

¹ It is cheering to read, on p. 5 of the Twenty-First Annual Report (1936) of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England and Canada: '... specific tasks for the whole Church. (1) "Case-work." Special individual cases of all kinds are referred to us by bishops or parish priests. Often these involve not merely information, advice, direction, co-relation of social agencies across Canada, &c., but also an outlay of money. The origin of this part of our work was in actual case-work in down-town Toronto: this, of necessity, had to cease, and Toronto took it over.'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Unhappily, the first line of defence against this attack was the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Some of them¹—at least in the minds of our special prophets of Parochial Service, Jowett, Green, Nettleship, Bosanquet, Loch—seemed ready to sacrifice personality and 'case-work' values to the rigid maintenance of the very formularies which the Personal Service school were most insistent should be drastically re-stated! This passionate belief in the efficacy of new formulations of religious belief has passed,² but we must not forget how big a factor it was in the latter nineteenth-century situation.

Maeterlinck says that there cannot be great drama without a widespread feeling that issues transcending the little doings of men hang in the balance. This is surely true of the eighties and nineties. To hear Dolling preach in Winchester College chapel in 1886 was to be convinced that Gladstone's plan for a better world, i.e. voluntary, neighbourly, Parochial Service to our fellows in all their needs, perplexities, and troubles, as consciously organized service within Christ's Church, must prevail, and was also, in fact, prevailing. (We talk of the feeble success of voluntary philanthropy in the mere business of raising the necessary money. Dolling raised and spent, on Social Services in the half a dozen streets constituting the parish of St. Saviour's, Poplar, over £4,000 a year in the late nineties.) Yet that was the year of the Chamberlain Circular on the Unemployed, the herald of that unemployment legislation which, like a Charybdis or maelstrom, has swept all the other Social Services into the same orbit, and

¹ And not, of course, including men like Bishop Blomfield and Dean Stanley.

² So we imagined, till we heard the broadcast of a speech by the Rev. G. H. Hardy at the Conference of Modern Churchmen on 4 September.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

hurled Parochial Service on to the pitiless shoals of Scylla.

Meantime, a 'sword of Brennus' was being placed in the scales destined to ensure victory to wholesale, mechanical, centrally administered Social Services. That was precisely that supposed necessity for a revision of the Church's formulae to which we referred just now.

Conviction of the immediate urgency of this re-statement was creating a positive agony in the mind of a man like C. S. Loch. Another perfect example of it is to be found in a contemporary of his at Balliol. In the biographical sketch prefixed to the *Philosophical Remains* of R. L. Nettleship, A. C. Bradley wrote in 1897, 'Those who knew Nettleship best will feel that they have scarcely known a more religious man. . . . He seemed to have attained that indifference to the chances and changes of life of which religious writers speak' (p. lvii). 'The thoughts which ruled his life, though far too difficult and too free from the alloy of sense to form the creed of a Church, were fitted to be the medium of religious experience in a mind like his. . . . He would have accepted most of what Green wrote and said of those ideas and modes of worship which are considered "specifically religious"' (p. lvi). Yet 'they ceased to be the natural channels of his religious experience' (ibid.). The writer quotes Nettleship himself as saying—and this brings him close alongside of his fellow collegians, Loch and Bosanquet—'Whatever religion there is in me had better come out in the only form which is natural to it, i.e. in my ordinary work' (ibid.). *There is the kernel and likewise the mystery both of the Family Case-work and of the Parochial Idea.*

Forty years on, we seem to have lost all this feeling of tension. Instead of regarding the formularies of the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Churches and the dogmas of theology as barriers, we ask quite simply of their professors, 'Are you on the side of personality, character, responsibility, romantic love, the family, and duty? If you are, you are one of us.' Doubtless we required to suffer a Marengo, an Austerlitz, and a Jena at the hands of our mechanically minded foes before we could discern the faces of our friends! Shall we ever know a Leipsic or a Waterloo?

Prevailing Mental Habits Inimical to the Parochial Idea. 'Properly organized' is a phrase which crops up perennially in discussions like this one.

Reformers generally bring forward programmes for accomplishing it. This is both useful and necessary, and we trust that this salutary urge will never flag. Common mistakes are to suppose that it is capable of complete fulfilment; to imagine that our predecessors felt this urge any less strongly than we do; and to expect that we shall improve very greatly upon what they did.

The founding of our own Association was not only an intensification and expansion of personal and Parochial Service—the aspects we are chiefly emphasizing in this paper; it was, equally, an immense organizing movement, i.e. one of co-ordination; one of the elimination of friction, rivalry, ignorance of what the other man is doing, and of overlapping. The Charity Organization Society was such another movement. Its indefatigable struggles to get the Social Services properly organized and co-ordinated are described for the period 1869 to 1912 in a volume which has ranked as a classic ever since its appearance, to wit, *Social Work in London: a History of the Charity Organization Society*,¹ by Helen Bosanquet. We are careful not to trespass upon ground so well covered. We merely offer the addendum with which our study of a century of Parochial Service supplies us. The Webbs' *Poor Law History* and Mrs.

¹ Published by John Murray, 1914.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

Bosanquet's book are written from what might be called a head-quarters, or secretariat, standpoint. The authors are out, like the *Survey of the Social Services*, just published (June 1937) by the group which styles itself 'P.E.P.', to improve the 'staff work' in the field they are studying. To them, the families in a given street are either 'subjects to be dealt with' by one of the services on their list, or they are irrelevant. To the Parochial Worker, every family in every street in the parish is interesting and important. To the Parochial Worker it is the services, and, more particularly their 'brass hats', whose business is to improve the organization of them from above, which are irrelevant, unless they happen to meet, and effectively, exactly the situation in which the family under consideration at the moment finds itself. It can never be pointed out often enough how extraordinarily rare it is for that to happen. We have no sort of idea, unless confronted by the phenomenon daily, and in numerous examples, of the degree to which human vicissitude, temperament, and relationship exceed in variety and complexity the most comprehensive of Social Services. In Whitehall or at County Hall, the Public Social Services of to-day look remarkably complete. They do very great credit to our Social Service 'brass hats'. To a Parochial Visitor there are so many situations not effectively met by them that they often even appear fragmentary and scanty! It is useful to recognize at the outset that we have not here a trifling misunderstanding which can be removed, 'if people of goodwill, representing both sides, get round a table'. Life is not like that. The energetic administrator is always, and always will be, pretty confident that he has thought of every case. It is certainly his intention to do so. The man 'on the spot' is painfully certain that the said administrator has done nothing of the kind (that is because the latter is

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

up against 'reality', and 'reality' is infinite). This fact, as old as humanity, has been eloquently exemplified during the last two years. The British Broadcasting Corporation, in a rash moment, put it 'on the air' that any listener being in doubt what Social Service was available for the aid of himself or some one else, might communicate with the National Council of Social Service. This body undertook to broadcast, or communicate by letter, the appropriate replies. The offer was, of course, supplementary to the very fine existing service everywhere of courteous and obliging Civil Servants, whose delight and duty it is to help and advise the lieges; to the regular issue, practically free, of brochures explaining precisely what the services are; and to many hundreds of Councils of Social Service, and similar bodies under other names, all purporting to give advisory service; in addition to alert, well-informed, philanthropic individuals. It might justly have been doubted whether the British Broadcasting Corporation offer would meet with any response. Actually, the conundrums poured in by tens of thousands, and far exceeded the capacity of any staff to handle them!

There is, in fact, as the B.B.C. discovered, a great need for this other¹ kind of staff work, besides that usual one of planning it all again after pointing out how badly those who went before had planned it. Brigade 'H.Q.' or 'G.H.Q.' can say to the Parochial Worker, 'You are constantly coming up against troubles: get into touch with us and we will do our utmost to ascertain, and report to you, just exactly what powers and resources exist, public and voluntary, for solving your riddles as they come along.' Possibly this distinction appears at first sight unreal? It will be found to be very deep in the human thought process. We are so

¹ Called on p. 150 "Staffing Objective and Method No. II." The idea is that of a consultative not an interfering H.Q.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

constructed mentally that so soon as we come across a need or trouble we think of its removal in general terms. We begin at once to say, 'The Government, or the County Council, ought to do so and so.' 'There ought to be an Act of Parliament providing so and so.' 'There ought to be a society with adequate staff and resources to deal effectively with this: it is obviously beyond me. Why, if I tried to do this myself I should have a thousand more jobs like it to do to-morrow morning.' 'This is not a thing for philanthropy to attempt; there ought to be powers to make everybody contribute to the cost of this in his taxes and rates.'

These may occasionally be practical proposals, but that is not their nature. They are the normal reactions to situations of the ordinary undisciplined human mind. Such minds cannot help generalizing; they cannot help drawing abstract inferences from living contacts; must perforce plan for categories, since the whole man or whole family, the man or family *qua* man or family, is a concept infinitely too baffling for them to tackle. It is incomparably easier—as any one can find out for himself by trying—to say, 'The trouble here is unemployment', 'Measles', 'Deafness', 'Old age', 'Insufficient accommodation', &c., &c., and to think of, attempt, even to do, something about it, *than to readjust John Smith and family to life and the universe*; but the former—except, perhaps, in such a matter as measles—is always tinkering, very often ill-judged tinkering; the latter, if only we can compass it, is the real thing. And the latter is Parochial Service. Nor has the untrained mind any inclination to ask, 'What provision is there for this need? Whom should I consult? To whom should I appeal?' Such a mind assumes that there is no provision, no one to be consulted, because, forsooth, its owner is not immediately conscious of the provision, and the person to be consulted.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

The story of Staffing Objective and Method No. II in the last hundred years is a proud one. Let us first note that our Association was a blend of both. Its first objective was, 'The man on the spot, the Parochial Worker, is short of personnel and of cash. We will supply both. While doing so, we will use the leverage so afforded us to improve his planning and staff work down there in his district. We shall insist that his knowledge of his cases shall be more thorough, his contacts more intimate and constant, and that his co-operation with all who are similarly engaged alongside of him shall be as perfect as it can be made. No one is equal to the understanding, let alone the succour, of a person or a family, by his own unaided wisdom, sympathy, and energy. That task requires the strongest possible team every time.'

Our Association was strongly placed for 'Staffing Objective No. II' since our Chairman, the Bishop of London (Dr. Charles Blomfield), was also the assiduous and efficient Chairman of the Poor Law Commission then overhauling minutely the whole of the public provision for need and distress built up in the preceding 1,200 years. The Annual Reports of our Association during the first ten years of its existence were, each of them, handbooks of great value in regard to the Social Service needs of the metropolis, and constituted in themselves that staff work by consultation and information which we are calling Staffing Objective No. II, to distinguish it from the crude hectoring and interference which too often passes for Staff Work No. I.

In further pursuance of this aim, C. P. Bosanquet published, in 1868, *London, Its Growth, Charitable Agencies, and Wants*. This form of staffing was also a principal aim of the Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869. For two years they published, weekly, *The Parochial*

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

Critic, which the encyclopaedic genius of their organizing secretary, Ribton Turner, made an indispensable *vade mecum* for Parochial Workers and for every other kind of philanthropist in earnest about his work. Finding that they required the space available in their regular publication for more general discussions of principle and philosophy, they set to work and published, in 1882, a *Digest of Charities*, and a *Handbook of How to Help Cases of Distress*. The C.O.S. has continually revised and republished both of these ever since. The present issues—those of 1937 and 1936—are, respectively, the forty-fourth and thirty-fifth editions. Unhappily, for one person coming across a need who turns to either of these books to see what provision is already available, there are a hundred thousand who continue to say, 'The Government ought to . . .' 'There should be an Act of Parliament . . .'

The prevalence of this freak in the thinking process is responsible for a large part of the disappointment which breeds revolution. Of all those who generalize without knowledge, 'The Government ought to . . .', a certain proportion take the next step, viz. that of endeavouring to overthrow a Government which 'ought to', but does not—generally for the simple reason that it either long ago did what it is now told it 'ought to do', or knows the proposal to be impracticable.

These uninformed thinkers are, likewise, responsible for mischievous travesties of history. Some of these latter are accepted in responsible quarters where their origin might have been detected. For example, it is usual to say that by the passing of the Poor Law Act of Queen Elizabeth in 1601, every citizen in England was given the right to be succoured from destitution. This obscures the enormously important fact that he had enjoyed this customary right from time immemorial,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

and that it was well recognized when King Alfred exerted himself for its enforcement. If it is possible to generalize at all, we should suggest this: the Anglo-Saxons preferred to tax themselves in their parishes for the support of the indigent, while the Latins preferred to be ordered by their Church to do so. The Church in Latin countries long outlived the English parishes. Hence the larger proportion of voluntary charity, right into our own times, in Latin countries.

x. Category '*Re-invading*'

Matthew Arnold may have irritated his contemporaries, but many have had him to thank for phrases which have served them all their lives as lanterns in the dark places of thought. One of these was '*aber-glaube re-invading*'. We are gratefully adopting it here. Naming, classifying, listing, inventory-making, arranging in genera and species, and under categories, is an enormously useful and quite indispensable process. None the less, as Emerson taught, following the Scriptures, the price has to be paid for it, as for everything else, and if there is one thing mankind hates, shirks, evades, and shuffles out of, it is paying the price. If driven into a corner, it will pay something, but never a fair—let alone the full—price.

Dissecting the complex of human social life into categories brings in so many surds, fallacies, and pitfalls that it is not enough to repeat verbal cautions against it; we must *do* something, and that something not once or spasmodically, but permanently.

Man is a whole person, a member of a family and sundry other groups, residing, working, playing, on some ascertainable portion or portions of the earth's crust, and cannot with impunity be detached from any of these in our thought about him, or our planning for him. To think about him, or plan for him, usefully we

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

must place ourselves at the point of greatest, not least, vantage for doing so, and for two reasons. (1) Man needs so much service, succour, shelter, provision, and protection, that no one attempting any of these can afford to be handicapped. (2) Dissection of his needs into categories is so essential that it must be compensated for. It is idle to say, 'Don't dissect him and his needs.' What we have to say is, 'He and his needs are constantly being, and always will be, dissected; we must stand by and compensate the harm resulting therefrom.'

The means of doing this is Parochial Service. As category is always re-invading, so Parochial Service must be continually revived, overhauled, and re-established. We ask for the effort required for the constant restoration of Parochial Service, because, upon examination, it appears that no civilization worthy of the name can persist without it. Man, if regarded as a bundle of categories, soon falls to that level, and his social relationships become mechanical like himself. But civilization consists of relationships of personalities. Therefore the Public Social Services which cannot be administered except by departments, i.e. categorically, *must* be supplemented, in one form or another, by case-work service, for which the ideal machinery is parochial. Dr. Cyril Burt found¹ 880 causes for the delinquency of 100 children, and Miss Thornton has found² fully as many for the disability of 100 patients in the Presbyterian Hospital, New York City. But no Government can provide 880 departments, whether for the service of London's young delinquents or for the New York sick, even supposing the other 8½ and 10 millions respectively were obliging enough to keep their troubles within the categories appropriate to the two batches of 100 each!

¹ In *The Young Delinquent*.

² In *The Social Component in Medical Care*.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Both these authors¹ exhibit great skill in restoring for us the wholeness of the personalities they are studying after their temporary dissection into categories. Such skill is uncommon, and its exhibition in these books gives them the very high place they occupy.

Turning now to the clergy, we are confronted by a phenomenon which has baffled mankind since long before the dawn of history. How is it that it is in the hands of the men (and women) set apart by the community for the exposition and conservation of the spiritual forces in personal and social life that those very forces seem to be most de-spiritualized? 'The moment the parson gets hold of it all, the inspiration seems to leak away.' This is, of course, by no means due to incompetence or lack of spirituality. It is merely that he is subject to the same universal law, viz. that the price must be paid. It is his business to convert the fleeting glimpse of the glorious vision that was so vivid to him—in retreat, at the eucharist, at his ordination, at times in his study, or while meditating in his church—into something he can put into words for a Bible, Sunday-school, or confirmation class; for a sick or death-bed visit; or into a sermon his congregation will listen to. He is not writing for a few admiring, trained, sympathetic readers who share the whole of his background and much of his experience, as Dr. Cyril Burt, Dr. Healy, and Miss Thornton are doing. He has a very different type of listener to think about, and from this depressing experience he turns for relief to the problems of bricks and mortar which his parish buildings present, and all the miscellaneous bits of thoroughly and comfortingly secular business he has to transact.

¹ In the literature of delinquency, Drs. William Healy and Augusta Bronner, of Boston, Mass., have also established this point with great care and success.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

He is even a little thankful when people say of him, 'He is all right'; 'Not too much of the long-faced, pious parson about him'; 'He is a man's man'!

Whither has fled that transitory gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?

Whither indeed! He has destroyed it; and yet he was called, and sent, and ordained, to set it forth!

Nothing is more baffling to-day than the apparent impossibility of achieving a statement of Christian belief which can command even momentary attention or interest on the part of the enormous majority of our fellow subjects. The Church, having given the world its finest 'Songs to March By' all through the ages, finds herself completely dumb to-day, and haunted by the suspicion that she is deaf as well!

Is not the reason obvious? In the past the Church's songs (formulations of belief) have arisen immediately and directly from the struggle with the vicissitudes, chagrins, hopes, fears, joys, and sorrows of the people. Human beings have marched by the songs and established their truth that way.

To-day a social philosophy which substitutes gadgets—marvellous, ingenious, magic-working, bewitching, exquisite gadgets—for sad, weary, stumbling, shame-faced souls, has successfully evicted the Church from the field of her service, and left her repeating dogmas which grew out of the real experience of former days, but have neither grown out of, nor are they related to, real experience to-day.

That the Church's dogmas are sound is proved by the discoveries made in very real experience of to-day by Otto Rank¹ and Jessie Taft and a great many others. But the Church cannot take her place beside Rank and

¹ Cf. *Truth and Reality* and *Will Therapy*, by Otto Rank, Eng. trans. by Jessie Taft; pub. Alfred Knopf, 1936.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Taft unless she will come back into the only field in which she can regain contact with the only fruitful source of all dogma—daily life.

How are the clergy to bring back the wholeness wherein resides the vision, the transcendental¹ or 'numinal'² quality, the 'holiness', which, willy-nilly, they have destroyed in the very act of expressing it?

They must, we submit, have real and serious contacts with individuals, and these are only obtainable if they, on their part, can deal with the affairs of individuals at a professional level of proficiency. Such contacts are not to be found in their recreations, nor at their entertainments—of which listening to a sermon and attending a Church service is, for a great many, only one among a number—but in their fears, chagrins, and troubles.

Our submission, then, is that if, as we know he has, the clergyman has the root of the matter in him, it will be as a quality ('transcendental', if an adjective is required) of his professional service as a Parochial Worker that he will impart it to his flock, not otherwise.

It was not by his scholarship or eloquence—he had neither—but in handling their fears and troubles, that the Curé d'Ars³ rose to be the most effective parochial clergyman of the last two centuries, perhaps of all time.

The posing of this question brings to light the great illusion which dominates the minds of most people in Great Britain to-day. They believe that if they abuse the 'Fascist' powers vehemently enough, and purchase enough armament (much of it of quite inferior quality), they will thereby preserve 'democracy' and 'liberty'. There is actually no support for such a belief anywhere,

¹ Cf. the works of the late Professor J. A. Stewart, *passim*.

² Cf. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*.

³ Saint Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney, 1786–1859; see *Life*, by Chanoine Francis Trochu, pub. Emmanuel Vitte, 1935.

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

either in philosophy or in history. They will get, in due course, as Tolstoi warned the Russians, the type of government suited to the level of their moral and spiritual attainment. If the personal aims of most of them are trivial, and their acceptance of discipline negligible, they will soon hear what Spengler calls 'the quiet, firm step of the dictator'. That triviality of aim and impatience of discipline are multiplied 45 million times in a small country hastens, rather than defers, his arrival.

Man has been free—only a very small number of him, and only for very short periods—when, and in so far as, he escaped triviality and indiscipline; but he has never once escaped them because he was seeking freedom. He has become free after, and because, he had already escaped them. How did he manage it? On every occasion his mind was switched off trivialities, and he was induced to accept discipline, by the awakening of the religious impulse in him. In the words of Isaiah, he let them 'cast to the moles and bats' his love of undisciplined trivialities, and stood up a strong and free man.

How are we, the trivial-minded, the undisciplined British people of to-day, to get ourselves switched away from trivialities to high seriousness?

The argument of this book is that it can be done by realizing the 'numinal' or 'transcendental' element in our daily struggles with pain, fear, humiliation, and need, that, in Bunyan's language, this process requires an Interpreter, and that the clergy and ministers have a fine opportunity of playing that role.

Were Aesop, or de la Fontaine, here, he would bid us take a lesson from the beasts. They eat, drink, lust, play, fight, and sleep. Their lot is miserable unless man, their dictator, steps in and imposes upon them a saner, less foolish life than the one which, left to themselves, they habitually lead.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

After all, why are a great many people dissatisfied and unhappy? Because they have constantly before their minds mental pictures of things they want passionately but cannot get. What are those things? Take women.

Do their keenly felt wants include more vitamins? More protective foods? More warm underwear? Warm stockings? More stout, weatherproof shoes; more weather-resisting outer garments? More warm bedclothing? A gas or electric fire for the bedroom? An eiderdown quilt? A rug? An umbrella? A week-end, a week, or a fortnight at a cottage in a very quiet village where they can have complete rest, pure air, sleep long hours, and recuperate all round? An endowment policy yielding a small annuity in thirty-five years' time?

Can you recall one woman who has: (1) Expressed a keen desire for any of these things? (2) Saved up to get it? (3) Applied the money she had saved for her holiday to the purchase of it?

It is idle to pooh-pooh the things they *do* passionately want, spend money on, and, sometimes, save money for. What is required is to know what they are. Hair-waving, hair-dyeing, cosmetics, hats, clothes, stockings, and shoes *which will be admired, or at least approved*. Visits to shows, week-ends, holidays to the places everybody is talking about and thinks it 'marvellous' to have been to; foods and drinks which they like; tobacco, because it is the 'done thing', and then because they have come to like it; alcoholic drinks for the same reason. [Taking the returns of the year 1926 as 100, the latest Canadian figures give silk manufacturers 524, building 33.] In pursuing passionately these objects of desire, they exhibit resemblance to all other mammals. We may rest assured that they will pursue them with far more ardour and persistency than they will adopt the

THE PAROCHIAL IDEA

plans set before them by the teaching and medical professions, charm they never so wisely.

Nor will their objectives exhibit much change when they become wives and mothers. They will want their children to wear and do what all the other women of their group talk about and approve. And man, of course, is incomparably more frivolous than woman. It may be asked, 'If the human race and all mammals are as foolish as this, how have any of them survived?' The reply is, 'The human species has survived, in such measure as it has survived, through having its mind switched off these pathetic absurdities by the power of religion.'

The Recall to Religion: a Practical Application. It is common to hear and read that the world is in a very bad way and that nothing can help, or, in fact, save it, except the Christian faith. We are disposed to agree with the description, and whole-heartedly to endorse the remedy, but we have not seen any proposals for its application. Doubtless if everybody were to become inspired with a love of Christ equal to that of St. Francis of Assisi or the Curé d'Ars, the woes of the world would vanish; but there are no signs of that occurring. One thing is certain: people do not come to resemble St. Francis or to love Christ through being exhorted to do so. Preaching will not save the world of to-day. We come forward here with an alternative programme. We ask for a corps of men and women trained as thoroughly as Jesuits for a fully professional service—that of permeating ordinary human everyday relationships with Christian quality; and we offer a programme of permeation in which is to be found a very large assortment of avenues of approach, standing wide open to-day, and inviting these professionals to enter them. It is a method with a most honourable and successful past, which scintillates with illustrious

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

and beloved names, while the call and opportunity before it to-day are so clamant that if the Parochial Idea—the trained professional man and woman, on the spot, for each small aggregation of inhabitants—had never been heard of, it would be produced and patented to-day as the only means of saving the situation.

It will be urged, and with justice, that the parochial clergyman is just as much concerned for the success of his Church as the shopkeeper or cinema proprietor, and that, in consequence, he can never fill the role we are trying to sketch for him in this book. No one will ever give him credit for the requisite amount of disinterestedness. In extenuation we urge the well-known facts of the last hundred years. Has any one ever queried the disinterestedness of Wainwright or A. G. Lawley? Would it be a reasonable use of a common word to describe the *Curé d'Ars* as an interested party?

CHAPTER III

THE METROPOLITAN VISITING AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 1843-1937

1. *Historical Sketch*

THE equipment for their life's work of the clergy of the Church of England, and, we understand, that of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, are once more under consideration. A great many points of view will doubtless be surveyed. The members of the M.V.R.A. offer a brief note upon the one in which they themselves have specialized. They do so because they feel it would be treachery to keep silence and leave it to bishops, archdeacons, moderators, rural deans, and other hard-pressed ecclesiastics to include in their already over-crowded programmes of work a piece of research of which we know too well the difficulty. We have another reason. We have ourselves spent our lives in Parochial Service, but we perceive clearly enough the extent to which the parish, as we knew it at our ordinations, is disappearing. The clergyman is ordained to a Cure of Souls, but what form does it take to-day? He will tell you that 'he labours to fill his church;¹ to increase his roll of communicants, and, in order to do so, his Sunday-school or catechism, his Bible, and confirmation, classes. His highest duty and privilege is to administer the sacraments. These together constitute a very "full-time job" and one which he has to carry out, daily beset by embarrassments of

¹ The highest praise a clergyman or minister can win to-day is: 'Wonderful man! When he went to that church there were twelve at mattins, twenty at evensong. Now the church is packed morning and evening.'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

a pecuniary and material description. He has neither time nor tissue left over from these tasks.¹

He is, then, a preacher and teacher. His models will be either the preaching friars or George Whitfield, and his method of life all that he can learn about the factors which made for their success.

The souls with whose cure he is entrusted are those who come to him to get that instruction which will lead them to desire the sacraments of the Church at his hands.

What place is there in this programme for the territorial parish of, say, ten, twenty, or thirty streets; or farms—as the case may be—with its population of 200–20,000 souls, none of whom, as likely as not, seek any kind of instruction at his hands? Any responsibility which he admits or feels towards the denizens of these streets and farms who do not attend his instructions will obviously be so much distraction from the time, attention, and energy he has to give to his functions as preacher and teacher. The very first condition of success in any avocation is economy of attention. Will this man not be wise sternly to exclude any such distractions?

The argument is almost equally applicable to the parish church. It is true that he will require a consecrated building in which to administer the sacraments, but the people whom he has carried to that point by his preaching and instruction will be prepared to travel considerable distances in the interest of their sacramental life; and that means—in the towns, at least—that not a tenth of the parish churches will be required. Let us take as an illustration the Oxford Group Movement. Its undeniable successes have been won in public halls of all descriptions. The clergy following

¹ We need not labour the contrast between this programme and that set before ordinands sixty, fifty, forty years ago.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

that, or any similar, lead will be thankful to be quit of liability for any building of their own. There is a further consideration. Like John Wesley, the world is the preacher's parish. If he gives a moving address or writes a stimulating article he can rely upon its receiving adequate discussion in Tokyo, Shanghai, Calcutta, and perhaps even in Moscow. What occasion has he for worrying about its effect in his own street? Liability for a costly and partly dilapidated building would certainly not help him in those directions.

We, as lifelong parochial workers, must concede the force of these arguments. We are, in fact, quite ready to believe that many clergy to be ordained in the coming years will take this view of their function. Our submission here, however, is that there is another function equally indispensable alike to the life and vigour of the Church and to that of human society. We are calling it Parochial Service. Because its prestige has sunk to so low a point to-day, we are bringing into court the witness of history. We believe that the story of Parochial Service during the last hundred years is a grand and glorious one. We believe it is able to give the newly ordained clergyman of to-day a 'song to march by'. Since our appeal is to history, we propose to thread our argument upon the years and decades just passed. We begin this chapter with a brief historical sketch—but crave the reader's attention to the fact that this book is written, not to add a chapter to the history of the past, but to enlist the sympathy of those who are planning the training of the clergy in 1937 with a certain point of view about that training.

1838. 'The real question', said the Duke of Wellington, in that year, 'that now divides the country and which truly divides the House of Commons, is Church or no Church? People talk of the war in Spain and the Canada question. But all that is of little moment. The

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

real question is, Church or no Church?' (Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i, p. 155).

The 'bright young people' of that day were claiming that the Church was a thing of the past: that its functions should be discontinued, and its buildings secularized as lecture halls and the like. Mr. William Ewart Gladstone had spent the months which intervened between leaving Oxford and taking his seat in the House of Commons on a Continental tour, much of which he had devoted to observation of the Church life of Europe. Commenting upon the entries in his diary, his biographer writes: 'This mighty question—what is the nature of a Church? and what the duties, titles, and symbols of faithful membership—which in diverse forms had shaken the world over so many ages, and was now first dawning upon his ardent mind, was the germ of a deep and lasting pre-occupation of which we shall speedily and without cessation find abundant traces' (Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, p. 88). The reply of Mr. Gladstone—himself perhaps the greatest preacher of all time—to this challenge, was MORE AND BETTER PAROCHIAL SERVICE. We shall give elsewhere considerable detail in regard to our Association. Suffice it to say here that in 1843 the Bishop of London (Bishop Charles J. Blomfield), with Mr. Gladstone, Sir Walter Farquhar, and Sir Robert Inglis, as Trustees, formed the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. They believed that the troubles which threatened the peace, prosperity, and order of the kingdom could best be met by what we to-day call 'Family Case-work'—what they conceived to be the essential function of the parochial clergy, their workers and visitors, and all those people of goodwill similarly engaged in their districts. Under such leadership, the Association met with immediate success. As we shall see, that success was not soon to meet a diminution. As late as 1903 another

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Bishop of London made a special appeal for the Association, and £9,055 was raised for its work in that year.

1860. For nearly twenty years the enthusiasm animating the movement was unabated, and when, in the sixties, it began to flag, the Society for the Relief of Distress brought into the field a strong reinforcement of personnel, including, notably, a contingent of officers of the Guards, and, most distinguished of all, no less a prophet and leader than Edward Denison—curiously enough, like Gladstone before him, M.P. for Newark.

J. A. Froude wrote of 'England's Forgotten Worthies'. We are struck by the aptness of his phrase to our story. It cannot be denied that, not only are we unaware of the range and quality of the service given long before we appeared upon the scene, but we habitually and uncritically assume that it never happened!—and we go on to base our projects upon that totally misleading assumption. Our founders did not do something new. They aimed at intensifying two things both of which already had a history of centuries, nay, of millenniums, viz. Parochial Service and the Case-work Method, i.e. the study and succour of need and trouble in the setting of the home, the street, the neighbourhood.

By the courtesy of Mr. Herbert Picton Morris, Honorary Treasurer of the Society for the Relief of the Houseless Poor, formerly one of His Majesty's Charity Commissioners, we have been able to study the proceedings of this charity, which precedes our Association by twenty-three years and, like our Association, is still in active operation to-day. Between 1819 and 1891, when the society took stock, over 400,000 persons had been relieved at its refuges, and nearly three million night's lodgings had been given, besides food rations. That is not, however, the aspect of the society's work which is of most importance to us here. None of our needy neighbours to-day—1937—are so baffling as the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

houseless, by reason of their strange preference for the roughest accommodation and their minimum inclination to accept constructive help. The Houseless Poor Society was as wide awake in 1820 as we are to-day to the detrimental effects of mere temporary relief. Besides chaplains, medical officers were detailed to attend to the needs of applicants, while there was close and active co-operation with a number of hospitals. Placing in employment was a conspicuous feature from the start. Baths and washtubs were installed to enable those coming for shelter to cleanse themselves and their garments. It is in keeping with our other information about the period that these services were accepted and appreciated by the vast majority of applicants. Well manned and equipped as it was, the society was able to play a helpful part in the cholera outbreak of 1849.

The enterprise was well supported in the City, £3,000 or £4,000 being collected each year, varying with the severity of the season and the economic situation. In the first year, when the depression following the Napoleonic War was still acute, nearly £13,000 was collected.

A number of the subscribers to this charity also subscribed to our Association as soon as it was formed. They brought with them twenty years' experience of the necessity of constructive individual treatment and of the worthlessness of the mere distribution of cash and kind to unknown persons apparently in need of it.

Lack of space forbids our offering any details of any others of the great range and variety of the charities of the metropolis in 1843, but we give the reader a small selection of dates to save him the trouble of looking them out.¹

¹ Great Britain. Societies: The S.P.C.K. had been at work since 1698. Charities recently founded were: The Stranger's Friend Society, 1785; the Bible Society, 1804; the Refuge for the

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

The contribution to the maintenance and development of the Parochial Idea by its shining lights was their conviction that life is nothing if not religious, that religion is nothing if not the mainspring which makes human contacts and human relationships great and

Destitute, 1805; the British and Foreign School Society, 1805; the National Society, 1811; the District Visiting Society of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, 1812; the Bible Society commenced house-to-house visitation in the metropolis in 1813; the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity, 1818; the Night Refuge in Playhouse Yard, 1819; the London City Mission, 1835; the Church Pastoral Aid Society, 1836; the Metropolitan Convalescent Institution, 1840; the St. Giles Refuge for Homeless and Destitute Children, 1843; the Ragged School Union, 1844; the Young Men's Christian Association, 1844.

Hospitals: St. Bartholomew's, 1123; St. Thomas's, 1200; Westminster, 1719; Guy's, 1725; St. George's, 1733; Queen Charlotte's, 1739; London, 1740; Middlesex, 1745; Lock, 1746; City of London Maternity, 1750; General Lying-in, 1765; Miller General, 1783; London Fever, 1802; Moorfields, 1804; Royal Chest, 1814; Westminster Ophthalmic, 1816; Royal Ear, 1816; Royal Waterloo, 1816; Charing Cross, 1818; Dreadnought, 1821; Royal Free, 1828; University College, 1833; St. Mark's (Rectum), 1835; Metropolitan, 1836; Ear, Nose, and Throat, 1838; King's College, 1839; Princess Louise, 1840; Skin, 1841; Brompton, 1841; Soho Square, 1842; German, 1845; Victoria Park, 1848; Royal Cancer, 1851; Great Ormond Street, 1852, &c., &c.

Some outstanding philanthropists:

Henry Fielding, 1708-54.

John Howard, 1726-90.

William Wilberforce, 1759-1833.

Elizabeth Fry, 1780-1845.

A few dates of the Family Case-work Movement:

1815-20. The Rev. Thomas Chalmers organized Tron Parish, Glasgow.

1820-3. The Rev. Thomas Chalmers organized St. John's Parish, Glasgow.

1833. Manchester District Provident Society founded.

1843. Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association founded.

1844. Oxford Anti-Mendicity and Charity Organization Association.

1860. Society for the Relief of Distress.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

beautiful, instead of—as they may so easily be—mean, miserable, and mischievous. It is our conviction that Parochial Service and the Parochial Idea are two aspects of the same thing. This was brilliantly illustrated by the events of the time. The seventies,

1866. Edinburgh Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

1869. Aberdeen Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

1869. Birmingham Charity Organization Society founded.

1869. London Charity Organization Society founded.

1870. Plymouth Mendicity Society.

1871. Birkenhead, Brighton, Chester, and Winchester Charity Organization Societies.

1872. Leith Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

1872. Newcastle Charity Organization Society.

1874. Glasgow Charity Organization Society.

1875. Walsall Charity Organization Society.

1876. Hull and Southampton Charity Organization Societies.

1879. Cambridge Charity Organization Society re-organized.

1880. Derby Charity Organization Society.

A few American dates :*

1750–1831. Stephen Girard, philanthropist.

1754. Benjamin Franklin's Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

1758–1827. Thomas Eddy, philanthropist.

1801. *Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick*, by Benjamin Rush.

1801–1876. Samuel Gridley Howe, Work for the Blind in Massachusetts.

1802–1887. Dorothea L. Dix, Work for the Insane.

1815. Fourth edition of An Account by Benjamin Rush of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever as it appeared in Philadelphia in the year 1793.

1826–1890. Charles Loring Brace, philanthropist.

1831. Union Benevolent Association of Philadelphia for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

1835. Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism.

1843. Founding of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor—a movement in many ways identical with the founding in the same year in London of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. The founders were

* *Some American Pioneers in Social Welfare*, by Edith Abbott, Cambridge University Press, 1937.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

eighties, and the nineties saw the zenith—in modern times—of Parochial Service.

This greatest, most subtle, most fruitful of all ideas, which Matthew Arnold called 'Christ's Method of Inwardness', which we are calling the Parochial Idea,

strongly critical of the Soup Societies. The Philadelphia one, for example, was flourishing in 1803. The A.I.C.P. is still a vigorous and flourishing Association to-day.

The American Charity Organization Society movement was started in Buffalo, N.Y., in 1877, by the Reverend Mr. Gurteen, a member of the London C.O.S. who had joined the staff of the Buffalo parish church.

The founding of the M.V.R.A. was, as we shall see again and again, a practical outcome of one of the most splendid intellectual and spiritual movements in the history of our country. In 1838, Benjamin Jowett was elected Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.†

† We are indebted to Mr. W. Done Bushell for this note on the contemporary Cambridge situation:

'Harrow was perhaps taking the lead, under Vaughan and Butler, among the Public Schools. Harrow and Cambridge men remember it as a time when the Old Testament might be freely criticized, but not yet the New. Mr. Bowen was the schoolmaster who, at Harrow, influenced Westcott and Hort. These two, with Lightfoot, were looked up to as the leaders in this campaign of criticism. It sounds strange to be giving among these reminiscences this one, viz. that "Bertie" Russell was influenced at Cambridge by A. N. Whitehead! Meantime, Henry Sidgwick was assiduous in the Chair of the Executive and Case Committees of the Cambridge Charity Organization Society.'

The importance of this note will appear when we come, presently, to the tremendous drive for restatement in religious matters which affected so vitally the course of the Parochial Idea in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1860 Thomas Hill Green, one of his pupils, joined him as Fellow and Tutor.

In 1864 his great friend Arthur Penryn Stanley, the biographer of Arnold, was appointed Dean of Westminster.

In 1869, Richard Lewis Nettleship, another of their friends and pupils, became a Fellow and Tutor of Balliol.

In 1867, Charles Stewart Loch and Bernard Bosanquet entered the college as undergraduates.

In 1870, Jowett became Master.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

besides bearing fruit amongst the undergraduates of Balliol College, stimulated many of the finest characters of the day to seek ordination. We give a few dates to save the reader the trouble of looking them out.¹

To these men, and a great host of women and laymen who assisted them, no concern of the wage-earning population was felt to be outside their sphere. From the cradle to the grave, in sickness and in health, in sorrow and in joy, in work and out of work, at study and at play, they shared everything, and shared everything in the name of Christ. Accompanying this absorption in a service of comradeship with the dwellers in what have been so inaptly called 'mean streets'—no epithet was ever less true of them—on the part of the most talented men and women of the generation went an intense concentration of thought upon the significance and potentialities of this service. This latter aspect of

¹ Ordinations :

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| 1836. Bryan King. | 1877. Henry Luke Paget. |
| 1846. Frederick Temple. | 1880. Richard Wilson. |
| (1847-53. F. W. Robertson's
ministry at Trinity Chapel,
Brighton.) | 1881. Algernon George Lawley. |
| 1849. William Stubbs. | 1882. Hon. Reginald Adderley. |
| 1851. B. F. Westcott. | 1883. R. W. R. Dolling. |
| 1852. R. W. Church. | 1884. Arthur Foley Winning-
ton Ingram. |
| 1853. E. W. Benson. | 1884. H. C. Dimsdale. |
| 1854. Edward King. | 1884. The three sons of Bishop
Westcott ordained by Bishop
Lightfoot. |
| 1859. John Richard Green—
Holy Trinity, Hoxton, 1863;
St. Philip's, Stepney, 1866. | 1885. Francis Gurdon. |
| 1867. S. A. Barnett. | 1885. Philip Napier Waggett. |
| 1870. Mandell Creighton. | 1886. Thomas Varney. |
| 1871. L. S. Wainwright. | 1887. Mark Napier Trollope. |
| 1872. Henry Scott Holland—
close friend of T. H. Green
and R. L. Nettleship. | 1887. Herbert Hensley Henson. |
| 1875. Francis Paget. | 1888. The Hon. James Adder-
ley. |
| 1877. Harry Wilson. | 1888. St. Clair George Alfred
Donaldson. |
| | 1890. Cosmo Gordon Lang. |

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

the story is focused on the names of Charles Stewart Loch and Bernard Bosanquet. So convinced were they that here were to be sought the keys alike of social and religious progress, that Bosanquet resigned his lectureship at Oxford in 1880 to devote the rest of his life, in close association with Loch, to the service of that handmaid of London parishes, the London Charity Organization Society. As we shall see later, the activity and enthusiasm of this group of men and women appear to-day almost superhuman. They were convinced that the English democracy, as Mr. Gladstone was building it, had a new and priceless lesson to teach the whole world. Thus we find Loch delivering that message at one moment in Berlin, the next in Paris; then in Scotland, then in America. They were deeply apprehensive, however, that, under the force of influences already appearing above the horizon, democracy might take a turn which would dash their bright hopes to the ground.

1886. The time has come to look at the obverse of the shield. Down to the end of 1905 no one anticipated that the Public Social Services were about to be rapidly and completely divorced from Parochial Service and the Parochial Idea in England. When the process began, it did not take long. In that year (1905) had been appointed the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. It sat for three years; printed a Report occupying forty-four folio volumes; and recommended, in 1909, measures designed, like the founding of our Association in 1843, to strengthen and develop all the variety of neighbourly services which had characterized English life through the centuries. It was too late. No sooner were these plans complete, and available to the public, than an alternative and entirely different programme was announced. This alternative programme again, was no

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

sooner announced than it gained popular acceptance and swept all before it down at least till 1934.

Few incidents in the whole range of social history are more dramatic than the *débâcle* of the Parochial Idea in 1910. The social revolution then commenced was confirmed and established by the circumstances arising in the Great War. By the time peace was restored, no one could imagine that it had ever been thought possible for the people to be happy or healthy without the aid of huge public administrations handling annually hundreds of millions of public money. The only rational explanation of what we regard as the catastrophe of 1910 is that, just as the flower of the nation's youth in the seventies, eighties, and nineties drew their convictions from Jowett, Green, Nettleship, and their like, the following generation—that of 1910—were drawing them from altogether other sources. In 1849 Sir James Stephen, a distinguished Civil Servant, published *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, in an epilogue to which he set out with great eloquence and admirable clarity his own religious beliefs. What characterizes that epilogue is the obvious confidence of the writer that in what he is writing he will carry with him all the best and wisest people of his generation. 'The scene is changed.' In 1889 there is placed in the hands of schoolboys at the most ancient of all those great schools which are the proudest ornament of the Church of England, as a brilliant piece of literature not to be neglected, Huxley's *Life of Hume*.¹ The same lads, entering three years later upon their course of *literae humaniores* at Oxford University, were handed, as their first text-book, Herbert Spencer's *Data of Ethics*. In 1882, only in the forty-sixth year of his age, had died Thomas Hill Green. In 1892, Richard Lewis Nettleship lost his life in a blizzard on Mont Blanc. Huxley

¹ Published 1878.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

contended that he had already exhibited the human body as a comparatively simple piece of mechanism and, before many months were over, would be in a position to exhibit the human mind as a not dissimilar one. He scarified the documents, dignitaries, and traditions of the Church with a humour and brilliance which were found irresistible. Herbert Spencer undertook to reconstruct human society upon rationalist principles, and the people of Japan, who had lately rejoined the comity of nations, solemnly applied themselves to the carrying out of his programme. Boys who sat in Winchester College Chapel in the eighties, and heard the school missionary, R. R. Dolling, preach, were incapable of doubting that they were receiving the true call to the highest of life's vocations. The lads who came in contact with the cheap popularization of materialism and atheism in the first decade of this century exclaimed, 'Why, of *course*! **THIS** is true!' The ablest Balliol undergraduates of those years assure us that Jowett, Green, and Nettleship were never mentioned: what was inculcated was 'Simple Webb-Socialism'.

If the literary novelties of the last part of the nineteenth century had prepared the minds of the young to welcome with enthusiasm the social and political programme of 1910-30, other mighty forces had been also at work. Whole new strata of the population had risen to political power and social importance. Everything specifically typical of the social order which had preceded them appeared to them in the guise of oppressive barriers to their own ambitions. They were in haste to 'be done with' all that. They did not even think it merited examination. Ours is a country much addicted to politics, in the sense of party politics. Of all the millions of things which must be purveyed to its people, political programmes rank high on the menu.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

In this book we are talking about a hundred years. The party politician thinks in terms of four years at the longest; three, if he is engaged in local government. His life is immeasurably too strenuous a one to admit of his giving consideration to matters which are, for him, of such merely academic interest as those which fall beyond the limits of a Parliament, as elected for five years, or a Council, as elected for three.

Our historical sketch has chronicled a commencement in deep anxiety for the Church and for the Parochial Idea. Then followed four remarkable crests of well-maintained expansion and enthusiasm, and at the end of sixty years the wisest of observers felt justified in registering two generations of solid progress. But the undermining of their position had been proceeding apace. In 1886 Mr. Chamberlain issued his circular to local authorities, urging them, by means of public works, to afford maintenance to unemployed men whose social status made it derogatory for them to apply for Poor Law relief. In that year Bradlaugh was finally allowed to occupy his seat in Parliament.

In January 1884 the Fabian Society had been founded; the Democratic Federation had become the S.D.F. about the same time, and from it, before the year was out, the Socialist League had seceded under the unwilling leadership of William Morris. We say that 1910 was the *débâcle* of the Parochial Idea. One of the first acts of the new Parliament elected in 1906 was to associate the feeding of necessitous school-children, not with their parents—still less with the neighbourly services available in their parishes—but with their schools administered by County and County Borough Councils.

In 1908, when passing the first Old Age Pensions Act, Parliament rejected with ridicule the proposal that the parochial clergy might render useful service in its administration.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

The enormous programme of social legislation passed through Parliament between those years and 1934—which we are taking as another epoch-marking date—was characterized, not only by complete elimination of the Parochial Idea and refusal to be associated with Parochial Service, but also by a persistent determination that the human contacts between persons in need of allowances, benefits, assistance of all sorts, should be as impersonal, detached, and mechanical as it was possible for Parliamentary draftsmen to make them.

Here was observable at work one of those deep currents in social life which are not easily observed on its surface. The essence of the Parochial Idea is that human relationships are close, cordial, intimate, mutual, and lasting; that it is of the fundamental nature of man to be his brother's keeper; that the creature man reaches his true development among neighbours and in a circle of familiars—the companions of his childhood, the allies, partners, and friendly rivals of his youth and manhood, the cronies of his declining years. The idea that at each of life's vicissitudes—in the hour of sorrow and bereavement, perplexity, want, or despair—he should be succoured by a man or woman having no local connexion with him whatever, speaking largely a different language, having an altogether different upbringing and background, and taking his orders in the minutest detail from a Government office, it may be as much as 700 miles away, was thoroughly alien alike to the sentiments of Dickens or the philosophic theories of Thomas Hill Green. How the people of this country came to prefer in so marked a degree the mechanical, impersonal services which were substituted for the old intimate, neighbourly parochial contacts is a question which involves far-reaching considerations. It appears to extend much wider than

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the Social Services. In days gone by, the making of clothes, footwear, furniture, houses, and all their appurtenances was a service rendered personally by craftsmen who first learned the personal wishes of the customer and then endeavoured to carry them out to suit his taste. All these transactions of everyday life involved close personal relationships, with a preference on both sides that these relationships should be lifelong, extending, perhaps, even through many generations. All these things are supplied still, and innumerable other things, which, on the old lines, would have involved still more personal relationships, but which, to-day, involve nothing of the kind. Actually the contacts involved in the present-day supply of these articles are of a most fleeting character and are almost wholly impersonal. In the chain and departmental stores of North America they have been carried even further than here, and a French traveller—M. Duhamel—in *Scènes de la vie future*, declares that every detail of life is now mechanized on that continent, and nothing can save Europe from following suit. André Malraux, in *La Condition humaine*, depicts an analogous situation on the Chinese sea-board in ghastly colours. There is no escaping the fact that if the ambition of the human race was to get away from too many and too close contacts with one another—and Mr. H. G. Wells told us that it was their ambition, in his *Modern Utopia*—they have succeeded. With it—but we do not know whether because of it—has come, in the opinion of a great host of observers, an almost intolerable *malaise*. This sinister urge is not one of yesterday. In *Looking Backward*, the first of the very popular Socialist Utopias of our time—a mechanized life, free from close or enduring personal relationships—was already depicted as the consummation of bliss fifty years ago.

The scene is changed. In the Unemployment Act,

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

1934: in the Revised Administrative Scheme of 1935 for operating the Local Government Act, 1929, in London; in the Housing Act, 1935; in the Report on the Health Services, Scotland, 1936; in the Report on Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, 1936, and in the Reports of Investigations into Maternal Mortality, 1937, there is a mass of evidence showing how strikingly experience has revealed the difficulty of operating Social Service on impersonal lines. The situation now arising has been described in two sentences by a distinguished psychiatrist, J. D. Rees:¹ 'In my own profession there is an extraordinarily interesting movement going on at the present time. That is the movement from materialistic methods to what people call human methods.' In speaking thus, Dr. Rees speaks not only for the psychiatric branch, but for most of the vanguard of the medical profession.

Our historical sketch ends on this note, but it leaves us with a query very difficult to answer. There is an unmistakable swing-back, at least in medical and administrative minds, to what we are calling here the Parochial Idea. Will that swing-back give any opening for a resumption on the part of the parochial clergy of the position they occupied in 1905?

II. *The Two Situations, 1843 and 1937*

The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, founded on 16 December 1843, is the most considerable undertaking of the Church of England to deal with that complex of problems often gathered together under the term 'poverty'. The circumstances in which it was launched resemble, in many respects, those of the present year, 1937.

¹ Speaking at a Family Case-work Conference at Brighton in May 1937.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

The reader will help us in our difficult task if he will pause to remind himself of his own constant experience that human situations differ only externally and superficially; deep down they are the same. In Kipling's homely phrase, 'The colonel's lady an' Judy O'Grady are sisters under their skins.' A single sample must suffice. We were impressed the other day by observing that Aristotle shows a better understanding of the British manual wage-earner as we know him than the university professors who have written commentaries upon Aristotle in our own times, priceless compositions as are these commentaries in all other respects.

The country has just overhauled its provisions,¹ alike to meet existing sickness and to lay the foundations of less of it in the future.² It is much pre-occupied about the housing of the people,³ especially with the retardation of improvement consequent upon the Rent Restrictions Acts.

Similarly, in 1843, serious people were pre-occupied with Edwin Chadwick's great Report on his Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, presented to Parliament in July 1842. The admirable prints⁴ of new houses which were being put up in many parts of the country at that time, and which are reproduced in Chadwick's Report, cannot easily be distinguished from those we see to-day in 'housing estates' like Becontree, Downham, Morden,

¹ National Health Insurance, Public Health, Public Health (London) Acts, 1936; Report on Scottish Health Services, 1936; Reports on Maternal Mortality, 1937.

² First Report of the Advisory Board on Nutrition, 1937.

³ Housing Act, 1936 (see also six-monthly Housing Returns, 30 September 1936, 31 March 1937, &c.).

⁴ Twelve pages of prints, between p. 266 and p. 267 of the Report, besides six pages in other parts of the Report.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

&c. The rapid filling up of large areas with a population almost entirely industrial¹ created a problem for the Social Services and for the Church in 1843 not readily distinguishable from that presented by the great new housing estates in the metropolis and elsewhere to-day, to which we have just referred. The leaders of the Church of England in London, headed by Bishop Blomfield, their Bishop, set out in 1843 to do four things:

1. To ascertain, by consultation with the wage-earners and their families at their firesides, the precise nature of the handicaps against which they were struggling.

2. To overhaul and to strengthen the forces of the Church and its charities at work in the parishes; and to endeavour to remove these handicaps by means of a far more numerous and competent personnel and by adequate finance.

3. To interest and recruit citizens of goodwill for this service on a very large scale.

4. To animate alike all relievers and relieved with a conception of the high destiny of the human soul, whether incarnate in the body of a riverside labourer or of a duchess; to abstain from all and any measures savouring of a largesse of the wealthy and cultured thrown to the 'ignorant and destitute'; but to leave no stone unturned that might enable the humblest to express the courage, industry, and capacity for service and sacrifice within him.

This paragraph is, in fact, a lame condensation of the First Report of the Association. It occupied no less

¹ Cf., e.g., the recorded experiences of the long ministry of Mr. Quekett, Curate at St. George's-in-the-East, afterwards Vicar of Christ Church, Watney Street, E. 1, in the middle of last century. For figures of population see note at end of this chapter, p. 235.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

than seventy-three pages of small print, and was accompanied by a parochial map of London.¹

1. We have become familiar in our time with reports on the condition of the people, but all those undertaken in the last half-century have followed the method of the census. A form is drawn up by an eminent statistician; a body of investigators is enlisted, who call at a certain number of doors and ask the person who opens the door for the particulars required to fill up the inquiry form. These are then tabulated, and the results used all over the world, quoted thousands of times, and made the basis of legislative and administrative activity. The Church of England in 1844 and subsequent years pursued a different method. It sought information from persons residing within a stone's throw of those about whom they were giving the information, and already familiar with the circumstances in which they lived and worked. From the outset, the Association set its face against doorstep inquiry of any kind.² It was not prepared to approve or to finance any work or any service of needy persons which was not based on constant visitation in their

¹ It is noteworthy that since the M.V.R.A. ceased to print a parochial map of London with its Annual Report, the Church of England has never been at the pains to publish a parochial map of that diocese, although the late Mr. Charles Booth published parochial maps to accompany his series of volumes on religious influences in London which were an appendix to the Report on his Inquiry into the Life and Labour of the People of London. That benevolent man, though engaged upon an undertaking which did much to divert philanthropic and, still more, political thought from the idea of Parochial Service, paid the Parochial Service of the Church the compliment of printing in colours a *de luxe* map of it!

² It is interesting that at a special meeting of the Royal Statistical Society called to hear the plans for the Second (1928) Survey of London Life and Labour, the main criticism offered was the question, 'Of what value is information collected on doorsteps?'

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

homes. It will be remembered that those were the days of long incumbencies. Any one who has served in one of the older London parishes recollects his astonishment when he observed that it was by no means uncommon for previous rectors to have served as long as forty years in the parish. These men had christened and married not only everybody upon whose circumstances they were reporting to the Association, but their parents before them, their toddlers and babies about them, and had buried many members of the family in several generations.

2. The second aspect of the work was the method adopted for strengthening parochial forces. This consisted of a step of great significance. The Association required, in each parish seeking its help, the formation of a Visiting Society, if there was not one already in existence. It is noteworthy that the term used was not 'Committee', as we should expect, but the larger and more comprehensive term 'Society'. This was to be a band in which all persons interested in the well-being of their neighbours, irrespective of creed or social consequence, would work as a team. To-day, in 1937, we are just as strong upon the futility of expecting to achieve results in Social Service without team work, but we enjoy no exemption from that age-old experience, viz. the enormous difficulty of convincing any single person engaged in social work, from the highest official of the greatest Government department down to the busy housewife who can only offer one afternoon a week, to exercise sufficient self-control to work in any team at all!

The Association has itself been making a sustained effort during the last ten years, 1927-1937, to 'put over' yet again this idea of the team.

3. A whirlwind campaign for enlisting persons of goodwill for parochial visitation. It was said not many

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

months ago, by perhaps the most effective teacher of social service of our time,¹ that our greatest achievement is not even the building up of the health of a family, mental and physical, and making it 'four-square to all the winds that blow', but putting in the way of the average citizen an opportunity of understanding the troubles of a neighbour and, hand in hand with that neighbour, endeavouring to overcome them. The M.V.R.A. enlisted *more than one thousand persons* for service as visitors under these Visiting Societies in the first twelve months of its existence.

4. The fourth main plank in the programme of the Association was in some ways its most remarkable anticipation of present-day ideals. The gradual conversion of the Public Social Services from relief pure and simple, financed by public funds, to partnership by the body politic in the self-help efforts of the people has reached its high-water mark in the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, 1937. The promoters of the M.V.R.A. in 1843, like Sir Kingsley Wood in 1937, were impressed by the desire of the industrial population which they served to meet life's vicissitudes by its own thrift, and the lack of suitable machinery for the purpose. It met this in two ways.

First, by setting up Collecting Savings Banks, which were also frequently Clothing Clubs, with a large staff of voluntary collectors. The phraseology used to describe the fact that a considerable proportion of any human community is needy is very constant. The adjectives in use in 1937 were all of them in full use in 1837. It came as just the same kind of surprise to the less-informed benevolent in 1853 to learn that in the poorest parts of London, 30,451 persons had deposited £14,665 in these 'Penny Banks' in twelve

¹ Captain T. E. Lloyd.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

months, as it does to-day to learn that the 'small savings' of our industrial population, whose condition is often truly enough described as deplorable, amount to £3,000 millions.

Second, by providing from its funds encouragement in the form of interest at a reasonable rate upon moneys deposited with the bank. To the reader accustomed to the tens of millions of pounds involved in each portion of our present-day social insurance programme, a voluntary collector entering pence weekly on a collecting-card sounds a paltry business. He will meet with a surprise, however, at both ends of the story. The problem with which the M.V.R.A. were confronted was not that of inducing people to utilize its savings banks, but that of managing the very large sums entrusted to it (in the aggregate) so soon as its Collecting Savings Banks became known! No observation is commoner, in Parochial Service to-day, than that of the man who says, 'If that young lady had only persevered in calling for our pennies of a Monday, I dare say I should be a couple of hundred pounds to the good to-day.'

In its early years the Association published, with each Report, Schedules A and B. A consisted of grants to Visiting Societies; B, of grants to Provident Societies. Thus on p. 46 of the Second Annual Report we find twelve parishes returning a total of 3,744 depositors, and £1,451 deposits, to which the Association granted £68 18s., being interest at 5 per cent. In the tenth Annual Report, that for 1853, as we saw just now, thirty-five parishes returned 30,451 depositors and £14,665 deposits, and received £339 2s. in grants for premiums.

Methods and Aims. Commencing operations at a time when Thomas Chalmers was at the height of his fame and influence, we are not surprised to observe that the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Visiting Societies of the Association proceeded by the method now known all over the world as 'Family Case-work'. Thus every visitor received a supply of two forms, viz. 'V', 'District Visitor's Report to the Local Committee', upon which he or she reported full particulars of cases relieved, and 'VI', 'Page of District Visitor's Journal'. These forms were drawn up in such a way that it was impossible for the visitor to think of herself merely as a relieving officer without responsibility for the building up of the family, socially, economically, morally, and spiritually. Our Association's visitors had the great advantage of serving the industrial community before these human interests had been broken up, and before those responsible for any one of them had begun to lose sight of the others. Thus the workers for parochial Visiting Societies in 1844 were just as much concerned with the attendance at day school of the children of the household as with their attendance at Sunday school and their possession of a Bible; with the state of their health as with their economic condition; with their background as with their immediate needs. It must be conceded that to-day, when attendance at day school is the business of an officer of one department of a local authority, sickness the business of an officer of a national authority, unemployment the business of either but not both of two national authorities carefully separated from one another and from any health authority, and when the general spiritual culture of the family is thought of rather as a concern of the Board of Education, the newspapers, or the B.B.C. than of the parochial clergy, the opportunities open to these last of realizing Goethe's ideal, 'in WHOLENESS, goodness, truth, strenuously to live and help others to live', are 'minished and brought low'. What cannot but be a source of enormous encouragement is to realize that the aims and methods,

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

the flag of which the longest and widest experience compel us even more to nail to our mast to-day if we are to achieve anything, were implemented, on a scale which can only be called magnificent, by our forebears in the Church of England a century ago. Plenty of water has run under the bridges, but at least we have no occasion to leave the river that has flowed through the ages, or to carry our craft to another stream.

Besides being free from the 'breaking up' of human needs to meet the convenience of administrative departments, our Association, going to work in 1843, had another enormous advantage when compared with our position to-day. The mechanization of man's soul which has gathered such colossal momentum to-day, and against which we battle despairingly, had not yet commenced. Thomas H. Huxley—who was later to flout the great Bishop Wilberforce,¹ and to convince two generations that the body of man and the mind of man are two pieces of mechanism like any other mechanism (cf. especially his *Life of Hume*, written in 1878 for John Morley's 'English Men of Letters' series)—was reading Carlyle and living in Bermondsey. He was shortly about to apply, with his brother, to the Charing Cross Hospital for a scholarship, and that brother was to present a letter of commendation from the Rev. John Henry Newman!

To-day, leaders of the medical profession, by no means confined to its psychiatric branch, declare that 'it is almost hopeless to expect progress in their art until the mechanistic medicine of the generations immediately preceding them is got rid of and forgotten'. In 1843 there was no such thing as mechanistic medicine.

It will become apparent that the journals and reports of these visitors, collected by the Visiting Societies,

¹ At 'the famous Oxford Meeting of 1860.' Cf. *Life and Letters of T. H. Huxley*, vol. i, p. 179.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

digested by the minister of the parish, and forwarded by him to the offices of the Association at 4 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, contained a body of first-hand knowledge of the conditions of human life which neither exists to-day nor could be collected. In fact, it is not possible in 1937 for any authority, no matter how richly equipped with public money and staff, to know what it is about to the same extent as the promoters of the Association knew what they were about in the forties. So convinced, however, were they of the absolute necessity of close appreciative study of individual and family life as the basis of Social Service that, although the Association's own annual Report was intended to be a compendium of parochial reports and not a collection of case records, actually their first Report contained no less than thirty-six detailed statements of individual cases. The leading Family Casework Societies of to-day are content with citing three or four of these in their annual Reports.

It might be thought that the raising of a central fund of £20,171 in the first year, and the launching of a thousand new recruits for visiting in poor parishes, might have upset more good and established work than it introduced new service of any value—and it might well be so to-day. This, apparently, was not the case in 1843. The spirit still animating English society, the principles and pre-suppositions upon which men thought and acted, were still so sound that the ordinary citizen of goodwill, under experienced direction, went to work in an effective manner right away. Few would expect anything of the kind from him to-day till he had had twelve months' training and instruction at the very least, and here lies the kernel of our theme: what has the M.V.R.A. been able to glean from its century-old records likely to be serviceable to the Commission on the training of the clergy to-day?

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

1870. At various points in our narrative we take 1886 as a middle date. We by no means ignore the importance of 1870, which Mr. R. C. K. Ensor¹ has described as the watershed dividing two epochs in which Englishmen were conscious of fundamentally different conceptions of life. The Education Act of 1870 was certainly the next great centralizing measure after Chadwick's Poor Law Act of 1834. An instance of this parting of the ways is afforded by the Report on the Educational Condition and Requirements of One Square Mile in the East End of London, by George C. T. Bartley.² Of this Report *The Times* said, on 25 March 1870: 'The country would have been in a far better position for dealing with the subject if we had been furnished with a few more equally practical inquiries.' The special interest for us here is that Sections 57-96, occupying pp. 42-56, are all records of individual families, precisely in the manner of M.V.R.A. annual Reports which we emphasized just now. We also note with interest that Mr. Bartley says, on p. 38, that, without the aid of his friend, the Rev. G. Hervey, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Haggerston, he could hardly have performed the task.

It is beyond the keenest observer to compute, or the most eloquent to describe, the effect of this seeming simple change from thinking of human beings individually to thinking of them statistically. No political, social, or religious revolution, no military conquest in the ordinary sense, can compare with it. Disraeli said, 'I do not become a duke: I create dukes.' This big

¹ In his volume *England, 1870-1914*.

² Prepared at the request of the Council of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and published by Chapman & Hall. The second edition is dated 1870. A similar inquiry had been carried out by the Royal Statistical Society in the parish of St. George-in-the-East in 1845.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

change creates these lesser ones. If, as we believe, Mr. Ensor is correct about 1870, it is no wonder that the advocates of the individual method, the heroes of our story, had to fight rearguard actions for the next sixty years.

III. *The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association and Its Allies*

The first Chairman of the Association was no less outstanding a person than Charles Blomfield, Bishop of London. Its first trustees were the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Sir Walter R. Farquhar, Bt., Sir Robert Inglis, Bt., M.P., and Henry Kingscote, Esq.

Mr. Gladstone and Sir Walter Farquhar both served the Association for more than half a century. In 1860 was founded the Society for Relief of Distress, rendered illustrious among other things by the fact that Edward Denison became a voluntary visitor under it and went to live in Philpot Street, Stepney, in 1867. Denison brought great originality alike into his study and performance of philanthropy, but he was in general agreement with his political leader, Mr. Gladstone, and, like him, represented Newark in Parliament. Denison lived to see the launching of the C.O.S. in 1869, but died in the following year. His portrait has looked down upon the deliberations of that Society, however, from that day to this. The Charity Organization Society was founded, like the M.V.R.A., by Mr. Gladstone, this time in conjunction with Lord Lichfield, John Ruskin, Miss Octavia Hill, Alsager Hay Hill, Captain Maxse, R.N.,¹ Cardinal Manning, W. H. Smith, M.P., Canon Gregory, Sir C. E. Trelvelyan, J. Hornsby Wright, Charles Bosanquet, the Rev. M. S. A. Walrond (for many years hon. sec. of the M.V.R.A.), and a host of other leading people.

¹ Beauchamp in Meredith's *Beauchamp's Career*.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

The three Societies have been closely allied ever since, and from time to time, e.g. in the *Charity Organization Reporter* for 1882, we find the famous Mr. A. G. Crowder urging even closer co-operation. During nearly three generations they made joint appeals to the benevolent public, especially at times when inclement weather had increased the hardships of the needy. The M.V.R.A. confines its publications to an annual Report. As we have seen, during the first ten years of its existence these were among the most important documents of the year as reliable descriptions of need and distress in London and the best means of coping with it. The C.O.S. has published a good deal of literature since its inception, more especially in its earliest days, when its first organ, the *Parochial Critic*, appeared weekly, and, since the two bodies shared leaders, it is not surprising that the Reports of the M.V.R.A. tended to become somewhat slender documents after 1870, though they never failed to be interesting ones. It is noteworthy that seven pages of the 1870 Report contain first-hand accounts of a Poplar, a Stepney, a St. Marylebone, and a Walworth parish by their incumbents, and details of six cases from a parish in Haggerston. In this year the Penny Bank depositors were 41,685 in sixty parishes; their deposits amounted to £17,873, and the grants for premiums to £441. In 1875 we find a discussion at a meeting of the C.O.S. as to whether the M.V.R.A. should continue making grants to provide interest on deposits in its Penny Banks, or should not rather urge the depositors to transfer their accounts to the Post Office Savings Bank. Without this latter precaution the Association found that deposits were too frequently withdrawn entirely at Christmas-time. In the Report for 1880-1 we read that grants to parishes in London over the border were found necessary. In that for 1881-2 the writer 'hopes

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the radical assistance of specially selected cases will come more and more to be regarded as the most effectual mode of utilizing the funds of the Association'. In 1885 the Rev. Mayne Waldron, as honorary secretary, took as text of the fortieth annual Report the programme of work set forth in the Association's first annual Report. It is interesting to note that among the parochial clergy from whose reports he cited extracts was the Rev. S. A. Barnett, Vicar of St. Jude's, White-chapel.

A résumé of the work of the Association from 1873 to 1893 was given by the Rev. Mayne S. A. Waldron, its honorary secretary, at a Conference convened by the three Societies on 21 December 1892, and reported in the February 1893 issue of the *Charity Organization Review*. The second speaker on that occasion was Mr. A. Dunn Gardiner,¹ honorary secretary to the Society for the Relief of Distress; the third was Mr. C. S. Loch, secretary of the C.O.S. Mr. Waldron headed his paper 'Co-operation and Need of Trained Workers'. The reader will remember that the main objectives put forward by the founders of the Association fifty years before were co-operation of all competent persons assisting individuals or families on the spot, based upon careful and sympathetic study of each family in its home. It is the invariable experience of mankind that high standards are only maintained by constant renewal of effort and sacrifice. The history of our Association affords copious illustration of this truth. Mr. Waldron pointed out that for two decades the Association alone had been distributing £5,000 a year to its District Visiting Societies in 211 of the poorest parishes in the metropolis, and that these Societies enjoyed the services of no less than 2,200 District Visitors. But he

¹ London social workers are to-day (July 1937) mourning the death of his widow, Rose Dunn Gardiner, L.C.C., J.P.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

contended that, aside from the clergy and paid visitors, he doubted if he could muster 200 whom he would feel justified in describing as 'trained'. He pointed out that the best people to carry out training were the C.O.S., and finished his address by 'assuring them of the help and co-operation of the M.V.R.A. should they undertake it'. Mr. A. Dunn Gardiner, who followed him, besides being honorary secretary of the 'S.R.D.', was, to the end of his life, one of the outstanding figures in the C.O.S. He urged voluntary visitors to study Mr. Fowle's book on the Poor Law, to read the Report of the Commissioners of 1834, and to refer constantly to Mr. Loch's handbook, *How to Help Cases of Distress*.¹ He urged them to make a point of attending the local committees of the C.O.S. and the Relief or Visiting Committee presided over by the clergyman of the parish in which they worked. To this advice Mr. Loch added, in the very few minutes at his disposal, a recommendation to study Defoe on almsgiving rather than any modern treatise, and included 'well-managed Women's Settlements' as places where a high standard of training was to be obtained.

At a joint meeting of the M.V.R.A., 'S.R.D.', and C.O.S. on 21 December 1892, held in the gallery of the Society of Arts, Mr. C. S. Loch 'thought the time had come when for charity there might be written *A Pilgrim's Progress* . . . the outcome and expression of a national hope and a national thought and tradition'. In the footnote are some jottings from the annual Reports of the Association.²

¹ The C.O.S. continues (1937) to revise and publish this work, and it is the handbook used by the two university colleges in London which offer diplomas in Social Service.

² 1900. Subscriptions and donations had fallen from nearly £10,000 in 1895 to well under £3,000. In this year Admiral Leveson E. H. Somerset, the Chairman, and Sir Walter

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

We have read the ninety-four annual Reports. They look dingy enough! The paper has certainly lost its freshness! After the first ten great and splendid outpourings, each with a large coloured map, there is a forbidding sameness about the look of them. What is the string upon which these glass beads may be threaded to make them a necklace of pearls, the thread of gold which, traversing these grey, dusty cobwebs, makes them glow again with greatness, truth, and beauty?

Has the thread possibly these two strands in it?

(1) The ever-exigent necessity of giving to the newly ordained clergy and newly 'recognized' women whom the Church sends marching through the drab-looking

Farquhar, 'father of the Society', died. General Clive became Chairman.

1901. Comment is made on the enormous increase in population in a number of parishes since the foundation of the Society, e.g. three East End parishes from 60,000 to 500,000.

1902. Committee pointed out that the working expenses of the Association are entirely defrayed from a special fund.

1903. The Bishop of London made a special appeal in the Press: £9,055 was raised this year.

1904. Special appeal was made for personal service with the local District Visiting Societies.

1905. Recital of the circumstances in which the Association was founded in 1843, and by whom and with what aims. Adverse criticism of newspaper relief funds.

1906. Reference to the Unemployed Fund opened by H.M. the Queen.

1907. Claim that 'the Association has the benefit of more skilled volunteer work than any Society of the kind in England'.

1908. Article in the *Philanthropist* for April, 'outlining the history and aims of the Association from its foundation, in close co-operation with the C.O.S.'.

1909. Association claims to have 3,000 voluntary visitors working for 200 Visiting Societies. Three cases cited in detail.

1910. Necessity of extending into Greater London—again emphasized, as in 1881.

1911. Again reference to 'dormitory' parishes in Greater

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

(we say, advisedly, 'drab-looking', since the life in them can never be, and never is, drab) streets, a 'song to march by'? And

(2) The Church's consciousness that she has very often failed to give the housewife—whatever she may at times succeed in giving the child, the lad, and the girl—a song to scrub by, wash up dishes by, peel potatoes by, and scour saucepans by?

In the great decades of Parochial Service it was well worth while to be near the dock gates on the afternoon following a London Diocesan ordination. You might count upon seeing at least some of the newly ordained take their first walk through the 'East End', terminating in a round of the docks. It was equally unmistakable that they were the flower of English youth, and that, puzzled, albeit, in regard to the immediately practical rendering of it, they had a 'song to march by'.

London, and to 'philanthropic adventurers' who collect for bogus and worthless charity. Reference to the aims of the founders.

1912. Principles of the Association defended against the charge of involving undue interference with the discretion of the parish priest.

1915. Mr. J. H. Nelson becomes Chairman and Treasurer, succeeding General Clive. Emphasis on work of the Association as a 'training-ground'.

1917. Death of Mr. Grant Marston, for eighteen years Secretary of the Association. Reference to the aims of the founders.

1918. Reference to air raids and illness due to want of sleep. Aims of the founders cited again.

1919. Influenza epidemic. Aims of the founders cited again.

1920. Distress due to high prices among those who are not receiving high wages. Reference to aims of founders.

1921. £350,000 distributed to parishes by the Association since its foundation.

1922. Includes report of an incumbent who is Chairman of a local Poor Law Relief Committee which gives no cash relief whatever.

1923. A parish reports 300 visits a week by its voluntary visitors. A parish records 7,937 visits paid by its parochial nurse.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

If it helps any one to capture again the spirit of the first ten years of the M.V.R.A., the spirit that bore up the delicate Edward Denison in the sixties, the spirit of the C.O.S. in the early seventies when they published their *Parochial Critic* ONCE A WEEK, the spirit that fairly flashed from Charles Stewart Loch and Bernard Bosanquet in the eighties and nineties, and the spirit of the great days of the East End parishes, the publication of this little book will, we believe, not be in vain. But it is for use in 1938 and the years that follow that we seek to recapture it.

Perusal of the annual Reports of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association from 1844 (the first) till 1934-5 (the latest) reveal a remarkable steadfastness of aim throughout its existence. The moving spirits in its work have not hesitated, year after year, for close upon a century, proudly to cite the names and to quote the precise phrases used by Bishop Blomfield, Mr.

Another, that the weekly subscriptions to its Coal, Clothing, and Boot Club were £386.

1924. Amount raised locally, to meet grants of Association, now only £2,750, compared to £5,000 a few years back.

1925. Receipts of a certain Clothing Club, £440.

1926. Death of Mr. J. H. Nelson.

1927. Joint Committee of the Association and the C.O.S. formed to transact the business of the Association, with the Reverend Canon J. B. Haldane (now Provost of Southwark Cathedral) as chairman.

The experience and aims of the Association have since 1927 been set out both in its own Reports and in the publications of the C.O.S., viz. its *Charity Organization Quarterly*, the annual Reports of its Council as well as those of its thirty-two District Committees, and the Society's occasional papers, papers contributed to conferences at home and abroad, and memoranda submitted to the departments of the National Government and of local authorities. Members of the Association assist in the annual revisions of the *Charities Register and Digest* and of the Society's handbook to the Social Services entitled *Prevention and Relief of Distress*.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Gladstone, and Sir Walter Farquhar when they launched it in 1843—the active encouragement of Provident Funds; relief based upon thorough personal knowledge of the families assisted, accompanied by regular home visitation by the ‘most skilled voluntary workers in England’; careful inquiries and accurate case records, designed to strengthen them and build up, never to weaken, the characters of those assisted, supervised by local Visiting Societies which all those actively engaged locally in Family Case-work should be urged to join. These principles were equally dear to the Rev. M. S. A. Walrond, honorary secretary (from 1876) during the last three decades of last century; to Colonel Sandford, who died in 1906 after 20 years’ service in the Association, to Mr. Grant Marston, secretary for eighteen years to 1917 (when he died); to his Chairman, Admiral Leveson Somerset; and, after his death, to his successor, General Clive; to Mr. J. H. Nelson, who combined the offices of Chairman, treasurer, and honorary secretary from 1917 till his death in 1926; and to the Very Rev. Provost J. B. Haldane, our present Chairman, who succeeded him.

In 1881, the M.V.R.A. and the South London Visiting and Relief Association were amalgamated. No difficulty presented itself, as the principles and aims of both were alike.

Spengler’s final phrase, ‘The quiet, firm step of the dictator’, has subdued many high spirits by its subtle suggestion of inevitableness. It is cheering to think that ‘the quiet, firm step of the Parochial Worker’ is far oftener true in the story of the human race. The direct personal service of our neighbour as we find him in his actual troubles (not those the politician reveals to him) in the name of God has done good business, as Dr. Marett shows, *semper et ubique*. The dictator, honest man, is a rare, ephemeral, even a freak phenomenon.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

So are mechanical, *en masse*, Public Social Services. They belong at most to a particular phase of power-machine-mass-production, and that phase bears on its face all the marks of its transient character. If we can lay, and truly, a brick or two in the edifice of Parochial Service, we shall be building for something more lasting than the dictators; more lasting, even, than Henry Ford.

A perfect example is afforded by the year 1869. All sorts of great events are chronicled by the various historians—each according to his conception of greatness—in or about 1869, but for Louisa Twining it was the year in which, after untiring effort on her part during many years, the infirmaries or hospitals provided for every parish as part of its Poor Law equipment were separated from the workhouses. The whole question is a thorny one. That Louisa Twining advocated it may be the best argument in its favour. It is difficult to doubt that it affected the happiness of more people than the General Election, the Education Act, or even the appointment of Jowett to be Master of Balliol. It was just one of the ‘quiet, firm steps’ of Parochial Service.

IV. *Two of Our Founders*

(1) *Charles James Blomfield, D.D.,¹ Bishop of London, A.D. 1828 to 1856*

We speak frequently in this volume of the founding of our Association as a ‘revival’. In its place among the series of great measures of which Bishop Blomfield was the moving spirit it might more aptly be called a re-creation. Of the work of the famous Poor Law Commission

¹ Besides the very full annual Reports of our Association, we are dependent, in this section, upon *A Memoir of Charles James Blomfield, D.D.*, edited by his son, in two volumes, published by John Murray, 1863.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

of 1832, Mr. Nassau Senior wrote to the bishop's son and biographer, 'I do not believe we could have agreed to our Report in the form in which it was presented, or carried the Bill as it was carried through the House of Lords, if the courage and authority of your father and of the late Bishop Sumner had not supported us.' It must be remembered that Report and Bill alike would have appeared absurdities to Bishop Blomfield without the voluntary charities and the Parochial Service he was so successful in promoting, organizing, and co-ordinating. He was the founder and the life and soul of the Ecclesiastical Commission, a task which brought much obloquy upon him, as the Poor Law Commission did; of the Metropolitan Churches Fund; and the mainstay, during his tenure of the Bishopric of London, of the National Society for the promotion and maintenance of elementary schools under the aegis of the Church of England; as well as of the overseas work of the Church. His statesmanlike grasp of, and provision for, the many aspects of this single problem recall those of Gregory the Great and King Alfred. When Bishop Blomfield appealed for funds to build fifty churches, the great Thomas Chalmers criticized him adversely, saying, 'Let him start by organizing one parish thoroughly.' By the end of that year, 1836, the bishop had raised over £100,000 for his fifty churches scheme. The bishop's own contributions to the voluntary efforts in which he believed aggregated £6,200 during his tenure of the see. To-day (1937) most people engaged in voluntary philanthropy throw every charge possible upon the public purse, and with a good conscience, because they consider that they are, by that means, freeing money for their own special enterprises. Contrast this spirit with Bishop Blomfield's! He was largely instrumental in bringing to an end outdoor relief, knowing well this would enormously

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

increase the burdens borne by voluntary funds, which *he* would have to raise, in no small measure out of his own pocket. But at the very moment that he was facing these charges for parochial relief, he was straining every nerve to pay for Church schools, the building of new churches and vicarages, the stipends of more clergy, the work of the Church overseas, and the venerable S.P.C.K. !¹

We are forced to confine ourselves to the following jejune selection of passages from the life of one of the greatest men in English history.

'Mr. Thomas Grenville, who died in 1846, at the age of ninety-one, remarked that no change which had taken place in his lifetime was so great as the change in the clergy of the Church of England. . . . The most obvious difference is the low standard of character and duties which then prevailed among clergymen, compared to what is now generally expected of them' (p. 56).

On the subject of the territorial parish, whose usefulness is called in question in 1937, in 1833 (vol. i, p. 196) the bishop 'illustrated the evils which result from the absence of religious establishments by the example of America, where the spiritual wants of millions scattered over the thinly peopled States were supplied only by the desultory visits of itinerant preachers, and by the short-lived stimulus of revivals'. He considered that 'the glory of our established Church, and the secret of its efficiency and usefulness, is the division of the country into parishes and districts of manageable size, each with its church, its pastor, its schools, its local charities' (vol. i, p. 228). In his appeal, in April 1836, for voluntary funds to supply the religious needs of London, he said that he sought 'the means of gathering hundreds of thousands of the poor brethren of those to whom he appealed into Christian neighbourhoods,

¹ Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

each round its centre of knowledge and godliness . . . and so promoting the cause of social order and true religion' (vol. i, p. 235). His success was phenomenal, as figures put together in 1853 revealed, yet it was almost all done in the 'hungry forties'.

At the end of his life he described his ideal of a parish church as a 'centre from which would radiate all around, not only the light of gospel truth, but the warmth of Christian charity, in the various benevolent institutions of schools, Visiting Societies,¹ dispensaries, &c., which never fail to follow closely upon the erection of an additional church' (vol. i, p. 251).

'In 1843 Sir Robert Peel entrusted to Bishop Blomfield the task of carrying through the House of Lords his Church Endowment Bill . . . a measure . . . establishing the principle that the cure of souls, not the material Church, is the great essential of the parochial system' (vol. i, p. 303).

On 30 August 1847, Sir Robert Inglis, one of the trustees of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, heard a report, shortly contradicted, of the bishop's death. He wrote, 'I have never had any other feeling towards you than that, whether in Church Reform or in discipline, you never had any other object but the glory of our Lord in the efficiency of the Establishment' (vol. ii, p. 96).

In 1849 London was visited by cholera. The 'bishop did not suffer the occasion to pass by without showing the same interest in the material comforts of the poor which he had already shown by giving his active assistance to the erection of baths, wash-houses . . . the cleansing and ventilating of dwellings, preventing overcrowding, and draining courts and alleys' (vol. ii, p. 112).

He regarded neglect of such matters as 'great folly

¹ To promote these he founded the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association, of which this volume is the story.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

and want of foresight as political economists, great sinfulness as a Christian people' (vol. ii, p. 113). He emphasized all these points again in his last official act, his Visitation Charge of 1854 (vol. ii, p. 164).

(2) *The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.*

Mr. Gladstone recorded in his diary¹ that by 1839 he was already on the following Church Committees: S.P.G., Church Building (Metropolis), Church Commercial Schools, Additional Curates' Fund. The movement which took shape in the founding of our Association was for rendering the traditional immemorial Parochial Service of the Church more effective, and for emphasizing Personal Service and Family Casework in the field of charity.

John Morley thus describes the thoughts and feelings out of which it sprang (*Life of Gladstone*, vol. i, p. 157):

According to some eager innovators, dogma and ceremony were to go, the fabrics to be turned into mechanics' institutes, the clergy to lecture on botany and statistics. The reaction against this dusty dominion of secularity kindled new life in rival schools. They insisted that, if society is to be improved and civilization saved, it can only be through improvements in the character of man, and character is modelled and inspired by more things than are dreamed of by societies for useful knowledge. The building up of the inward man in all his parts, faculties, and aspirations was seen to be what in every age it is—the problem of problems. These thoughts turned the eyes of many—of Mr. Gladstone first among them—to the Church, and stirred an endeavour to make out of the Church what Coleridge describes as 'the sustaining, correcting, befriending opposite of the world, the compensating counterforce to the inherent and inevitable defects² of the State as a

¹ Morley's *Life*, vol. i, p. 219.

² If for 'defects' we read 'limitations', this sentence of Coleridge sums up at once the comment of the best informed people upon the Public Social Services of to-day, and our plea for the revival of the parish priest.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

State. Such was the new movement of the time between 1835 and 1845.

It might be urged that the parochial development of the Church of England had stood still, had even failed to keep abreast of the charitable movement of the time. This appears to be, at least in part, an error. The necessity of adjusting parochial administration to the immense growth of urban population was already recognized in 1818.¹

It was in 1828, Mr. Gladstone tells us, that he read Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* straight through. It was in 1832 that he was 'suddenly arrested by the new idea of a Church interweaving, with the whole of human life, a pervading and equalizing spirit of religion . . . '.

A conception now began to possess him, in that year, that, according to one religious school, kindled a saving illumination, and, according to another, threw something of a shade upon his future path. In either view it marked a change of spiritual course, a transformation not of religion as the centre of his being, for that it always was, but of the frame and mould within which religion was to expand (Morley, vol. i, p. 86).

In 1837-8 he wrote his own book, *The State in its Relation with the Church*.² In the same year he was 'one of an intense audience, mainly composed of the governing class, who crowded to suffocation the rooms where Thomas Chalmers was lecturing.'³ In fact, Gladstone

¹ We find Charles B. P. Bosanquet saying in 1868, in *London—Charitable Agencies, &c.*, p. 90: 'I have faith in the parochial system and in the men who administer it; it seems to me the only agency capable, humanly speaking, of doing the great work of evangelizing the masses thoroughly and permanently.' How far this had only become true by reason of the exertions of Bishop Blomfield and the M.V.R.A. it is hard to say now. Mr. Bosanquet certainly refers frequently in this volume to our Association.

² *Church and State*, revised version, published 1841; *Church Principles*, published 1841. Morley's *Life*, vol. i, pp. 176 and 181.

³ Chalmers's organization of his two Glasgow parishes is the most famous even among his many brilliant performances.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

and Chalmers had already been friends for a decade then. In 1842, a few months before he helped to found our Association, he wrote: 'The shades of the rainbow are not so nice, and the sands of the seashore are not such a multitude, as are the subtle, shifting, blending forms of thought and of circumstance which go to determine the character of us and of our acts,¹ but there is One that seeth plainly and judgeth righteously' (Morley, vol. i, p. 196).

It is interesting to learn that, at the time when Gladstone was an undergraduate, 'Aristotle was studied as the master of those who know how to teach us the right way about the real world' (Morley, vol. i, p. 51). Many would hold that this accounts for Gladstone's connexion with our Association and with the Charity Organization Society. If ever any one based philosophy upon first-hand contacts with ordinary folk transacting their ordinary affairs, it was Aristotle.

Had the man who wrote these words in 1842 much to learn from Alfred Adler in 1937?

The same man who, to-day, volunteers for that which he is not called upon to do, may to-morrow flinch from his obvious duty for one and the same cause—vanity, or regard to the appearance he is to make, for its own sake, and perhaps that vanity which shrinks is a more subtle and far-sighted, a more ethereal, a more profound vanity, than that which presumes (Morley, vol. i, p. 214).

In the great present-day revival of interest—through the efforts of Father Waggett, Abbot Chapman, and many others—in St. John of the Cross and his *Dark Night of the Soul* and *Ascent of Carmel*, would the man have felt strange who wrote in 1844:

The final state which we are to contemplate with hope and to seek by discipline is that in which our wills shall be *one* with

¹ Dr. William Healy says much the same on p. 3 of *New Light on Delinquency*, in 1937.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

the will of God. . . . This is to be obtained through a double process; the first, that of checking, repressing, quelling the inclination of the will to act with reference to self as a centre; this is to mortify it. The second, to cherish, exercise, and expand its new and heavenly power of acting according to the will of God, first, perhaps, by painful effort, in great feebleness, and with many inconsistencies, but with continually augmenting regularity and force until obedience become a necessity of second nature. . . . You would not, if you could, alter what in any manner God has plainly willed. . . . But our duties can take care of themselves when God calls us away from any of them.¹

No one did more than Professor J. A. Stewart, of Christ Church, to bend the stream of philosophic thought our way, and he lived to incorporate in the vast range of his studies the works of Bergson and those whom Bergson influenced. But Morley's account (vol. i, pp. 202-3) of Gladstone's feeling about Dante might be transferred entire to Stewart's *Myths of Plato* (1905). Side by side with the projection of our Association, Gladstone was busy in 1842-3 with his project of founding in Scotland 'a College akin in structure to the Romish seminaries in England' which eventuated in 1846 in Glenalmond (p. 230). Peel entrusted Gladstone with the Board of Trade, and the latter remarked, in 1841, 'In a spirit of ignorant mortification I said to myself at the moment: "The science of politics deals with the government of men, but I am set to govern packages. . . . It must be admitted that it presents a different appearance when a person whose mind and efforts have chiefly ranged within a circle of subjects connected with the Church is put into an office of the most different description"' (pp. 244-5).

It was not only, of course, that the thoughts of man

¹ Letter to Mrs. Gladstone, Morley, vol. i, p. 216.

The passage could also be paralleled verbatim from Dr. Jessie Taft's translations of Otto Rank, published in 1936.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

concerning life were switched out of their course by the illusory promise of T. H. Huxley that he could demonstrate the human body and the human mind as pieces of mechanism, or even by Darwin's substitution of an ape for the deity as the progenitor of the race. The application to the human body and the human mind of the methods of the 'natural' sciences inevitably involved dissecting the living whole which is the human body-mind-spirit. Once dissected, the effort required to bring back the conception of the whole has proved to be Herculean, to say the least of it. To a clergyman whose service in his parish must be futile unless he can somehow realize both for himself and for his parishioners the notion of the human being as a whole, the fact that his difficulties, staggering as they are, were so largely foreseen by the most powerful personality and the most distinguished Churchman of the nineteenth century must be no small comfort.

One of the features of the great bend of the stream of thought away from Gladstone and our other founders was that thinkers who were not prepared to abandon the fundamental concepts of the self, character, and a spiritual basis of human and social life were none the less driven to re-statement so drastic as to have outwardly the air of abrupt departure from the traditions of the Western world. It is only as the current comes sweeping back on the return curve that these re-statements are perceived to be, at least in part, no longer necessary.

v. *A Pillar of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. Work and opinions of Miss Louisa Twining.*¹ *The Complete Equipment of the Social Services at 1880*

Miss Louisa Twining, who was born in 1820, published *Recollections of Life and Work* in 1893. Tom

¹ *Recollections of Life and Work*, by Louisa Twining, pub. Arnold, 1893.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Hughes and Nassau Senior were family friends. No one impressed her youthful mind more than did the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice. She was distressed by the news of Dr. Arnold's death at Rugby in 1842. In 1839 she and her whole family party sat at their round table listening with rapt attention to the reading of *Nicholas Nickleby*,² which was coming out in monthly parts. About this time she noted in her diary, 'Progress made in the study of botany by country boys and lads, and the formation of museums in the villages.' She heard Dr. Thorold, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, say, 'The greatest safeguard for the young, amid the quicksands and trials of opening manhood, is to have a taste, an occupation, even a hobby.' So says the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training, founded in 1937. Thorold was already working at St. Giles's, aided with a grant from the M.V.R.A. Miss Twining was a lifelong Parochial Visitor and intimate with a large number of families, first in the parish of St. Clement Danes in the Strand, and later in that of St. George the Martyr, Holborn. There was no better judge living than Miss Twining, and she assures us that the administration of relief in the latter parish, first by the Rev. A. Short and afterwards by the Rev. John Back, was thoroughly constructive in character. In 1852 she had contributed a paper on 'The Condition of Workhouses' for the section of Social Economy at the first meeting of the Social Science Association which took place in that year at Birmingham.

Nothing is more noticeable in the history of the M.V.R.A., as we have already observed, than the conviction of the members of the Association that the lines of their service had been soundly laid down in 1843, that they should be preserved intact, and that

² Gladstone was also reading *Nicholas Nickleby*. Morley's *Life*, vol. i, p. 220.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

they were of as much value to the community in the year—whatever it was—upon which they were reporting to their subscribers as in any previous year. Put in other words, co-operative case-work based upon sympathetic study of the individual, his family and other human ties, and the setting of his life, is the true basis of all Social Service. Specialities of all kinds should spring from needs discovered in this service, and should be discontinued so soon as the case-workers no longer find need for the particular speciality, institution, &c. These are the invariable conclusions reached by people who make the service of afflicted, distressed, and needy neighbours the principal object of their existence. It is unavoidable that the great mass of the community cannot do anything of the kind. They can only pay occasional and fleeting attention to such matters, and that occasional and fleeting attention is far more readily caught by what we rather disrespectfully term a 'stunt' than by the persevering, systematic service of individuals and families and of institutions directly serving their needs. It is by taking a particular need out of the human and family setting and making a 'stunt' of it that it is possible to attract the attention of the public and to collect money or votes for it. The selected items most effective with the good-hearted British public are: (1) alleged homeless destitution; (2) alleged suffering children. A moment's thought reveals the fact that these can only be incidents in a life which continues twenty-four hours each day before and after them. We have already seen that the promoters of the M.V.R.A. had themselves been for a number of years subscribers to the Society for the Relief of the Houseless and Temporarily Destitute. That Society had worked in a careful and painstaking manner, but the experience of its work had driven its promoters back to the real case-work basis. Similarly, Miss Louisa

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Twining—whom we are taking as a typical M.V.R.A. supporter—complained in the fifties (pp. 144 and 145) of appeals based on the exploitation of the sufferings of abandoned and neglected children. Similarly, despite her great admiration for the Rev. F. D. Maurice, she held that after a three years' trial, namely in 1851, 1852, 1853, the Good Will Workrooms, designed to enable needlewomen to supply consumers direct without the intervention of middlemen, had proved themselves a failure. This did not prevent their being opened at frequent intervals in various places for another fifty years. Special forms of service which Miss Twining found to arise from steadily pursuing Family Case-work, were these: the treatment of cretins (1850); lectures under the auspices of the National Health Society; and Homes for Incurables. By 1862, however, improvement in the workhouse infirmaries, and their separation from the workhouse proper, largely met this last problem, and Miss Twining held that voluntary homes were 'suitable for those who had savings of their own, or pensions from former employers who gladly paid the moderate sum required for their maintenance' (p. 185). As we find to-day, so she observed seventy-five years ago—that what these people shrink from is 'being classed with the miscellaneous destitute to be found in the workhouse'. She began advocating epileptic colonies in 1865, but did not see the plan carried out till 1892. In 1866 was made the experiment of employing ex-convicts as domestic servants, but it had rather a painful experience. (To-day a philanthropist partly staffs a restaurant with them in the hope of giving them a fresh start—1937.) In that year came the cholera. Miss Twining had already for a number of years devoted a large part of her time to workhouse visiting—both constant weekly visiting of the workhouses with which she was connected in London, and

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

occasional visits to other workhouses all over the country. The cholera patients were accommodated in wards of the workhouse infirmaries, and she relates how, on the occasion of a visit in St. George's-in-the-East Infirmary, she met Bishop and Mrs. Tait on the same errand. She raised the considerable sum of £1,332 for the assistance of families visited by this pest, the balance which remained over being applied to Mrs. Tait's Home for Cholera Orphan Girls at Fulham, and Mrs. Gladstone's for Boys at Clapton. This work is also described in the twenty-first Report of the M.V.R.A. Being in close touch with numerous visitors in all industrial parishes, the Association was instantly apprised of the trouble. It raised £18,000 in less than a month, and applied this to the succour of cholera-stricken families requiring it. The efforts of Miss Twining, Mrs. Gladstone, the Taites, and their friend Miss Marsh are referred to on p. 19 of the Association's Report for the year. Another enterprise on which Miss Twining had been actively engaged was the promotion of convalescent homes. These were extremely serviceable to cholera cases, and the Association made a special grant of £150 to Mrs. Gladstone for her convalescent home; £100 to Miss Twining for hers; £100 to Miss Marsh for hers; and £100 to Mrs. Tait for hers. Miss Twining was an active promoter of Provident Clothing and Boot Clubs, especially in connexion with Mothers' Meetings. She found very early, as we have found any time in the seventy years which have since elapsed, that if the members discover that the articles can be obtained for part-payment or no payment, the club soon collapses. Faithful to the Association's conviction that home visitation is the branch of service which is always in danger of failing, she promoted in 1872 a Parochial Mission Women's Society. In the early seventies she was in close consultation

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

with the inspectors under the Local Government Board of Poor Law schools, and of Boarded Out Poor Law orphans. We read that in those years she was just as much impressed by the usefulness of instructing housewives in regard to food values as we are in 1937. Every year Miss Twining attended Social Science Conferences and contributed to the deliberations the results of her unrivalled study of workhouses.

The study of the records of the M.V.R.A. and its allies, the Society for the Relief of Distress and the C.O.S., accompanied by the lives of people like Miss Louisa Twining, Archbishop and Mrs. Tait, and many others, reveals the fact that by the eighties the Social Services appropriate to the urban life of to-day were well understood—both the fundamental service of Family Case-work itself and the numerous and varied institutions the need of which arises in the course of performing it. The problem which confronts us to-day is the extremely limited extent to which this branch of applied science is known and understood by the benevolent members of the public and by the clergy. It is impossible to escape the conviction that had those responsible for the training and instruction of the rising generation, and especially of the clergy, built upon this foundation, we should now not only understand the world we live in better, but it would be a very much better world to live in. As has happened countless times in human history, the clues which had been found were lost again. Again, as Matthew Arnold pointed out in his lectures in America, 'if it were not for a faithful remnant, humanity would never preserve any standards at all'. What actually happened is very familiar. The eighties saw the invasion of the wholesalers into the field of Social Service—an invasion which reminds us vividly of the inroads of the barbarous Goths upon the civilized, elegant, philosophical,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Graeco-Roman world. The Fabian Society was founded in 1886. Edward Bellamy, William Morris, Robert Blatchford, and the other prophets of wholesale-ing belong to that decade. The destruction of the idea of man as a responsible moral and spiritual being was the sweeping and garnishing of the house of man's soul, into which the Seven Devils, including Darwin's monkey and Sir James Frazer's primeval lunatic, hastened to enter.

In the half-century now ending there was a great deal of which it might have been said, 'This ye should have done, but not left the other undone.' The physical sciences achieved their triumphs by the method of breaking up large problems and dealing with fragments of them by rigid specialization. To some extent, disease and economic difficulties have been met and overcome by the application of these methods. But it was a first-class disaster that these benefits could not be harvested without the loss of all the ground so laboriously won in the difficult art of Family Case-work, or Parochial Service, in the forty years preceding.

Nor was it in the least inevitable that human thinking about human problems should surrender all the positions to the wholesalers. The old-established continental countries held steadfastly on their way. The Germans, followed by the English, rushed into wholesale-ing, and are now, too late, repenting bitterly of it. The Americans, with characteristic ardour, eagerly followed up the clues discovered, and built up a technique and profession of Social Service on Family Case-work lines which is one of the high-water marks of human achievement. In the eighties, Loch, the Bosanquets, and their friends were analysing the same urban and industrial phenomena, and were inspired by the same sympathy and compassion as were the Sidney Webbs and their Socialist friends in this country ; as were

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Jeffery Brackett, the Glenns, Mary Richmond, Zilpah Smith, Josephine Lowell, on the other side of the Atlantic. Had Loch and his group won in the competition for the ear of their contemporaries, we should to-day doubtless have a standard of Social Service comparable to that of America. It is not too late. For the brave man, to realize the problem is half the battle of solving it.

We believe that the story of the M.V.R.A., 1843-1937, sets out the lesson clearly for him who runs to read.

VI. *Our Greatest Ally: Sir Charles Stewart Loch*

So far, the dazzling figure in our tale has been that of William Ewart Gladstone, 'that wonderful being', as Bernard Holland, the biographer of his colleague, Lord Hartington, calls him. Had Edward Denison lived, he would doubtless have come next. His early death leaves him with us as a kind of Marcellus legend. Now we come to the fire, initiative, and originality of Charles Stewart Loch. A schoolboy at Glenalmond, founded by Gladstone, in its lovely Perthshire glen, to be a seminary for the training of the priesthood of his dreams, he was already at Balliol College, Oxford, when Jowett was elected Master in 1870. From his appointment as secretary of the London Charity Organization Society, in November 1875, until his health gave way in 1914, he made exertions which amply merit the epithet 'superhuman' in order that the ideas embodied in the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association (of which he was the closest possible ally throughout) might prevail. The seed he sowed with such unfaltering devotion will be reaped all in good time by the Parochial Workers who are to be. It has at present yielded good grain almost everywhere in the world except on this island; so much so that

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

those who would know of Loch's doctrine must go to Vienna, Stockholm, Paris, Amsterdam, or across the Atlantic, to learn it. But there is plenty of time, Sir James Jeans assures us, before our little solar system goes to join the ranks of the White Dwarfs.

The story of Loch, especially when read with that of the Master of his College, besides the tremendous stimulus of its heroism, does a good deal to explain how Parochial Service came gradually to descend into the Valley of the Shadow between 1885 and 1905. Loch had intended to seek ordination, convinced that the best service to mankind was that designed by the founders of the M.V.R.A. in 1843—Parochial Service in the full and adequate sense of that word. Under influences of which we shall speak anon, he had come to feel that the eternal principles of that service required restatement in the terms of the day and readjustment to the conditions of the day. So restated and so adjusted, he was convinced—and he went to conferences and congresses all over the Continent and in North America to state his conviction—that the immemorial device of Parochial Service, endowed with what applied science could offer of material resources, was capable of yielding there and then a better human polity, more nearly perfect human social relationships, than the world had ever seen. He believed fervently that European and American man had the ball at his feet.

Well, that ball was finally filched away by the statisticians, wholesalers, and party politicians, as we have seen, and, shortly, betrayed by them to the mechanistic materialists, who could not be too grateful for the opportunity thus afforded them of *buying man's soul from him and making him pay the bill* through the medium of the tax-collector.

We are not impugning the sincerity, or the public

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

spirit, of any one of the five groups of our fellow citizens which we have just enumerated. What, as Parochial Workers, we believe, is, none the less, accurately expressed in the words we have used. It is a very old story! While Prospero was having a refreshing swim in the invigorating waters of restatement, reinterpretation, and adjustment of the very latest Balliol brand, Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano, Chesterton's 'average beer-swilling Englishmen', at the instance of the ever-watchful party politician, Antonio, stole his clothes! The ease of their task is well set out by another Balliol man, Dr. R. R. Marett,¹ in *Head, Heart, and Hands in Human Evolution* (pp. 28-31). There is much to be said for the contention of the 'old-fashioned evangelical', the Anglo-Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the Bible Christian, the Mussulman, and the orthodox Jew, 'if Balliol had not been so busy restating the faith, we might not have been marooned in this limbo of the forgotten (perhaps of the damned) to-day!'—and it is fair to say that John A. Stewart of Christ Church duly warned us. So did Aristophanes. However, the milk is spilt. In 1937 it is for Parochial Service to learn the lesson and not to make that particular mistake again.

To revert—if Loch and the M.V.R.A. blundered in the eighties and nineties, they blundered most heroically. It was a veritable Gallipoli and Zeebrugge combined! It is impossible to do justice to this epic episode in the secular story of Parochial Service without reading in full Loch's diary and other papers, which are, we hope, shortly to be published. What he did was to take that whole restatement of religion—with which Cambridge and Oxford, and especially Balliol College, had been seething for nearly a generation when he arrived there—in both hands, and to insist,

¹ Undergraduate at Balliol College in the days of the Jowett, Green, Nettleship inspiration, now Rector of Exeter College.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

absolutely insist, that here and nowhere else was to be found the next step in the onward march for social betterment. Gladstone and his friends had already taken two steps, viz. the founding of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association in 1843, and of the Charity Organization Society in 1869—both, let us not forget, restatements and readjustments of a Parochial Service, and of beliefs and principles behind a Parochial Service, already long established.

Loch's proposition, put crudely, was this:

Man's neighbourly (or parochial) service of his fellow is the sphere and expression of his true greatness, goodness, and beauty: in that service the ordinary man has by far his best chance of finding, understanding, serving, and worshipping God. Despite Defoe and Henry Fielding, despite Scott, Dickens, despite Chalmers and Chadwick, despite Gladstone and the M.V.R.A., Denison and the S.R.D., despite Ruskin, Octavia Hill, Goschen, and the C.O.S., this service has backslidden, but, Now is the appointed time. Never, never, never, in all history, was there a moment more favourable to its most golden fruition than is the present one. Carry the great Balliol restatement into Parochial Service, i.e. 're-edit the Bible', 'reform the Church', and then build your Social Services upon that twin foundation. Then shall we realize in England's green and pleasant land the true Society, not of rich and poor, not of citizens and slaves, not of Spartans and Helots, not of gentlemen and common people, not, most terrible of all, of ratepayers and paupers, but the Society of freemen who, being Christians, are neighbours.¹

Of course, it was far too much to ask of the easy-going people of this island. Of course, it made the victory of the materialists—as Dr. Marett points out—easy and certain. But could Loch, straight from Jowett and Stanley and T. H. Green, have asked for *less*? He was a young man. His friends, Bosanquet, Chapman, Bailward, Crowder, Price, Dunn Gardiner, and

¹ These precise phrases run right through Loch's diary kept from 1876 to 1888.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

the rest, were young men. They had lifetimes before them. They thought they could achieve it. Had there been no war—who knows?—they might have done so! Had there been no war—who knows?—their goal might have been very much farther off from us than it is! Meantime they lost practically every battle from 1875 to 1915, even if, as we believe, they were winning the war, since in that war there is at long last, and finally, only one victory, God's victory.

Needy school-children, needy sick people, needy unemployed, unskilled, irregularly employed people, needy old people, badly housed people—they criticized from time to time the precise projects exhibited in the shop-windows of the politicians purporting to remove these disabilities (not to 'untwist these Olivers'), not because they aimed at removing disabilities, but because they presented glaring discrepancies with the objectives and the teaching of T. H. Green. To expect the 'average beer-swilling Englishman' to be at all interested in any such discrepancies was indeed to court disaster! These criticisms, emanating from the Parochial Service camp, resulted in the progressive, and now long since absolutely complete, exclusion from Whitehall and Parliament of the Parochial Service point of view, an exclusion which has been complete since 1906 and is complete to-day. Not one of the countless Commissions and Committees which have deliberated what concerns Parochial Service have, since that year, contained a single representative of Parochial Service. Yet the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, selected in 1905, contained an overwhelming majority of them! The year 1906, like 1843, 1869, 1886, was indeed a milestone.

It might be urged with no small show of justice that when Loch, Bosanquet, Walrond, the C.O.S., and the M.V.R.A. saw that they were not understood, and were

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

not going to be understood—especially when they recollected what it was that was being imperilled by their defeat—they ought to have compromised; and the more so as the Church,¹ in the persons of most of her dignitaries and the great majority of her rank and file, was perfectly willing to bow down in the House of the Anti-Parochial and Anti-Family-Case-work Rimmon. To this two replies may be offered, and, in both instances, wisdom is justified of her children; 1937 endorses the seeming rash decisions of 1887-1909.

For (1) the Parochial Service group were toiling, not for the metropolis only, nor for the United Kingdom, but for the world. While their cause was losing every battle on this island, it was enjoying a Napoleonic career of victory in North America, a career which, after no lack of formidable vicissitudes, may fairly be said to-day, e.g. in the latest published works of the Philadelphia group,² to be crowned, and domiciled in the Tuileries.

¹ We cite on p. 145 a sentence from Bradley's Memoir of R. L. Nettleship which illustrates this 'Balliol' attitude.

² Thus in the First General Report and Recommendations of the Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief, dated 15 December 1936, we read on p. 11: 'The problem remains the same in its essentials, and it is subject to the same twin dangers as in the past. Public Assistance may, if recklessly or inefficiently provided, undermine the initiative, the independence, and the sense of personal responsibility of the recipient. . . . With the far-reaching expansion of Public Assistance Services in recent years, there is a new need, therefore, and a new public demand that these problems, the protection of the community against the increase of permanent dependency, and the protection of the individual member of the community against being forced into permanent dependence, shall be faced and mastered on a sensible and stable basis.'

Professor Paul Tutt Stafford, of Princeton University, wrote* on 3 June 1937, after a visit of observation to this country, on 'Unemployment Assistance in Great Britain': 'Considerations of

* *American Political Science Review*, vol. xxxi, p. 453.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

(2) The situation, not only for Parochial Service, but for everything that goes to make up mind, character, personality, and human society, had been rendered so desperate by the wild speculations of Darwin, Haeckel, Huxley, Spencer, and their satellites, that a policy of merely carrying on did not seem defensible. If the entire intelligentia of several generations was not to be lost to the cause, the Faith, together with its most permanent and deep-seated expression, the Sacrament of Parochial Service, *must* be effectively restated.

Tu Marcellus eris. In case we have failed to convey to the reader how much we believe to be at stake in this alternative, viz. the revival or the obliteration of the Parochial Idea, we invite his attention to a recent publication, *Positive Christianity in the Third Reich*.¹ The author says, 'The *Führer*, in uniting the nation and helping it to rise from the laxity and neglect into which it had fallen, to a sense of moral discipline, fulfils the law of Christ respecting love in a way few mortals could ever hope to emulate . . . and when he himself in the strength of his trust in God places the destiny of the whole nation in the hands of the Father, he manifests the Spirit which through the coming of Christ has become a living power in the world' (p. 71). We are immediately reminded of Mommsen's chapter on Caesar. The Roman poets of the golden age welcomed a master, but we recollect that Cicero did not welcome

public policy demand that this stern principle of deterrence be heeded. Its relaxation leads to indiscriminate almsgiving, a fostering of indolence, and a waste of public funds. To ignore it is to open the way to the development of a new and formidable special interest group in politics the members of which, proclaiming the pernicious philosophy of relief as an inalienable right, will exert a constant pressure upon their political representatives to enlarge their measure of the State's bounty.'

¹ By Professor D. Cajus Fabricius, published by H. Püschel, Dresden, 1937, p. 72.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Julius Caesar any more than Aristophanes welcomed even so urbane a master as Pericles. We in England had a good deal to say about the Corsican, although, as masters go, he was a particularly fine one. Many have likened Lord Passfield to him. The Hitlerites through the ages look for the health, vigour, and soundness of the nation at the top, at Grand Headquarters. Loch and his Balliol teachers and friends did the precise opposite. They looked for the strength of the people in the mental relationships of the rank and file, and especially in those relationships as they are exhibited in time of trouble. Of course, there must be a head-quarters staff. By all means let it be as good as possible, but its quality is not the paramount interest of the nation.

The people of this country hug themselves complacently as the last defenders of liberty and democracy, but 99 per cent of the speeches of their legislators, of their Press articles, their broadcasts, and their treatises, are thoroughly Caesarist, centralizing, wholesale-ing, in spirit. The real though unuttered refrain of every harangue is, 'Ah! if I were dictator!' It is the spirit which finally produces changes, not the names or the slogans which happen to be in vogue. So long as we think in terms of what 'the Government ought to do about it', we are Hitlerist and Stalinist in temper and spirit. It is only so long as we resolutely and consistently think in terms of the mother by her fireside, the humble breadwinner, and their growing sons and daughters, that we have any right to take to ourselves such terms as 'Liberal' and 'democratic'.

Those who attacked, and still attack, Loch, the Bosanquets, and the Parochial, Family Case-work, Idea, never troubled to understand what it was they were attacking. The gibe of its assailants has always been, 'Oh, you don't want us to take money from the

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

rich and give it to the poor.' In fact, when they could assist a man or family in trouble, in such a way as to help him and them to be more truly citizens of a free country, Loch and Bosanquet were willing to, and in thousands of cases did, take money from the rich and spend it on the poor on a scale which would have taken the breath of the critics away! Nor did they consider it a matter of great moment whether the money was raised by voluntary effort or by taxation. Their steadfast aim of dispauperization, shared with them then, in official circles, with equal passion by such men as Longley, Davy, and Vallance, had nothing to do either with protecting the property of the rich or curtailing public expenditure upon the poor. It was solely concerned with protecting and fostering the spiritual riches of initiative, independence, self-respect, courage, and good neighbourliness of the rank and file of the people. It is also vital to realize that no rival objective, apart from Hitlerism and Stalinism, has appeared. Professor Caradog Jones, in his *Survey of Merseyside*, published in 1935, declared against pauperization just as clearly as Loch did in 1885. The 'P.E.P.' group, wrote on 15 June 1937 (No. 101, p. 12): 'The guiding principle, we suggest, shall be permanently to minimize the number of people in the community who cannot stand on their own feet'; and yet they are thinkers definitely of the G.H.Q. type!

We have put Vergil's famous phrase at the head of this section. Naturally, the gentle, refined poet thought of a merciful Caesar or *Führer*; and Rome was fortunate in securing, in the Antonines, the most benign the human race has known. None the less they were *Führers*; and Marcus Aurelius conceived the persecution of Christians to be part of his job. Compared to Vergil, Loch, though he loved Vergil, seems at times much more virile and somewhat less benign.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

It was because he cared far more for hope and courage in the homes of the humble than for all the benignity that can be packed into the most splendid throne.

A gracious link in the historical chain which this chapter is designed to forge is provided by an address of Lord Rosebery's delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in November 1871. Rosebery unites a large portion of our story, for he was a friend and disciple of Gladstone's, and it was he who, in 1916, advised His Majesty the King to confer a knighthood upon Charles Loch. The link was longer even than that, for in the same year he had played a part in the Scott centenary. In the address under reference he used these words: 'We have, in our generation, if we would remain a generation, to effect that union of classes without which power is a phantom and freedom a farce. In these days the rich man and the poor gaze at each other across no impassable gulf; for neither is there in this world an Abraham's bosom of calm beatitude. A powerless monarchy, an isolated aristocracy, an intelligent and aspiring people, do not together form the conditions of constitutional stability . . . each one of us—merchant and clerk, master and servant, landlord and tenant, capitalist and artisan, minister and parishioner—we are all privileged to have a hand in this most sublime work of all: to restore or create harmony betwixt man and man' (*Life*, by Lord Crewe, vol. i, p. 61, pub. Murray, 1931).

VII. *Progress of the Parochial Idea even after 1886*

He turneth man to destruction.

Again He saith, 'Come again, ye children of men.'

As happens so frequently to living things, at the very time when one growth is moving towards its greatest efflorescence, 'the feet of the young men are at the door' who intend to bury it. We date the impersonal

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Social Services (German, *Massbehandlung*) from 1906, and the preparation for them from 1885 or 1886. Yet it was not until 1899 that Bernard Bosanquet dedicated to Charles Stewart Loch his *Philosophical Theory of the State*, in which he offered an apologia, from the standpoint of philosophy, of what, in this brochure, we are calling Parochial Service; while as late as 1905 the personnel of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws contained seven outstanding advocates of Parochial Service and only two advocates of impersonal and mass treatment—to wit, Mr. George Lansbury and Mrs. Sidney Webb.¹ Loch's own volume, *Charity and Social Life*, an apologia of Parochial Service from the standpoint of history and origins, was not published until 1910. So far is its influence from being exhausted that, in response to pressure from many sources, a reprint is actually in hand.

On the other hand, the apparent victory of impersonal and mass Social Services is absolutely overwhelming. It is so imposing as to have driven its rival out of sight. Even the most acute observers find it difficult to discern any survival of the Social Services of the nineteenth century, so completely does the field now appear to them to be occupied by the other type. For one writer who betrays awareness of Social Service of the parochial type there must be ten thousand who refer to the impersonal, mass Social Services as an 'indispensable part of the fabric of our national life', 'difficult to imagine how we got on without them', 'impossible to contemplate going back to the bad old days', &c., &c. Well, speaking from the side of Parochial Service, we admit that the burial of the mass

¹ It is true that Mr. F. Chandler, secretary of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, signed the Minority Report, but I do not recollect this gentle and retiring man to have advocated mass treatment or exhibited any sentiment hostile to Parochial Service.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Social Services of to-day would be a big undertaking. None the less, the 'feet of the young men' are not altogether imperceptible.

The Present Crisis. There is always a crisis and there is never a crisis. Life goes on, and has a good deal the appearance of going on just as it has always gone on. Yet, to any observer deeply interested in a particular aspect of life, it is not easy to escape the conviction that the moment at which he is observing is a moment of crisis. We are observing from the point of view of the M.V.R.A., and to the M.V.R.A. the present moment is one of crisis, for a number of reasons. It is a crisis of ominous unfulfilment, and, to a man of energy and determination, recognition of such a crisis is the best stimulus for a renewed effort based upon a recapitulation of the situation and the resources to meet it. It is a crisis of unfulfilment for these reasons: at the request of the trustees of the Association, an enlarged and strengthened Executive Committee was formed nearly ten years ago for the express purpose of endeavouring to realize the fundamental aims of the Association, which had fallen a little into abeyance owing to the failing health of the devoted Chairman, Mr. J. H. Nelson, himself a zealous defender of them, lately deceased. To put the matter into the parlance of to-day, the strengthened Committee was to see to it that the assets and efforts of the Association were again devoted to the fostering of the best kind of Family Case-work in the parishes which it assisted, and were on no account dissipated in any other direction. This, of course, was to resume the reforming process in Church charity which Bishop Blomfield, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Walter Farquhar, and their friends founded the Association to effect in 1843; which the Association repeated when it allied itself with the Society for the Relief of Distress in 1860; yet again, when it allied

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

itself with the C.O.S. in 1869; and again, year by year, in those constant re-enunciations of its principles to which we have already alluded (cf. especially Report of 1881-2). Our crisis of unfulfilment is quite simply this: that, after ten years of sustained effort, the number of parishes where there is anything which could be called a Visiting Society, undertaking Family Case-work on the principles laid down on all the occasions of statement and restatement we have just enumerated, remains disappointingly small. It is perhaps significant that, as in 1880-1, the situation is far more promising in the new parishes of the Outer Ring than in the old parishes of Inner London.¹

In 1913 was formed the London Diocesan Board of Women's Work, a movement which rapidly developed into the Inter-Diocesan Board of Women's Work, with its strongly established schemes of training for Parochial Service which we know to-day. The standards set up at its inception by this movement, and steadfastly maintained since, left—and leave—nothing to be desired. A small band of highly trained Family Caseworkers has gone forth into the Parochial Service of the Church. Nor is this all that these Boards have achieved. They have given a large force of 'Club Workers' and 'Rescue Workers' some acquaintance with the principles and methods of Family Case-work. What impresses our Association, however, is that in our correspondence with the incumbents of the 1,053 parishes for which the Association, in the days of its strength and wealth, undertook responsibility, we recall no example in which we have been referred to a lady worker holding episcopal recognition based on the

¹ We would like to cite here a dictum of Mr. Wilfred Eady, secretary of the Unemployment Assistance Board: 'Social life is always either expanding into greater strength, vigour, and exuberance, or shrivelling and dying. It is never stationary.'

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

recommendation of a Diocesan Board of Women's Work, and therefore qualified—and the proper person—to correspond with us on Family Case-work questions. Are we mistaken if we take the view that, with, of course, many notable—nay, illustrious—exceptions, the clergy of to-day lag behind in this respect, and even, perhaps, come between us and the partnership with a trained Family Case-worker in the person of a lady worker having this recognition and training who would be our natural partner? Even more remarkable than our failure to discover in the parishes trained Family Case-workers anxious to secure our support is the wellnigh complete absence of the Visiting Societies which were already flourishing concerns in many parishes when our Association was formed in 1843, which received Bishop Blomfield's dying commendation, and the fostering of which was, and has been ever since, one of our main objectives. We saw just now that Parochial Service was still moving towards its apogee in 1885-1905, while its terrible rival, mechanized Social Service, was already coming up, hand over hand. This observation applies in a very forcible manner to Visiting Societies. It is no small encouragement, and it merits the closest study by serious students of social matters, that the Visiting Society, which may be said to have been a panacea a hundred years ago, only reached its finest exemplars in the first decade of the present century. We refer to the St. Mary, Lambeth, Relief Committee, organized in 1910 by the Rev. Canon Thory Gage Gardiner in that parish, and still carried on to-day by the present Rector; to the unique group of Social Services in the parish of St. George-in-the-East built up and operated by the Rev. Henry Iselin in the period 1894-1915 and still carried on there, although, for reasons other than parochial, long shorn of their quondam completeness.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Our thesis that the Parochial Services were still moving towards their zenith when they had begun to be supplanted obtains further illustration from a closer examination of these two enterprises. The effectiveness, from the point of view alike of the Social Services themselves and of their intended beneficiaries, of these two 'Visiting Societies', was so striking that only the outbreak of war prevented the London County Council from taking them as models of administration and extending them widely in the county. The idea of a Visiting Society or Social Service team, as the appropriate device for coping with what we call 'black spots' or 'Special Difficulty Areas', was advocated by Sir Charles Loch in 1913 in a paper which obtained wide circulation, and was forthwith carried into effect by Herbert Woollcombe in the Amberley Road district of Paddington, by Miss Audrey Duff and others in the Heckfield Place district of Fulham, and by Miss Isobel Grant and others in a portion of St. Pancras. In the three districts mentioned, the method adopted was a welding together with certain other services of that known by the designation 'School Care Committee', which had been brought into operation by the London County Council in 1908-9. In St. Mary, Lambeth, and St. George's-in-the-East, to this was added, with great effect, first the Infant Welfare Service built up on the Notification of Births Act, 1907; next the scheme for Interim Tuberculosis Care Committees brought into operation by a group of which the leaders were Sir Robert Philip, the late Herbert Woollcombe, Lady Jones, and the late Dr. Charles Gray. (Dr. Gray was also the expert responsible for the Infant Welfare developments in St. George's-in-the-East.) We cannot leave the question of Parochial Visiting Committees without mentioning the secretary of the St. Mary, Lambeth, Committee, from 1910 to 1917, Miss Edith

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Herbert, now Warden of the Royal College of St. Katharine (Poplar, E.14). The extent to which Canon Gardiner and Miss Herbert carried into operation what Bishop Blomfield and Gladstone had in mind in 1843 can be realized from the fact that in the last year's full working before the outbreak of war, 50,000 visits were paid and 'written up' by the St. Mary, Lambeth, Relief Committee or Visiting Society, in a parish containing 9,000 souls. The other name which cannot be omitted from this connexion is that of Miss Theodora M. Morton, O.B.E., Principal Organizer of School Care Committees under the London County Council from their inception in 1908 till her retirement in 1929. This lady was District Secretary of the C.O.S. in Soho, and was selected by that Council, as the ablest exponent of Parochial Service or Family Case-work in London, to set on foot the project of a 'Visiting Society' attached to every elementary school in the county at which there were found children in need of care additional to that which their parents were already giving them. Under the talented and indefatigable guidance of this officer, the School Care Committee system of London had enrolled, in the five years preceding the war, no less than ten thousand voluntary workers, and had attained world-wide celebrity. Every serious student of Social Service is supposed to know about it to-day. How many of them realize that it was a perfectly conscious and deliberate application of the idea of the Visiting Society, already a well-established type of organization when the bishop and Mr. Gladstone built our Association upon it in 1843? How many of them know that it was to the Church visitors that Miss Morton looked most for the service she required at the firesides of the people, and the clergy from whom she sought Chairmen of her School Care Committees?

It may perhaps be claimed that in the Society for the

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Relief of Distress and in the person of Edward Denison, in the C.O.S., and in the persons of its many celebrated Family Case-workers, the Bosanquets, Harry Toynbee, Herbert Woollcombe, Richard Saunderson, and a host of others, the Visiting Society found its most expert and intensive application. Whether in the number of workers or the number of families affected, it is in Miss Morton's School Care Committees that it has found its most extensive development. When to it were made the additions already chronicled in the names of Henry Iselin and Thory Gage Gardiner, it might well have been thought—may even still be thought—that Parochial Service had held its own against the mass services based on statistics inaugurated in 1886 and 1906. Per contra, the operation of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918, which stimulated the local authorities to undertake Infant Welfare through their own officers and not mediated by Parochial Service, has tended in the other direction, and did, in fact, lead to the destruction, e.g., of Mr. Iselin's wonderful scheme, not many months after the Act was passed.

We call vividly to mind a meeting of the Hackney and Stoke Newington Ruridecanal Chapter in 1908. A speaker had said that with the rapid development of Public Social Service the clergy and Church visitors were being elbowed out of the streets of their parishes. The speaker was appealing to those present to interest themselves in the new School Care Committees, more especially those attached to the special schools for crippled and for mentally defective children, of which he was a local honorary secretary. The late Mr. W. G. Cameron, afterwards Rector of Stepney, said to the speaker at the end of the meeting, 'I do not intend to be elbowed out of the streets of my parish.' Within a few weeks he was Chairman of three School Care Committees. No clergyman living realized more clearly the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

'crisis' of Parochial Service through which the Church was passing in the last decade of his life—1909–19— or strove more vigorously to adjust the Parochial Service to the changing situation. The Report of a Special Committee convened by him at Stepney Rectory on the constitution and functions of a Parochial Visiting Relief Committee is a classic.

The example set by Mr. W. G. Cameron has been widely, but by no means universally, followed. Church women workers with diocesan recognition will generally be found playing a faithful and important part in the work so far as their parish is concerned. It is not infrequent, however, to find the clergy saying, 'Let the London County Council do its own work.' The lot of the parochial clergyman in these days is a hard one, and if he does not overtake all the tasks expected of him it does not follow that his life is not a very full and harassed one. None the less, the School Care Committee system of London puts a magnificent opportunity in the way of all who care to take it, and has the immense merit—by no means widely shared—of having held out a cordial welcome to the Churches and their workers, and never anything approximating to a cold shoulder. Nothing else could have been expected so long as the members chiefly responsible counted among them Church leaders of the calibre of Sir Cyril Cobb, Dame Jessie Wilton Phipps, and Sir John Gilbert.

We have seen that believers in Parochial Service as the method *par excellence* of realizing and cherishing the divine in the human—the method alike of Aristotle and the Schoolmen, of Plato and the New Testament—have opposed the IMPERSONAL and MECHANICAL ELEMENTS in the Public Social Services from 1886 onwards. There was a moment at the end of 1934 when the mechanistic urge seemed to have spent itself, and a

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

return to that study and treatment of the individual, which is sanctioned by the wisdom of the ages, to have arrived. After four years of deliberation by a Royal Commission and then by Parliament, the measure adopted for dealing with unemployed persons not 'in benefit'—something like a million of them at that time—under the Unemployment Act, 1934, was definitely a return to individual treatment. (The Parliamentary tempest which followed was purely political and had no bearing upon our theme.) The First Annual Report of the Board, which appeared in 1936, must be ranked as an individual treatment and Parochial Service document. High hopes were entertained far and wide. Developments of real Family Case-work and team work on 1843 lines seemed assured. In 1937, however, the most authoritative official opinion has been thus expressed: 'After all, our concern is to get the unemployed man fit for work, and to meet his immediate needs. Case-work, with its study of background, &c., is beyond our scope.' We are perfectly prepared to admit that this is a just and fair position to take up; that it is even an inevitable position for Civil Servants to take up. It does nothing to diminish the nostalgic feelings aroused by the thought of what might have been had the Social Services of this country been built continuously from 1880 onwards, had T. H. Green lived to be seventy-six instead of dying at forty-six, and had there never been the fearful break and the 'selling of the pass' to the mechanists and statisticians which set in at that time.

The efforts of this country to rehouse its people after the war have astounded the world. The expenditure has long passed the £1,000 millions point. Yet we hear on all sides that 'the gravest part of the problem has hardly as yet been touched'. In the Housing Act brought in in December 1934 the necessity for an

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

individual approach on Family Case-work lines was at last conceded. We deal with this question elsewhere, under the heading of 'New Housing Estates', and for the moment pass on.

In that same month, the London County Council received a report from the Special Committee it had appointed to consider whether it was possible, practically, to do away with the Poor Law and distribute the services of the Public Assistance Department among the other departments. Contrary to expectations, the Report emphasized the personal and parochial type of human relationship which is the essence of Poor Law administration, and the necessity, not only for continuing services of this description, but for their performance by officers qualified to handle with delicacy the exquisite human contacts involved. Three years have passed. It cannot be said that that expectation has been fulfilled. Rather does the Council pride itself on the fact that its administration of the Poor Laws has been brought, by means of a published scale and precise regulations dealing with all contingencies, into line with the mechanical administrations operated from Whitehall.

Conclusion. What is the position of that personal, 'neighbour' service of man to man, which we call Parochial Service, which was defined with such marvellous precision by the Greeks and with such dignity by the Chinese, which the Christian faith and the Christian Church carried to its most beautiful blossoming? That all other, more mechanical relationships and types of administration must ever be second bests is the testimony of prophets, poets, and the artists of all time. That saints, geniuses, and martyrs like the Curé d'Ars and St. Jean Bosco will rise from time to time to bring men flooding back to their devotion to it—that volunteers, individually and by groups, are

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

committed, as always, to this method of service—none can doubt. Whether it can be maintained in any considerable volume in the circumstances of the present age—economic, industrial, financial, political—it is possible to question. If the service of persons and families in need, trouble, and perplexity is to be exclusively the function of public officials; if the testimony, almost universal, on this island that public officials and public bodies are precluded, by the very nature of public administration, from attempting Family Case-work; if the Churches, members and officers alike, are to be Gallios about all such things—then we lifelong believers in the case-work method must ‘seek ourselves dishonourable graves’. We can adopt a suitable camouflage of our disgrace. We can say, ‘After all, “the people of the land” [Am Ha Aretz] are the best judges of how to spend their incomes. The business of their neighbours is to see to it, through the central Government or the local authority, that they have incomes to spend. The rest is their private affair.’

For ever on the asses’ bridge and in the ship of fools
life is agog; and there the Muse hath set her stage,
and in humorous compact with philosophy
hideth her godlike face beneath a grinning mask,
and, donning the gay motley of idiotic man,
empersonateth him in his chance dilemmas. . . .¹

It will be urged, and with no small show of justice, that self-help, mutual help, and Parochial Service failed,² even in combination, to obtain adequate

¹ Bridges, *Testament of Beauty*, iv., ll. 582–7.

² It is customary to speak as though public authorities had resources available for the aid of citizens in need not possessed by voluntary agencies. This is obviously an illusion. Indeed, so far as there is any difference, the opposite is true. Both depend equally upon the will of the population to give, either by subscribing to voluntary funds or by taxing itself. In either case the money

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

resources to meet those needs of the people the satisfaction of which the community, and every decent person in it, insists must be satisfied.¹ The thinkers on our side of the controversy did not admit this feature in regard to the aged, or in regard to children, or in regard to sickness, until the load of taxation for the financing of Public Social Services reached figures undreamed of before the war. In regard to unemployment, the case against voluntary provision is overwhelming. Whether we look to voluntary mutual provision by the trade unions, or voluntary succour by Parochial Services, we do not see resources equal to the burdens which the post-war period has known. Eminent economists claim that the State, by its ill-judged measures, carried unemployment to heights to which no voluntary effort of any kind could follow it. However that may be, the fact remains, voluntary effort failed signally to succour adequately the unemployed. The consequence of this fact alone was an enormous development of public expenditure through

spent is taken from the funds which give employment, but the method of taxation and public administration being more costly, takes more from these funds and therefore aggravates the evil it seeks to cure more than voluntary subscriptions do. The people of this country preferred and chose voluntary agencies for the purpose in the nineteenth century, taxation and public agencies in the twentieth, *voilà tout*. If any one doubts this, let him compare the amount raised compulsorily for sickness, widows', orphans', and old age benefit—in regard to which Parliament is constantly assured that the limit has been reached—and the sums paid over voluntarily to insurance companies. We say it is vain for voluntary effort to attempt the maintenance of the unemployed; but if the population were as much interested in the unemployed as they are in flat racing or alcoholic refreshment, compulsory levies for the maintenance of unemployed persons would be quite unnecessary.

¹ A first-class American authority recently observed that nowhere in the world was there an insistence upon this satisfaction equal to what is found here.

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

public officials. Once that had set in, and become established, and customary, the swallowing-up of most other services in the vast State machine has gone by default, and, if the great State machine must operate mechanically, clearly Parochial Service and the spirit of Parochial Service must function in a very restricted field, if at all.

Fräulein Ilse von Arlt of Vienna, perhaps the wisest of all our contemporaries, adjures the faithful remnant of Voluntary Case-workers on this island to carry on, even if it is only to maintain STANDARDS of service, offering a criterion for the evaluation of the Public Social Services which cover such a large portion of the field.

When all that has been said, we come back to the Rev. Mr. Smith, lately ordained to the parish of St. John, or to Miss Robinson, who has lately won diocesan recognition and has been posted to the parish of St. James. However much in theory the needs, troubles and perplexities of every inhabitant of that parish are covered by Public Social Services which are the concern of public officials and not at all of the officers of the Church, there is no reason whatever to doubt that Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Brown, in curious ignorance of this great and established fact, will pour a good many tales of woe into the kindly ears of the Rev. Mr. Smith or Miss Robinson. The question with which the whole of this paper is concerned is one, and one only: Are Mr. Smith and Miss Robinson to be expected to tackle the affairs of Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Brown *with the highest skill and with the most perfect understanding given to man*, or are they to improvise some deplorably inadequate treatment, basely material in all probability, and let it go at that?

It is impossible to study a period as long as a hundred years—even though our own memories of the period are vivid for more than half of it—without being

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

impressed by the swift rise and fall which characterizes human effort. The steadfastness of the M.V.R.A. in fair weather and foul, not only when its cause commanded almost universal approval but also when it gave rise to little but ridicule, is the more surprising. This is no accident! A few years ago, Captain L. F. Ellis, then secretary of the National Council of Social Service, caused a very full inquiry to be made into the work of the Social Service agencies affiliated to his Council. The report was studied by himself and a group of very experienced colleagues. The conclusion unanimously reached was that it is case-work which gives permanence to the activities of a Social Service agency, but that case-work is a form of service which, while it does not by any means command the ardour of all, effectively absorbs the energies of those who are attracted to it. Thus he found it was vain to expect, from a group of people devoted to case-work, surplus energy for promoting drama, recreation, and the like. Nor is it practicable to expect people ready to give up their spare time to such promotion also to devote themselves to case-work. These ascertainments have close counterparts in the story of the Church of England in the century with which we are dealing—on the one hand the parish priests and parish workers absorbed in the personal domestic family troubles of parishioners who were also their neighbours; and, on the other hand, preachers, writers, promoters of great schemes of Church development, and their adherents.

It is easy to generalize in this way. It is extremely difficult to disentangle the factors which make for progress and vitality in Parochial Service, the factors which discourage it, and all those factors the bearing of which seems to be upon larger and vaguer developments of thought and feeling. We cited a very modern parallel just now. An ancient one is beautifully

METROPOLITAN AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION

exhibited in Dr. Cyril Bailey's *Phases of the Religion of Ancient Rome*. Dr. Bailey brings out, with a brilliance which is haunting, the power and beauty of Rome's religion when it was parochial and familial, and leaves us wondering whether the later and more splendid developments of Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, and Catholic Christianity ever equalled it until the last stabilized itself in Parochial Service.

NOTE ON THE POPULATION OF LONDON

<i>Year</i>	<i>Central Area</i>	<i>Administrative County</i>	<i>Greater London (inclusive)</i>
1841 .	1,383,000	1,949,277	2,235,344
1851 .	1,560,000	2,363,341	2,680,935
1861 .	1,662,000	2,808,494	3,222,720
1871 .	1,667,000	3,261,396	3,885,641
1881 .	1,648,594	3,830,297	4,766,661
1891 .	1,579,261	4,227,954	5,633,806
1901 .	1,529,136	4,536,267	6,581,402
1911 .	1,393,013	4,521,685	7,251,358
1921 .	1,266,843	4,484,523	7,480,201
1931 .	1,169,000	4,396,821	8,202,818

CHAPTER IV

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

1. *The Place of this Book in Training for Church Work*

NO announcement of greater importance, in the eyes of this Association, could be made than that a Commission has been appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. F. Petre Williams, Dean of Christ Church, to consider the training of the clergy of the Church of England. The reason for this is obvious. The Association is committed, alike by its title-deeds and its history, to strengthen and support a certain particular type of Parochial Service, but it is a type which, with few exceptions, the clergy of the present day find it difficult to understand, let alone practise. The type of Parochial Service which the promoters of the Association had in mind in 1843, if we understand it aright, is that which is inculcated to-day in the schools of Social Work of Canada and the U.S.A., notably those of Toronto, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The clergy of the American Episcopal Church are sufficiently ready to take advantage of this training to require special arrangements to be made for them. They obtain one term's leave from their parishes, and a Clergy Session is arranged accordingly, e.g. at the New York School. The curriculum of the school is best studied in its Quarterly Bulletins and the remarkable series of volumes published under its auspices or in co-operation with it. These latter, which form a small library of human relationships, constitute perhaps the most important body of literature conducive to the greater happiness of mankind in circulation to-day. It is held in some quarters that the training given in those schools is essentially professional and is hardly

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

applicable to this island, where Social Service is, and is likely to remain, largely voluntary, where it is not official. In regard to the Civil Servants, local and national, who operate the British Public Social Services, an American observer, Professor F. J. Bruno, has lately remarked, 'A public administrator of the Social Services in England does not consider himself a professional social worker. He is a public servant who happens to be assigned to the Social Services.'¹

In view of the impersonal type of administration which Parliament has so far imposed upon the Public Social Services, this arrangement is probably suitable for them, but by no means for the clergy of the Church of England, whose share in Social Service, far from being impersonal or mechanical, is either personal or harmful. If they take up Parochial work at all, and train for it, their training must obviously be of professional type and standard. The common use of language enforces this view, since the Church was one of the earliest fields of service to be designated a profession.

Some one under training for Parochial Service may ask, 'Of what use is it to a man or woman preparing for Parochial Service in 1937 to know what has been gained or lost in that service in a hundred years, or in thirteen hundred years?'

We counter, 'Is it possible to form even the vaguest notion of what Parochial Service is without that knowledge?'

(1) The trainee retorts, as the case may be, 'I am specializing in Scouting; in boys' clubs; in physical training and recreation; in Guiding; in girls' clubs; in women's institutes; in moral welfare; in mental welfare; or in faith healing. I know just what is wanted for what I am going to do. I am indifferent to the history of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief

¹ *Social Work Year Book*, 1937, p. 173.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Association.' The reader will note that six of these branches of service are being taken over by officers either of the Board of Education, or of the National Advisory Council for Physical Training and Recreation, or of the local education authority.

We rejoin, 'Why should the Church employ you to run any of these enterprises?' The next reply will be significant. It may be one of several, viz.

(a) 'Every "good" parish has them.'

(b) 'There is, as you say, a huge Government campaign for these things, and the Church does not want to be left out.'

(c) 'It is the best way to get people, if not into Church, at least to take an interest in the Church.'

Reply (a) is susceptible of expansion. The most experienced and devoted parish priests and workers have found, for fully a century, when they came to understand thoroughly the lives and needs of their parishioners, that those 'lives' could be made 'more abundant', and that certain of those needs could be met, by operating these and a very large number and variety of other enterprises; but that all such enterprises have been alike meaningless and useless, even harmful, to the people and to the Church whenever the clue was lost, viz. that the need for and the usefulness of them arose out of a deep and thorough knowledge of the lives of the parishioners, gained in the course of a skilled and systematic endeavour to help them personally, one by one, to find God. To start, or carry on, a club, and then to assume that somehow its members will seek and find God, has been demonstrated in tens of thousands of instances to be vain.¹

¹ This lesson is admirably inculcated by Captain B. L. Q. Henriques, J.P., Warden of the Bernhard Baron St. George's Jewish Settlement, London, E.1, in his book on *Club Leadership*, Oxford University Press, and in *Indiscretions of a Warden*, Methuen.

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

It is true that fine Parochial Service has been rendered in parishes where the Church ran these enterprises. This particular development reached its zenith in the eighties and nineties of last century. The names of Dolling, the Pagets, Lawley, Eck, Donaldson, the Adderleys, Chandler, Wainwright, Pollock, and scores of others, immediately occur to us; but in every instance Parochial Service came first, and any one of these institutional developments second. We would not be thought for a moment to dismiss lightly those who serve God in the parish by concentrating all their energies upon recreation for the people (even leaving aside for the moment the physical development and hygienic aspects of the question). For a discussion of its very real and important place in life, and the preparation for life, we refer the reader to Dr. Marett's *Head, Heart, and Hands in Human Evolution* (1935), pp. 14-22, or back to the nineties to *Play of Man and Play of Animals*, by de Groos. Play, properly understood, is not of secondary importance, but, if there is to be any conscious unity or team work in Parochial Service, those who concentrate upon it should have some notion why they are doing so.

We have been present at almost innumerable discussions of the question, 'Should the Church provide recreation simply *qua* recreation?' In other words, shall the same small group of men or lads, often utterly indifferent or even hostile to the Church, continue to enjoy cheap or free billiards at the Church's no small expense, and, if so, why? The usual answer, any time these fifty years, has been, 'By all means provide free billiards for your communicants.' It is an answer of doubtful wisdom. Those who care enough for mystical religion to become communicants will look to the Church for something very different from free billiards.

We offer a tentative reply, for use in 1938, to this

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

familiar query about free or cheap billiards and the like. Physical training and recreation, and cultural development, organized from above for very large numbers of people, is now, under the Act of 1937, one of the Public Social Services. The Churches may fairly claim to have been, in this, as in all other branches of those services, the pioneers. Parochial Workers are, by the passing of this Act, set free to resume their own essential function. There is a great part awaiting them here, strictly analogous to the parts set out *seriatim* in Chapter I. Sitting by the firesides of the people, or in chats with individuals, they can explain the significance of all this organized play, not as a means of passing away the time, but as a preparation for a worth-while life, and of keeping young people out of mischief, especially youthful travesties of politics, in a manner which the admirable officers operating the Act will never have any opportunity of doing. But we fail to understand how the Parochial Workers will do anything of the kind effectively if they know nothing of the history, philosophy, or poetry of Parochial Service.

(2) Another trainee replies, 'I am specializing in the Social Services. I do not doubt that good service can be rendered by specializing on recreation in an era in which leisure is said to be so much more important than work. But I have no gift for it. I want to meet the people in connexion with their needs, perplexities, and troubles. For my purposes, acquaintance with the Charity Organization Society, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, Women House Property Managers, Infant Welfare Centres, Child Guidance Clinics, School Care Committees, and Shelters for the Homeless, &c., are essential; and of course I must make myself acquainted with the Public Social Services. This is a sufficient programme, without any ancient history.'

We rejoin, 'The State, we understand, locally and

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

nationally, spends over £500 millions a year on these services, and employs an unascertained staff of Civil Servants, which we may put roughly at 600,000, to operate them. Where does the Parochial Service of the Church come in?’

We are at a loss to know how the trainee, or his or her instructors, will reply to this, we hope not quite inapt, query, without some reference to the past. We doubt whether there is a better thread than the story of the M.V.R.A. upon which to string the parochial experience of the last hundred years, and by which to link ourselves effectively with the services, parochial in type and aim, of the last 14,000 years.

It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God (Heb. x. 31).

For our God is a consuming fire (Heb. xii. 29).

We call to mind a warning given by a friend to a candidate for Holy Orders: ‘Most of my relations are parsons: I have always felt that a parson is a man without any regular job.’ It is, in sooth, a fearfully dangerous enterprise to undertake a parson’s life, and the snares and temptations thereof are like to prove a ‘consuming fire’.

It is desperately easy to get into the habit of frittering away hours, days, weeks, years—feeling all the time that we are ‘so terribly busy; not a second for anything, you know’—and, in so doing, to fritter away also any rudiment of a soul one may ever have possessed.

It is a terrible responsibility to commit junior clergy to such a life, and not to protect them beforehand against these thorns that will so soon, otherwise, spring up and choke them.

The only protection is discipline, training, and then hard, exacting work in professional hours at professional standards—work which the best minds of the day will

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

gratefully accept if it is good; silently reject, and then ignore, if it is in any way short of good.

That is precisely what we have endeavoured to offer, specifically and in detail, in this book. Once he is known as 'that parson chap, who knows the fine points of my job as well as I do', he will never lack a fully occupied, strenuous, worthy professional life. We hope to see it replace, and drive out, the unsystematic, even desultory, lives of not a few parsons to-day.

II. *Recruiting* (I)

Our former Vice-President and lifelong friend, the Lord Bishop of Southwell, who, at serious sacrifice, has made time to peruse the entire manuscript, poses the question, 'How do you propose that we should get, and train, the parish priests you describe? In the eighties and nineties we sent them to the Oxford House and other Settlements, to the School and College Missions, and, for Family Case-work, to the C.O.S. These three, and kindred bodies, ought to be attracting young men from the universities to-day; putting them through their respective 'mills'; and, later, passing on for ordination as parish priests those who, while acquiring the aforesaid Family Case-work technique, found they desired to give their lives to that type of service in the Name and Spirit of Christ. They are not doing anything of the kind. I am not sure that they have, any longer, the energy, prestige, or appeal to render this service to the Church, even if they envisaged it and wanted to render it.'

Recognizing gratefully that this is the crux of the problem with which we are wrestling, we tender, after much consideration, a tentative reply. It shall have at least the merit of not being pretentiously sanguine.

One of our members declares that he made acquaintance with the question as early as 1886, through the

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

medium of an admirably run School Mission, but that he did not begin to see clear daylight upon it much before 1936. These things take time.

(1) Lads and girls, who feel a vocation for the professions of medicine, law, or teaching, are made well aware of the long and formidable character of the discipline ahead of them. We plead for the presentation of the profession of the parish priest in an equally imposing and formidable guise. No medical student pictures himself a Sir James Mackenzie much before the end of a long life. No more did Wainwright¹ become the Wainwright, parish priest of imperishable memory, much before the end of his life. The point is that mind and heart should be set in that direction so soon as the vocation is felt, and should never, by God's grace, swerve from it. All learning, and all life's experience, should be acquired with that bias always strongly felt. Such a presentation and bias exists, of course, and is often seen very beautifully exemplified.

(2) We do not pretend that the curriculum of medicine is so fixed and assured that all we have to do is to work out, for the parish priest, an analogous scheme of academic preparation followed by a happily adjusted blend of theoretical and practical training. We are very familiar with the controversy raging over the medical curriculum. How is a lad or girl to be equipped to play, one day, the role assigned to the general practitioner, e.g. on pp. 150-6 of the Scottish Health Services Report² of 1936? How indeed? And who shall say? He will have to focus all the resources of succour known to science and the organized community to keep running the engine of the patient's soul, and those of his wife and circle.

¹ Vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks, E.1, 1871-1930.

² Cmd. 5204.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

The parish priest has the whole of that job to do (if called in at all) and a great deal more. He has to help patient and circle to feel that mansoul is something which blossoms out of a soil of pain, sickness, disablement, anxiety, humiliation, need—or not at all. We do not believe the patient will listen to that lesson from any man in whom his confidence has not been won by a deep and far-reaching grasp of his real situation (personal, family, social, economic, industrial) and an obviously firm and ready grasp of what to do. Lord Rosebery reminded us that 'the wise men of Egypt did not know what to do when the waters of the river were turned into blood'. First and foremost, the parish priest must know, and show he knows, what to do, when life's little catastrophes occur and life's little tragedies threaten.

Without fear of challenge, we can say to-day that this job is ready to his hand. Ask any one of your acquaintance to whom he would go to-day if in trouble; he or she will be quite silent. There was a time when for some the parson, for some the relieving officer, for some a school-teacher, for many a doctor, filled that role. Situations are difficult to-day. With all due diffidence in blowing the trumpet of an ancient ally, we are not acquainted with any one who knows what to do except the best and most experienced secretaries, officers, and members (including some clergy still) of the Family Case-work Societies, e.g. the Charity Organization Society and the Societies bearing the newer designations for the same type of service.

Recruitment from the Social Services. There are, broadly, two lines of recruitment open to the Church, viz. (1) from amongst lads to whom a call to ordination has come through the illumination and discipline of school or college studies; (2) from amongst men led to seek ordination by a love of souls. This latter, we submit,

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

comes from sharing the trials and sorrows of other human beings. Brought up against these in the course of his job, he longs for freedom from the mechanical—for nearly every job on earth has a mechanical, material, as well as a human and personal, side of it—that he may devote all his energies to the spiritual part of it. This is happening all the time, and we submit that the manner in which the Public Social Services operate to-day offers, first, a magnificent opening for necessary supplementary service, and, second, an ideal recruiting-ground. Both depend upon a decision by the Church to go on with Parochial Service and to recruit for it. The officer who has served some years in National Health, or Unemployment, Insurance; in Unemployment Assistance; in the Old Age or War Pension Service; as a probation officer; in the many branches of a local education department; in the Poor Law service, or in the new physical training and recreational service; and has a call to devote himself to the personal service of the clients with whom he has only been able to make such fleeting contacts as are possible to these officers, will make a first-class parish priest. He will not necessarily make a popular preacher.

Is it a practical suggestion that the Church should turn its attention to this field of recruitment, perhaps to the partial exclusion of recruitment from amongst lads still in educational institutions? In regard to the academic instruction of the type of ordinand we are recommending, we suggest that that ought to be spread systematically over ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It is not, perhaps, of the Latinity of these ordinands that the diocesan feels so much need to satisfy himself to-day, as whether or not God the Holy Spirit has used their professional service to create in their hearts a sufficiently deep sympathy with sad hearts, a passionate

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

enough love of souls, and a realization that the soul is a plant whose most favourable seed-bed is made up of pain, fear, loneliness, and humiliation.

Recruiting (2)

We shall undoubtedly be told that, after all, the future of the Church lies primarily with those who recruit for her ministry, and that our programme—however interesting it may be to some historically, and even philosophically—will not bring in one recruit. This point was put to us two days ago (July 1937), sadly but forcibly, by the father of a particularly brilliant ordinand now at Cambridge. Forty years of service to struggling people in all sorts of vicissitudes had made the father a convinced supporter of the ideas of this book. In fact, he was planning a somewhat similar one of his own! But he could not picture his son joining us: the lad has already far too many invitations from bishops to take the lead in conferences and gatherings to have any time left for the Parochial Idea.

Objectors will go on to say, '*We* do not decide that point. Our business is to wait upon the Holy Spirit. If the Holy Spirit calls men to dedicate their lives to Christ's service by the enthusiasm engendered by gatherings (reminiscent of Christ's own ministry, of the early Church, and of many great revivals), who are we to present to possible recruits the service of the denizens in a handful of mean streets which you are offering? Besides, the Holy Spirit calls men, not ready-made saints or angels. Man is an animal whom God converts gradually into something else, partly, as we believe, in this earthly pilgrimage. All mammals start life with a sense of their own importance. They are all proud and "touchy". In forty or fifty years there may dawn upon them, as you say, a realization that self-effacement is a grander thing than self-assertion.

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF CLERGY

Lip-service is all they can give to that doctrine at twenty-three, or at seventeen, when you propose to commence their rigorous discipline. Put the question to yourselves. You say that the actual development of the service of neighbours has created a glorious "Mary" opening for the clergy, because, for a great many obvious reasons, the Civil Service can only compass the "Martha" part of it. But "Martha", remember, has the spending of nearly £600 millions a year. Consider the setting, prestige, equipment, emoluments, promotion, rewards, decorations, salaries, pensions, she can offer her servants! Consider the power they wield, and the social importance they enjoy. They too are human. They will treat your parochial clergy as very, very small fry indeed. How could they help it? Can you recruit healthy young men to a service marked down for insignificance or humiliation from the word "Go"? What mother would consent to any sons of hers entering it?

'More than thirty years ago, George Bernard Shaw felt already, in advance, the insignificance of the parochial clergy compared to the officers of the Socialist State he was advocating. In a speech in the Essex Hall he derided any "puling curate" who should essay to question the Darwinian (selected-ape-origin) principles upon which his State was to be built.'

It is all true. It was much more obviously and painfully true in 1843, when the thousand M.V.R.A. volunteers marched down into the industrial parishes of the metropolis. It was still true in the sixties, when Edward Denison went to live in Philpot Street, Stepney; in 1875, when Charles Loch took service in the C.O.S.; in 1880, when Bernard Bosanquet resigned his lectureship at Oxford to join Loch; still true when Donald Hankey drew his picture of the lads going to a fearful death on the Western Front with a surprised,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

appreciative smile that any one should have troubled to include them in such an enterprise.

But it is not *all* a story of the derisive contempt of the Prince of this World. Powerful Civil Servants will not accord to the parochial clergyman a social importance comparable to their own, but they will accord to 'the parson chap' a kindly meed of appreciation so soon as they discover in him an ally of the professional quality we have endeavoured to outline.

The attraction we hold out, then, to the recruit, is the opportunity of qualifying himself to do, and of doing, work of the finest quality, and we promise him the appreciation, and, if he craves it, the admiration of the very few people who can understand it. We also offer him a greater reward—the love and gratitude of a few of the humble folk he serves, seeing in them the brethren of Christ; assuring him that he will ransack this world in vain for any reward comparable to that one. Our submission is that these are the recruiting attractions which have supplied the personnel for this type of service as far back as we have any knowledge whatever of any race of mankind. For we think the work of Dr. R. R. Marett and, e.g., among his disciples, of the late Dr. Joseph Unwin, Head of Cambridge House, justify this peep into the vast anthropological preface to human history.¹

¹ It may make our meaning clearer in regard alike to recruitment and training—two aspects of one undertaking—to refer the reader to the *Life of Father William Doyle, S.J.*, by Professor Alfred O'Rahilly (Longmans, 1920, re-issued 1936).

CHAPTER V

WHERE THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE MEET

1. *The Parochial Clergy and the Transcendental*

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. ST. MATTHEW xxv. 40.

Men who are to teach the faith must think it out for themselves.

Men preserve their individuality because they lose their individualism.

The parochial system is a very admirable system, and it needs supplementing.¹

AS whole-hearted admirers of Kelham throughout the forty years of its existence, we should like, above most things, to render some service to the Sacred Mission by publishing this book.

When a Kelham priest, 'selected preferably at sixteen but never above twenty-two unless his previous training and work has been mainly that of a student' (we concede Kelham's point that business life may 'do a lad with a sense of vocation harm by impairing his sense of vocation', p. 3), goes out to 'teach the faith', what does the Mission instruct him to do about that portion (the great majority) of the industrial population which does not take the slightest notice of his efforts? Can we help here? We are quite prepared to admit that, provided only he can make a contact, the Kelham priest's teaching of the faith will be exceptionally effective. Is the Kelham reply to our question, 'Trouble and sorrow—what you people call pain, fear, loneliness, and humiliation—will bring human beings to the source of the only effective comfort'? If that is the

¹ *Kelham: A Statement*, pp. 3 and 5.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

reply, we agree that we should have had nothing to add to it forty years ago, when Kelham was founded.¹ Our agreement is the burden of our Chapters II and III. In our Chapter I, however, we believe we have shown that the partial handling of almost all those troubles and sorrows has been gradually taken over, during thirty-one of those forty years, by the Civil Service; and we submit that, in order to fulfil its original mission, Kelham must now instruct its students in the technique of securing a chance of supplying the most effective comfort—the faith—in the remaining portion of those troubles. The portion taken over is economic; the portion left is personal, familial, emotional, and spiritual. We are rather at a loss to know how Kelham will achieve this by only ‘supplementing the parochial system’, but as we learn that Kelham is undertaking, not supplementing, the work of a very difficult parish in greater Sheffield, we can safely drop that point.

Kelham prepares its students to ‘teach the faith after thinking about it for themselves’. Let us suppose that a wage-earner is so deeply wounded by an experience that he feels the consolations offered by his intimates to be unhelpful, and says to himself, ‘I’ll go and have a chat with that reverend: he looks a nice, unassuming young chap.’ The incident is desperately infrequent, but it might occur. The ‘reverend’ has applied himself with ‘exceptional diligence’ during ‘at least four years’ to ‘theology, philosophy, and history’. We agree with Kelham that that preparation is invaluable to ‘guard him against the temptations of worldliness and ambition’ (p. 6), and, we add, to

¹ We well remember the present Archbishop of Canterbury saying in Poplar Town Hall in 1903, ‘The temptations of a bishop are the same as those of a boilermaker.’ Social life has become more articulated and more complicated since then.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

enable him to realize that the comforting of this wage-earner in the hour of his pain, fear, loneliness, or humiliation is the greatest thing in life. But here we ask Kelham to accept an addendum. The English wage-earner has no affinity with theology, philosophy, or history. To reach him, the faith must be transposed into terms full of, and lighted up by, his own experience. In Kelham's own words, he must, with the priest's aid, 'work it out for himself'. If that is so, we submit that the priest will be greatly aided by adding to his three disciplines, just mentioned, something of the kind we have sketched in Chapter I. But here we come upon a difficulty. Social administration taught in a classroom, out of books, is as unreal as it is uninteresting. This is the conclusion that has been reached in common by University Social Science Departments and independent Schools of Social Work all over the world. All of them hold that the student must have opportunities of assisting living people to overcome actual troubles. These opportunities must be included in the course. We add, for our part, that it is precisely in these first-hand contacts with the most typical troubles and sorrows of ordinary folk that the place of the faith, and the function of the priest, is revealed to him. We said just now that it is rare for a wage-earner to bring his troubles to a priest. We believe the rarity will diminish in proportion as the number of priests increases who really understand what his troubles are, and how they are to be overcome. Both these problems require, we believe, the kind of lore we have outlined in Chapter I.

We regard the concepts Personality (not in the mechanical, narrowly psychological sense,¹ used apparently, e.g. in the quarterly magazine *Character and*

¹ This distinction was clearly drawn by William James in the epilogue to his *Principles of Psychology*, 1890, and remains, we think,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Personality, but in the ordinary sense), Responsibility, God, Universe, Purpose, Reality, as all of them involving acceptance of that very notion of the transcendental which the agnostic age hoped to have eliminated.

It is easy to say, 'Transpose the faith into terms of this man's own experience.' We know too well we shall secure scant attention from Kelham unless we are able to indicate, however faintly, how that is to be done.

Our own experience tells us that the aim of Kelham is to give to every member of the Society of the Sacred Mission an unshakable apprehension of God as Transcendental; and that this belief of Kelham amounts to this, viz. that in a world in which Nature exhibits herself more and more 'red in tooth and claw', and man exhibits himself more and more as 'alone vile', Kipling's thought,

Who stands if England falls?

Who dies if England lives?

can be interpreted, 'With that faith all can still be won; without it, all is indeed lost.' We know that Cosmo, our Archbishop, always says that Cuddesdon enabled him to 'take the leap of faith, after which all else was easy'. We agree. We go further. We welcome all measures for setting forth the Transcendental as 'high and lifted up'. We have great sympathy with Justinian when, a little in the spirit of H. G. Wells, he exclaimed, before commencing to read the Gospel in his completed cathedral dedicated to Aya Sophia, 'O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!' Or, again, with the emissaries of Vladimir who, after attending a high celebration in applicable to-day. As James pointed out, laboratory work on the mechanism of personality, however valuable in its own sphere, has produced no results so far which have any bearing upon the problems emphasized in the five, and similar, documents which we shall cite yet again presently.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

that same Aya Sophia, reported, 'If God is not here He is nowhere on earth.' We too have found ourselves exclaiming at the Darjeeling viewpoint, as the clouds cleared from Kinchinjunga, 'The throne of God!' And, with Freud, as darkness closed in upon the Devil's Leap (Victoria Falls), 'Dark, unfeeling, and unloving powers determine human destiny.'

Even so, we confess that 'not in the tempest, nor yet in the whirlwind, but in the still small voice', i.e. in experiences similar to that recorded by Burns in his 'Cotter's Saturday Night', came to us the 'blessed certainty', saying, 'Be still and know that I am God.' How far some years—we do not deny it—of theology, philosophy, and history prepared the way we do not know. We recall that it was through a patient examination of the common language and usages of common men that Aristotle led us to the contemplation of God; and that Odysseus was reduced by Homer to a status far beneath that of Burns's cotter, and far beneath the notice of Mr. H. G. Wells, before he could commence the recovery of wife, home, and kingdom.

The good news which we are offering to the members of the Society of the Sacred Mission, and to all whom it may concern, is the gradually demonstrated, and now acknowledged, failure of the attempt extending throughout a century and a quarter to construct a better—nay, a perfect—human society by excluding the Transcendental; in other words, upon a basis of agnosticism. In Chapters II and III we have taken Bentham as the author of that Testament of Negation, Huxley, in his debate with Bishop Wilberforce in 1860, as its protagonist, Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb, and their disciples—in the 1906–34 legislative programme of Social Services without the Parochial Idea—as its executors; but in Chapter I we examine, *seriatim*, certain official documents containing a very earnest,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

sincere, and handsome recantation, worthy of that splendid body, the British Civil Service. We regard five documents¹ especially as a real call to 'come over to Macedonia and help us', addressed to all who can bring the blessed certainty of the Transcendental to the hearts and hearths of the unhappy; and we do so because the officers entrusted with those vital branches of public administration show plainly in these documents that they are not prepared to go on without that help.

The Antithetic Function of the Agnostic Glacier. There is not a shred of evidence that the mind of man is ever to proceed upon 'the even tenor of its way'. The whole of our study of the last hundred years convinces us that the present, post-1934, juncture in the Social Services is the synthesis for which the thesis of Chalmers, Blomfield, Gladstone, and the Huxley-Passfield antithesis were indispensable moments. Huxley brought laughter upon the Transcendental by likening it to a 'centaur trotting down Piccadilly'.² If we may borrow from his own physiology, what he in his turn asked man, the poor donkey, to do, was to 'rattle his bones over the stones', without any flesh and blood to cover them.

None the less, the substitution of some simple mechanical principle, something that would make conscience, conduct, and conflict as easy to understand as a bicycle, seemed to two generations of Western man an immense easing of a burden—gave them the feeling of Bunyan's pilgrim when his bundle fell off; gave them hearts lightened with a new hope and a new will to go on.

We said just now that for 125 years Western man has

¹ Harris Report on Probation, &c., 1936; Scottish Health Services Report, 1936; first two Reports of the Unemployment Assistance Board, 1936, 1937; Maternal Mortality Reports, 1937.

² *Life of Hume*, chap. i.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

yearned for release from the Transcendental. He has snatched at any concept provided only it was entirely within his comprehension, something he could see, touch, weigh, measure, put into statistical form or into a test-tube, or send to the pattern-shop and have a working model of it made. Nineteenth-century toddlers in their nurseries, turning miniature globes with their own tiny hands, were microcosms of the nineteenth-century Western world. From the statistician's study, the chemical 'lab', and the engineering shop they swiftly permeated education and medicine, then legislation and administration.

Unprofitable students of our own Bible would we be if we dared to detract from the divine function of Assyrians, Scythians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, or any other of the destroyers unmistakably called and sent. Looking out upon the devastation they left behind them, the prophets felt a real sense of emancipation. Even so, our fathers and grandfathers were conscious of an immense relief, social, political, and medical, from what seemed to them the oppression of a system of authority built upon the august sanction of revelation. It is meet that, in a medical age, the nemesis should come first in medicine. It is the doctors who are saying most wistfully to-day, 'We shall never get anywhere till we are rid of this mechanical medicine.'

The Webbs themselves have said in another context, 'Doubtless these things had to be, but woe to the generation that required them.' For a period, then, 'science' and administration had to be agnostic, which is—for Nature abhors a vacuum—mechanistic and inhuman; to make straight the path for the synthesis, the partnership that is to be, between the Public Social Services and a Parochial Service, staffed by the Society of the Sacred Mission and others like them.

At this point we seem to hear Kelham objecting,

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

'Your basis is too slender. You ask us to place upon something like an equal footing with our four years' discipline here, first the individual experiences of Parochial Workers, of Cotters' Saturday Nights, of which, frankly, we have no knowledge at all; and, second, a considerably forced interpretation by yourselves of certain official documents.

'We are students. We are at the stage when we trust principally to what Father Waggett calls "black marks on paper". Have you no credentials of this kind?'

We offer, in reply, the most recent utterances of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Between them they announce, with a fanfare of trumpets grim enough to herald the Judgement, the 'Great Entrance' of the synthesis, the irresistible return of the Transcendental. Their terrible words seem to convoy the entire Huxleian circus, like the souls of the slaughtered suitors, 'Hastening hellwards beneath the gloom' (Odyssey, book xx, line 356).

What does that promised land of serenity, security, and stability with progress look like, now that its agnostic foundations support all the pillars of contemporary orthodoxy?

In 1933, near the end of his long life, Freud wrote:¹ 'Scientific thought is still in its infancy; there are many of the great problems with which it has as yet been unable to cope. A *Weltanschauung* based upon science has, apart from the emphasis it lays upon the real world, essentially negative characteristics, such as that it limits itself to truth and rejects illusions. Those of our fellow men who are dissatisfied with this state of things, and who desire something more for their momentary peace of mind, may look for it where they can find it. We shall not blame them for doing so;

¹ *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, Eng. trans., Hogarth Press, London, p. 233.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

but we cannot help them, and cannot change our own way of thinking on their account.'

But even Sigmund Freud was too mature and too candid, too true to his prophetic Jewish lineage, to leave it there. With his own firm hand he brings back the Transcendental, in all that old irksome oppressiveness from which agnosticism was to have freed us all:

The object of the therapeutic efforts of psycho-analysis is to strengthen the EGO, to make it more independent of the SUPER-EGO, to widen its field of vision, and so to extend its organization that it can take over new portions of the ID. Where Id was, EGO shall be. It is reclamation work, the draining of the Zuyder Zee.¹

Carl Jung is equally uncompromising:²

How often have I heard a patient exclaim: If only I knew that my life had some meaning and purpose, then there would be no silly story about my nerves! . . . The very fact that we have a psychology founded on experience, and not upon articles of faith or the postulates of any philosophical system, is to me symptomatic of a profound convulsion of spiritual life. Disruption in the spiritual life of an age shows the same pattern as radical change in an individual. . . . No sooner are one or two of the channels of psychic activity blocked than we are reminded of a stream dammed up . . . the inner man wants something which the visible man does not want, and we are at war with ourselves. Only then in this distress do we discover the *psyche*. . . . Psychic life always found expression in a metaphysical system of some sort. But the conscious modern man, despite his strenuous and dogged efforts to do so, can no longer refrain from acknowledging the might of psychic forces. . . . We can no longer deny that the dark stirrings of the unconscious are effective powers—that psychic forces exist that cannot be fitted in with our rational world order. . . . I realize only too well that I am losing my faith in the possibility of a rational organization of the world; that old dream of the millennium, in which peace and harmony should merge, has

¹ *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, Eng. trans., p. 106.

² *The Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, Eng. trans., Dell and Baynes, Kegan Paul, 1934, pp. 224, 233, 235, 236, 264.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

grown pale. The 'modern' man's scepticism regarding all such matters has chilled his enthusiasm for world reform. . . . The 'modern' man has lost all the metaphysical certainties of his medieval brother, and set up in their place the ideals of material security, general welfare, and humaneness. But it takes more than an ordinary dose of optimism to make it appear that these ideals are still unshaken. Material security even has gone by the board, for the modern man begins to see that every step in material 'progress' adds just so much force to the threat of a more stupendous catastrophe. . . . If he turns away from the terrifying prospect of a blind world in which building and destroying successively tip the scale, and if he turns his gaze inward upon the recesses of his own mind, he will discover a chaos and darkness there which he would gladly ignore. Science has destroyed even the refuge of the inner life. What was once a sheltering haven has become a place of terror. . . . Among all the patients I have treated in the second half of my life—since I was thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life. It is safe to say that every one of them fell ill because he had lost that which the living religions of every age have given to their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook.¹

¹ The finding of these psychologists that the agnostic age has failed to deliver the goods is endorsed for his own sphere by no less doughty a champion of agnosticism than Professor Launcelot Hogben, who wrote in 1932:

'It would be wiser to refrain from pretentious speculations concerning the relevance of genetic concepts to the study of human society until the subject has progressed considerably beyond its present boundaries. . . . The generation of Haeckel and Huxley entertained a very generous estimate of the theoretically and socially significant information to be gleaned from a comparative study of human physique. . . . It is permissible to wonder whether there is not a prevalent disposition in economics and psychology to neglect the essential though theoretically unimpressive task of laying the foundations of a natural history of human beings.'

Coming to the present juncture from a very different angle, Mr. Hilaire Belloc says in his latest book:

'One must always look to moral (or, more accurately, to

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

No quarter has passed in the last decade in which the members of our two Associations have not elaborated this theme in their organ, the *Charity Organization Quarterly*. To it we must now refer the reader, especially to 'Athanasius contra Mundum—A Creed for Social Workers', in the July 1935 and April 1936 issues, for which Albert Einstein, Professor J. S. Haldane, and Sir Arthur Eddington were laid under contribution. The Charity Organization Society also published in 1935 a collection of extracts from contemporary writers in support of the same theory, entitled *Social Service must be Individual, not Wholesale*.

Those of our members who belong to 'Case-work Method Study Group V' helped to compose a statement of this thesis which was contributed to the Third International Conference of Social Work, 1936, under

spiritual) causes for the understanding of human movements and political change. Of these causes, by far the most important is the philosophy adopted by the community, whether that philosophy can be fully expressed as a religion, or taken for granted without overt definition.

'There is with us a complete chaos in religious doctrine. . . . Those who direct us, and from whom the tone of our policy is taken, have no major spiritual interest' (*The Crusade*, 1937, Cassell & Co. Ltd., pp. 305-6).

We would, however, like to assure our readers that in the highest places of nineteenth-century science there was one of those 'faithful remnants' without which, Matthew Arnold believed, civilization is constantly threatened with destruction. In Vallery-Radot's *Life* we read:

'Pasteur soared without an effort into the domain of spiritual things. Absolute faith in God and in Eternity, and a conviction that the power for good given to us in this world will be continued beyond it, were feelings which pervaded his whole life; the virtues of the Gospel had ever been present to him. Full of respect for the form of religion which had been that of his forefathers, he came to it simply and naturally for spiritual help in these last weeks of his life' (*Life of Pasteur*, p. 462, by René Vallery-Radot, pub. Constable, London).

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES
the title *The Aesthetic, Moral, Social, and Spiritual Aspects
of Social Service in a Community*.

II. *The Literary Background of 1843*¹

From what is, without much doubt, the implicit creed of the Family Case-worker of 1937, we turn to the literary background of the year of our foundation. When we call to mind just what the books were that practically everybody was reading in and about the year 1843, it is not surprising that a method of betterment was selected which was based upon intense interest in the lives of individuals and families. The contents of the footnote may serve as a reminder of some of them.²

¹ But see also Chapter III, Section iv, 'Gladstone.'

² In 1843 Scott had only been dead ten years. The sale of his novels continued to be enormous. Thomas Chalmers was sixty-two years old. It will be remembered that Scott narrowly escaped drowning by a Jedburgh mob because he told them that the extension of the franchise was no substitute for a sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of those human beings with whom our lives connect us.

Dickens had already published *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Barnaby Rudge*, and *A Christmas Carol*.

Thomas Arnold died in 1842. His son Matthew was twenty years old.

Disraeli had already published most of his novels.

Carlyle had published *Heroes and Hero-Worship* in 1841, and brought out *Past and Present* in 1843.

Ainsworth had published and dramatized *Jack Sheppard* in 1840.

Mrs. Browning had published brilliant work by that date, and in that year Browning published *Sordello*.

In 1842 Tennyson published a volume of poems.

In that year Charlotte and Emily Brontë went to Brussels.

In 1846 Thackeray began *Vanity Fair*.

In 1848 Mrs. Gaskell published *Mary Barton*.

In 1849 Charles Kingsley produced *Alton Lock* and *Yeast*.

In 1843 F. D. Maurice had been ordained eight years; Charles Reade was twenty-eight; A. P. Stanley and Anthony Trollope were twenty-seven; Jowett was twenty-five; George Eliot was twenty-four, and John Ruskin twenty-three.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

It is not easy to convince a man that his grandfather was better placed for understanding the difficulty which confronts him than he is himself. If we allege that Mr. Gladstone and his friends were better equipped, intellectually and spiritually, for laying the foundations of a sound Social Service in 1843 than we have been at any time since 1885, we must be prepared to prove it. We have already seen how magnificent were the equipments of Bishop Blomfield and Mr. Gladstone, the actual founders of the Association. We are more concerned, therefore, with the equipment and background of the thousand visitors who enrolled themselves in the Association's first year, and of the parochial clergy who were its local agents. In *Father and Son*, Sir Edmund Gosse has drawn an unforgettable picture of the strength of an evangelical faith in the forties and fifties of last century. Jowett, Master of Balliol, attributes no less spiritual strength to that faith in its pristine glory, although he held that it was shrivelling and decaying in his own lifetime. If possible, more interesting than Sir Edmund's description of his parents is his own belief that he is 'giving us a record of educational and religious conditions which, having passed away, will never return'. Despite his prediction, almost the whole of Europe has turned back already to seek peace in a revival of just that somewhat rigid, somewhat fanatical fervour which was the essence of the attitude of Gosse's parents. Doubtless the kind of Social Services which were appropriate to the kind of Englishman of whom William Ewart Gladstone and Philip Henry Gosse were, in their different ways, exemplars, were different from those appropriate to a man who believes himself to be a slightly modified monkey. But in days when Darwin's unverified hypothesis can at last safely be ignored—except, of course, by Presidents of the British Association for the

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

Advancement of Science¹—it is time to ask whether the principles of Social Service and training for Social Service which appealed to the stronger, braver, wholesomer pre-Darwinian generations are not the ones that we want again to-day.

III. *Philosophy in the Eighties*

For this period we must content ourselves with the following extracts from T. H. Green. No small part of our story has consisted of the efforts of C. S. Loch, Bernard Bosanquet, and their disciples to put his precepts into operation in Family Case-work in London.

Man is slow to recognize the divinity that is within himself. In his relation to the world he will find the spiritual somewhere, but cannot believe that it is the natural rightly understood. What is under his feet and between his hands is too cheap and trivial to be the mask of eternal beauty (p. 132).²

What he [Green] felt prompted to attempt was not a 'prophetic utterance that should pierce men's eyes with a sense of their sins, or kindle them by a picture of perfection, but the humbler though not less difficult task of showing them that in their everyday life and language there was a Power at work which, if they would follow its lead, would open out to them all the heights and depths of spiritual life' (p. 195).

We shall not understand the place of Parochial Service in the development of Social Service unless we indicate the links between it and a certain phase of liberal politics already illustrated by the close connexion between Mr. Gladstone, the M.V.R.A., and the C.O.S.

The objects to which Green's civic activity was chiefly directed may be summed up in the words in which he once

¹ Cf. address by Sir E. B. Poulton at Nottingham, September 1937.

² The references are to the pages of *Thomas Hill Green: a Memoir*, by R. L. Nettleship, Longmans, 1906. Green was Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, 1867-82.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

described his idea of a true liberal programme (1882) as 'the removal of all obstructions which the law can remove, to the free development of English citizens' (p. 183).

In 1881 he [Green] had said that 'the principle of true political freedom means power on the part of the citizens as a body to make the most and best of themselves, or—which is equivalent—to contribute equally to a common good, and freedom of contract, freedom in all the forms of doing what one will with one's own, is only valuable as a means to freedom in its positive sense' (p. 185).

[1882] 'If once the Liberal party loses anything of that religious spirit which has hitherto animated its most vigorous and self-sacrificing members, it will be a bad look-out for them' (p. 186).

As in religions, what most exercised his mind was the prevalent divorce between reason and faith, due, as he conceived, to a misunderstanding of both, and culminating in scepticism on the one side and superstition on the other; so what he saw with the greatest concern in current theories of conduct was the banishment of all higher aspirations to the region of fancy and sentiment, and the growing claims of natural science to occupy the ground thus left vacant by reason (p. 195).

Of the Reform Bill of 1868 he had said:

'The whole nation wins by a measure which makes us for the first time one people. We who were reformers from the beginning always said that the enfranchisement of the people was an end in itself. We said, and we were much derided for saying so, that citizenship only makes the moral man; that citizenship only gives that self-respect which is the true basis of respect for others and without which there is no lasting social order or real morality' (p. 170).

Of Green's pupil and biographer, R. L. Nettleship, A. C. Bradley wrote:

Feeling intensely the unity of experience and the presence of the whole in every part, he was comparatively little interested in dwelling on the connexion of the parts, or in demonstrating that the aims of artist, philanthropist, and philosopher are ultimate one, while he felt that the way for a man to realize his whole self was to throw his whole heart into each thing that

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

touched him, and to make of each thing all that it was capable of being.¹

Loch and Bosanquet in partnership utilized the next thirty-five years to see whether, through the medium of such agencies as the C.O.S., the M.V.R.A., and the S.R.D. (they regarded them as a triple alliance) they could not realize the dream of their teacher cut off in his prime.² We cannot help wondering whether, if T. H. Green—who died in 1882 at the age of forty-six—had been spared to the world as long as Lord Passfield and Mrs. Webb, the development of British Social Services might not have proceeded on appreciably different lines.

IV. *Pronouncements in 1936-7*

The revival of that type of applied Christianity which we call Parochial Service, which centres round T. H. Green and 1880, is being repeated with meticulous faithfulness in 1936-7. Dr. Jessie Taft's translations of Otto Rank were just in time for the Third International Conference on Social Work held in London, July 1936. The outstanding feature of that Conference was the intensity with which speakers from countries greatly varying in circumstances emphasized the necessity for a return to much more personal service, and much more strengthening of the individual soul. Most eloquent of these was Ferencz Rajniss, a member of the Hungarian Parliament. Not far behind him came M. Veillard, from Switzerland, Mr. Roze-
mond from Holland, Fräulein Ilse von Arlt from Vienna, and Dr. Wilhelm Polligkeit, the veteran leader of German Social Service. Gösta Bagge, a member of the Swedish Parliament, unable to be present, reiterated a similar message through the post.

¹ *Philosophical Remains of R. L. Nettleship*, Macmillan, 1901, p. xlv.

² Nettleship had similar plans, but teaching work kept him at Oxford till the end of his short life. Born 1846; died 1893.

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

Two other friends whose duties prevented their attendance—the Hon. David C. Adie, the outstanding figure in Social Service in the State of New York, and Karl de Schweinitz, who holds a similar position in the State of Pennsylvania—have said, and also shown in the programmes they have put forward for acceptance by those States, the paramount importance they attach to case-work, and the personal and parochial aspects of the Social Services. ‘The success of the new measures’, says Mr. Adie, ‘depends upon the extent to which we can permeate them with the case-work method.’

Reverting to Dr. Taft, what she brings out is the conversion of Otto Rank from a Freudian determinist to a champion of personal responsibility in terms which Green, Bosanquet, and Loch would have been glad to accept as definitions of their own position.

v. *The Ninth Adam*

This Adam,¹ this rediscovery of humanity, not by a poet or an artist, not by a school of poetry nor by a school of art, but, simultaneously, by two great, numerous, and powerful professions, one—medicine—very old, and the other—the Departmental Chiefs of the Public Social Services—a brand-new one, is likely to prove one of the great moments in history. The analogous case which first occurs to us is the conversion, focused round about A.D. 1000, of the ferocious savages, Chazars, Franks, Norsemen, &c., who had in succession smashed to pieces the Seventh Civilization.² There

¹ In Genesis, the Hebrew, Ha Āthām, is ‘man as such’, the concept of man, precisely that emphasis upon ‘wholeness’ upon which so much stress is being laid to-day. The rediscovery of the concept has doubtless been the mainspring by which the Holy Spirit has urged humanity up to the heights of each of its eight civilizations.

² The reference is to the enumeration of civilizations of Sir Flinders Petrie, not to that of Oswald Spengler.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

had been many heroic rebuilders before Canute saw the light; there were no very effective demolishers after that. (The Turk, in the noonday of his efficiency, we regard not as a destroyer but as a great builder, like his cousins, Genghis Khan, Kubla Khan, Timur, Akbar, and Nur Hatchu.)

Canute discovered that when you have made yourself irresistibly efficient by land and sea you have not finished, as his predecessors had thought; you have barely begun; your achievement has not done very much more than reveal to you the magnitude of your true task.

The Eighth Civilization, which commenced with Canute, could not develop until it had recruited and trained an adequate body of professional men and women, the 'professed' of both sexes of the Middle Ages. They combined the four modern professional functions of law and administration, medicine, learning and teaching, and the ministration of the Word (the spiritual interpretation of life) and its symbols, the sacraments. Although the device of collegiate life, the religious houses, of which Oxford and Cambridge alone preserve for us any survivals, played a vital and indispensable part in constructing the Eighth Civilization, we, in this book, are especially concerned to cherish the memory of the part played by the parish and the parish priest.

The destruction of practically all of those colleges in the sixteenth century was naturally followed—as George Bernard Shaw brings out in *Saint Joan*—by an extensive disappearance of unity, alike in thought and in professional technique. Descartes and Hobbes will serve us as 'house-breakers' here, because, in the very act of demolition, they both pointed forward to the precise reconstruction a factor in which it is our privilege here to describe. The former is generally held

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

responsible for the division of mind and body which almost the entire medical profession is now busily striving to rescind; the latter for wrenching public administration out of that integration with the living social fabric which the British Civil Service is seeking wistfully to restore.

Reverting for a moment to the analogy with Canute, it was the efficiency of his fleet and armies that revealed to him further and loftier objectives. So is it the efficiency of all that great range of 'sciences', and of departments, of medical schools, of hospitals, of clinics, of medical units, of health centres, &c., which has revealed the need for the present great campaign on behalf of the whole patient rather than the diseased organ or defective function. Similarly, it was when the great army of Civil Servants—not less than sixty divisions—had really got into its stride in the administration of £600 millions worth of Social Service annually—twopence in every shilling of the national dividend—that it discovered the needs of, reported and planned methods of dealing with, the whole man and whole family in their entire setting; rather than in watertight compartments as infant, toddler, school-child, adolescent, sick (physically or mentally), blind, deaf, delinquent, homeless, improperly housed, unemployed, widowed, or aged person.

Now, it is no derogation from the greatness of the services rendered either by applied science or by the Civil Service to compare them to the invasions which smashed the Seventh Civilization, and for two reasons:

(1) Both inexorably demand the breaking up of the human unities, otherwise they cannot function.

(2) An important section of those who applied them to human affairs definitely regarded the human unities as outworn superstitions. For both reasons, the situation created affords a splendid opportunity for a

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

parochial clergy who shall be technicians in wholeness, in the creation and fostering of the human unities.

That the Ninth Adam is arriving, no one can doubt. Here we ask ourselves what parts, if any, Clerks in Holy Orders will play in bringing in that Ninth Adam. We have endeavoured in this book, in a very homely way, to indicate one of them. We picture doctor and Civil Servant alike saying, 'Padre, of course I ought to concentrate upon A (or the B family, as the case may be) for a long time, if I am to make a job of him, but I simply haven't time. I look to you to do it.' Now these men and women are professionals. The clergy must therefore play their part of contributing the factor of wholeness at not less than professional levels, and they must be picked and equipped accordingly. The clergy will be enormously helped and enormously hindered by the continuity of human affairs. A great cloud of witnesses in stone, glass, pictures, music, and books remind them of the dead heroes and saints in whose steps they are treading, but a great host of living contemporaries will constantly thwart them, saying, 'Oh, no! *That* is not the parson's job!' because they happen to have the habit of regarding parsons not at all as the experts in wholeness required as coadjutors and counterparts of the medical, teaching, legal, social, and administrative services.

When we say that the medical profession and the Civil Service are rediscovering humanity and ushering in the Ninth Adam, we do not wish to imply that the clergy are not taking their share. As Archdeacon Hunter says so well, 'If the small organism of the Church is to generate power to break the tyranny of the big machine and convert Britain again to Christ, it must have the best possible organization: no wasted power; no grit in the wheels. The parson who guides it has to be a man among men, a man of faith,

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

intelligence, and large humanity, with the best possible technique in his craft; finely trained to work off a big handicap in a long race. . . . The devil of secularism that the modern world has raised up to its own torment will not be ejected *primarily* by good committee work and well-drawn programmes, but by a new apostolate of Jesus Christ working through a renewed, rekindled Church.¹

The Archdeacon has managed to include in his vigorous and eloquent book several references (cf. pp. 179, 189, 191, and 219) to the subjects which occupy the whole of this volume. The opinions he expresses appear to be in close agreement with ours. We believe the same may be said of Bishop Neville Talbot's *Great Issues*² (cf. p. 150), as it is emphatically of Canon Peter Green's *Christian Man*³ (cf. p. 196) and of the Rev. A. G. Herbert's *Liturgy and Society*⁴ (cf., e.g., pp. 8, 14, 27-42, esp. pp. 40 (and 108, 153, 189)—where, like us, he goes back to 1850 and F. D. Maurice to find the statement of principle he wants—113, 191-203, esp. 198). The same applies to Canon Quick's *Gospel of Divine Action*, 1933 (cf., e.g., p. 23 and following). We believe that our teachers, Jowett, Green, Loch, Bosanquet, Nettleship, would all have read with great appreciation Lecture XIX, 'The Sacramental Universe', in Archbishop Temple's *Nature, Man, and God*, 1935 (cf. esp. pp. 487, 490, discussion of Dialectic Materialism). We venture to think that from our particular, perhaps narrow, angle of approach we have obeyed the injunction of the Dean of St. Paul's: 'The labour of religious thinking is not the exclusive office

¹ *A Parson's Job*, p. 18, and repeated on p. 135; pub. by the Student Christian Movement, 1931.

² S.P.C.K., 1936.

³ Hodder & Stoughton, 1937.

⁴ Faber & Faber, 1935.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

of the expert theologian; it is a work in which all Christians have their part—for the mind of the Church is not that of the learned few, but the corporate thinking of all believers' (*The Christian Faith*, 1936, p. vii; cf. also pp. 79–93). Other recent books which have helped to clarify our thought are *Time and Eternity in Christian Thought*, by F. H. Brabant, 1937; *Psychology and God*, by L. W. Grensted, 1930; *Science, Religion, and Reality*, the Sheldon Press, 1925, esp. the articles 'Magic, Science, and Religion', by Professor Malinowski, and 'Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century', by Antonio Aliotta.

VI. *Towards a Definition of our Idea*

In each of the successive attempts to set out our thesis of which this book consists we have found it extraordinarily hard to put into words our central thought. But we hope that the following fragments, gleaned here and there from those contemporary writers who have helped us most, may help to supply this deficiency. Religion, as we see it, is expressed, especially for the toiling millions, not in words, but in life, in loyal and loving affection, in courageous and honourable action, in cheerful and steadfast endurance, and in worshipful contemplation.

Extracts from an article by Professor W. G. de Burgh on 'Bergson', appearing in *Laudate* for June 1937:

Bergson states that religion in its primitive forms is 'a defensive reaction of nature against the dissolved power of intelligence' (p. 78).

He adds: 'Religion is less a fear than a reaction against fear' (p. 79).

Static and outer religion was designed to ward off the dangers to which intelligence might expose men (p. 80).

Replying to the question, 'How is it that man is enabled to return, by individual effort, to the primal stream of life?' Bergson answers, 'Not through intelligence, at least not

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

through intelligence alone . . . intelligence would be more likely to proceed in the opposite direction. . . . But we know that all around intelligence there lingers still a fringe of intuition, vague and evanescent. Can we not fasten upon it, intensify it, and, above all, consummate it in action? For it has become pure contemplation only through a weakening in its principle, and, if we may put it so, by an abstraction practised on its own substance.' Such is the way of the mystic, the rare soul privileged to revert in love to the well-spring of love and life, to the absolute energy of creation, that pours forth of its abundance in the *élan vital*—in other words, to God. Drawing thus on God's life and love through mystic union, he reflects in his own activity the diffusive quality of his inspiration: 'through God, in the strength of God, he loves all mankind with a divine love'. He shares to the full in the divine intention, 'fulfilling'—in the words with which Bergson closes his book—'even on this refractory planet, the essential function of the universe, which is a machine for the making of gods' (*une machine à faire des dieux*) (p. 80).

Bergson requires of complete mysticism a progress beyond the contemplative vision to a higher state of union of man's will with the divine. 'It'—i.e. the mystic soul—'had even been united with God in its ecstasy; but none of this rapture was lasting, because it was mere contemplation; action threw the soul back upon itself and thus divorced it from God. *Now* it is God who is acting through the soul, in the soul; the union is total, therefore final' (p. 82).

Extract from article by the Rev. Ivan R. Young on 'Von Hügel: A Survey of Three Recent Works', appearing in *Laudate* for June 1937, p. 88:

It is true that von Hügel distrusted systems, the craze for clarity and neat rounding off. The merely abstract operations of the intellect when divorced from life—for life is more than system—left him cold.

In *Mirage and Truth*¹ Father D'Arcy quotes these words from *The Fountain*, by Charles Morgan:

¹ By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., published by the Centenary Press, 1935, price 6s., p. 204.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

'Pressing upon him was the thought that, though the contemplative life was rare, the contemplative desire was universal, being, in the spirit, what the sexual desire is in the flesh, the prime mover of mankind' (p. 34).

He goes on himself:

In considering ideals we have always to bear in mind the dumb, suffering people: reviled and outcast, yet pure and splendid and faithful (p. 37).

It is too awful a thought that the full story of the countless millions of men should be that 'they have lived in darkness, that there has been no escape for them from the cage of personal vanities and interests, no outlook, no background, no beauty, no joy, and that they have rotted in communionless selfishness' (p. 42).

After some extracts from *The Prison*, by Brewster, he comments:

What, then, the Prisoner is thinking of are those moments of experience which interrupt the mechanism which fabricates the idea we have of ourselves and of a world distinct from us and around us. That is part of life and experience, but it does not exhaust them. All the 'wonderful co-ordination of instincts within the individual, and of thoughts within systems, and of men within communities, only registers half the wealth of life', and they are unable also to touch and desecrate those sacred revelations which steal upon us, which belong to every creature and make him participate in the glory of the eternal (p. 47).

And again:

The Prisoner wants the very best and will not be content with any view which is partial, which does not explore the highest dreams and conceptions of which man is capable, and at the same time he is wise and generous enough to demand that what he offers must be within the reach of everybody, the toiling, suffering people as well as the connoisseurs in beauty. He objects to the orthodox theism and Christianity because they do not seem to give him the unity for which he is searching. Religion as expressed in Christianity appears to him to be

THEOLOGY AND PAROCHIAL SERVICE

one among a number of other interests which make up human life; it is not all-inclusive; it is one of those everyday experiences on a level in kind, if not in degree, with morality, science, and business (p. 48).

In *The Inward Vision* (1934), Father R. H. J. Stewart, S.J., writes (p. 45):

Considered by himself as a being who should be able, without involving any other being, to give a full satisfying account of himself, man is a failure. There are puzzles enough in nature, and we are still far from being able to fit a sufficing explanation to all of even the commonest objects that surround us, though science daily discloses more and more of the secrets of the world and throws an ever more penetrating and revealing light upon them. But man, studied by the methods which prove so successful when applied to the rest of creation, stubbornly refuses to be explained. He comes under many categories, but under none of them completely; he partakes of many natures, but transcends them all; and those who claim to have fixed him for good into his place tacitly confess by their restlessness about their results, and by their ever-renewed and never-ending restatements of their conclusions, that, in fact, they have done no such thing. While stoutly denying its existence, they none the less unmistakably, even if unwittingly, affirm the presence in him of an element which eludes classification and definition, a factor for which, in spite of themselves, they are obliged to make wide allowances in all their calculations. When they have catalogued all his actuating motives, traced his impulses to their source, analysed his sensations and fears and hopes, and allocated them to their respective origins, he yet as an individual escapes them. The explorations which seemed so exhaustive in the laboratory are proved inadequate when tested in the open air, and it is well-nigh impossible to believe that even the most dogmatic student of human nature can really feel satisfied that he has left nothing unexplained or unaccounted for when he has finished with it.

W. H. Hudson, in *A Shepherd's Life* (1910), p. 24, writes:

That greater place we have been in, that mighty, monstrous London, is ever present to the mind, and is like a mist before

SOCIAL WORK OF THE LONDON CHURCHES

the sight when we look at other places ; but for me there is no such mist, no image so immense and persistent as to cover and obscure all others, and no such mental habit as that of regarding people as a mere crowd, a mass, a monstrous organism, in and on which each individual is but a cell, a scale. This feeling troubles and confuses my mind when I am in London, where we live 'too thick', but quitting it I am absolutely free ; it has not entered my soul or coloured me with its colour or shut me out from those who have never known it, even of the simplest dwellers on the soil who, to our sophisticated minds, may seem like beings of another species.

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perusal of which seems to justify the notion that, contrary to many powerful indications, Parochial Service may yet supply a social need in the later twentieth century.

This short list is designed to serve two purposes, viz.:

(1) To indicate what support there is for the book's defence of Parochial Service.

(2) To supply a convenient bibliography for the use of Parochial Workers in 1938.

It is not contended that all the official documents of the Public Social Services suggest this with equal force, but all must be studied in order to understand the relation between those services and Parochial Service. They are all obtainable from H.M. Stationery Office or from Messrs. P. S. King & Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster. Most of the works in this list can be borrowed from the library of the Charity Organization Society, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1 (close to Victoria Station).

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INDEX

- Äbru*, 44
 Academy, Plato's, 100
 Acids of Modernity, 26, 41, 112
 Acworth, Captain Bernard, R.N., 120
 Adie, Hon. David C., 265
 Adjudicating Officer, 67
 Adler, Alfred, 202
 Adolescence, 24, 37, 40
 Agnosticism, 2, 254. *See* Materialism
 Alfred, King, 13, 69, 123, 152, 197
 Anglo-Saxons, 66, 123, 152
 Appleton, Mr. W. A., 43, 49
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 113
 Aristophanes, the *Knights* of, xii, 213, 218
 Aristotle, 90, 93-4, 100, 103, 202, 253
 Arlt, Ilse von, 233, 264
 Arnold, M., 152, 169, 209, 259
 Ars, d', the Curé, 156, 230
 Assistance, Mutual Registration of, 55
 Athens, Periclean, 50, 218
 Attlee, Mr. Clement, 133

Backward Child, The, by Professor Cyril Burt, 21, 70
 Bagge, Professor Gösta, 264
 Bailey, Dr. Cyril, 87, 234
 Bailward, W. A., 214
 Bakke, E. W., 120
 Balliol College, Oxford, 87, 114, 169
 Balzac, 16
 Band of Hope, 40
 Barnett, Canon S. A., 190
 Barrie, Sir James, 100
 Bartley, Sir G. C. T., report by (1870), 187
Beauchamp's Career, 14, 188
 Becontree, removals from, 62

 Bell, V. A., 37
 Bellamy, E., *Looking Backward*, 174, 176, 210
 Belloc, H., 258
 Bentham, Jeremy, 16, 87, 125
 Bergson, 270
 Bible, the, 103
 Black Death, the, 123
 Blacker, *A Social Problem Group?* 16, 18
 Blake, William, 100
 Blatchford, R., *Merrie England*, 174, 210
 Blight, Mr. E. C., 69
 Blind, National Institute for the, 74
 Blindness, Report on Prevention of, 74
 Blomfield, C. J., Bishop of London, 32, 69, 144, 150, 164, 179, 188, 196
 Board of Control, 72
 Bosanquet, Bernard, 63, 87, 102, 112, 149, 169, 247, 264
 Bosanquet, C. P., 150
 Bosanquet, Helen, 146
 Bosco, St. Jean, 230
 Brackenbury, Sir H., 96, 139
 Brackett, Mr. J., 211
 'Breaking-up' the Social Services, 71, 185
 Brewster, H. B., 272
 Bridges, Robert, 100, 231
 British Association (1937), 129
 British Broadcasting Corporation, 148, 184
British Medical Journal, 21
 Bronner, Augusta, 82, 154
 Brown, Sir W. L., 96
 Browning, E. B., 12, 260
 Browning, R., 113, 260; *The Ring and the Book*, 15, 100
 Bruno, Professor F. J., 115, 237
 Brynmawr, 42, 57, 104

INDEX

- Building Research, Central Council for, 24
 Burns, Robert, 253
 Burt, Professor Cyril, 21, 42, 71, 82, 99, 139, 153
 Bushell, W. D., 169
 Buzzard, Sir F., 96

 CAESAR, JULIUS, 50, 218
 Cambridge University, 169
 Cameron, Miss Alice, 42
 Cameron, Rev. W. G., 227
 Canada, Social Service in, 143*n*.
 Caradog Jones, Professor, 219
 Carlyle, Thomas, 107
 Cathcart, Dr. E. P., 21
 Catherine of Siena, St., xii, 3, 19, 90
 Cattell, Dr. R. B., 129
 Chadwick, Edwin, 66, 87, 139, 178, 187, 214
 Chalmers, Thomas, 100, 141, 167, 183, 197, 201, 260
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 130, 144
 Charities, *Digest of*, 151, 194
 Charity and Social Life, 221
 Charity Organization Quarterly, 189-90, 194, 259
 Charity Organization Society, the clergy and, 102, 240, 244; first members, 188; Gladstone and, 93, 100, 102, 188, 202, 211; guiding principle, 93; history of, 146; and London parishes, 171, 209; and mothers, 20, 27; publications, 151, 259; and religion, 98, 100; and the unemployed, 50; and urban life, 209
 Chaucer, xi, 100
 Child, the, 30-6; the backward, 70-3
 Child Welfare, 225, 227
 Childbirth, 27-9
 Children and Young Persons Acts (1933-4), 81, 121
 Children's Play Centres, 40
 Chinese, 44, 113, 230
 Cholera epidemic (1849), 199
 Christendom, 119
 Church of England, the, 89, 96, 99, 109, 180, 201
 Church workers, 91, 99, 102
 Cicero, 100, 217
 Civil Service, the, 103, 113, 229, 237
 Clarke-Hall, W., 81-2
 Cleveland, Ohio, 80
 Clothing Clubs, 182, 208
 Cobb, Sir C., 228
 Communism, 95, 110
Compass, The, 105
 Confucius, 86, 100
 Convalescent Homes, 208
 Cripples, Central Council for the Care of, 73
 Cripps, Sir S., 51
 Crossman, Mr. R. H. S., 119
 Crowder, Augustus George, 189, 214

Daily News CENSUS OF RELIGION, 109
 Darwin. See Materialism
 Davy, J. S., 219
Day Nursery Journal, 30
 Deaf, the, 74
 Deedes, Sir W., 5, 63
 Defoe, 100, 214
 Delinquency, 42, 80-4; juvenile, 83
 Denison, Edward, and the M.V.R.A., 102, 165, 188, 194, 211, 227, 247
 Descartes, 125
 Destitute, Society for the Relief of, the, 206
 Dickens, 12, 15, 17, 116, 136, 205, 215, 260
Dietary Survey, 21
 Disraeli, 187
 Distress, relief of, 27, 98, 167, 190, 194, 206, 209, 222, 226-7
 District Visiting Societies, 190, 192
 Dolling, R. R., 27, 38, 144, 173, 239
 Doctors, 96; and priests, 22, 65, 77, 79, 81, 97, 99, 111, 185, 243, 255, 268

INDEX

- Donaldson, St. Clair, Bishop of Salisbury, 38, 75, 109, 239
Duff, Miss Audrey, 225
Duhamel, G., 112, 176
- EADY, MR. W., 223
Eason, Dr. H. L., 128
Eddington, Sir A., 259
Education, Act (1870), 187; Board of, 108, 110, 184; Provision of Meals Act (1906), 34
Edward III, 69
Einstein, 259
Eliot, George, 25, 45
Elizabeth, Queen, 123
Elliott, Miss, of Wapping, 137
Ellis, Captain L. F., 110, 234
Elman, Dr., 34
'Endless Adventure of Governing Men', 62, 133
Ensor, R. C. K., 187-8
Ephesus, 50
Epileptics, 23-4, 73
Eton Mission, 38, 101
Evangelicalism, 213, 261
Evolution and Redemption, by H. P. Newsholme, 96
Eyre, Douglas, 38
- FABIANS, 113, 133, 174, 210
Family Case-work, 19, 23, 41, 62, 67, 68, 74, 88, 100, 102, 133, 145, 167, 210, 242; in North America, 111
Faning, Dr. Lewis, 50
Farquhar, Sir Walter, 164, 188
Fascisti, 75
Fielding, Henry, 100, 167
Findlay, Dr. Leonard, 21
Frazer, Sir James, 210
Freud, Sigmund, 124, 139, 257
- 'GAPS' AND 'COVER', 126
Gardiner, A. Dunn, and Rose, 190-1
Gardiner, Canon Thory Gage, 18, 27, 36, 224, 227
General practitioner, the, 65
George, Mr. D. Lloyd, 133
Germany, Nazi, 18, 75
Ghent, 50
Gide, André, 15
Gilbert, Sir J., 228
Gladstone, W. E., his diaries, 7, 164, 200; and Dickens, 205*n.*; and elementary education, 32; and the M.V.R.A., 7, 93, 97-8, 101-2, 188, 200-2, 211, 261; and the parochial idea, 125, 138, 141, 144; and the Poor Law, 69, 142
Glenn, John M. and Mrs., 211
Gloucester, Dr. A. C. Headlam, Bishop of, 138
Goethe, 184
Goodwill Workrooms, 207
Gosse, Sir Edmund, 261
Gracchi, 50
Gray, Dr. A. C., 225
Great Britain, 103-4, 118
Gregory, St., the Great, 13, 54, 197
Green, T. H., and Balliol, 87, 114, 169; extracts from, 262; his influence, 172, 229; and C. S. Loch, 7, 98, 112, 144; and neighbourly service, 3, 63
Grenville, Thomas, 198
Groos, de, 239
- HAECKEL, 217
Haldane, Very Rev. J. B., 8, 194*n.*, 195
Haldane, Professor J. S., 259
Halévy, Élie, 16
Halifax, Lord, 82
Hall, Stanley, 37
Hardy, Rev. G. H., 144
Harford, Miss M. L., 3
Harris Committee, 80, 84, 97, 177, 254
Harrow, influence of, 169
Headlam, Dr. A. C., Bishop of Gloucester, 138
Headlam, Stewart, 126
Health, Disease, and Integration, 96
Health, Ministry of, 28, 57, 73, 107
Health Society, National, 207

INDEX

- Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta, 82, 139, 154, 202*n*.
 Henriques, Captain Basil L. Q., 3, 27, 37-8, 238
 Herbert, Miss Edith, 225
 Hewart, Lord, 82
 Hill, Octavia, 64
 Hindu, 47
 Home Office, 38, 78, 83, 99, 107-8
 Homer, 253, 256
 Hood, Thomas, 12
 Hooker, Richard, 100, 113
 Honorius, Archbishop, 123
 Horder, Lord, 96
Hospital Magazine (Australia), 105
Hospital, The (Great Britain), 128
 Hotson, Sir E., 121
 Houseless Poor Society, 165
 Housing, 64; Acts, 24, 57, 61, 94, 178, 229; estates, 178
Howard Journal, 83
 Hudson, W. H., 45, 117, 273
 Hügel, Baron F. von, 271
 Hugo, Victor, 29
 Human Relationships, 100; Institute of, 82
 Hume, David, 125
 Hunter, Archdeacon, 269
 Huxley, T. H. *See* Materialism
- IKIN, *Background of Spiritual Healing*, 79
 Impersonal Social Service, 133, 228
 Incurables, Homes for, 207
 Industrial Assurance, 105
 Industrial Health Research Board Reports, 49
 Industrial misfits, 49
 Infant Welfare, 225
 Inglis, Sir Robert, 164, 188, 199
 Ingram, A. F. W., Bishop of London, 8
 Inter-Diocesan Board of Women's Work, 223
 Invalid Children's Aid Association, 73, 240
 Iselin, Rev. H., 18, 36, 224, 227
'izzat, 44
- JACKS, DR. L. P., 107
 James, William, 251
 Japan, 76, 173
 Jaspers, K., 112
 Jeans, Sir James, 129, 212
 Jennings, Miss Hilda, 42, 57
 Jeremiah, 124
 John of the Cross, St., 202
 Jones, Lady, 225
 Jowett, Benjamin, and Balliol, 87, 169, 196, 211; and evangelicalism, 261; and Parochial Service, 87, 98, 112, 114, 144
 Junior Instruction Centres, 37, 48
 Junior Men's Institutes with Social Bias, 40
 Jung, Carl, 112, 124, 139, 257
 Justinian, 252
 Juvenile employment, 49
 Juvenile Organizations Committees ('J.O.C.'), 38
 Juvenile offenders in London, 84
- KELHAM, 249
 Keilly, Miss Elsie, 9
 Kelly, Miss Elizabeth, 81
 Krutch, *The Modern Temper*, 112
- LANG, DR. C. G., ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 250, 252
 Labour, Ministry of, 48, 104, 110; *Gazette*, 49
Labour Research, 119
 Lansbury, Mr. George, 114-15, 221
 Lawley, Rev. A. G. (Lord Wenlock), 27, 38, 101, 160, 239
 Layton, Dr. F. G., 65
 Lee, Porter Raymond, 3
 Levisky, in *Christianity and the Social Revolution*, 95
 Liddbetter Pedigrees, 16-18
 Lippmann, Walter, 112
 Lloyd, Captain T. E., 182
 Local Government Board, 209
 Loch, Sir Charles Stewart, 211-20; other mentions, 7, 87, 98, 100, 102, 112, 144, 169, 191, 247; diary of, 1876-88, 214

INDEX

- London, Bishop (Ingram) of, 8
 London, population of, 235
 Longley, Inspector, 219
 Lovat Report, 57
Love on the Dole, 120
 Lowder, Rev. Charles, 135
 Lowell, Josephine, 211
- McCANCE AND WIDOWSON, DRs.,
 21*n*.
 McCleary, *Maternity and Child
 Welfare Movement*, 30
 Mackenzie, Sir James, 243
 Mackenzie Institute, St. Andrews,
 13, 106
 Maeterlinck, 144
 Malcolm Report, 31, 40
 Malraux, André, 176
 Mapother, Dr. Edward, 75, 107
 Marett, Dr. R. R., anthropology,
 27, 97, 248; and Balliol, 87,
 213; *Head, Heart, and Hands*,
 213, 239; on neighbourly
 service, 195; and the parish
 priest, 27
 Martin, Inspector, 17-20, 26, 29
 Marxists, 113
 Masarykova, Dr. Alice, 74
Massbehandlung, 221
 Materialism, 2, 7, 26, 113-15, 125,
 129, 131, 169, 172, 185, 204,
 212, 214, 247, 253
 Maternal Mortality, 27, 96, 112,
 177, 254
 Maternity and Child Welfare, 24,
 227
 Matrimonial Causes Act (1937),
 84
 Maudsley Hospital, Report, 75-9
 Maurice, F. D., 205, 207, 260
 Maurois, André, 26, 29
 'Means Test Man,' 53
 Medical profession. *See* Doctors
 Medical Research Council, Re-
 ports, 21, 49
 Mellanby, Mrs., 36
 Mental Deficiency Act (1913), 71;
 Wood Report on, *in.*, 3, 16-17
 Mental Welfare, Central Associa-
 tion for, 79
 Mentally afflicted, the, 74-80
 Mentally Defective, London Asso-
 ciation for Care of, 71-2
Mental Welfare, 79
 Menzies, Sir F. K., 34
 Meredith, *Beauchamp's Career*, 14-
 16, 188
 Merthyr Tydvil, 57
 Metropolitan Visiting and Relief
 Association, ix, x
 Metters, E. J., 38
 Miller, Dr. H. Crichton, 80
 Milnes, Miss Nora, 120
 Milton, 100, 113
 Mission Women's Society, Paro-
 chial, 208
 More, Sir Thomas, 113
 Morgan, Dr. G. H., 37
 Morley, John, Lord, 200
 Morris, Mr. H. P., 165
 Morris, William, 174, 210
 Morrison Report, 69, 177
 Morton, Miss T. M., 8, 31, 226
 Moses, 25
 Mosley, Dr., Bishop of Southwell,
 vii, 8, 101, 242
Mother and Child, 30
 Mothers, *in.*, 20-9, 65
 Mothers' Meetings, 208
 Murray, Dr., 21
 Mutual Registration of Assistance,
 55
 Myres, Professor J. L., on Saving,
 64
- NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE AR-
 REARS REGULATIONS (1937),
 119
 National Society, 197
Nation's Appeal to the Housewife, 20,
 41
 Nazi Germany, 18, 75
 Nettleship, R. L., and Balliol, 87,
 114, 169, 173; A. C. Bradley
 on, 145, 263; and the Paro-
 chial Idea, 63, 112, 144-5;
 172; his religion, 145

INDEX

- New Beacon, The*, 74
New Generation, The, 24
 New York, 80, 103, 236; Presbyterian Hospital, 153; School of Social Work, 3
 Newsholme, Sir A., 139
 Newsholme, Dr. H. P., 96
 Norman, H. E., 80n.
 Norman, R. C., 5
 North America, 80
 Nunn, T. H., 63
 Nutrition, 21, 33-4, 37, 178
- OCCUPATION CENTRES, 47
 O.G.P.U., 75
 Old Age Pensions, 59, 62; Acts, 58-61, 94, 119, 134, 182
 Ordinands, 88, 170, 193, 241
et seq.
 Orr, Sir John, 36
 Otto, Rudolph, 2, 156
 Oxford Group Movement, 98, 162
 Oxford House, 38, 242
- PAGET, BISHOPS FRANCIS AND LUKE, 239
 Paget, Mrs., 25
 Parish priest, and case-work, 143; Chaucer's, xi, 11; other ideal priests, 239; and cure of souls, 160-2; discipline of, 3, 243; and the doctor, 65-6; 'a patient ear,' 76-7, 106; his job, 49, 228, 241, 244, 251, 268-9; long incumbencies, 137, 181; ostracism of, 32, 109, 184; technical equipment, 99, 243
Parochial Critic, 150, 188, 194
Parochial Idea, 48, 85, 113, 145, 169, 172
Parochial maps, 180
Parochial Service, *passim*
Parochial Worker, 13, 37, 41, 50, 62, 67, 117
 'Parson chap,' the, 45, 51, 56, 59, 66, 77, 81, 155, 242, 248
 Parson J.P.s, 58, 124
 Passfield, Lord. *See* Webb
- Pasteur, Louis, 259
 Paton, Dr. Noel, 21, 139
 Paul, St., 50
 Peckham, Pioneer Health Centre, 13
 Peel, Sir R., 199, 203
Penal Reformer, 83
 Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance, 216
 Penny Banks, 182, 189
 P.E.P., 93, 131, 147
 Personal Hygiene Scheme, 33
 Petre Williams Commission, 59, 236
 Petrie, Sir Flinders, 25, 265
 Philadelphia, 80, 103, 106, 169, 216, 236
 Physical Training, Central Council for Recreative, 205; and National Advisory Council, 40
 Physical Training and Recreation Act (1937), 39n., 40
 Picton-Morris, Mr. Herbert, 165
 Pigou, Professor A. C., 105
 Planning, 93, 131
 Plato, 90, 103, 111, 228
 Polligkeit, Dr. W., 264
 Pollock, Rev. H. A., 18, 239
 Poor Law, 41, 60, 66-9, 127-8, 142, 150-1; Act (1834), 187; Report (1834), 66; Morrison Report (1934), 69, 177; Royal Commission on (1906-9), 62-3, 92, 122, 171, 215; Schools, 209; and widows and aged, 58-61
 Poor, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the, 80
 Poplar, 34, 66
Positive Christianity in the Third Reich, 217
 Poulton, Sir E. B., 25-6, 262
 Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth (Scotland) Report (1926), 21
Prevention and Relief of Distress, The, 27, 194
 Price, E. C., 214
 Prisoners, Employment of, 81

INDEX

- Pritchard, Dr. Eric, 24
Probation, 83
Probation, Handbook of, The, 80
 Probation, Harris Report on, 254
 Probation Officers, 83, 245;
 National Association of, 80
 Proust, 26
 Psychiatry, 76-80, 88, 97, 110-11,
 177, 185, 237
 Public Assistance, 69, 94, 134,
 177, 230
 Public Social Services, 4-76 *pas-*
 sim, 115, 120, 123, 147, 153,
 171, 196, 200, 240, 265

 RAJNISS, FERENCZ, M.P. (Hun-
 gary), 264
 'Raiders', 125
 Rank, Otto, 124, 155, 203
 Ray Report, 57
 Recreation and Physical Training,
 Central Council for, 205
 Reformatories, 39
 Reade, Charles, 16, 45
 Rees, Dr. J. D., 177
 Rehabilitation of Persons Injured
 by Accidents, Committee on,
 104
 Relieving Officer, 66-9, 53, 184
 Religion, 94, 159
 Rent Restrictions Acts, 178
 Reynolds, B. J., 83
 Rheumatism Scheme, 35
 Richmond, Mary, 86, 102, 211
 Rosebery, Lord, 220
 Rostand, 106, 124
 Roumanian Bulletin of Health, 13
 Rushcliffe, Lord, 104, 127
 Russell, C. E. B., 39
 Russell, Earl, 24
 Russia, 76, 95

 SALVATION ARMY, THE, 19
 Sanitary Inspectors, 18
 Saunderson, R., 227
 Saving, 158; and Parochial Ser-
 vice, 64
 Savings Banks, Collecting, 182-3;
 Post Office, 189

 School Care Committees, 2, 31-2,
 36, 50, 110, 225-8, 240
 School Medical Officer, 32, 94
 Schoolmen, the, 100, 228
 Schools of Social Work, 103, 236
 Schweinitz, Karl de, 265
 Scott, Peter, 42, 104
 Scott, Sir W., 25, 260
 Scottish Health Services, 66, 139,
 177, 243, 254
 Senior, Nassau W., 197
 Shakespeare, 100, 114
 Shaw, Bernard, 247, 266
 Shrubsall, Dr. F., 18
 Sierra, Martinez, 65
 Slums, 17-20, 26-9
 Smith, Sir G. Adam, 124
 Smith, Zilpah, 211
 Social Hygiene Congress, 121
 Spiritual Healing. *See* Psychiatry
 Snowden, Viscount, 53
 Social Democratic Federation,
 174
 Social Problem Group, 16-18, 23,
 73, 79
 Social Service, National Council
 of, 48, 148, 234
 Social Science Association, 205
 Social Work, Third International
 Conference, 259, 264
Social Work Year Book, 237
 Socialist League, 174
 Southwell, Bishop of, vii, 8, 101,
 242
 Soviet Communism, 95
 Spencer, Herbert, 7, 113, 172
 Spengler, 139, 157
 'Squarson' J.P.s, 57, 124
 Stafford, Professor P. T., 216
 Stalin, 219
 Stamp, Sir J., 26, 112
 Stanley, Dean A. P., 87, 144,
 169
 Statistical Society, Royal, 180,
 187, 212
 Stephen, Sir J., 172
 Sterilization, compulsory, 18
 Stewart, Professor J. A., 63, 156,
 202, 213

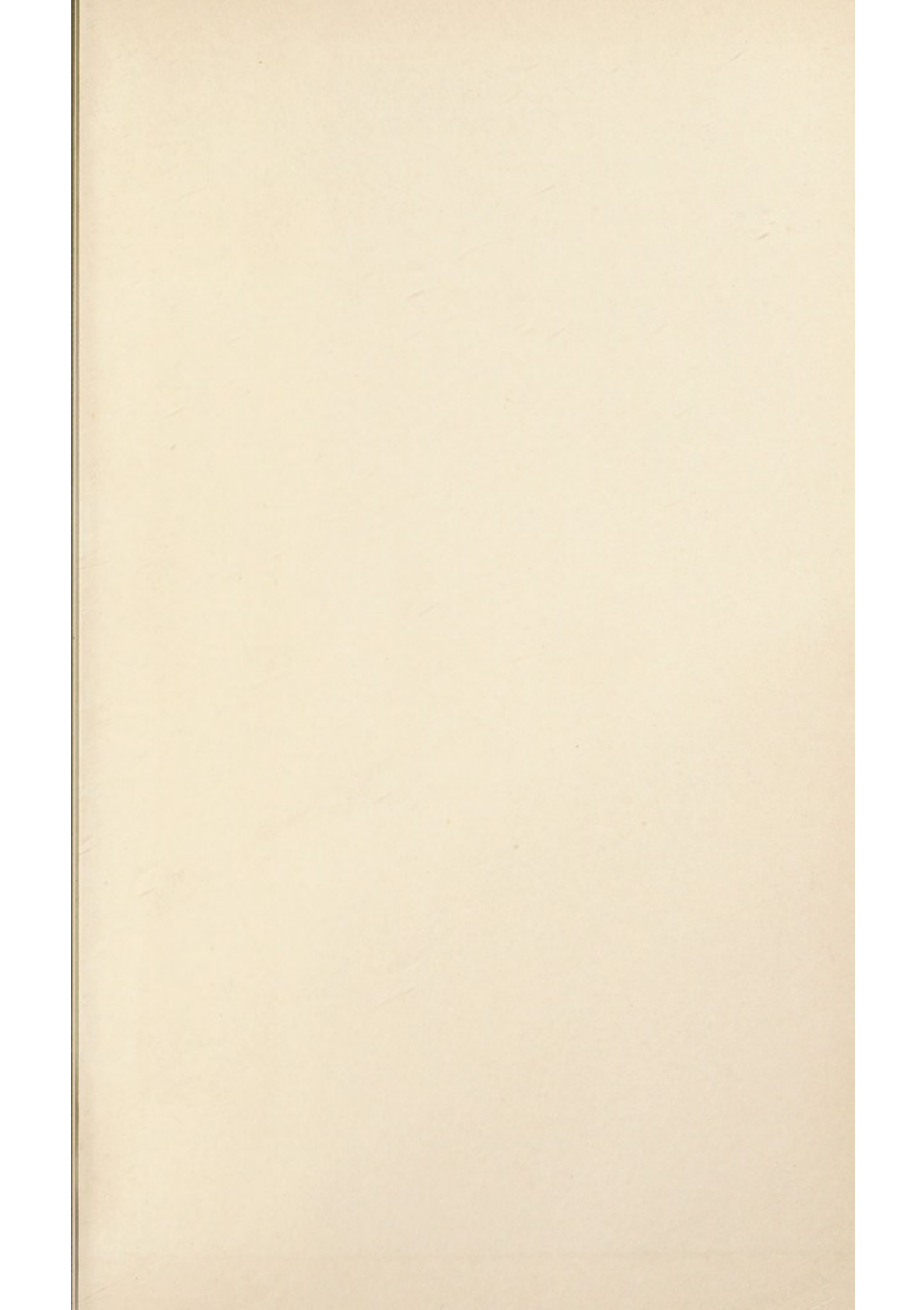
INDEX

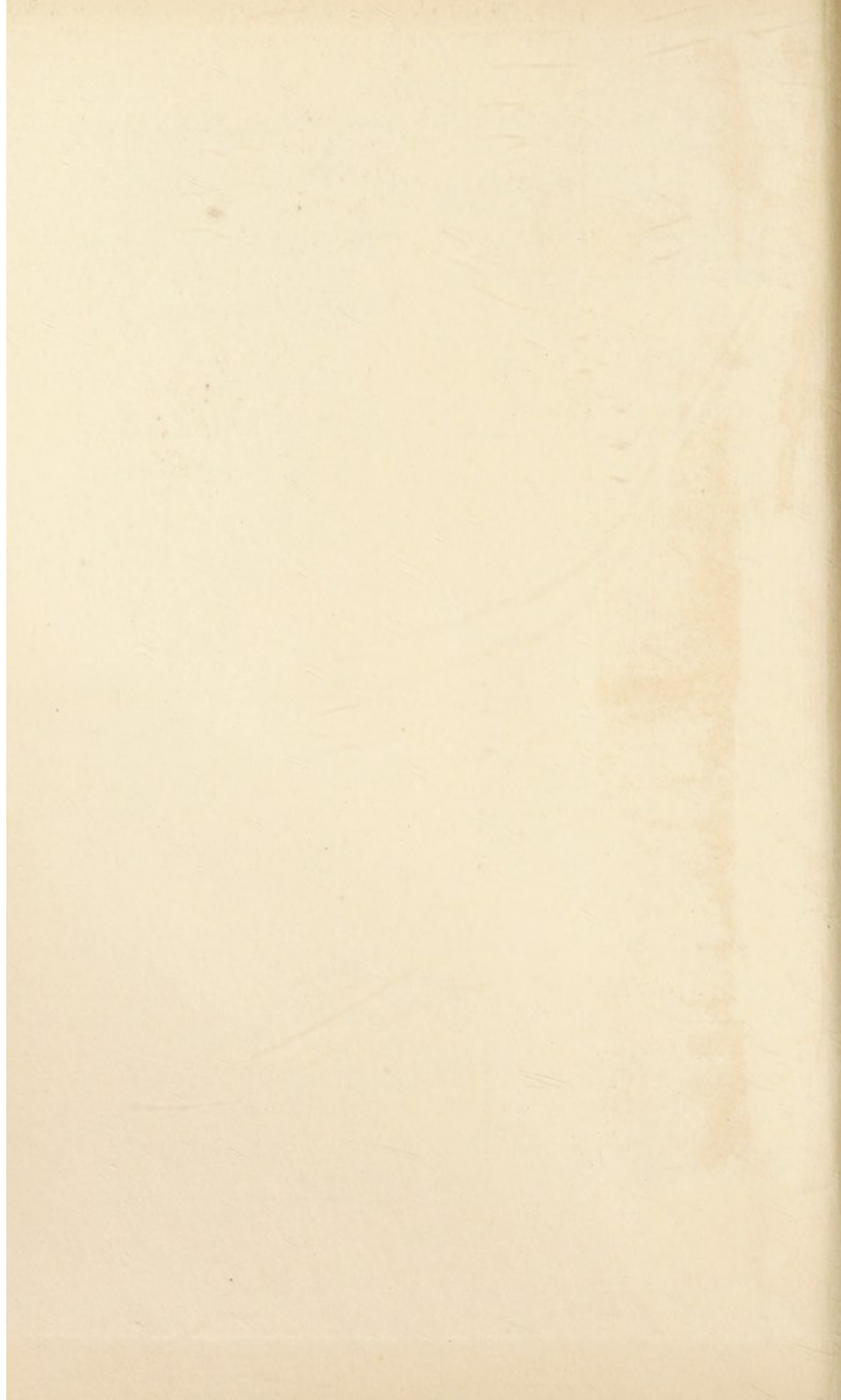
- Stewart, Rev. R. H. J., 273
 Stockholm School of Social Work, 103
 Summary Jurisdiction, Courts of, 84
 Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act (1937), 84
 Sutton Training Centre, 134
 Sumner, C. R., Bishop of Winchester, 197
- TAFT, DR. JESSIE, 79, 102, 139, 155, 203, 264
 Tait, Archbishop A. C., and Mrs., 208
 Temple, William, Archbishop of York, 269
 Tennyson, 12, 100, 260
 Thackeray, W. M., 16, 45, 260
 Thornton, Miss Janet, 153
 Thorold, A. W., Bishop of Winchester, 205
 Toronto, 103, 143, 236
 Totalitarian State, 76
 Toynbee, Harry, 227
 Toulmin Smith, 123*n.*, 139, 141
 Trade Unions, 45, 49
 Trollope, Anthony, 45
 Trotter, Mr. Wilfrid, 96, 139
 Tuberculosis Care Committees, 225
 Turkey, 76
 Turner, Mr. Ribton, 151
 Twining, Louisa, 132, 196, 204
- UNEMPLOYED, the, 41-57, 133, 144
 Unemployment Assistance Act (1934), 40, 52, 94, 131-2, 134-5, 176, 229
 Unemployment Assistance Board, 42, 52, 99, 104, 107, 108, 110, 119, 127, 134, 223; First and Second Reports of, 54, 96, 229, 254; Advisory Committees under, 56
 Unemployment Insurance Fund, 53
 Unwin, Dr. Joseph, 248
- Upholland, 42, 104
 Urwick, Professor E. J., 3, 63
- VALLANCE, MR., 219
 Vieillard, M., 122
 Vienna School of Social Work, 103
 Visiting Relief Committee, 228
 Visiting Societies, 181-5, 190, 195, 223-4, 226-7
 Vocational Guidance, 49
 Voluntary School Care Committee Workers, 2*n.*
 Voluntary Case-workers, 233
 Voluntary Social work, 62
- WAGGETT, REV. P. N., 170, 202, 256
 Wainwright, Rev. L. S., 18, 27, 136, 160, 239, 243
 Waldron, Rev. M., 290
 Walker, Thomas, 141
 War Pensions, 61, 245
 Webb, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney, and centralization, 139; and 'gaps' in 'cover,' 127; and impersonal social service, 55, 221, 253; and materialism, 95; and Napoleon, 218; and the Poor Laws, 130, 141, 146; and Socialism, 210; and Soviet Communism, 95, 139; and the 'Squarson' J.P.s, 124
 Wellington, Duke of, 32, 143, 163
 Wells, Mr. H. G., 129, 176
 Whitaker, I, *James Whitaker*, 23, 59, 120
 Whitehead, Dr. A. N., 95
 Wholesale-ing, 209-10, 212
 Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Pensions, 60-1, 94, 119, 134, 182
 Wilson, Sir Arnold, 105
 Wilton-Phipps, Dame Jessie, 228
 Winchester College, 144, 173
 Wolfe, Humbert, 100
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 66
 Women House Property Managers, 240

INDEX

- Women's Work, Inter-Diocesan Board of, 223-4
Wood, Sir Kingsley, 182
Wood Report on Mental Deficiency, *in.*, 3, 16-17
Woollcombe, H. L., 225
Wordsworth, 100, 113
Workers' Educational Association, 119*n.*
Workmen's Compensation, 73-4, 105
'Wreckers,' 125
YELLOWLEES, DR. H., 96-7, 125
ZOLA, ÉMILE, 15, 16, 17









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