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VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES
THEIR PLACE IN THE MODERN STATE

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THEIR PLACE IN THE MODERN STATE

Edited by

A. F. C. BOURDILLON

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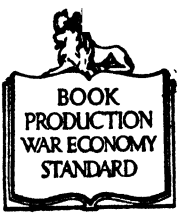

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PREFACE

THE essays included in this volume have been written under the auspices of the Social Services Sub-Committee of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey. The Survey, which was set up in agreement with the Government at the beginning of 1941, had as one of its terms of reference an inquiry into 'the effects of war conditions on the working of the public social services, both national and local, and the social services provided by voluntary agencies'; and a further term of reference instructed the Survey to inquire into 'the bearing of all these factors (i.e. of all the remaining terms of reference) on the general problem of social and economic reorganization and on the practical efficacy of democratic institutions, including both government and voluntary agencies'.

In pursuance of this mandate, the Survey first made, in 1941, a general study of the war-time working of the social services in certain selected areas, and subsequently gathered together a large mass of evidence about the practical working of the statutory social services. This latter task was undertaken at the request of Sir William Beveridge, made to the Survey through the Government; and the results were made available to the Beveridge Committee.

In the course of these investigations, those who were responsible for the direction of the Survey had become very much aware of the need for a careful study of the problems arising out of the relations between statutory and voluntary agencies in the social service field; and, as soon as the work needed by the Beveridge Committee was done, the Survey turned its attention to this group of questions. The field was evidently much too wide for detailed and comprehensive study of it to be practicable, especially under war conditions; and it was decided to select (*a*) certain types of voluntary social service which seemed likely to bring out the essential problems, and (*b*) certain areas for special consideration.

The present volume is the outcome of this approach. It contains only a quite small part of the material that has been gathered together; and in particular it reproduces only two of the numerous local studies on which it has been largely based. Its chapters are for the most part condensations of larger studies, written together so as to eliminate all material that did not seem directly relevant to the immediate purpose in view—to wit, the adjustment of functions and relations between statutory and voluntary agencies in the various fields. Gladly would we, but for limitations of space, have included both a wider selection of voluntary social services and a larger number of local studies; but it was felt to be necessary to bring the results

of our work within as narrow a compass as seemed possible without losing most of its value.

We have accordingly to apologize as well as thank—to apologize to those helpers whose valuable contributions to the work of the Survey are but palely reflected, or not reflected at all, in this volume, as well as to thank those who have contributed largely to its making. It is not easy under the circumstances to know whom to mention, without compiling too long a list, or whom to leave out; and we wish to make it clear to those who have helped us largely, but are not here mentioned, that we are thanking now only those whose work has been to a substantial extent embodied in this volume. Others we may be able to thank later, if, as we hope, this is not the only publication that will emerge from the Survey's investigations in the social service field.

For general help, generously given and extending over a wide range, we have to thank especially Mr. B. E. Astbury, of the Charity Organization Society; Mr. G. E. Haynes and Mr. Schüller, of the National Council of Social Service; Miss B. Stancliffe and Mrs. Bunn, of the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service; Mr. F. le Gros Clark, of the Children's Nutrition Council; and Dr. E. Roper Power, the Survey's Investigator in Hertfordshire. We have also to thank all the Survey's Local Investigators in other areas, and many of their local helpers; but in their case we do not repeat the list, which has been given already in a previous volume in this series.[1] In addition, each chapter requires its special tribute of thanks, both to those who accepted the final responsibility of authorship and to various experts, including the officers of the numerous societies consulted in the course of the work. Among these, we may mention especially the following:

Childhood: Mr. C. Carter (Shaftesbury Society); Mr. W. R. Vaughan (Waifs and Strays); Mr. F. J. Potter (Dr. Barnardo's); Miss N. R. Manson (Invalid Children's Aid Association).

Blind: Mr. W. McG. Eagar (National Institute for the Blind); Mr. T. H. Tylor.

Deaf: Mr. F. Scotchmoor (National Institute for the Deaf).

Case-work: Miss R. Forrester (C.O.S.); Miss Noel Hunnybun (Association of Psychiatric Social Workers); Miss A. Kelly (Almoners' Association).

Holidays: Miss D. Ellis (Political and Economic Planning); Mr. E. W. Gilbert (Oxford University School of Geography).

Youth: Dr. A. E. Morgan; Miss V. Welton (National Standing Conferences of Voluntary Youth Organizations).

C.A.B.s: Miss D. C. Keeling (N.C.S.S.).

The Countryman: Dr. C. S. Orwin.

[1] See *Prospects of the Industrial Areas of Great Britain* (Methuen, 1945).

Prisoners' Aid: Rev. Martin Pinker (National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies).
Bethnal Green: Mr. G. Clutton Brock (Oxford House); Mr. C. H. Macgregor (Magdalene College, Cambridge).
Legal Aid: Mr. J. Mervyn Jones (Cambridge House).

To this very inadequate list of 'outside' helpers we must add certain names of persons who are or have been members of the Nuffield College staff and have made substantial contributions to this volume, although their names do not appear. These include Miss M. M. Walker, Miss H. M. Leys, Mr. H. A. Silverman, and Mr. Y. Smythies. Mrs. Baber (then Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon) was in charge of the work as secretary and editor through most of its course, and was succeeded only in its later stages by Miss U. M. Cormack. Thanks must be accorded also to Mrs. Broadley, who has had much to do with getting the volume in order for the press, and to the members of the Nuffield College Social Services Sub-Committee, whose names are given on page ii. Nuffield College takes no responsibility for the opinions here expressed. As a research institution it has no collective opinions, and limits its responsibility to satisfying itself upon the high quality of the material issued under its auspices. Of the signatories to this Preface, the Master of Balliol acted as Chairman of the Sub-Committee, and Professor Cole, as Director of the Survey, had general charge of the investigation.

NUFFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD
August 1944

G. D. H. COLE
A. D. LINDSAY

CONTENTS

PART I

Chapter *Page*

1. INTRODUCTORY 1

   By Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon, Secretary of the Social Services Department of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey from January 1942 until October 1943

2. A RETROSPECT OF THE HISTORY OF VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE 11

   By Professor G. D. H. Cole, Director and Chairman of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey, 1941–4; Professor of Social and Political Theory, University of Oxford, Fellow of All Souls College and Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College

PART II

3. SOME VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN 31

   By Miss R. M. Wrong, formerly research assistant in the Social Services Department of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey; Assistant Lecturer in History, University of Manchester

4. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE BLIND 57

   By Mr. J. F. Wilson, Assistant Secretary, National Institute for the Blind

5. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE DEAF 73

   By Mr. J. D. Evans, formerly Fellow of the University of Wales

6. DEVELOPMENTS IN CASE-WORK 86

   By Miss U. M. Cormack, Secretary, Nuffield College Social Services Sub-Committee, since January 1944

7. MUTUAL AID MOVEMENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE 118

   By Professor G. D. H. Cole

8. VOLUNTARY YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS 135

   By Miss P. F. Beard, formerly research assistant in the Social Services Department of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey

Chapter *Page*

9. VOLUNTARY HOLIDAY ORGANIZATIONS 151
By Miss P. F. Beard

10. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO FACILITATE CO-OPERATION AND CO-ORDINATION 164
By Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon

11. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN WAR-TIME—CITIZENS' ADVICE BUREAUX 194
By Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon

PART III

12. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRYMAN 206
By Miss A. F. C. Bourdillon

13. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN BETHNAL GREEN 235
By Mr. P. J. O. Self, formerly research assistant to Mr. G. R. Mitchison, Local Investigator in London for the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey; on the editorial staff of *The Economist*

14. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN BURNLEY, LANCASHIRE 263
By Miss M. P. Hall, C.A.B. and Research Officer, Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service, formerly Organizing Secretary, Burnley Citizens' Guild

15. CONCLUSION 298
By Dr. A. D. Lindsay, C.B.E., Master of Balliol College, Oxford; Sub-Warden of Nuffield College

APPENDIX—LEGAL AID 307
By Mr. John E. Terry, Legal Advice Office, Alford House, Lambeth; Administrative Officer, National Council of Social Service

INDEX 311

PART I

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY

By A. F. C. BOURDILLON

THE habit of forming voluntary associations for every sort of social purpose is widely spread and deeply rooted in this country. Quite naturally in Britain when a man has a new enthusiasm he buys a twopenny notebook, prints 'Minute Book' carefully on the first page, calls together some of his friends under the name of a Committee—and behold a new voluntary society is launched. This way of doing things is no new development, as the next chapter will show, and it is practised at many levels of society. Moreover, from such simple beginnings there have developed highly organized societies with branches throughout the country and a staff of workers formidable enough to be dubbed 'a third bureaucracy' by certain of their critics.[1]

Because these associations have grown up spontaneously they are infinitely varied in purpose and method, size, age, and temper. This book is concerned with those which are working in the sphere of social service or, to use a slightly narrower and more convenient term, with voluntary organizations for social service. But there is no pretence that even a majority of these will be studied. The vastness of the field makes this an impossibility. Instead, a few representative types of voluntary activity will be examined in some detail and in each case an attempt will be made to answer two questions:

1. How do these voluntary organizations actually work in relation to each other and to the statutory authorities?
2. What is to be learnt from this as to how voluntary organizations should relate to each other and to the statutory authorities in post-war Britain?

SOME PRINCIPLES OF DEFINITION

The implications of these questions will not be understood until some attention has been paid to a number of definitions. These present formidable difficulties, for in this sphere there are many controversial issues and no agreed basis of terminology.

There is still no general agreement in answer to the question 'what

[1] e.g. Mrs. J. L. Stocks in *Highway*, February 1942.

are the social services?'[1] The absence of authoritative opinion on this matter is typical of the backwardness of study in this whole field. A precise definition would be appropriate at this point, but it is not forthcoming. Instead a few reflections on the subject will be offered.

The public (or statutory) social services will first be considered. These can be distinguished from such public utility services as the Royal Mail, telephones, the population census, drainage and water, in that the latter are pooled and organized by the State as a mere matter of convenience. It is a practical impossibility for a man to construct and organize his own telephone service; it is normally more convenient to share in the use of a public water supply; and it is in the public interest that a record should be kept of vital statistics. In each case the issue is dependent on a plain common-sense judgment.

With the social services, however, there is always an element of betterment—of compensating inequality. There are inequalities between citizens which the community cannot tolerate, either on humanitarian grounds or because society as a whole will suffer if any of its members fall below a certain standard. The conscience of the community designs services therefore which will help to compensate for these inequalities and so supplement the needs of the under-privileged. But majority opinion about the minimum standard which the community can tolerate for its citizens is not static; it moves forward from one sphere of activity to another. In the time of Chadwick the phrase 'a social service' (if it had been in current use) could have been appropriately applied to the drainage system for which the pioneers were gradually winning public support. But to-day the frontier has moved forward. By and large, an adequate drainage system is in existence and the service which provides it is hardly a matter of the public conscience—it is rather to be classed among the recognized assumptions of civilized urban life.[2]

[1] But the matter is discussed by Miss C. Braithwaite in *The Voluntary Citizen*, pp. 9–12, and in P.E.P.'s *Report on the Social Services*, p. 10.

[2] This conception of a moving frontier seems to be accepted in the White Paper, *A National Health Service*, Cmd. 6502, p. 6 (February 1944), where the following passage occurs:

'The main reason for change is that the Government believe that, at this stage of social development, the care of personal health should be put on a new footing and be made available to everybody as a publicly sponsored service. Just as people are accustomed to look to public organization for essential facilities like a clean and safe water supply or good highways, accepting these as things which the community combines to provide for the benefit of the individual without distinction of section or group, so they should now be able to look for proper facilities for the care of their personal health to a publicly organized service available to all who want to use it—a service for which all would be paying as taxpayers and ratepayers and contributors to some national scheme of social insurance.'

This provides an admirable example of the possible transformation of a 'public social service' into what we have called a 'public utility service'.

The difficulty of classifying education throws some interesting light on this problem of definition. Public education is designed to give the citizen equality of opportunity in the mental and non-material sphere, just as the Maternity and Child Welfare service, say, is designed to give equality of opportunity in the physical sphere. On these grounds it would qualify as one of the public social services. But child education appears to have reached the stage of being amongst the basic assumptions of civilized life. Public opinion is so convinced about its importance that it has given support to legislation making school attendance compulsory for children of a certain age. As a result also the service has reached such vast dimensions that it appears to stand alone and one may properly refer to 'the social services and education'. Adult education, however, seems to be in a different case. Majority opinion in this country does not yet assume it as a universal necessity, but is ready to approve its support out of public funds where it compensates the citizen whose previous education has been missing or inadequate. Thus the principles of definition here advanced cut across the ordinary administrative divisions and there seems no escape from this state of affairs.

This book is concerned primarily with the voluntary organizations working in the sphere of social service, and some attention must be given now to the meaning attached here to the word 'voluntary' and to the phrase 'voluntary organizations'. A generation ago 'voluntary' was normally used to denote 'unpaid'. A 'voluntary worker' was someone who gave unpaid service to a good cause, and the group which was formed to run this good cause came to be known as a 'voluntary' organization. The group took its name, in fact, from the outstanding characteristic of the workers upon whom it depended. In recent years there has been a significant shift of meaning here. Nowadays many of the most active voluntary organizations are staffed entirely by highly trained and fairly well-paid professional workers. The distinctively 'voluntary' character of such bodies is the product, not of the kind of workers they employ, but of their mode of birth and method of government. A voluntary organization properly speaking is an organization which, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control. Such a body may well undertake work on behalf of a statutory authority, but if it is to qualify as a voluntary organization it is essential that it should select or co-operate in selecting what that work shall be and how it shall be done. Thus the W.V.S., although it uses the word 'voluntary in its title, is not and does not claim to be a voluntary organization;[1] it is a piece of administrative machinery which serves the statutory authority and enables the individual to volunteer to do war service without pay. The word

[1] See page 218, below.

'voluntary' is here used in fact in its old sense as applying to the worker, not the organization.[1] It is important that this distinction should be kept in mind, for, although the unpaid and often unorganized service of individuals is of interest throughout this volume, its primary concern is with the functions and the future of voluntary (i.e. autonomous) groups[2] working in the sphere of social service.

It is necessary also to consider the meaning attached throughout this book to the phrase 'the voluntary social services'. A voluntary organization for social service (or more shortly a 'voluntary social service'), like any of the public social services, is designed to compensate for inequalities and supplement the needs of the underprivileged. The motives behind the service again may equally well be humanitarianism or an enlightened view of the self-interest of the community.

What, then, is the essential characteristic which distinguishes the public from the voluntary social services? It is to be hoped that this book will provide material for an answer to the question as a whole. But for the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to point out that the distinction seems to be connected with the nature of the service and the extent to which the need is considerable enough for State action to be necessary or suitable, and sufficiently recognized generally for such action to be supported by a majority public opinion. Voluntary societies frequently embody minority opinion and the workings of the more sensitive and advanced type of public conscience.[3] The element of mutual aid may be active in either sphere. But the service (if it is to qualify as a voluntary social service) must always be disinterested; its primary object, that is, must be the good of the community generally or of the individual in society: its aim to enhance the well-being of its fellow men. It must not regard such 'good' as a means to some other more specialized 'good'.

The implications of this definition will only be understood if its detailed application is considered. The definition excludes:

1. Religious bodies whose primary purpose is the glory and service of God. Thus an individual church or chapel may or may not (according to the theological views of its members) be regarded as a voluntary organization, but it is not a voluntary organization primarily for social service. On the other hand, there are a great many societies originating in or based on membership of a church

[1] The confusion which arises from ignoring this distinction is shown in the following question: 'When the general secretary of a Council of Social Service meets the Chairman of a Local Education Committee to discuss the needs of Youth, which of the two is the voluntary worker?'—Mrs. J. L. Stocks in *Highway*, February 1942.

[2] In America these groups would be designated as 'private' as contrasted with 'public' organizations.

[3] But not all the voluntary social services are in the van of progress. Sometimes, unfortunately, they represent the ossification of ideas long out-moded.

which do so qualify. Amongst them, for instance, the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, the Y.W.C.A., the Church Lads' Brigade, receive some attention in this volume.

2. Political parties and organizations, since their primary purpose is the gaining of power. It is to be hoped that the ultimate aim of all such organizations is to 'enhance the well-being of their fellow men', but their first object is to get control of the political machinery of the country. Again, however, though to a lesser extent than amongst religious bodies, there are groups based upon membership of political parties which are at least on the fringe of the term 'voluntary organization for social service'. Such are the friendly and sociable gatherings associated with some local political parties to which reference is made in Chapter 6.

3. Organizations making provision for social well-being, but actuated primarily by economic motives. Thus, while Mr. Butlin's Holiday Camps have undoubtedly been of social value, it would not be unfair to suppose that public benefit came second to private profit in the minds of their originators, and for this reason they do not rank as a voluntary social service.

4. Organizations based strictly on the insurance principle where payments are made by members in consideration of certain specific benefits to be drawn by them. Thus voluntary insurance societies as such are omitted from our definition.

5. Organizations pursuing 'art for art's sake'. The Hallé Concerts and the Oxford Music Club would clearly come within this category and so be excluded from the ranks of the voluntary social services. A dramatic club or a music society run by a local community council or a W.E.A., on the other hand, would be included since its primary function is to supply a fatal deficiency from which, for lack of opportunity or means, some particular community or group is suffering.

The ground having been cleared by a consideration of what a voluntary social service *is not*, some of the positive characteristics of such bodies now need examination.

Voluntary social service organizations have developed from two main sources, philanthropy and mutual aid. Up to and through the nineteenth century the vast majority of those organizations which aimed at 'enhancing the social welfare of their fellow men' worked on a purely philanthropic basis. Service was rendered, that is, by one group to another group, and there was no overlapping in the personnel of the two. The privileged gave and the unprivileged received, and the condition of the people and the width of the gap between the 'Two Nations' made any other arrangement virtually impossible.

At the same time, as and where the standard of living and of

education rose, there developed also a tradition of voluntary organizations based on mutual aid. Societies came into existence, that is, primarily for purposes of self-help. Such were Trade Unions and Friendly Societies, the small clubs which grew up round chapels and in Working Men's Institutes. In these groups benefits were normally intended for members only, and a man joined primarily for the sake of the material benefits likely to accrue to him. Generosity, however, 'kept breaking in'; Friendly Societies had a benevolent side to their work; Working Men's Clubs subscribed to causes wider than their own—in innumerable cases there was an infusion of philanthropy with the original element of self-help. Similarly, the philanthropic bodies have been imbued with the element of self-help; voluntary hospitals, for instance, were originally supported by people unlikely ever to become hospital patients, but in recent years they have increasingly been supported by contributory schemes organized amongst the potential consumers of hospital service. There is a similar mixture of the two elements of philanthropy and self-help or consumers' co-operation in Citizens' Advice Bureaux, Community Associations, and many other characteristic modern forms of social work. At the present time the two streams are converging on each other, and it is this mixture of two elements which is peculiarly characteristic of voluntary social service organizations to-day.

These, then, are the bodies whose present relations with statutory authorities need to be analysed. The task will not be an easy one. Voluntary organizations, as already remarked, are infinitely varied. Most of them are indelibly marked by the historical circumstances of their time of birth. They are at many different stages of growth, and in their relation to the statutory authorities some are working in a sphere where the State appears to have no concern, some receive financial support from the State, some have already handed over a part of their functions, and some seem likely to do so in the near future. It will be no simple matter, then, to trace and understand the significance of the present boundary line between the statutory and the voluntary in any particular field of activity.

But this book is concerned with an even more difficult problem; it aims at reaching conclusions which may throw some light on the desirable future relations of the voluntary and the statutory. There appear to be three main alternatives here:

1. It might be maintained that at some future date all voluntary organizations should be absorbed into the State. On this view, we are living in a transitional stage and such bodies are temporary expedients whose disappearance is to be welcomed as logical and natural.

2. Alternatively, it might be maintained that, although after a certain period every existing voluntary organization would sometimes, absorbed, yet a permanent up-growth of such bodies to m

needs and fill new gaps is desirable. Most of our existing statutory social services were initiated by voluntary organizations, whose work has been first recognized and subsidized and at a later stage taken over by a statutory authority. Perhaps this is the whole story. Perhaps voluntary organizations should always perform that one function of exploring a new need and initiating a new service. This work done, perhaps they should always disappear.

3. Lastly, it might be maintained that although initiation, followed by disappearance, is one of the functions of voluntary organizations, yet there are some such organizations or some of their functions which should be permanent, since there are some things the State should never do or never do alone.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK

To many readers the most striking thing about this book will be the large number of gaps which it leaves. An impression is given, for instance, of many organizations, but no estimate appears anywhere of the actual number of these bodies which are in existence. Yet to assess their importance one should surely know how thickly they have grown up in town or country soil. Again, whole departments of activity have been omitted. Thus the voluntary social services initiated or based upon political parties or on the churches have the barest reference. The oldest and the largest of the voluntary social services—the hospitals—are omitted altogether. Developments in moral and mental welfare work—particularly relevant to the general theme of this book—pass unnoticed. The vast network of charities for Service-men and for merchant seamen, voluntary welfare services in the industrial sphere: all these and many others are omitted. Above all, the book may seem out of proportion since little is said of the contributions of individuals to the organizations here laid out for inspection like butterflies on an entomologist's desk. Yet almost every organization is, in fact, the product originally of the blood, sweat, and toil of a very few individuals. Who can say, for instance, what the voluntary social services of Manchester owe to Harry Gaddum, and how can we estimate what prison reform owes to Elizabeth Fry? How can a study be real and living which almost entirely omits reference to such 'makers'? Lastly, the book makes little attempt to estimate the contribution of the undistinguished many, of the people who sit on committees without the satisfaction of dominating them, who address envelopes on Saturday afternoons, or provide skilled advice to their neighbours without the distinction even of a C.A.B. placard over their doors. Yet the whole structure of voluntary organization is built up out of such endless small gifts of time and all this is assumed and unexpressed in this book.[1]

[1] Except briefly in Chapter 12.

It is earnestly hoped that these and innumerable other gaps in, and aspects of, the subject will be noted, and that many scholars may come forward to fill them.[1] The shortage of earlier work on this subtle subject has made many difficulties for the authors of these chapters and it is increasingly felt by those engaged in, or training for, social work. This book will have gained one of its chief objects if it succeeds in demonstrating the need for further study, particularly by those who would approach the subject from the historical point of view.

In the course of working on this volume it has emerged that the key to the whole subject is to be found in the idea of historical development. The extreme difficulty of arriving at an agreement on definitions is mainly due to the fact that the matter in need of definition is in a perpetual state of growth and that the ideas of several generations co-exist at the present time. 'The stages of development of the voluntary social services,' says Dr. Roper Power,[2] 'are not mere strata buried in history. . . . For not only do the earlier forms continue in greater or less degree to influence and condition many present forms, but many pockets of the earlier forms are to be found on the surface, not fossilized but living and active.' The arrangement of the book is based upon this conception of the nature of the subject.

After Part I, which serves the ordinary purposes of an introduction, the first three chapters in Part II deal with a few of the organizations which came into existence to meet certain obvious needs. Obviously children, if their parents are unwilling or unable to look after them, must be helped by people of good will. Obviously the blind cannot provide for themselves without assistance. And it is equally true, but not quite so obvious, that the deaf cannot fend entirely for themselves. In each case organizations sprang into existence at an early stage to remedy specific defects or compensate for specific causes of helplessness. Gradually most of these organizations have moved over to preventive or constructive work, and others have been founded whose work is based entirely on such principles of action. But it is natural that originally the emphasis amongst bodies working in this field should be remedial. And it is for this reason that they are discussed at an early stage in this book.

Chapter 6 describes the development of case-work, a new or rather a newly formalized method of dealing with all kinds of distress. The emergence of case-work is one of the factors contributing to a change of emphasis amongst social service organizations. The insistence on

[1] Above all, comparative studies are needed of organizations of a similar nature in other countries. The value and interest of this book would be greatly increased if it contained or could be compared with inquiries into parallel developments in the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Germany, etc.

[2] In a Hertfordshire survey prepared for Nuffield College.

ascertaining the facts, on discovering the causes of distress and on building up the individual in the background of his family had a wide influence in the world of social welfare. New remedial or relieving organizations were still founded (and the phenomenon is not unknown to-day), but the typical present-day social service organization is of a different type. Modern social services do not wait to remedy a defect: they seek to prevent it. They see to it that the devil does not have all the good tunes, and tend, for instance, to provide clubs to keep young people happy instead of homes in which they may repent.

A second factor influencing the development of voluntary service is the changed condition and status of the working class. In earlier days only a minority could participate in schemes of mutual aid, and such schemes were confined to meeting the needs caused by unemployment and sickness which are now recognized as the concern of the State. In recent years the force of mutual aid has increased in volume, and it is free to develop in a much greater variety of spheres —in C.A.B.s, for instance, and community work of all kinds. Moreover, mutual aid has come to work in harmony with, and to be indistinguishable from, the force of philanthropy with which at one time it was in conflict. This development is sketched in Chapter 7, which provides a second bridge connecting the old and the new in social service organizations.

The youth organizations studied in Chapter 8 are an obvious and early example of the modern constructive type, as also are the holiday organizations aiming at the general enrichment of life which are discussed in Chapter 9. In Chapter 10 the attempts made by some voluntary organizations to achieve co-operation are considered. There has always been a need for such co-operation, but it has been intensified with the increased number of organizations and with the extension of their field of activity and of the activities of the statutory authorities. Above all, co-operation is found essential where the object is to enrich the community as a whole, as is shown to be the aim of the National Council of Social Service. The analysis of this peculiarly modern organization is followed by a study of Citizens' Advice Bureaux, a war-time development to help the citizen to help himself not by relieving his poverty, but by enlightening his ignorance of the services available to him.

In Part III the subject is tackled from a different angle, and the unit in each chapter is geographical rather than functional. An account is given of the agglomeration of voluntary organization in two particular districts, a London borough and an industrial town. These are preceded by an estimate of the part played by such organizations in country districts generally and so of their contribution to rural communities as a whole.

The moral of the tale appears in the concluding chapter.

One other point may be made in justification of the methods and the arrangement of this book. The most striking feature of the voluntary social services of this country is their irreducible variety. An attempt has been made to give a suggestion of this diversity by a corresponding variety in presentation. Thus the fourth chapter concentrates on present-day problems of the organization of services for the blind, whereas the tenth chapter singles out a problem common to many voluntary societies and traces the experience of three such bodies in relation to it. Some chapters, like Chapter 3, give an idea of the great number of voluntary organizations in one particular field of service; the chapters in Part III, on the other hand, try to present a cross-section of the many voluntary organizations in two particular localities.

This variety of presentation may well be a cause of complaint. The present-day structure of the voluntary social services in a particular sphere or a particular locality, the outstanding problems common to many organizations, the early development of existing organizations—each of these clearly needs separate treatment in a separate volume. With this view the compilers of the present volume would most heartily agree. And once more they would ask their critics to accept the challenge and set about the task.

CHAPTER 2

A RETROSPECT OF THE HISTORY OF VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE

By G. D. H. COLE

FREEDOM of association is rightly regarded as taking high rank among the liberties of men. It is a liberty of the widest scope; for men may wish to associate for any purpose which two or more of them have in common. They may wish to associate to do something together, or to get something done; to further their own, or other people's, interest; to resist oppression or injustice, or to practise either; to pursue great or small, general or particular objects; and their intention may be to associate permanently or to use their association to such ends as will make its continuance unnecessary. Men may associate in order to get the State to do something, or in order to do something which in their view needs doing apart from the State, or in order to co-operate with the State in doing something which they think can be done best by a mixture of state and voluntary action. They can join together as equals, or on terms which admit inequality of rights in their association. They can join together on purely voluntary terms, or seek to introduce some measure of conditional compulsion upon others to join with them. They can try to keep their association wholly apart from the State, or endeavour to secure from it some form of public recognition or help. Moreover, they can link their associations together in federal bodies, and give up to these bodies a smaller or a larger amount of power and influence.

The ways in which, in modern communities, men join together in formal associations, with at least the rudiments of a constitution, with appointed officers and regular modes of procedure, are innumerable; and there can be no end to them, because new needs are continually arising and new groups continually being formed. In this chapter, we are concerned only with a limited range of this vast social complex, and only from a single point of view. This chapter is about associations which exist, or have existed, in the field of the 'social services'; and its purpose is to consider how associations of this kind have developed, and how their relations with the State have changed, during the period over which, in Great Britain, the social system we live under to-day has been gradually taking shape. There is no fixed starting-point for this subject; but there are valid reasons for looking back as far as the early part of the eighteenth century, and occasionally the last years of the century before.

Over these two and a half centuries, the problem of poverty, which is the point of focus for all the types of association that are to be considered here, has presented itself to a sequence of generations animated by widely different social philosophies. One essential spirit, that of philanthropy pure and simple, has been always present; but with it have been mingled from time to time motives and impulses which have changed greatly from age to age. It has made, for example, a vast difference whether the philanthropists have believed that there were too many people, or too few; whether they have been readier to attribute the sufferings of the poor to vice, or to misfortune; whether they have been in the main 'otherworldly' or 'thisworldly' in their attitude to the problems of mankind; and whether they have, or have not, believed in the 'invisible hand' or in the sovereign virtues of an economic system of *laissez-faire*. This last is, of course, closely bound up with the question of men's attitude towards the State, either as it is or as they would wish it to be. There has been, over the period with which we are dealing, an immense change, or rather a series of changes, in what men have expected or wished the State to do. This is not wholly a matter of the contrast between the 'Police State' as the keeper of law and order, and the State regarded as an instrument of welfare. Some of the most ardent social reformers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who wished the State to do many things, were insistent that it must keep its hands off education. They drew the line between a physical welfare which the State could legitimately be asked to promote, and an intellectual and moral welfare which was a matter outside the scope of political action. The struggle over religious education, in which we are still enmeshed, is at the heart of this controversy.

Indeed, religion and social service have been, throughout the period which is treated here, most intimately intertwined. Though there have been at all times philanthropists who were not moved by religious motives, most of the earlier protagonists of the social services were so moved, or at any rate cast their enthusiasms in a religious mould. Side by side with the religious enthusiasts who cared nothing for men's bodies if only they could save men's souls, there were those who saw in the material sufferings of the poor a fatal obstacle to a fair chance of salvation, as well as a reproach to the well-to-do. And there were others whose philanthropy, genuine within its limits, was mingled with a conviction that any sound system of charity must confine its ministrations to the 'deserving', and be organized strictly on the assumption that it was the duty of the poor to be not merely grateful but humbly acquiescent as well. This even went so far on numerous occasions as to require from the poor a definite act of 'conversion' or 'penitence' as a condition of charitable relief. A special satisfaction was felt in ministering to the converted sinner—or to

the hypocrite who pretended conversion; and in this way the bad people sometimes did better out of the charitable than the good. These notions led to many strange inhibitions on the scope of charity. Hannah More, for example, wished the poor to read the Bible, but was terribly worried at the idea that they might use their learning to read immoral or subversive books, and was inveterately opposed to the notion that they should be taught to write, as well as read. Her *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which secured a very large circulation at the hands of her fellow philanthropists, were an attempt to provide a supply of reading matter of unimpeachable moral tendency, in the hope of stopping the poor who had been taught to read from reading what was not good for them. All the earlier history of the movements for popular education is chequered by the fear of giving the poor ambitions beyond their station in life. Much of it, in the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth, lays much more stress on keeping the children out of mischief than on teaching them anything, and, when it is a question of teaching, wants them to be set as young as possible to spinning and other menial occupations, and pushes any other sort of education, except perhaps reading the Bible, very much into the background.

Nor is it only in the highly controversial field of education that this divided mind of philanthropy makes its presence plain. The eighteenth century, for reasons not easy to fathom, seems to have been in a perpetual panic about the potential uppishness of the poor. The overweening claims of servants and craftsmen are its continuous theme; and most of the philanthropists were very determined that their measures of relief should not be allowed to furnish any encouragement to subversive tendencies. Their fears on this score were not, until after 1789, mainly political. It was not the direct subversion of the British Constitution they feared, or any attempt of their inferiors to combine for revolutionary purposes. It was merely a growth of individual 'sauciness', which threatened the expectations of the rich of a humble demeanour among the poor, and was regarded as a challenge to rank and quality. No doubt employers, who wished to keep wages low, joined the rich in lamenting this 'sauciness'; but they were not the principal objectors. In the main, a social order conceived as static by its principal beneficiaries found itself confronted with manifestations of change which it was unable to understand, and was apt to regard philanthropy as an instrument for resisting the forces of disintegration.

As the industrial revolution advanced and its character became more manifest, the mood changed; but the process of change was greatly complicated by the French Revolution. On the whole, up to 1789, the social tone of philanthropy had been getting better; there had been less mixture of motives in it, and more genuine anxiety to

relieve suffering. But the proclamation of the new doctrines of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' set everything back. Not only the movement for parliamentary reform, but also the campaigns against the slave trade and for the amendment of prisons and of the criminal law, suffered a serious reverse when the governing classes became ready to scent a Jacobin in every reformer, no matter how innocuous, and a potential rebellion in every meeting held to consider a grievance. Zeal swung away from the reform of public abuses to the suppression of vice, sedition, and combination in all its forms. Such philanthropy as remained became more than ever tangled up with preaching to the poor the virtues of submission to Church and State, and of demeaning themselves in all humility towards their betters.

As the governing classes slowly got the better of their panic, and Jacobinism gradually lost part of its terror, fresh reasons, this time mainly economic, appeared for not being unduly kind to the poor. Rising prices caused acute distress, especially in the countryside; and Malthus's famous *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) set a fashion of fearing over-population rather than revolution as the peril facing the country. Rising poor rates under the Speenhamland system of relief, which varied payments according to bread prices, were held to be the sign of the increasing pressure of population on the means of subsistence; and the desire to keep down the number of mouths to be fed reinforced the dislike of burdensome rates and taxes and encouraged the more and more dogmatic belief in *laissez-faire* which marked the successive phases of industrial development. An obsolete Law of Settlement, by checking migration into the areas of expanding demand for labour, made matters worse. Denunciation was poured out against undiscriminating charity on the part either of the State or of the private philanthropist. The principles of 'deterrence' and 'less eligibility', soon to be enshrined in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, took shape in men's minds, and engendered an attitude towards poverty fully as harsh as that which had characterized the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The spirit of the new Poor Law was reflected in the current attitude towards private charity.

Yet there were significant differences. The followers of Jeremy Bentham were responsible simultaneously for a doctrinaire opposition to State intervention in economic affairs and for a prodigious reforming zeal in such matters as public health. If Edwin Chadwick made himself the most hated man in England as the administrator of the new Poor Law, he was at the same time earning for himself a quite different set of enemies as the protagonist of the crusade for sanitary reform. His great report of 1842 on the *Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* was as clear a call to State action as his poor-law

activities were an expression of his faith in economic *laissez-faire*. In educational matters, the emphasis shifted from schools designed to teach poor children to spin and read the Bible to schools in which the pupils would learn, at any rate, the rudiments of literacy needed for the more complex ways of urban and factory life. The town, rather than the village, came to dominate the projects of philanthropists and reformers. Voluntary effort adapted itself to the changing patterns of economic organization: the needs of industry, rather than the social attitude of the squirearchy, began to set the tone. There was a world of difference between the Charity Schools promoted in the eighteenth century by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the new schools set on foot under the monitorial system by the rival followers of Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Andrew Bell. One thing they had in common—cheapness, based on an unquestioning assumption that there should be one education for the rich and another for the poor. But there the likeness ended; the 'place in life' for which the children of the poor had to be fitted was now the mine or the factory, and the schools of the early nineteenth century came to be more and more factories for the mass-production of factory labour.

The Evangelical movements, both within and outside the Established Church, held a position of key importance in these processes of social change. Nothing had been further from the wish of John Wesley and his followers than to stir up forces of discontent against the established social order; but in taking religion to the poor and outcast they evoked forces which it was beyond their power to control. The older Nonconformity which cherished the democratic ideas of the seventeenth century throughout the eighteenth was in the main intellectualist and devoid of propagandist zeal. It preserved with jealous independence the internal democracy of its small, self-governing groups, and it maintained a high, and often rigid, standard of personal Puritanism in morals. But these very qualities served to isolate it from the main body of the people; and, where it stood aloof, Wesley and Whitefield rushed in to appeal not to men's intellects, but to their hearts and to their impressionable sense of the pains of hell. Revivalism, mingled as ever with mysticism, reached the poor, whereas the older Nonconformity stopped short of the slum, the mine, and the growing factory areas. But Methodism, Calvinist or Arminian, could not penetrate into these quarters without producing undesired effects. However otherworldly the message of the itinerant preachers, and however severe the discipline put upon them by the leaders of the movement, the congregations which the new evangelism created were necessarily taught to act together, to throw up their own leaders out of their ranks, and to apply the lessons of religious self-sufficiency to secular affairs. The rejection of Methodism by

most leaders of the Established Church threw the Methodists on their own resources, and compelled them to organize themselves locally in democratic ways; and when the Evangelicals who remained within the Church's discipline and rejected Methodism in its more intransigent forms organized their counter-movements towards the end of the century, the breach was already too wide. Wilberforce and Hannah More could not chain up the social forces which Wesley had unloosed; nor could Coleridge and Southey, casting back to Catholic ideas of social solidarity and mutual obligation, command any popular following. The leaven of Wesley's belief that all men had souls to be saved worked itself out into movements for social and economic and political, as well as moral, reformation. The growing Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement, and large sections of the political reform movement found many of their leaders from among those who had learnt their first lessons in democracy in the Methodist congregations.

This, of course, takes us into a quite different field of activity. So far, we have been considering the changing impulses which moved the upper-class philanthropists in doing good to their social inferiors. But now we have reached the point at which these inferiors begin to play a significant part in looking after themselves and creating associations of their own instead of receiving passively and as individuals the benefactions of the well-to-do. The history of the Friendly Societies serves well to illustrate this dualism. The first Act of Parliament regulating Friendly Societies was passed in 1793, in the midst of the first scare created by the Jacobin triumphs in France. Its aim was clear. It was designed to encourage a type of Friendly Society formed and administered under upper-class patronage, regulated by the magistracy, and kept free from all danger of serving as a cover for any kind of dangerous, democratic confederacy. Mutual thrift was clearly a thing to be fostered by the State, above all in time of war; but there were signs that Friendly Societies might serve as a cloak for Trade Union activities, or even for subversive political combinations. Therefore, the upper classes should take the lead in forming and keeping well under their governance and supervision 'safe' societies, and should be assured that such bodies would receive the protection and countenance of the State.

Actually, the Friendly Society movement, for more than half a century after Rose's Act of 1793, was really two quite distinct movements—one, mainly in the country districts, acting under patronage and in effect controlled by benevolent gentry, and another, mainly in the towns, run democratically by its own members and crystallizing gradually into the great Orders of Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, and the like. There was, in the event, nothing 'subversive' about this second movement, though some parts of it rallied for a

while to Robert Owen in the eighteen-thirties, and in many areas in the North Oddfellows especially played an active part in developing the later Co-operative movement initiated by the Rochdale Pioneers in 1844. It developed into an entirely non-political movement of tradesmen, artisans, and relatively well-paid factory workers, standing right aloof from politics and soon shaking off such loose connexions with Trade Unionism as it possessed for a time. It remained, however, a democratic movement, in the sense that its members associated one with another as equals and threw up their leaders out of their own ranks. Because of this, the State's suspicion of it was a long time dying. The Registry of Friendly Societies was set up in 1846; but for some time after that the great Orders with branches were not fully legalized. They won full recognition only with the parliamentary aid of the Christian Socialists, under the Friendly Societies Act of 1855.

Trade Unionism had, naturally, to encounter much stiffer opposition; for its sphere of operations lay much nearer to the heart of social antagonisms. It had the employers, a rapidly growing force in Parliament as well as outside, almost solidly against it, as well as all those who feared working-class combinations as seed-beds of political revolution. From 1799 to 1824 it was entirely outlawed under the Combination Acts, though in practice the prohibition was very unevenly enforced; and even when these Acts had been repealed and combination formally allowed, the limits of toleration remained narrow and were narrowly interpreted by the Courts right up to the further measures of legal recognition which followed hard upon the enfranchisement of a section of the urban workers in 1867.

Trade Unionism, as such, falls outside the scope of this chapter; but it cannot be left out altogether, because it has important, though secondary, social service aspects. The Trade Unions of the skilled workers are, and have been from the first, benefit societies as well as agencies for collective bargaining. Like the Friendly Societies, they have paid sickness and funeral benefits, and have served as instruments of mutual thrift on a democratic basis of self-government under leaders elected from the ranks. The Co-operative movement, on its consumers' side, has served a similar purpose in a different way, providing a secure place for the investment of small savings as well as a means of protecting the working-class consumer against over-priced or adulterated goods.

Through most of the nineteenth century these three movements—the Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, and the consumers' Co-operative Societies—failed, save rarely, to reach down to the lower strata of the working classes. Their strength lay among the 'respectable artisans', who could afford to put aside a little out of their

earnings in order to buy social insurance benefits or to lay something by for old age or a rainy day. The two other movements which spring to mind in relation to them—the Building Societies and the Savings Banks—reached down even less far, and have partaken much less, even within their limits, of a democratic character. Savings Banks have a dual history like that of Friendly Societies—partly of agencies started by benevolent superiors and partly of movements resting originally on a mutual basis. But they have not for the most part preserved, even where they originally possessed, any reality of democratic control, to which indeed their business does not lend itself at all readily. As for the Building Societies, they have developed more and more into pure business agencies, without any reality of control by their members. In the early days, when they were mostly small and usually temporary, they were often governed with some show of democracy. But the development of the permanent Building Society, with a vast clientele of lenders and borrowers bound to it purely by a cash nexus, forbids any reality of democratic participation, even apart from the fact that the extraordinarily rapid growth of the movement in recent times has brought into it a host of investors and borrowers, largely of the middle classes, who no more dream of attempting to control its affairs than do the thousands of small shareholders in the railway companies or in other great capitalist concerns. Analogous to it in this respect are the centralized 'Friendly Societies' and Collecting Societies without branches, which have no social activities to hold them together, and are in practice different from ordinary Insurance Companies only in that they are run rather for the benefit of their collecting agents than of a body of shareholders.

This discussion of the various agencies which have grown up for purposes of mutual thrift may appear to have taken this chapter a long way from the voluntary 'social services', as they are generally conceived. It has, however, to be borne in mind that these movements have in fact been the pioneers in many fields of social service which have later been taken over and generalized by the State, as well as of others which may be taken over in the very near future. The Trade Unions were the pioneers of unemployment insurance: they and the Friendly Societies were the pioneers of insurance against sickness and old age; and the Friendly Societies were in the business of funeral and life insurance based on weekly premiums long before these things were taken up by the great capitalist insurance concerns. The Building Societies prepared the way, not only for the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of 1899, but also for municipal action in the housing field. The Co-operative movement has not yet been called upon, in this country, to cede any of its main activities to the State, or to act side by side with the State in any of its essential

business; but to a great extent it taught to the workers the practice of small-scale investment of which the State is now taking large advantage in the National Savings movement.

These 'mutual' activities, as we have seen, have made their main appeal through most of their existence to the better-paid sections of the working class. Not even Trade Unionism has reached, save at rare moments, the 'bottom-dogs'. It is true that since the 'eighties, when the dockers, gasworkers, and other relatively ill-paid bodies of workers mastered the lesson of combination, the basis of Trade Unionism has been broadened immensely; but even to-day it is far weaker among the less skilled than among the skilled workers, and stops short for the most part of those who need it most of all. It is, on the other hand, precisely among those who are least able to organize themselves that the philanthropists have naturally been busiest; and it is an important social truth that the two movements of philanthropy and mutual self-help have tended to meet—and often to clash—in proportion as their respective clienteles have come to overlap.

The clash occurred with the greatest sound and fury in the eighteen-eighties, when Socialism, re-born under Marxian influence, took up the case of the unemployed and the 'bottom-dogs' and the Socialists began to agitate energetically for the 'right to work' and to demand angrily the drastic reform of a Poor Law still dominated by the repressive principles of 1834. There had been a similar clash in Chartist days, when the Old Poor Law was new; but the battle then was between the Chartists and the State, with voluntary philanthropy playing but a small part in it, whereas in the 'eighties the philanthropists had armed themselves with a social philosophy of their own, and had equipped this philosophy with an organized means of expression and self-defence. The Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869 for the purpose of co-ordinating the heterogeneous and often overlapping activities of a host of disconnected charitable agencies, stood not only for a scientific organization of benevolence, designed to outwit the malingerer and the ne'er-do-well, while helping more adequately those whom it regarded as capable of being helped to help themselves, but also for a strongly individualist gospel of self-help and for 'voluntaryism' as against the extension of state aid. The 'right to work or maintenance', proclaimed by the Socialists, seemed to Sir Charles Loch, Mrs. Helen Bosanquet, and their fellow-workers in the C.O.S. a flagrant invitation to malingering—a threat to overwhelm society with the universal pauperization of the poor. The C.O.S. fought for many years an untiring battle against 'indiscriminate' outdoor relief, by which it came very near to meaning all outdoor relief to able-bodied persons. This did not mean that it refused all succour; on the contrary, it set out to draw clear

between those who ought to receive state aid, those who could by scientifically organized voluntary charity be nursed back into habits of self-sufficiency and self-help, and those who were 'bad cases' and did not deserve to be helped at all. But what this came to in practice was that, whereas the Social Democrats were demanding that the State should assume full responsibility for maintaining the unemployed, the C.O.S. seemed to be doing its level best to get such maintenance as they had been receiving from the Poor Law taken away from them. The consequence was that, despite the efforts of such reformers as Canon and Mrs. Barnett, who tried to mediate between the two groups, Social Democrats and Charity Organizers hated one another with a fury based on principle; and the echoes of the conflict can be heard still.

The immediate issue between the contestants can be summed up unemotionally as involving the scope and limits of state action on the one hand and voluntary charity on the other. But behind it lay, of course, the wider issue between two conceptions of society. The Socialists wanted to destroy the class system; the Charity Organizers, however benevolent, wanted to preserve it. The question between them was not really limited to one of state *versus* private social service: it involved the wider issue of Socialism *versus* Capitalism, fought out in a particular field. While the combatants were in this mood the question whether certain things could be best done by the State, and certain others by voluntary societies, could never be faced in any objective spirit. It was all or nothing, for both sides; and any sort of accommodation would have been regarded as treason to the one or the other cause.

Why, then, did the heat gradually die down, as it undoubtedly did, though even now the flames flicker up again at times? The answer is that, on the one hand, the Socialists took up with social reform, as against revolution, and, on the other, the voluntary bodies had to reconcile themselves both to a great extension of the scope of state action and to a recognition that their efforts to organize charity along scientific lines had failed. As fast as the C.O.S. and its followers on the 'strict' Boards of Guardians cut down the number of recipients of outdoor relief, the Salvation Army and a host of other bodies opened soup-kitchens and set about dispensing indiscriminate charity of the kinds which the Charity Organizers regarded as most demoralizing. There was much shrill abuse of General Booth and of others who refused to follow the C.O.S. principles for their mistaken humanitarianism; but the religious opponents of the C.O.S. and the 'strict' Poor Law retorted that, when they saw men, women, and children starving, it was a Christian duty to relieve their distress as well as to set about saving their souls. Moreover, the 'irreligious' Humanitarians of the stamp of Robert Blatchford were of the same

mind, with their Cinderella Clubs for the entertainment of children from the poorest homes and their appeals for voluntary help for the 'undeserving', whom they represented as the victims of an unjust and callous social system.

Of course, General Booth and Robert Blatchford parted company when it came to considering the means of remedying, as distinct from palliating, distress. The *Clarion* and the Independent Labour Party succeeded to the work of the Social Democratic Federation in demanding the 'Right to Work' and the comprehensive development of social services directly under the auspices of the State; and gradually their propaganda made its mark. The Liberal Party underwent a deep transformation during its long period of political exile after the defeat of Home Rule. In the long run, the entire situation as between the advocates of voluntaryism and state action was altered by the immense changes in the activities of the State which took place mainly after the advent of the Liberal Government at the end of 1905 and the election of a new Parliament in which the Labour Party appeared for the first time as a significant political group. Possibly some of these changes would have come, albeit more slowly, if the Conservative instead of the Liberal Party had won the General Election of 1906. The passing of the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 by the Conservatives before their fall is a small indication that this might have occurred. But it is beyond doubt that the Liberal-Labour victory speeded up immensely, even if it did not wholly cause, the rapid transformation of state activities which followed hard upon the change of Government.

We may fittingly pause at this point to consider just how far State action in the field of the social services had advanced before 1906, and how far it advanced further under Liberal auspices before 1914. When the Liberals took office in 1905, the only social service on which any substantial sum was being spent out of the National Exchequer was education. In this field, the Education Act of 1902 had substantially enlarged the scope of public action by laying the foundations for a state system of secondary education; but not a great deal had in fact been done by 1905 under this Act outside the elementary schools. There were in existence, apart from grants in aid of educational expenditure, certain small grants towards the general expenses of local government; but they did not amount to a great deal. The sole public provision for the sick, the aged, and the incapable was by way of the Poor Law, financed out of local rates· and the unemployed also depended on the Poor Law or on volunt; help, apart from the small extent to which relief work had instituted under the powers conferred on local bodies by t[1] ployed Workmen Act of 1905. The only other social s account—unless Workmen's Compensation be included

and the activities of the Local Authorities in this sphere were still on an exiguous scale in the vast majority of areas. Slum-clearance and the improvement of insanitary urban properties had been proceeding on a quite inadequate scale under the Cross and Torrens Housing Acts, which had been consolidated into the Housing Act of 1890, and in some areas under special Local Acts. But it was not regarded as any part of the duty of central or local government to provide houses for the people. Finally, Workmen's Compensation, instituted in 1897, imposed no charge on public funds, as it rested on the liability of the individual employer, assessed in the courts of law.

Between 1906 and 1914 the Liberal Government (1) acquiesced in a Labour Party Bill which gave limited powers to local education authorities to provide school meals, (2) instituted the School Medical Service, (3) established Old Age Pensions, subject to a means test, on a non-contributory basis, (4) created a national system of health insurance applying to the great majority of wage-earners, and (5) added on a system of unemployment insurance confined to a limited group of trades and a Labour Exchange service open to all employers and workers. These measures have been dwarfed, on the financial side, by the immense developments which took place after 1918. But they were big enough, in relation to what had existed before, to change the character of the State as a 'welfare' organization and to alter profoundly the frontiers between statutory and voluntary forms of social service. There had not been time, before war broke out in 1914, for their financial effects to be fully felt. Nevertheless, mainly in consequence of them, the total amount paid out in cash benefits by public authorities (excluding workmen's compensation) increased from a little over £3 million in 1900 to nearly £22 million in 1914. The latter sum is, of course, tiny in comparison with the £230 million which was paid out in 1938–9. But it was startling enough at the time, and involved, in principle even if not immediately in practice, a veritable revolution in the relation between public and voluntary action.

The Liberal measures passed between 1906 and 1914 were, no doubt, only the thin end of the wedge; and their enactment did not remove the grounds of conflict between the advocates of state provision and those who remained faithful to a belief in the 'voluntary principle'. But I think that, even before 1914, the advocates of 'voluntaryism' as against state action had become conscious that they were fighting a losing battle. Certainly, they were very conscious of hu[illegible]s when the plans for post-war reconstruction began to be seriously 'stric[illegible]ered during 1917 and 1918. State insurance, it was evident, children [illegible] st[illegible]p short at the point which it had reached in 1911. In well as to se[illegible]n workers were brought within the scope of unemploy- Sta[illegible]anitarians [illegible] and it became plain that an all but universal scheme

of insurance against unemployment was bound to form part of the Government's reconstruction programme. Projects for putting health insurance on a more satisfactory footing were indeed defeated by the Government's unwillingness to face the prospect of a fight with the doctors and the insurance companies—groups which had proved themselves redoubtable antagonists in 1911; and it took some time for the insurance principle to be applied to the provision of old age and widows' pensions. But the 1911 device of financing the development of the social services mainly out of payments made by employers and workers, rather than out of the Exchequer, was too enticing a method of offering 'ninepence for fourpence' not to be more widely applied. 'Lateral' redistribution of incomes within the working class by means of contributory insurance became an accepted principle; and when, presently, the persistence of long-term unemployment on a large scale made it plainly out of the question to meet the basic needs of the unemployed out of the resources of the Unemployment Fund, and 'uncovenanted' benefits had to be doled out by the State in one way or another, there came into being the Unemployment Assistance Board, not because anyone really wanted it for its own sake, but because the State had somehow to assume a burden which it was impracticable either to place upon the Poor Law, generally hated as it was and financed out of burdensome and unpopular local rates, or to maintain under a system which left the Minister of Labour responsible for every individual case in which 'uncovenanted' benefit was granted or refused.

The establishment of the U.A.B., though it was prompted mainly by a desire to escape from perpetual Parliamentary bickerings and not by any clear or constructive vision of an alternative social policy, was a turning-point in the relations between statutory and voluntary agencies in the field of social service. For with its advent the State itself, as distinct from the local Poor Law authorities, had to equip itself with a large staff of case-workers who visited the people's homes and reported upon the circumstances and needs of individual families. Unemployment benefit, before the establishment of the U.A.B., had been either given or refused, and had involved no close inquisition into the precise needs of individuals or households. The U.A.B., administering a system of relief involving a test of needs, had to undertake precisely the kind of case-work that had been, up to the point, associated mainly with the activities of the organizations dealing with voluntary charity, or with the work of relieving officers acting under the locally organized Poor Laws. The consequences were momentous. Social workers who had worked previously for voluntary bodies or for the Boards of Guardians were metamorphosed into national officials doing the same job of investigation as civil servants of the State; and the professional bodies

came to consist of a mixture of 'public' and 'voluntary' elements. The unity of the professions helped to break down the old antagonisms. Co-operation between public and private agencies became much easier on account of personal relations between the employees of the two groups.

After 1918 three closely related changes in the organization of the social services were being gradually brought about in such a way as to make it for a time very difficult for those who were closely concerned in them to sort out the real issues involved. In the first place, the State was gradually being brought to accept the obligation to ensure for all its citizens a basic minimum standard of life. This obligation was being accepted grudgingly, and only piecemeal; but the feet of Parliament were set steadily on the road leading to the explicit acceptance of this obligation, which has now at last been embodied in the Beveridge Report.

Secondly, as the growth of the state services involved, on an unprecedented scale, the payment of 'outdoor relief'—in the wide sense of incomes allowed to needy citizens for spending in their own homes —the old C.O.S. case against outdoor relief simply went by default; and all the voluntary charities had to accommodate themselves somehow to the changed situation. This meant in part that their function came to be that of supplementing state aid, instead of providing an alternative to it; but it meant also that the dispensing of money came to be secondary in importance, and the function of acting as advisers and consultants to the poor, not least in relation to their newly acquired legal rights, leapt into the first place. The charitable agencies had henceforth increasingly to lay themselves out to meet special rather than general needs—to fill in the gaps in the state system, rather than to provide an alternative system of their own. This reacted powerfully on the attitude of the charitable workers, for as soon as the poor had recognized rights they had to be treated, and regarded, differently.

Thirdly, new needs appeared, falling outside the scope of charity as it had been previously conceived, and largely outside the scope of a system of social service focused upon charity. The essential characteristic of the new type of social service was its relation to the idea of community. It was concerned not so much with relieving the p[illegible]stitute individual (though that had to come in wherever it touched 'volu[illegible]stressed areas), as with creating and fostering the spirit of [illegible]nity among a generation which seemed to have lost a great hu[illegible]s when traditional social cohesion. It was no accident that the 'strict[illegible]ered service fixed upon the equipment of Community Centres children [illegible]ding of Community Councils as its most vital activities. well as to se[illegible]ome the point of focus for a new spirit of community b[illegible]manitarians [illegible] changing conditions of living.

The National Council of Social Service, started in 1919 on foundations laid by the British Institute of Social Service (1904), became the chief agent of the new forms of community service. It set out, as the C.O.S. had set out half a century earlier, to become a co-ordinating body for the numerous societies engaged in social service of various kinds; and, like the C.O.S., it soon found itself developing into an executive, instead of a merely co-ordinating, body. At the outset, it was based largely on the urban Councils of Social Service which had grown up under a variety of names in many parts of the country; and it began at an early stage to attempt to create Rural Community Councils on a county basis and also Village Councils designed to help with the revival of village life. These experiments met with considerable success, and out of them grew the widespread movement for the building of Village Halls and later also of Community Centres, especially on the new housing estates which were being allowed to grow up with practically no provision for communal contacts or amenities. Unemployment in the endemic forms which it took on in the distressed areas soon gave the National Council a further field of direct service; and its work in founding Unemployed Clubs and adopting other measures of help in the distressed areas brought it into a new relation to the State. Greatly helped in its earlier activities by grants from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, it now became in addition a recipient and dispenser to its local affiliates of public money provided mainly in relief of the distressed areas and the long-term unemployed. This status gave it an added authority with the voluntary bodies whose efforts it was attempting to co-ordinate, and placed it in a position of standing for collaboration between state and voluntary agencies in the field of social services as against the old attitude of antagonism or at most mutual delimitation of spheres.

In founding Community Centres, the N.C.S.S. was, of course, only following on what had been attempted at an earlier stage by certain of the Settlements which grew up mainly after the foundation of Toynbee Hall in 1884. These Settlements have been grouped latterly in two federations—the Association of Residential Settlements and the Educational Settlements Association. Of these two, the latter represents the more modern tendency, but no clear line can be drawn between them. The impulse behind the older Settlements, whether or not they rested on a religious basis, was akin to what had been called 'slumming'. They aimed at bringing the young men, chiefly from the Universities, to live in semi-monastic fashion among the poor, for the double purpose of helping the poor and of teaching the residents to understand and sympathize with the poor. But as the Settlements grew, the whole movement subtly changed. 'Slumming' went out of fashion

Settlements, except those which were definitely religious, showed a tendency to develop into Community Centres for the population around them, providing rooms for meetings and educational classes, and housing various societies which became increasingly self-governing. Residents tended to be young people in search of training for social service as a profession rather than well-to-do 'slummers'; and the Settlements began to find for themselves a new and more democratic place in the local communities in which they were placed. Education came to rank higher among their activities, and philanthropy, in the old sense, lower. The Community Centres which the National Council of Social Service helped to found in connexion with the newer housing estates were akin to the Settlements in this later phase of their development; and the Community Centre movement reacted in its turn upon the attitude of the Settlements in the older urban areas.

Returning to the N.C.S.S. in its more general aspects, it is necessary to stress the point that, although it has caught up into itself much of what remains of the older charitable agencies, it is not itself to be regarded primarily as a 'charitable' body. It behaves, rather, as an organizer and helper of communal services in the conduct of which there is meant to be a large element of democratic self-government. Its clientele consists, not mainly of bottom-dogs who are to receive help from their social superiors, but rather of men and women who are in no need of 'charity', but are in great need of help in organizing the communal aspects of their lives. Even in dealing with the people of the distressed areas, it is faced in general with men and women who would swiftly resent the condescending and patronizing airs characteristic of many of the older forms of charity. Emerging, as it has done, from the older agencies and carrying, through its affiliated bodies, something of their traditions along with it, the N.C.S.S. is in many ways a queer mixture. But of late years its general character has been unmistakable. It is primarily, not a charitable agency, but a fosterer and co-ordinator of communal activities among ordinary people, and not merely among the 'poor' in any narrow sense.

There is, besides 'charity' and the fostering of the community spirit, a third kind of social service activity which has at all times played an important part. From the days of the agitation against the Slave Trade, social reformers have organized themselves into societies with the aim of persuading the State to legislate for the abolition of some particular wrong, nuisance, or abuse. Outstanding among the social service fixed during the nineteenth century were the Ten Hours Movement which fought for factory legislation, the Early Closing Association, and the numerous Leagues and Societies devoted to Temperance, Public Health, Education, improved Housing and changing

Slum-Clearance, provision of Small Holdings and Allotments, and a host of others. Early in the present century, the Anti-Sweating League played a leading part in the campaign which led to the Trade Boards Act of 1909; and the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, following upon the Poor Law Report of 1909, carried on a crusade which was not the less effective because its results became manifest only twenty years later, in the local government legislation of 1929. To tell the story of such campaigns, even in the barest outline, would swell this chapter to inordinate length. No more can be done than to stress their importance, and to point out that similar 'pressure' methods are, of course, extensively used by bodies which exist mainly for more direct forms of service. The Workers' Educational Association sets out to get educational reform, as well as to provide Adult Education. The National Council of Social Service urges the State to act, in addition to acting itself. Such advocacy is a necessary aspect of the work of a great many voluntary societies of every sort and kind; and, without it, reform would lag behind, because often this pressure is the only way of inducing an overburdened Parliament to give a good cause some of its scanty time.

It is worth while, at this point, to pause for a moment in order to observe the important part which the Trusts have played in this evolution from charity to communal service. The great Trusts of the nineteenth century put most of their money into immortalizing their benefactors in bricks and mortar—Peabody and other Trust Dwellings, Passmore Edwards Libraries, and so on. The Trusts of the present century, though they have on occasion financed building—village halls, for example, or Village Colleges in Cambridgeshire—have been much more inclined to help new communal experiments to get started and to prove their worth, in the expectation that some of them would be subsequently either taken over by the State, or at least helped out of the public purse. Such Trusts as the Carnegie and the Pilgrim have thus served as helpers in the growth of the public social services, making possible a range of pioneering work which would have been far beyond the powers of the voluntary societies without their aid.

It is not the function of this chapter to pursue the matter further, or to attempt to forecast what the future relations between the State and the voluntary bodies are likely to be. Evidently, the historical tendency has been for the State to take over the material task of providing either in cash or in kind for basic physical needs, and for the voluntary agencies, as this happens, to strike out along new lines of community service on the educational and social plane. Just as the Workers' Educational Association has grown into a nation-wide democratic society for the fostering of adult education, so the

National Council of Social Service is coming to fulfil an analogous function in the sphere of community services based on the natural groupings of the people in country, town, and suburban estate. Its outstanding war-time development—the Citizens' Advice Bureau—exactly corresponds to this principle of evolution, and is certain to outlast the emergency which brought it into being.

But, precisely at this point, we are brought right up against the fact that the relative spheres of voluntary and public action, though they have changed a great deal, have not finished changing yet. In some areas Advice Bureaux are organized, not under the N.C.S.S. or by any voluntary body, but under the local authority; and in some centres where Trade Unionism is particularly strong, the Unions or the Trades Councils undertake a large part of the work—especially in some of the coalfields. In a number of places, especially some where the Labour Party is in full control, there is a tendency to believe that all social services that are worth developing at all ought to be taken over by public bodies, and to look with suspicion on everything done under the auspices of the voluntary societies. This attitude, which is in process of disappearing in many parts of the country, is in the main a legacy from the old conflict between the 'voluntarists' and the advocates of the right of the needy to maintenance at the hands of the State. It is likely to remain strong wherever the old 'charity' spirit retains its hold on the modern voluntary agencies for social services, and to die hard, even where this is not the position, in areas where the old battle was waged with exceptional fury.

As matters stand to-day, the chief sphere of material aid to the poor which still remains largely under voluntary control is that of hospital provision; and it is natural that the advocates of public action should now concentrate much of their attention on the demand that the voluntary hospitals be taken over and maintained by the State. Hospital provision is, of course, one of the oldest forms of private charity and, apart from a few very ancient foundations, most of the great voluntary hospitals began in the eighteenth or in the early nineteenth century. Side by side with them grew up, chiefly in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Poor Law infirmaries, which, since the abolition of the Guardians in 1929, have been in process of becoming the nucleus of a municipal hospital service. The National Insurance Act of 1911, moreover, created a third system of hospitals, for tuberculosis treatment. Nor have the voluntary hospitals remained unchanged. Increasingly of late years they have been financed not merely by charitable subscriptions, but by means of Hospital Savings Associations out of the weekly contributions of their potential patients. It would be in the natural line of evolution for them to be taken over and made part of a regionalized

system of public hospitals as an element in the comprehensive Public Medical Service recommended in the Beveridge Report. What stands mainly in the way of this is the special position of the voluntary hospitals in relation to medical teaching and to the medical profession; and it would be clearly necessary to safeguard their contribution to teaching in bringing them into any co-ordinated public plan.

This chapter has been unavoidably a most cursory scamper over an enormous field, and many vital things, therefore, have inevitably been left out. The attempt, however, was not to write even a skeleton history of the development of the social services, but only to bring into relief certain points in that history which are essential to the understanding of the descriptive and analytical chapters forming the bulk of this volume. The main purpose has been to suggest that it is a great mistake to suppose that as the scope of State action expands, the scope of voluntary social service necessarily contracts. Its character changes, in conformity both with changing views of the province of State action and with the growth of the spirit and substance of democracy. It transforms itself gradually from benevolence *de haut en bas*, often involving what seem to us nowadays detestably humiliating conditions even when the spirit of the promoters was one of real benevolence, into communal service, designed to widen and deepen the expression of the spirit of democratic co-operation. As long as there are rich and poor, the social services will necessarily continue in some degree to reflect inequalities of class and income. But under modern conditions there can and does enter into them much of a different and more equalitarian spirit. This democratic element is fostered by the growth of the salaried professions upon whose members an increasing amount of the actual work devolves. The trained professional social worker, who gets paid for doing the job, is much less open to suspicion of condescendingness or patronizing than the voluntary 'lady helper', and, treating his or her work in a professional spirit, usually sets about it in a democratic way consistent with the spirit of the times. This sets a new tone for the voluntary workers, who catch the spirit of the professionals. Nothing in the field of social services during the coming years of stress will be more important than the training along the right democratic lines of those who are to serve either public or voluntary agencies in the various fields of social work. Assistance Board officers, Youth leaders, housing managers, hospital almoners, psychiatrists, probation officers, welfare supervisors, and a host of other professional groups will need to be trained in rapidly increasing numbers for service in every area. A beginning has been made with these forms of training; but the work is still on much too small a scale, nor has it yet been organized with a proper understanding of its vital importance to the community

spirit and to the right working of democracy in the world of to-day. These professions will form one of the vital links between the public and the voluntary spheres of activity; and upon the quality of their members, more than on any other factor, the human achievement of the social services will depend.

PART II

CHAPTER 3

SOME VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN

By R. M. WRONG

I

AT the present moment there are over 1,000 homes for children run by voluntary societies, supporting between them at least as many children as are cared for in Public Assistance Institutions.[1] Here only seven of the societies that manage these homes will be considered, seven of the best known, largest, and oldest which together care for some 20,000 children. There are also in this country four societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and two of these will be considered, the National Society and the Liverpool Society.[2] There are numerous other societies for the welfare of children of school age, from which a few specimens only will be taken for consideration. The Invalid Children's Aid Association, a London society, has, for example, been selected from the fifty-five societies that care for invalid children in various towns, and is a fairly representative choice, for the majority of these societies are affiliated to it and agree with it in policy.

This chapter is thus confined to a few selected societies, and, since these do not between them cover the whole field of work for children carried on by voluntary agencies, it has been found necessary to pay little or no attention to certain important activities. For instance little mention is made of Nursery School work or Child Guidance Clinics or of Holiday Camps, and none of Children's Hospitals. These are subjects that would have to be examined in a detailed and comprehensive survey but have had to be omitted from what is only an introductory study.

The most conspicuous feature of these societies dealing with the welfare of children is that the majority of them are long established. Most of those considered here have been in the field for over sixty years; two have recently celebrated their centenaries, the Shaftesbury Society, now one hundred years old, and the still older Shaftesbury Homes and *Arethusa* Training Ship of 1843. One, dating from the

[1] On January 1st, 1938, there were 33,566 children maintained in Public Assistance Institutions.

[2] The other two are the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the Birkenhead and Wirral Society.

eighteenth century, the Foundling Hospital, is over two hundred years old.

As the comparison of these societies will show, the eighteenth century had ideas and methods in social service very different from those of the nineteenth. It had also very different social conditions; and the early history of the Foundling Hospital must be studied against the background of mingled callousness and humanitarianism characteristic of that century. It was a period when the parish officer's main concern was to spare his parish the expense of poor relief, when large sums were spent in litigation over the legal responsibility for paupers, and when, as a nineteenth-century historian of the Hospital wrote, 'the then ill-defined and wretched administration of the Poor Law left the deserted child without other protection than the casual humanity of the passenger'.[1] And deserted children were not uncommon. The confused state of the marriage laws and the rigidity of the social structure led to many concealed or faulty marriages, and to a great deal of illegitimacy. It was the sight of these illegitimate infants, whose mothers could not support them, left 'abandoned on dung-hills', that stirred the humanitarian instincts of Captain Thomas Coram, the Hospital's founder.

The Hospital's Governors started their work with two main purposes. When Addison had written in 1713 of the need for such a hospital, to prevent the exposure of children, he had said, 'It is certain that that which generally betrays these profligate women into it, and overcomes the tenderness which is natural to them on other occasions, is the fear of shame, or their inability to support those whom they give life to'. Coram and the Governors were of the same opinion and desired the hospital not merely to be the means of saving unwanted children, but also, by removing this fear of shame on the part of their mothers, to enable these women to return to a respectable and honest living.

The Hospital soon found itself in a difficult position. It was the only Institution of its kind in England, but it could not hope to save the lives of all deserted children and support them on its own private funds. Any idea of deliberate discrimination between cases was rejected by the Governors; their method was to fill any vacancies by drawing lots. So the Hospital appealed to Parliament for financial help, and was given a grant in 1756 on condition that it received every child under a certain age whose mother applied for its admission. A basket was hung out and the Hospital admitted any child placed in it. The results of this indiscriminate admission were appalling. The Hospital wrestled courageously with the administrative problems entailed in an enormous and incalculable increase in numbers, but it could not combat abuse and fraud. Parish officers

[1] John Brownlow, *Memoranda and Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital*, 1847.

lightened the burden of poor rates by sending to the Hospital both the illegitimate and legitimate children of paupers; parents brought in their dying children to spare themselves the expense of a burial; a regular trade sprang up for the transport of children from the country to the Hospital—and many of these children were murdered or died of exposure on the way. The death-rate in the Hospital rose to over seventy per cent, and the Commons, in a panic, put an end to the system. One of the earliest attempts at co-operation between voluntary and statutory authorities had been a disastrous failure. The Hospital returned to admission by lot, but gradually modified this system until by 1836 it had adopted its present method of giving preference to cases where there were prospects of the mother's return to a respectable life.[1]

One would have expected the great nineteenth-century societies for looking after children to have borrowed from the experience and ideas of the Foundling Hospital as they borrowed from one another.[2] But this does not seem to have been the case. The nineteenth-century societies started with a different social philosophy, and intended to meet different needs. They were mainly inspired by the evangelical movement, and their first aim was therefore religious; if they felt strongly about the conditions of the day many of them nevertheless felt that reform should come not so much by changing the law as by changing people, and this, they claimed, could only be done by religion. Most would have agreed with Dr. Barnardo's statement that 'many of the wrongs that call for redress are due to moral causes. They demand reform in the individual heart and conduct rather than in the civil constitution.'[3] Moreover it was not for the State to reform the individual; it was for the ordinary citizen to do so privately through voluntary work. This was felt to be true of any subject which affected, as the whole question of child welfare did, the status and influence of the family. Lord Shaftesbury may have done his most famous and important work in pleading in Parliament for shorter hours of work for children in mines and factories; but there can be no question that the work nearest his heart was the ragged school and refuge efforts of voluntary societies in the East End of London, from which grew the two societies that use his name.[4] The 1840's were an age when, for the majority of poor children in the great industrial towns, there was no elementary education beyond that given by voluntary societies; when the poor law provided

[1] There is a full account of the results of indiscriminate admission in *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, by R. H. Nichols and F. A. Wray, 1935.

[2] For example, Barnardo made use of the experience of the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children.

[3] From Dr. Barnardo's Homes, Annual Report for 1889.

[4] Shaftesbury himself said: 'I would rather be President of the Ragged School Union than govern empires.'

the only statutory service available for the nation, and when the relief it offered could only be got by the utterly destitute in a workhouse where the young and the old, the sick and the able-bodied, the madman and the prostitute, had all to live together. As late as 1876, Dr. Barnardo described the workhouse training received by girls as a disgrace to the whole nation, and criticized 'the appalling effects of that dreadful system which attempted to rear the female children of the poorest class on principles which violate and outrage every instinct of nature and every indication of experience'.[1] It was an age when little was done by the State for those in need, and that little grudgingly. For the State was paralysed in any such action by the universal fear of damaging the independence and self-sufficiency of the family.

There was also an almost incredible amount of abject poverty and of utter destitution, which provided an immense field for charitable work. The societies that set out to do this work, though they might show a preference for working for children, did not confine themselves rigidly to any age group. These early societies included three that will be considered here, the Ragged School Union, now the Shaftesbury Society, the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, now the Shaftesbury Homes and *Arethusa* Training Ship, and the Reformatory and Refuge Union, now the Children's Aid Society. The first of these was a loose federation of almost independent Day Schools and Sunday Schools for children who could afford no fees. 'No child shall be admitted without prior inquiry into the social position of its parents'[2] was one of its rules. It was determined not to waste its efforts on the better off: 'whenever children are found in our schools who are not of the right class, I mean children whose parents can pay, such children ought to be removed'.[3] Initially no Ragged School intended to provide more than education for its children; it was for the family to provide food, clothing, and shelter. But it became clear to those engaged in this work that something more was needed in the case of those children whose home influences made it likely that they would drift into a life of crime, or who had already so drifted. In the history of the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, the Refuge movement can be seen growing out of the Ragged School movement to meet this particular need. Until 1852 this society consisted of three Ragged Schools run by a Committee, with very little to distinguish it from any other unit within the Ragged School movement. In that year the Committee opened a separate fund to support a hostel for children. Gradually this refuge work came to absorb most of the Committee's

[1] From Dr. Barnardo's Homes, Annual Report for 1876.
[2] Ragged School Union, Annual Report for 1861.
[3] Lord Shaftesbury in the Ragged School Union's Annual Report for 1852.

time, funds, and interest. The society thus became one of the numerous independent institutions founded in the 1840's and 1850's to protect children from a life of crime. Eventually these received recognition by the Government when, in 1854, courts were allowed to commit children to reformatories and industrial schools. Government recognition and aid showed up the need for co-ordination within the Refuge movement, and it was to achieve this that the Reformatory and Refuge Union was created in 1856.

The Reformatory and Refuge Union did not confine its work to children's reformatories. It concerned itself with all aspects of criminal reformation; for example it launched a mission to reclaim prostitutes, agitated for the institution of Juvenile Courts, and attempted to co-ordinate the various Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. 'The chief aim of the Union is to reclaim and elevate the neglected and criminal classes, by educating them in the fear of God, and in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures' was, until 1936, the formal statement of its aims; like all the societies of this group, its mainspring was evangelical religion. Whether these societies removed their children from the slums to homes and reformatories, or, as the Ragged Schools did, attempted to improve them within their own homes, the emphasis was the same, on religion and education rather than on physical welfare.[1]

It is significant that each of these societies has found it necessary to change its name. Such changes have marked three things—a change in the atmosphere and emphasis of social work for children, which will be discussed later, an increased differentiation of the work done, and, in the case of the Ragged School Union and the Refuge and Reformatory Union, a change from the earlier loose federations of almost autonomous branches and homes into centralized societies. Each of the three has specialized along its own line and the Shaftesbury Society has grown apart from the other two because it has always tried to work through the home, whereas they have concentrated on cases where the home has broken down.

These early societies concentrated on the poorest classes and followed Lord Shaftesbury's motto of 'stick to the gutter', recognizing that there alone there was need for far more than they could accomplish. In 1864 the Ragged School Union calculated that it was only reaching half the number of children who had no hope of other education, and those with whom the Ragged Schools made contact were the poor, not the homeless. There were still large masses of

[1] The Foundlings received a religious education, but the Governors of the Hospital seem to have valued this not so much for its own sake but more as a means of ensuring their good behaviour. For example, on one occasion they stated 'it is of the greatest moment to breed up Children in the Fear of God, as the best means of keeping them in proper subjection to their Masters, Mistresses, and Superiors'.

children in the East End slums not only untouched by these societies but also largely unknown to them, until in 1866 the Ragged School teacher, Dr. Barnardo, found a group of boys sleeping on a roof and realized 'the terrible fact that they were all absolutely homeless and destitute'. This was his first glimpse of 'the untold miseries of forlorn child-life upon the streets of London',[1] and he had difficulty in convincing even Lord Shaftesbury, who knew more than most philanthropists about slum life, of the existence of this great submerged child population, which was estimated by Barnardo in 1882 as numbering 20,000 in London alone. Thus Barnardo started the greatest and most famous of all the societies for providing homes for children, and three years later the Wesleyan Church began its own great society, the future National Children's Home and Orphanage. It was characteristic of the period, and of the great need for all kinds of social work, that neither society at first confined itself to the provision of homes. Both grew out of Ragged Schools, both were evangelical in their inspiration and both therefore regarded mission work as an essential part of their duty. As the National Children's Home and Orphanage pointed out in 1888, its first aim was not charity but evangelical religion; it was an aggressive missionary agency. 'Every branch of the Children's Home is a home mission centre.'[2] Thus both these societies at first included a great variety of work. Barnardo's for long called itself the East End Juvenile Mission, but did not restrict itself to children. Its aims included not only the rescue and training of children but also the evangelizing, helping, and healing of the masses of the East End. The National Children's Home maintained a mission and a Sunday School in the East End until this war. But the greater part of this general mission work died out between 1870 and 1900, because in the Elementary Education Act of 1876 the State recognized a duty to provide schooling for all children, and the Ragged Schools, which were the core of this mission work, gradually became unnecessary. At the same time the growing number of children on the societies' hands demanded concentration of effort. Adequate provision for child welfare was not undertaken by the State till long after elementary education. As a result there continued to be a need for voluntary homes while the need for Ragged Schools gradually declined.

It is an illustration of this that the next big children's homes society, which was founded after the Elementary Education Act, concentrated from the first on children's homes, and was never concerned with general mission work. The creation of this society, the Church of England Society for 'Waifs and Strays', also shows the

[1] The episode is fully described in Dr. Wesley Bready's book, *Dr. Barnardo*, Chapters 4 and 5.

[2] From the National Children's Home and Orphanage, Annual Reports for 1888 and 1894.

weakening of the inter-denominational feeling that had been inspired by the evangelical movement. Its predecessors were Protestant, but not denominational in their application; for instance, though the National Children's Home and Orphanage was the agency of the Wesleyan Church, it never confined its energies to the children of this denomination. But the object of the Waifs and Strays was to give the children of the Church of England an upbringing in their own church. It never, therefore, set out to deal with the whole problem of the slums, but only to combat a defined part of it. It was a more deliberate foundation than these earlier societies. Dr. Barnardo himself had been working for over ten years before an unfounded scandal forced him to create a committee, and in fact to make his society more than just Dr. Barnardo. Even then his personality was so dominant and his liking for working in his own way so unconquerable that the committee, once founded, decided that 'while the founder lives it must not neutralize his freedom of action', and confined itself to financial matters. Thus Barnardo started his work first and his society as an afterthought; similarly the Ragged School Union came to unite existing Ragged Schools, the Reformatory and Refuge Union to co-ordinate the Refuge movement; but the Waifs and Strays, like the Foundlings, started its work with a declared constitution.

This group of nineteenth-century societies have a common background of evangelical religion gradually giving way to a more denominational impulse. But they are not entirely representative of the efforts of this period at child welfare. The Roman Catholic church shared in the Refuge and Reformatory movement of the 1840's, and in the educational efforts of that time. At the same time the immigration of thousands of half-starved Irish families into the industrial centres of England altered the whole scale of that Church's problem and new societies had to be created to meet these new needs. In 1859, certain members of the famous Roman Catholic Society for working among the poor, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, faced with this growing problem of destitution, founded a home for boys in the West End, and in 1887 this was extended to the East End. Here the Catholics found themselves in violent conflict with Dr. Barnardo. Barnardo was willing to bring up any Protestant child within its own Church, and he would let no child, whether Protestant or Catholic, starve. The Catholic population of England was, and still is, mainly found among the poorest of town dwellers, and could not easily support its own children. As a result, one-fifth of the children in Barnardo's homes had been baptized into the Catholic Church and were receiving a Protestant upbringing. In 1896 it was calculated that in London alone at least 1,720 Catholic children were at that time receiving a Protestant training in

Protestant homes, and so would be lost to their Church. As Cardinal Vaughan said in 1899, 'our losses among poor Catholic children may be put down to four main sources: Workhouses, Police Courts, certain Protestant Benevolent Institutions, and Destitution'. The challenge the Church had to meet was not destitution but loss of faith. To combat Barnardo's national organization there had to be a society that was national in scope. The homes already founded by the diocese of Westminster were therefore pledged to receive any Catholic child for whom there was no other Catholic home, and thus the Crusade of Rescue became a national as well as a diocesan society.[1]

Once these and other 'homes' societies were established, voluntary effort looked round for new fields of child welfare. This does not mean that the existing societies could immediately care for every homeless child. But they increased their scope very rapidly, and at the same time there grew up more generous opinions on the needs of Poor Law children. It took some time for these opinions to have material effect; as late as 1906, 14,000 children were still living in mixed workhouses,[2] where the infant death rate was between two and three times as great as for the rest of the country.[3] But the desire to economize on the provision for pauper children was gradually giving way to a recognition that sound training that would guarantee employment was the only real economy. The determination to give the children of the pauper a worse start in life than those of the independent labourer was dying out, and the Poor Law child was being regarded more as a child and less as a pauper. In 1873 even the child on out-relief was seen to be in need of education, and his parents were required to send him to school. After vigorous criticism by the Departmental Committee of 1894, the Poor Law Schools started a steady improvement. And so the needs to be met by the later societies were not the obvious ones of a home and education.

'It is quite time that the doctrine of parental rights should not be allowed any longer to be a doctrine of children's wrongs',[4] wrote the National Children's Home and Orphanage in 1884, the year of the founding of the London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, out of which grew the N.S.P.C.C. At that date it was far easier to prosecute a man for maltreating an animal than for cruelty to his child. The unity of the family was sacred to the law; the wife could not give evidence against her husband, and the child to give

[1] For further concentration two existing societies were united by Cardinal Vaughan, who deposited the 367 children of the Crusade of Rescue, a diocesan society, on the administrator of the national Homes for Destitute Catholic Children (who found nothing for their support but a subscription list almost identical with his own).

[2] There were still 215 children in mixed workhouses in 1938.

[3] See *English Poor Law History*, Part II, Vol. 1, Chapter 4, by S. and B. Webb.

[4] National Children's Home and Orphanage, Annual Report for 1884.

evidence had to be able to understand the nature of an oath. Before a child's parents or guardians could be prosecuted, it had to be proved that the child had already been injured. A man's children were his own, with whom he might do as he liked.[1] It was this doctrine that the first English Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, founded in Liverpool on an American model, set out to attack. Similar societies followed in other towns, and the majority of these grouped themselves into a National society, one of whose first aims was to change the law. It described its work as enfranchizing the nation's childhood; 'the society does not ask England for charity for the child, but for justice'.[2]

Before the end of the last century the most fundamental needs of children, for education, shelter, and protection, were a field already marked out by voluntary societies, though not completely covered. New voluntary effort came from a more generous attitude to children, and endeavoured to meet wants which, though they were not so fundamental, were real enough. It laid less stress on religion and more on physical welfare, for though those who started these new societies were often themselves inspired by religious motives, they recognized material as well as spiritual needs. The Children's Fresh Air Mission and the Children's Country Holiday Fund were founded in 1883 and 1884 to help London children, and in particular delicate Londoners, to a country holiday. The Invalid Children's Aid Association[3] started to apply the Charity Organization Society's principle of family case-work to the invalid and crippled children of London. Its original aim was to offer advice to their parents and companionship to the children, but it soon became clear that in many cases more material help was needed.[4] In the same way that the Ragged School movement was forced to do more than teach the children, the Invalid Children's Aid Association found it necessary to found convalescent homes, to give its children vocational trainings and to experiment with new treatments. From its Charity Organization Society parentage it recognized the advantages of co-ordinated work, and it affiliated itself to similar societies in other towns, some like itself concerned only with invalid children, others with adults also, and some, for example the Liverpool Child Welfare Association, uniting all local work for children. The rapid spread of

[1] 'Some parents seem to imagine that, short of murder, they may do what they please to their own children': the Liverpool Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Annual Report for 1883.

[2] National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Annual Report for 1892.

[3] Founded 1888.

[4] The I.C.A.A. stated in its Annual Report for 1889: 'the Committee cannot content themselves with attaching a Visitor, or even a nurse, where the conditions of the home are such that a legion of Visitors would be powerless to effect substantial good'.

these societies, the founding of which was often due to the influence of people who had worked with the I.C.A.A., showed a general recognition of these needs. Then in 1904 the Children's Play Centre Fund undertook the problem of the town child's recreation, concentrating particularly on those who most needed its help, children who had had trouble with the police and needed to have their leisure time filled, and children whose parents could not look after them in the evenings, and who for safety's sake would otherwise be locked into an empty house. All these societies have close relations with statutory bodies. The holiday societies choose their children, collect their contributions and inspect their health through the school, the teachers, and the school medical officers. The children's play centres were approved by a Board of Education memorandum in 1916, and have since been largely financed by the Board and by local education authorities. In the provincial towns the play centre work was soon taken up by the local authority, but in London the society was not superseded until 1941, when, for personal reasons, it had to cease work. The Invalid Children's Aid Association is an example of the closest type of voluntary and statutory co-operation; it conducts experiments with and for the L.C.C., it acts as a general connexion between different institutions and the families in need of its help, but by its independence it remains able to offer both criticism and advice to public authorities.

The inter-war period produced a new group of societies, based on a new conception, that the child has a right to the best that can be given it. The Save the Children Fund started life as a British relief agency in Europe after the last war. When that emergency was past, the society's members recognized that in every country, including their own, some children were not being adequately cared for by this standard, even in the more permanent conditions of peace. It therefore set out to investigate the needs of children in all countries, and to find out how these could be met. This aim was closely connected with the conception of international duty that produced the League of Nations. The Save the Children Fund's work has included both research and experiment. Under the latter heading come activities as different as the establishment of nursery schools in the distressed areas, and the settling of communities on the land in central Europe. Its position is unique in child welfare, not only because of its international connexions,[1] but also because of its extraordinarily wide aim, the best possible conditions of life for all children, whatever their nationality.

The Children's Nutrition Council has also a wide aim: the supply

[1] It has helped to establish an international society with the same aims, to which it is affiliated, and to encourage the founding of similar societies in other countries.

of adequate food to the whole nation, but in particular to the children, 'for the children are the country's future'. 'The Council is a scientific body, intruding into politics through the sheer impetus of the scientific facts that it represents.'[1] It does not attempt to feed the nation's children itself, but to survey the present state of affairs, and, unhampered by direct welfare work, agitate for legislation. Like the Save the Children Fund it realizes that the child not destitute, nor invalid, nor ill-treated, may not be receiving from its family all that it needs; that its parents, through ignorance or inability, may not be giving it the best possible start in life.

The same emphasis on the child's rights rather than on the unity and independence of the family has been responsible for the large-scale growth of adoption which has brought with it its own societies. Adoption has always existed, and children's homes and other voluntary organizations have for a long time used it as a solution to certain problems, but it is only recently that societies have been formed expressly to act as middlemen between children in need of a home and adults in need of a child. There are now five such societies in existence, and adoption is also carried on by local authorities, and by numerous voluntary organizations which do not specialize in the work. The existence of these adoption societies, as well as the widespread practice of adoption, and the demand for security for adopted children, led to the introduction of a new principle into English law. By the Act of 1926, children can be formally and legally adopted; the child is secured a home, and this artificial family unit is recognized. The Act was experimental, and the Departmental Committee set up in 1936 to inquire into its workings found that some adoption societies were not always very careful in the creation of this unit; that the Act, intended to give adopted children security, was in some cases allowing their exploitation. The guiding principle behind this committee illustrates the modern emphasis on the child's rights: 'it appears to us beyond question that the first duty of the adoption society is to the child'. For this reason the 1926 Act has been amended by the Adoption of Children Regulation Act, 1939. Adoption societies must take certain minimum precautions, and be registered and supervised; adoptions can still be initiated by private individuals, a fact that many societies regard as unfortunate, but those participating, if not relatives, must also be supervised before the arrangements are finally approved. It seems probable that these regulations will ensure a more uniform quality to the work of adoption societies; they do not aim at any form of co-ordination between the societies, but it is possible that the societies may eventually work this out for themselves.

[1] War-time Nutrition Bulletin for September 1941.

II

The group of societies considered here is clearly a diverse one, but one possessing more common features than the mere fact that all are working for children. One of the most obvious points common to them all is that they do not and cannot belong to the 'mutual aid' type of society. They endeavour to meet the needs of the most inarticulate section of society, one incapable of organizing for its own benefit. For this reason these societies must still belong to the 'philanthropic' type; they must be the means by which benefits are given by those who have to those who have not. Perhaps it is this fact that accounts for the remarkable way that they are bound by their own history. In most of them, their traditions and pasts are still active and influence not only their structure, but also their philosophy, their attitude to the family and to the State. This is not to say that their policy towards the child is in any way old-fashioned. The Shaftesbury Society and Barnardo's have, for example, long since tacitly discarded the idea that only the rudiments of education were appropriate to or necessary for their children.[1] Instead their homes are rightly proud of the individual and advanced training they can give their children. But they are far more flexible in their work and scope than in their social philosophy or structure. If the organization of each is examined it is found to be explicable only in the light of its own history. Thus if an explanation is sought of why Barnardo's makes so little use of voluntary energy and supervision outside the field of money-raising, and runs itself as a great independent bureaucracy, the answer is to be found in the character of Barnardo himself. He was a difficult man to work with, autocratic and independent, and unwilling to be hampered by a committee, or by the unreliability of the voluntary worker. From the first, therefore, his work relied on a very high proportion of paid workers. It is, of course, obvious that there is far less scope for unpaid enthusiasts in the 'homes' societies than in the others of this group. No society with the permanent upkeep of several thousand children on its hands—and Barnardo's, the largest, supports well over 8,000 children—can afford to leave their daily care and supervision, with the specialized knowledge it calls for, to irregular enthusiasm. But the Waifs and Strays Society makes a serious attempt to harness this enthusiasm into local committees which supervise its homes. Barnardo's does not.

The influence of Shaftesbury, and of those who like him were opposed to any form of centralization, has for long affected the older

[1] 'I have no time to attend to the ornamental adjuncts of an advanced education'; Dr. Barnardo in 1889. 'The grade of instruction should be kept as low as possible'; Lord Shaftesbury in 1861.

societies. It was not till 1936 that the Reformatory and Refuge Union shook off this influence and turned itself into the more tightly constructed and centrally controlled Children's Aid Society; and the fact that it still concerns itself with mothers as well as with children is due to its past. It started life simply as a co-ordinator of all reformatory institutions, whether for children or for adults, but it was unable to refrain from initiating work where it found a need. It started such work, however, with the express intention of passing it on to some other society once its value had been proved: 'though the Union originates and assists, it does not carry on any Institution'.[1] But some of these activities could not be floated off on their own. One of these was the Female Mission to Fallen Women, which, instead of becoming an independent organization, remained under the control of the Union, and gradually assumed more duties. Besides undertaking mission work in the streets, it started to care for the women for whom it worked, and subsequently for their children. All this increased the expenses of the Mission and made it still more difficult for the Union to shake it off. Similarly, the Union's other commitments grew. The Refuge Fund developed from an occasional source of help for special objects into an essential part of the financial basis of certain Refuges.

The burden of upkeep which thus descended on the Reformatory and Refuge Union prevented it from adapting itself to newer needs. It was becoming more and more concerned with the business of maintaining these particular institutions, and less and less with that of co-ordination. Thus, when it became obvious that some form of inspection of all voluntary homes for children was essential, the Reformatory and Refuge Union had so far ceased its supervisory work that it failed to respond to this need, and in 1933 the Home Office assumed this duty.[2] Finally, in 1935 the society recognized that it had ceased to be a co-ordinating Union, and reorganized itself as a 'homes' society, very little different from others of the same kind. There was still a need for co-ordination among the various 'homes' societies, but it was left to the societies themselves to achieve this if they would. The larger societies began an informal series of meetings in 1941, which has grown into the 'Associated Council of Children's Homes', and if this can be extended to the other homes it may be able to meet this need.

The Shaftesbury Society has a dual nature only understandable in the light of the very difficult problem it has had to meet. When it was still the Ragged School Union it had to face the appropriation

[1] Reformatory and Refuge Union, Annual Report for 1858.

[2] It is also possible that the Reformatory and Refuge Union's association with the criminal law made it an undesirable body to co-ordinate institutions that were not reformatory in type. But several such institutions had been among the earliest belonging to the Union.

by the State of elementary education, till then its main interest. It suffered at once a great drop in subscribers and helpers, though for many years its work was still needed. The school boards specified in the Act of 1870 were not founded until it was clear that no non-provided school would be built in the neighbourhood, and even when founded could not at once provide schooling for all who needed it. The Union did not therefore have to adjust itself to the new conditions for about twenty years, and the adjustment it made explains its present structure. The Ragged School Union had been a loose federation of almost independent schools, each controlling its own work and finances. The Union did little more than criticize and advise. These autonomous schools continued as independent mission centres, but could not produce the drive necessary for new developments. This was undertaken by the central Union, which set out to catch the children lying outside the ordinary Ragged School effort, to clothe them and to teach them. All this marked 'local decay and central aggressiveness',[1] for the day of the unco-ordinated independent voluntary worker was past. But the most interesting feature of this development is that it has from the start laid more emphasis on welfare and less on religion. Out of this steadily expanding work has come a clothing agency, a system of holiday homes for London children, and some highly specialized work for cripples, which is not confined to children. At the same time this new welfare work has enabled the society to survive the gradual decrease and disappearance of the 'ragged' class for whom it was originally created. It is as important to the central agency that a child is a cripple as that he is poor. From these developments comes the peculiar nature of the society. On the one hand it is local and individual in its declining energy and its autonomy, religious, philanthropic, and old-fashioned. On the other hand it is a centralized, bureaucratic, aggressive, expanding, and efficient welfare agency. Not all the central activities conform to this description, for the society is often the dumping ground of ancient institutions and movements that can no longer support themselves in isolation. But there is in general a surprising difference in the type of work undertaken and in the atmosphere in which it is done.

The past has also had a profound effect on the philosophy of the societies under review, and it is clear that the majority are still under the spell of the date of their foundation. Much has happened in child welfare in the past hundred years. As the Reformatory and Refuge Union has pointed out, 'the present-day machinery for looking after the needs of children, though by no means perfect, at least

[1] These are the words used to describe the change in C. J. Montague's excellent book on the Shaftesbury Society, *60 Years in Waifdom*, published to mark the Society's sixtieth anniversary.

renders it very rare indeed for a waif or stray child to be found. In fact, the words as applied to children in Great Britain may be said to be obsolete.'[1] There has been a palliation or removal of the grosser social inequalities, accompanied by a widening of the estimate of the minimum conditions for child life. The 'homes' societies have met this change by extending their scope beyond the great industrial cities, and by widening their definitions of the word 'destitute'. They no longer search the street for waif children. Instead, their children are brought to them from homes unable or unwilling to give them adequate support. They can recognize a child's individual needs, and are not unnecessarily bound by regulations. They can help a mother to board out an illegitimate child, and can come to the rescue of a widower who, though he may not lack financial resources, may be unable to look after his own family. They can apply individual pressure to a family to care for its children. These are examples of the way in which they do not have to wait for complete destitution before coming to a child's assistance. At the same time the State has gradually undertaken new responsibilities. It shouldered elementary education in 1870; it added the school medical and the school meals services in the early twentieth century; by its orphans' pensions it has reduced the number of children in Public Assistance homes, and these homes are no longer the scandal they once were; by supporting child guidance and welfare clinics, nursery schools, play centres, and school journeys it has accepted wider and wider duties in response to a changing public opinion as to its proper functions.

The earliest of these societies, the Foundling Hospital, was started before philanthropists had yet taken up the two ideas that dominated all nineteenth-century charity; the need for confining help to deserving cases, and the overwhelming importance and sanctity of the family bond. The former of these has never had a great influence on the work done for children, but the attitude of philanthropists to the institution of the family has largely conditioned their attitude to the child. The Foundling Hospital, setting out in a period when theorists were not greatly concerned with the family, and when the doctrine of individualism had not yet been evolved and the Government told that it should not concern itself with the welfare and training of children, had a leaning from the first to the indiscriminate admission of children, and saw no merit in excluding statutory help. When this policy had been tried and abandoned it is interesting to note that it was considered by the Governors solely as an administrative failure, which did not condemn the whole policy of chance admission. When they assessed its results they took notice only of the frauds it had encouraged on the part of Poor Law officers, or of parents able but unwilling to support their own children, and made no

[1] Reformatory and Refuge Union, Annual Report for 1935.

mention of any effects it might have had on family life or on contemporary morals.[1]

The purpose of the other societies of this group mark the changes in contemporary theories of the place of the family and of the State. The Ragged School movement did not intend to do more than teach the children, but it gradually added other forms of benevolence to its work. Eventually those working within the movement found it necessary to do more for some children, and, in creating refuges and reformatories, they prepared to override the institution of the family. At first this new development was confined to exceptional cases, such as the delinquent child, where the family might well be said to have failed, but Barnardo, and the founders of the institutions contemporary with his, extended it to families incapable of providing for their own children through poverty or worthlessness. This extension led to the first legislation that overrode the principle of family responsibility, the Custody of Children Act of 1891, often known as the 'Barnardo' Act, for it was introduced mainly in answer to appeals by Barnardo. He had been forced to surrender children to parents who, he was sure, would not care for them. The Act, an early step in a long process of legislation for the protection of children, empowered courts to transfer all parental rights from such parents to other guardians.

The contribution of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to this development of ideas was the demand for justice to the child. It pointed out that to treat an adult and a child in the same way before the law was really to weight the scales against the latter. Real justice must take into account his limited knowledge and his defencelessness, and must be prepared to enforce his claims at the expense of family unity. But the N.S.P.C.C. considered that it was the duty of the family alone to provide for its children, not that of charitable individuals or of the State. This idea was also held by the Invalid Children's Aid Association. The family might be helped and advised, but the ultimate responsibility belonged to it alone.

The conception of the child's rights that came in with the last

[1] See the statement of the Governors in 1759: 'There are other Evils, for the remedy of which, the Assistance of the Legislature is wanting. Such are the Abuses of this Charity, by Persons who are able, and ought to maintain their own Children. The forcing, or stealing of infants, from their Mothers, by Parish Officers, or their putative Fathers; and the like Cruelties. But there is no doubt but that proper Laws will be made for the effectual punishment of such Offenders.' This must be compared with the remarks of a nineteenth-century historian of the Hospital who pointed out that the effects of this policy were 'to arrest the first step towards repentance of one yet in the infancy of crime, by pointing out the way in which she might perpetuate her guilt with impunity; to break the beautiful chain of the affections which characterizes mankind as social beings, by giving a general licence to parents to desert their offspring upon the barbarous plea that they cannot easily maintain them. . . .'

war was fundamentally different. If the family could not provide, then some one else must. The Save the Children Fund put forward a Charter of Rights which must somehow be secured to each child. The Children's Nutrition Council demanded that every child be adequately fed; whether by the State or by his family was a matter of indifference. The Adoption Societies reversed the strongest argument of those who held by the sanctity of the family bond—the fact that it was clearly better for a child to have a home life than an institutional life—by pointing out that this could apply to any home, and did not imply that it was best for all children to remain with their own parents.

It is not possible yet to tell how adaptable the ideas of these recent societies will be, but it is possible to find how far the earlier societies have been prepared to modify theirs. The Foundling Hospital never took to the nineteenth-century theory of the family; but it did modify its method of admission to one more in line with the theory of the 'deserving case'. By the early nineteenth century it had arrived at its present method, and assessed each case according to the prospects for the mother; but it never subordinated its interest in welfare to the evangelical concentration on religion, nor did it ever become infected with the deterrent principles of the new Poor Law; its children were to be as well cared for as was possible, without reference to the standards of others. An interesting example of this fact is the difference to be found between the Hospital's close attention to health and diet and the attitude of an inspector of reformatories in 1869, who wrote: 'It could not be expected, and indeed it would be hardly desirable, that no deaths should occur in reformatories. Such exemptions from the casualties of disease and accident to which the honest and respectable must be subject would lead to the inference that we bestowed an undue and artificial care on the mischievous and vicious.' By his standards the care taken of the Hospital's children was certainly 'undue and artificial'. Because of this difference in emphasis and outlook it remained aloof from the Ragged School and Refuge movements, and when it eventually branched out into new work for children it did so in response to the renewed emphasis on physical welfare that followed the last war.

The Ragged School Union was founded in the days of strenuous individualism when most people considered that education and welfare were not work for the State. This was an attitude not rigidly adhered to; the Union, aware of the scale of the problem of elementary education, welcomed the 1870 Education Act in theory, if not always in practice. But it pointed out that a Board School was incapable of embracing the 'benevolent efforts' found in a Ragged School. In other words, it would admit the State into education, but exclude it from welfare. The Reformatory and Refuge Union originally shared

this attitude to the State; that it could punish offenders but not reform them. Gradually, however, this seems to have been modified; the financial necessities of many industrial schools forced it to accept more statutory financial help; and it also became clear that only some form of court order would prevent unsatisfactory parents from reclaiming their children from these institutions.

Barnardo, though a strong individualist, was not greatly concerned with theories about his work; that the work should be done was more important to him than the preservation of its voluntary character. His ambition was to have control of all the Poor Law children, and since this was not granted him he set out to show the Poor Law authorities how children should and could be cared for. His attitude might be summed up in a remark of his wife's on the welfare of girls in moral danger: 'The State should deal with it but does not—the Church of Christ must.'[1] He was content to record that his homes had met a national disgrace, and did not stop to consider whether it might not have been more effectively met if he had demanded that the State should do it. Or perhaps he recognized the impossibility of expecting adequate care for children from a State still governed by the ideas that its main duty was the preservation of law and order, and that all relief should be based on the principles of 'deterrence' and 'less eligibility'.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was the first of these societies to set out with legislation as one of its main aims. In other words, it held the idea that one of the proper spheres for voluntary action was the creation of public opinion. But it also took on the duty of supervising the nation, and of seeing that the law was kept. It has been able to do this in a way no police force could, with the full confidence of the general public and with an enviable independence, but it is nevertheless engaged in work that would otherwise have to be done by the State. In its demands for legislation it has limited itself cautiously, and only asked for prohibitive action.[2] As a result it has now achieved most of its demands and no longer need enter the lists for legislation. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 was the final step in a gradual process of child protection, and in some matters, such as the arrangements for removing children from homes where they are inadequately controlled, went beyond the Society's demands. It only remains for the Society to see that the law is carried out, and to help individual parents to understand their obligations. In the past the N.S.P.C.C. has always concentrated on stimulating the individual family, not on the abolition of bad living conditions. It has always

[1] Dr. Barnardo's Homes, Annual Report for 1874.

[2] The N.S.P.C.C. has never put into active policy the statement in its Annual Report for 1896: 'the highest conceivable duty of the State is to use its powers for the advantage of the most helpless members of it'.

been suspicious of any attempt, whether statutory or voluntary, to supersede the provision that it has considered the family should make. For this reason it has remained aloof from, or occasionally antagonistic to, many new developments. It has given little help to the nursery school movement. When the subject of school meals was first under discussion, it remarked that 'feeding the child is the parents' responsibility'.[1] It has considered the State's main function that of acting policeman, and said 'the duty of the police is public peace; of the Society, family happiness'.[2]

These are official statements made by the Society, but in practice its work has changed far more than its formal pronouncements would suggest. In many districts the Society's inspector has become an informal Citizens' Advice Bureau, giving help on all family problems; much of this advice could not be covered by the negative aim of the prevention of cruelty. The N.S.P.C.C.'s original aim of an endurable life for every child is being left behind, and in practice there has been a gradual change to meet new conditions and new ideas of welfare. The Society is still, however, suspicious of the aims of such societies as the Children's Nutrition Council, which only wishes to see the child fed and does not care who feeds it. If conditions go on improving and State-aided welfare continues to increase, the society may have to face a serious problem. Cruelty is a much wider term than it was sixty years ago, and the scope of the N.S.P.C.C. increases each year, but until the outbreak of war there did not seem to be a corresponding increase in the cases of cruelty and neglect which it meets. This suggests that cruelty to children, though certainly not dead, may be dying out. The N.S.P.C.C.'s future field seems to be advice. But in that case it may find its work overlapping with other welfare agencies. And will an advisory body arouse the same enthusiastic support as a crusade against cruelty? Or will the society have to accept state help? The Liverpool Society, which through strong local feeling has insisted on going its own way, indicates a possible solution. Though declining in energy and strength, it is still active, but is coming into closer co-operation with the Liverpool Child Welfare Association, which aims at uniting and co-ordinating all voluntary work for Liverpool children. Eventually it will probably become a part of this local society, dropping its most individualist ideas yet maintaining its free and advisory character.

The Invalid Children's Aid Association, like the N.S.P.C.C., has always been conscious of its theoretical position, but it has been more prepared to change its ideas. It started life fully imbued with the principles of the Charity Organization Society, and it has always preserved the best in these principles—the idea that all help must

[1] N.S.P.C.C., Annual Report for 1905. [2] N.S.P.C.C., Annual Report for 1899.

be of the kind to make the recipient eventually independent. But it was able to modify its views until it could claim to stand half-way between the opposing camps of Socialism and the Charity Organization Society, and contained many people who, though Socialists, desired to work with the C.O.S. The struggle between these two camps was never very violent in the sphere of child welfare, for as the I.C.A.A. pointed out, 'sick children can never be impostors'.[1] It was this fact that led the I.C.A.A. to emancipate itself from the more rigid Charity Organization Society philosophy,[2] while still preserving the principle that 'the family is the unit, for the future welfare of the child must always depend mainly on its family'. The emancipation proceeded most rapidly in the Society's East End branch, where a lack of leisured voluntary workers gave the Association a professional basis, and a more modern outlook, before this was the case at headquarters. There we find the Association early advocating a measure so inimical to individualism as the supply of free milk to the very poor.[3] This willingness to modify its social philosophy has kept the I.C.A.A. in touch with all new developments in child welfare work; and has enabled it to hand over to public authorities the experiments it has planned and carried out, once their value and success has been proved. The East End branch remarked in 1912: 'It looks as though in the future the supply of institutional treatment for sick children will be more and more in the hands of public authorities, and that the special usefulness of our own and kindred societies will be found in organizing skilled and systematic visiting of the children in their homes . . .', a remark that illustrates the readiness of the society to adjust itself to changing circumstances, and changing opinions of the proper functions of public authorities.[4]

Though it would not be true to say that the societies considered here have altogether refused to change their social philosophies, yet the majority of them have resisted change, and remain strongly influenced by ideas popular at the time of their founding. The I.C.A.A. is a conspicuous exception to this generalization, which nevertheless holds good for most of these societies. This is probably one of the reasons why the State has taken over so little of this field of social work, but has left these various important needs of childhood to be met by voluntary effort. Since the majority were founded at a time when public opinion was in favour of leaving many of the

[1] I.C.A.A., Annual Report for 1890.

[2] 'It must sometimes occur that in dealing with the crippled child a different method is required and a different opinion may be formed as to the merits of each case from that prescribed by the rules of the Charity Organization Society' —I.C.A.A., Annual Report for 1899.

[3] I.C.A.A., Annual Report for 1913.

[4] The I.C.A.A. has also found a valuable field of work for itself as a connecting link between various authorities, and various forms of institutional treatment.

more essential needs to be provided by voluntary effort, they have remained content to discharge duties which the State has subsequently admitted to be its responsibility. For all these societies have been created to meet real needs, and most have met obvious, urgent and fundamental needs. The child must be fed and housed, the child must receive the rudiments of education, the delinquent child must not be allowed to grow up into a criminal, the invalid child must be nursed and taught and taken to the country, the ill-treated child must be protected; all these needs are real enough. And yet it is surprising to find how many of them are still met, wholly or partly, by voluntary effort. The State does not perform these fundamental services for a large proportion of its children. For example, 72 of the 102 approved schools existing in 1938 were provided and managed by voluntary bodies, though supported by local authorities and the Treasury. In the past this proportion was even greater. In 1933 it was 55 out of 71, nearly 80 per cent, but the Children and Young Persons Act of that year so increased the demand for these schools that 'towards the end of 1936 it became clear that nothing much more could be hoped for from voluntary sources'.[1] This is a typical example of the way in which public authorities often only undertake provision for children's needs when it is clearly beyond the strength of voluntary societies. Even then they are often unwilling to take over the work. The Children's Play Centre Fund had difficulty in persuading the L.C.C. to take over its work, though it was clear that the society could not meet the existing needs. Of those towns where the local education authority had undertaken the duty, the Chairman of the society wrote in 1941: 'In Manchester and Newcastle, where I had personal knowledge of the work, its quality seemed to me indistinguishable from that of our own centres, while its quantity was treble that of our Committee. That is to say, 15 per cent of the children in the elementary schools were drawn into play centres, at least in the winter, while here in London it was only 5 per cent or 6 per cent.' The enforcement of the laws protecting children is still left to the N.S.P.C.C., which, when it applied in 1894 for a grant for this purpose, was told that this was 'not possible'. Even in the field of elementary education, which is now accepted as a matter for the State, a surprising amount is left to the initiative of voluntary societies. Voluntary societies still manage a large proportion of the schools for children with physical and mental defects. Until this year there was no school available for incurably crippled children who cannot get out of bed; the Shaftesbury Society has built one, in addition to its other schools, and it will be mainly filled with cases

[1] 5th Report of the Children's Branch of the Home Office, 1938. This branch has only existed separately since the last war, but the Home Office has had some control over these schools since the Reformatory Schools Act of 1854.

sent, and partly paid for, by the local education authorities. And probably the Shaftesbury Society's specialized knowledge of cripples' needs makes it the organization best suited for the work. But the State has long since admitted its general responsibility for elementary education.

The Government is, of course, steadily undertaking more responsibility for child welfare. It is committed to the policy of Holidays with Pay, which will have a profound effect on the societies for giving town children country holidays. It is committed to the work of European relief after the war, which will alter the position of the Save the Children Fund. And it is committed to family allowances, which are not to be paid by the 'homes' societies but will decrease the need for them. It has undertaken to inspect all voluntary homes, and to supervise all adoption societies. But its responsibility is still half-heartedly accepted. There are conspicuous meannesses, gaps, and reservations in its provision. Public Assistance is only paid to a voluntary society for the support of children who have at some time actually become the liability of the Poor Law. It is, therefore, not unknown for a poor society to refuse a child until the question of liability has been settled by a night in a Public Assistance institution. The majority of these societies have more constructive aims than Public Assistance. They wish to step in before actual destitution. If the 'homes' societies were dissolved the majority of their children would immediately or eventually become chargeable to the State. Yet it is typical of the present situation that less than one-thirtieth of the income of the National Children's Home and Orphanage comes from Public Assistance. These societies do receive some help from local authorities in the form of low rating assessments. But the Crusade of Rescue until very recently received no local grant for its schools because they received children from the whole country.[1] Another typical anomaly is that not until 1943 did the 'homes' societies persuade the Ministry of Food to allow them to enjoy the milk in schools scheme at the reduced charges available to children in private homes. These reservations of statutory responsibility are not confined to the 'homes' societies, but they are most conspicuous there. Yet the theory of State responsibility has been admitted, for in fact children are always exempted from the full rigour of *laissez-faire*. And still we find these societies engaged in work we should by now expect the State to be doing, and receiving surprisingly little state help.

We have mentioned one possible explanation of this situation, and there are several others. The most obvious is that the work of looking

[1] It was not until its homes combined with the Catholic populations of their neighbourhoods to create non-provided schools that it received more than the Board of Education's grant of 45*s*. a year for each child's schooling.

after children cannot be separated from education, and this to many is inseparably linked with religion. Statutory provision was not enough for the founders of the Waifs and Strays Society, and of the Crusade of Rescue.[1] Their children must be brought up by their Church. The menace of Protestantism loomed before the Crusade of Rescue as as great a danger as destitution. The majority of approved schools are voluntarily run because the majority are religious.

More important still is the fact that the child's status cannot be separated from that of the family. As an individual he might be exempt from the theory of *laissez-faire*, but as a member of a family he was intimately connected with one of the most controversial questions of social philosophy—the independence and autonomy of the family group. In recognizing that a family cannot or will not look after its children there is always the danger, perhaps exaggerated in the nineteenth century, but still real enough, of subsidizing laziness or immorality. The line between necessary help and such a subsidy is fine enough; too fine, many would say, for public authorities to draw it. Important as the family is now, its authority was inviolable in the last century. The N.S.P.C.C. waged a long struggle against the idea that a man's children were his own, to be ill-treated at will. It continually had to reaffirm at the same time that it was not attacking his right of punishment.[2] This problem arises in all aspects of child welfare. In providing nursery schools, in feeding school children free, in prosecuting parents for cruelty and neglect, and in housing illegitimate children, are you not destroying or damaging the institution of the family?

Children's societies meet the needs of the most inarticulate part of society, and this may also explain the delay in statutory provision. The child's needs were not legislated for because they were not known, or, if known, were presumed to be adequately met by the family. This fact accounts for the surprise with which Barnardo discovered London's waif population, and the difficulty the N.S.P.C.C. found in convincing people of the existence of cruelty to children. There was only one way in which a child could show that there was something lacking in his upbringing, and that was by becoming a delinquent. The delinquent child can make its need felt; as a result the Home Office has pursued a far more generous policy towards the voluntary societies than has any other department of the State. It has assisted them in the work of Reformatory Schools from a very early date, and in 1920 the newly created Children's branch of the Home

[1] Lack of space precludes reference to the efforts made on behalf of workhouse children by denominational leaders like Cardinal Manning.

[2] When the N.S.P.C.C. was founded, Lord Shaftesbury, though approving of its aims, thought the evils it attacked 'too domestic and private' to be the subject of legislation.

Office relieved the voluntary approved schools completely of their financial burden. Where there has clearly been an immediate danger it has been met, but the less imminent dangers have been less noticed.

There would also probably be a far more generous policy towards the needs of childhood and the work of these societies if such a matter fell wholly within the scope of any one Ministry. At present the greater part of the field is divided between the Ministry of Health, the Board of Education,[1] the Home Office, and the Local Authorities, who shuffle the children about between themselves, and the result is much overlapping and many omissions. This departmentalism has been recognized by the societies concerned as a handicap to their strength and to the welfare of their children. As early as 1899 the N.S.P.C.C. was advocating the creation of a comprehensive Ministry of Childhood, a suggestion which was raised again independently by the Save the Children Fund in the 1930's. This Ministry was to set up an Advisory Council to correlate and co-ordinate the voluntary work done for children. To-day, when many people are discovering with surprise the disadvantages of dividing the welfare of children between several departments, it is interesting to see how long the voluntary societies have known it.[2]

All these facts may explain the present position of these voluntary societies, and there is one other important factor, their own age and strength. Long before the State began to consider that its duty was to provide adequately for the needs of childhood, a large number of people were in the habit of subscribing to these societies. In the Charity Organization Society's annual register of charities available in London, Homes for the Young, as a group, stand second only to Voluntary Hospitals in financial strength, a strength which has been maintained with very little variation throughout the fluctuations in the cost of living during the past forty years. They are securely rooted in public sentiment and approval, and can afford to extend the public authorities' cautious and half-hearted work for children.

Furthermore, there are distinct advantages to be gained from an overlap of statutory and voluntary effort in this field. The statutory social services always need to be kept up to the mark by intelligent criticism, and if, as in this case, such criticism cannot come from the recipients of the service, it should come from other competitors in the same field. Children are so defenceless that it is as well that so

[1] Now the Ministry of Education.

[2] The Haldane Committee on Machinery of Government, 1918, discussed and decided against the policy of organizing the various social service Ministries by the type of the recipient of the service, rather than by the service provided, a policy which would have led to the creation of a ministry for old age pensioners, or a ministry for children. But it did recommend considerably more collaboration between departments than seems to have been put into practice.

many different and independent organizations and authorities should share in their welfare and supervise each other. In the past the quality of the best of the approved schools, voluntary homes, play centres, and adoption societies has given the other public and voluntary services a standard against which to measure themselves. The case for this type of overlap is particularly strong in the matter of those new arrivals, the adoption societies. Adoption is work that calls for detailed individual scrutiny; there can be no mass-production about it. It also calls for independence and for a specialized staff. In fact, in many ways adoption is work not really suited to local authorities, though they can provide, and have provided, valuable competition to the voluntary effort.

The future of these various societies will depend on their adaptability. There was, even before the war, a decline in applications for the 'homes' societies, which will increase with the system of family allowances. However small such allowances may be, the fact that it is publicly known that a certain sum of money is attached to each child will not only encourage parents to keep their children with them, but also alter very profoundly the attitude of subscribers to these societies. It will have eventually to be acknowledged by the societies that it is not 'destitution' they are combating, and in their appeals they will have to take the public more into their confidence. The richer societies will probably weather any storm, but it may be doubted whether the existence of so many separate and independent homes of various sizes can be justified. Two lines of development seem indicated. One is that those homes that have specialized on an industrial and technical training should gradually turn themselves into public schools and boarding technical schools. The recent change of the Royal Albert Orphanage at Camberley into a public school for orphans is a pioneer step in this direction. The other probable development is that the co-ordination already beginning to develop among these societies should become more comprehensive. Sooner or later they will have to specialize more on different types of home; there will then be a need for a classification and interchange of children. Problem children and delicate or backward children need specialist treatment, and this could be a subject for joint arrangement between the societies, through a co-ordinating association.

Adaptability and co-ordination seem to be the keys of the future. These societies are all already working within a framework of supervision. The Government inspects the voluntary homes and approved schools and licenses the adoption societies, but it leaves room for the voluntary societies to set up and maintain their own high and specialized standards. With more co-ordination of the type the I.C.A.A. has for long been fostering, towards which the 'home' societies seem to be moving, but which has not yet been appreciated

by the adoption societies, they should continue to be valuable experimenters in child welfare. They have all worked out their own methods, and there is no doubt that they are quicker at finding and meeting needs than is the State. Their funds are their own; the State's are held in trust for the taxpayer. As a result they can pursue a constructive policy, not relieving destitution, but aiming at helping children to the most suitable training and surroundings.

CHAPTER 4

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE BLIND[1]

By J. F. WILSON

1. STATUTORY AND VOLUNTARY ELEMENTS IN BLIND WELFARE

THE century of voluntary effort on behalf of the blind which preceded the first Blind Persons Act of 1920 evolved a service which, though widely extended by vigorous action on a local, and later on a national and regional level, was necessarily partial and incomplete.

The Blind Persons Act imposed on every county council and county borough council the duty of framing to the satisfaction of the Minister of Health, and of putting into operation, at least a minimum scheme of service for all the blind of its area.[2] This insured the comprehensiveness of Blind Welfare in the sense that thenceforward there existed everywhere an authority charged specifically with promoting the welfare of the blind, and able to draw on public funds for this purpose. The past twenty-five years have seen the evolution of an administrative structure which, though imperfectly integrated at its various levels and uneven in quality, represents in the aggregate a more developed system of welfare than that provided for any other handicapped class in the community, or, it should be added, for the blind of any other nation.

The administrative machinery of Blind Welfare is highly complex because of the course that development has taken. Much of this complexity results from the Blind Persons Act which, though it empowered a local authority to carry out its duties through a voluntary agency, did not determine the relationship which should exist between the authority and its agent. The result has been the evolution, in the last two decades, of many new forms of statutory-voluntary partnership. The nature of that partnership is conditioned by such variable factors as the political inclinations of the statutory body and the vigour of local voluntaryism at any given time. Consequently the pattern of administration differs widely from area to area.

A further element in the complexity is that, in addition to purely local societies, a number of institutions exist to provide education

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the statistics given in this chapter are the latest which were available in November 1943.

[2] The Ministry of Health in Memorandum 27 B.D. indicated the standard services which should be provided under a comprehensive scheme. Amongst these are the following: registration; care of children under school age; education and training of children; young persons and adults; employment in workshops or through a Homeworkers' Scheme; augmentation of wages; hostels and homes; home teaching; financial assistance to the necessitous blind.

and employment, which serve areas larger than local but smaller than national. The siting and development of these institutions is due largely to accidents of local benevolence, and the areas within which they work are delimited by practical convenience. They may and often do overlap, and sometimes tend to regard each other as potential industrial competitors and rivals for public support.

There are, moreover, many needs of the blind which cannot be effectively provided locally or even regionally. To meet these needs a number of national societies exist, all voluntary in organization. The largest of them, the National Institute for the Blind, complements local action by providing, in every department of blind welfare, those services which can be most effectively and economically organized on a national scale and which are not undertaken by other national bodies. The Institute is under the direction of an executive on which provision is made for the representation of all other elements in Blind Welfare, and through which it acts as a focus of opinion and planning on a national level.

Other voluntary societies serve specific needs on a national scale, such as the National Library for the Blind, which operates a Braille lending library; St. Dunstan's, which makes total provision for blind ex-servicemen; and other smaller societies.

The cost of maintaining these local and national services is necessarily substantial, and the most convinced advocate of voluntaryism would not claim that private philanthropy alone could ever have met all the diverse needs of the blind. An estimate for the year 1940–1 put the cost of providing for the 75,000 blind persons in England and Wales at £4,597,812, and that figure is certainly an under-estimate. Of this total, £1,603,600 came directly from the Treasury, £2,185,200 from local authorities, and £809,000 from voluntary sources. The whole amount from the Treasury, and most of that from the local authorities, represents cash payments in the form of pensions, domiciliary assistance, and augmentation of earnings grants. The expenditure from voluntary sources is directed mainly towards the provision of services and institutions.

The fact that local authorities are thus responsible for the main cost of Blind Welfare has led in some areas to a demand for the complete municipalization of all local services for the blind. Direct management in this form, however, is rare, and most authorities are content to leave the administration of educational and employment establishments and, less frequently, the organization of social welfare, in the hands of voluntary societies. Such authorities safeguard the ratepayers' interests through varying degrees of representation on the governing bodies of the societies concerned.

There are, for example, twenty-seven schools in England and Wales providing elementary education for the blind. Of these, nine day

schools (two of which have some boarding accommodation) and two residential schools are maintained directly by local authorities. The remainder, which includes most of the larger elementary schools for the blind in the country, are all under the control of voluntary societies.

On the other hand, all higher education for the blind is provided in residential schools under the administration of national voluntary organizations. Worcester College for Boys, the only public school for the blind in this country, and Chorleywood College for Girls, the first working in close association with, and the second under the control of, the National Institute for the Blind, provide education of the grammar school type. The Royal Normal College, an old establishment now in new quarters in Shropshire, provides education in music, piano-tuning, and shorthand-typing for boys and girls transferred to it at the age of twelve from other schools for the blind.

Education for blind children certified to be mentally defective is provided to some extent by the Ellen Terry National Home under the control of a voluntary organization, the Servers of the Blind League. The National Institute for the Blind has a school in Abbotskerswell for retarded but educable blind children, and, by arrangement with the National Society for Epileptics, the Institute provides for the education of epileptic blind children. The Institute also has five Sunshine Homes, which are residential nursery schools for blind infants, from their earliest days up to the age when they are able to proceed for general education to some other school for the blind.

Even more than education, the employment of the blind is largely directed by voluntary enterprise. There are in England and Wales fifty-two special workshops which provide employment for 3,581 blind men and women in a variety of manual trades, such as brush-making, basketry, boot-repairing, mat-making, and machine-knitting. Most of these establishments were in existence long before the Blind Persons Act, but in the mid-part of the 1920–39 period there was a tendency, especially in the North, for the local authority to assume direct control of workshops. Even so, however, there exist at present only seven fully municipalized workshops which provide employment for 493 blind persons, or approximately one-seventh of the total number of blind workshop employees in the country. The tradition of municipal Socialism which brought about the demand for direct management in the North has not operated with equal force in the South of England. One large workshop indeed, that at Luton, was in 1941 handed back to voluntary management after a number of years of municipal control.

There has not been so constant a demand for the municipalization of home workers' schemes, which enable blind persons to practise such trades as basketry, boot-repairing, or piano-tuning in rural

districts or small towns. Only thirty-one out of a total of 1,686 home workers are at present employed directly by local authorities. In many areas where the workshop is municipalized, the voluntary society controls the home workers' scheme.

On the other hand, all workshops and home workers' schemes receive subsidies from the rates. In many instances the local authorities meet all trading losses, and they augment the economic earnings of all blind workers up to a minimum which varies from area to area. The relation between earnings and subsidies may be shown by a study, recently made, of returns from a representative group of large workshops. Augmentation represented from 33 per cent to 56 per cent of the total remuneration of all male employees. A comparative figure for home workers' schemes is not available, but the percentage of subsidy in such schemes is probably higher than that in workshops.

Education and employment, however, form but a small part of the total work of Blind Welfare. Blindness at the present day is predominantly an incident of old age. More than 70 per cent of the blind population are above the age of fifty. Their needs are as infinitely varied as are those of the seeing population of which they are a representative cross-section.

When blindness occurs in middle or late life, it usually results in partial or total loss of earning power. To meet, without pauperization, the economic need thus created is the most immediate and, in one sense, the least difficult function of Blind Welfare. Local authorities provide a specific cash payment, known as domiciliary assistance, to all blind persons in their area who can satisfy a means test. In some areas these grants are generous, in others they are but a few shillings better than the Poor Law.

Scarcely less important than the economic need is the need for companionship and social welfare, which is felt in varying degrees by all the blind, and in particular by those who are genuinely unemployable. All local authorities provide, or arrange for the provision of, a Home Teaching service staffed by social workers trained in Braille, handicrafts and in the general structure of blind welfare. The function of the Home Visitor is to open up the lives of the blind by placing at their disposal the whole apparatus of Blind Welfare.

As with education and employment, local authorities usually carry out their duty of providing general welfare services through a voluntary agency. Complete municipalization is rare. Three of the seven local authorities which have established municipal workshops continue to delegate the administration of general welfare to voluntary societies. The reverse is true of the London County Council, which, though it delegates the provision of workshop employment to voluntary organizations, administers general welfare services

through its own officials. Other authorities, which leave the provision of social welfare generally under voluntary control, administer domiciliary assistance directly, a practice which is usually welcomed by the voluntary society concerned, as it brings about a desirable distinction between cash payments and pure case-work.

Even where standard services, provided by schemes under the Blind Persons Act, are performed by local authorities through their own officials, voluntary societies may continue in being, supplying extra comforts and otherwise justifying their existence by visiting and other personal help. Similarly, the income of a blind person is sometimes augmented by payments from pensions funds such as those administered by the Clothworkers' Company and the Cordwainers' Company.

On the other hand, the provision of residential Homes for the Blind is left almost entirely in the hands of voluntary societies. Only three of forty-two such Homes in this country are managed directly by local authorities. Homes serving local needs, providing for the aged and infirm blind, are most common, though there are a number of Homes with national scope, some with special denominational attachments or traditions.

The role of the National Institute in this matter is to provide Homes where a substantial demand is not likely to be met otherwise, or where the type of treatment required is so specialized as to put it outside the bounds of local action. Thus the Institute has established a Home for the Deaf-Blind and Homes of Recovery for war-blinded civilians.

In providing such homes, voluntary societies receive financial assistance from the responsible local authority. In Portsmouth, for example, the local authority built and equipped a home which it then transferred for administration to a voluntary society. Similarly, a local authority sometimes gives substantial help in the initial capital costs of building and equipping such establishments. Where residential treatment is an alternative to domiciliary assistance, the local authority pays a fee representing the cost of maintenance. The rehabilitation of war-blinded civilians is an exception to this rule, and the cost of the Homes of Recovery is met entirely from the voluntary resources of the National Institute. Similarly, St. Dunstan's meets, from voluntary contributions, the total cost of providing for the welfare (as distinct from the State pensions) of war-blinded ex-servicemen.

This general welfare service is complemented by the provision of embossed literature and a variety of special equipment. Braille music, and a wide range of books, periodicals, and magazines in Braille, and in the lesser-known Moon type, are provided by the National Institute. The Institute also manufactures all kinds of

special apparatus useful to the blind in their work or in their leisure. In co-operation with St. Dunstan's, the Institute is developing 'Talking Books' for the blind and has accumulated a large library of recordings. The National Library for the Blind circulates more than a quarter of a million Braille books, most of which have been transcribed by hand. The British 'Wireless for the Blind' Fund has in recent years provided more than 50,000 sets free to persons who cannot afford to buy them. A small number of other societies, such as the Guide Dogs for the Blind Association, meet special needs on a national scale.

The brief summary given in the foregoing paragraphs of voluntary activity in all departments of Blind Welfare, will show that voluntary enterprise in this service has not, as some feared in 1920, been stifled by the introduction of statutory responsibility. The nature and direction of that enterprise has changed and is visibly changing under the impact of war-time planning. Undoubtedly, further adjustments in the balance between statutory and voluntary effort will be required as Blind Welfare attains to a fuller comprehensiveness and before the service can be integrated into the general framework of social security. Whatever may be the shape of things to come, the methods by which Blind Welfare has attained its present comprehensiveness are relevant not only for the betterment of the service itself, but also for the development and integration of any other service which must depend for its impulse on interaction between statutory and voluntary forces.

2. COMPREHENSIVENESS OF BLIND WELFARE

If comprehensiveness in this context means simply the provision of a national minimum for all members of a handicapped group, then Blind Welfare can justly claim to be comprehensive. If, however, it means the provision of a service capable of restoring the maximum amount of contributive citizenship to all persons suffering from a given disability, then Blind Welfare can only claim to be comprehensive in some of its departments, and when it functions at its best.

In this part of the chapter attention will first be directed to some aspects of Blind Welfare which have achieved a comparatively high stage of development. An indication will then be given of some of the gaps which remain to be filled before the service can claim to be comprehensive in a dynamic and positive sense.

The greatest achievement of the last twenty-four years has been to bring all blind persons who need and desire assistance into the scope of welfare. This has been made possible through the compilation of a complete register of the blind. Great Britain is indeed the only country where the total number of blind persons is accurately known. Registers are in operation in Canada and New Zealand, but they do

not constitute so complete a record. Ascertainment by census, used in other parts of the world, proves always to result in under-statement. The British register is the envy not only of foreign Blind Welfare organizations, but also of administrators in other fields of social welfare in this country.

This register had its beginning in a circular issued by the Ministry of Health in 1919 (Circular 64 B.D.), which required local authorities to compile a register of blind persons in their area if they wished to benefit from certain grants-in-aid voted by the Treasury in the previous year. In 1920 the Ministry stated that an accurate register must constitute a necessary part of every scheme under the Blind Persons Act, and from that date the register has been the scientific basis of all work for the blind in this country.

No blind person, however, is compelled to register, though he can obtain no benefits under the Act unless he does. The register became more complete as these benefits became more generous. In the ten years preceding 1938, the number of registered blind in England and Wales rose from 52,727 to 74,494, as the result of better certification and increased benefits, and not of an actual increase in blindness. The fact that since 1938 the number of registered blind has risen only by 890, though benefits have increased at an unprecedented rate during the war years, seems to indicate that the register is now a complete record of all who need and desire assistance.

A second achievement of the past twenty-four years, which shows the unique development of Blind Welfare, is the evolution of administrative machinery designed to meet the problem of blindness specifically and not as one of many causes of destitution. The Blind Persons Act was a step towards 'breaking up the Poor Law', in that it transferred responsibility for preventing destitution in the case of the blind from the Guardians to the county councils and county borough councils, thus anticipating the larger transference effected by the Local Government Act of 1929. The Blind Persons Act of 1938 completed the process by enacting that any relief given to the blind must be 'provided exclusively by virtue of that Section (Section 2 of the Blind Persons Act, 1920) and not by way of poor relief'.

The benefits which have resulted from specific administration have so far more than outweighed the disadvantages of dissociation. Domiciliary assistance is more generous and, in the minds of the recipients, less invidious than public assistance. Accommodation in specific Homes for the Blind is a better solution of the problem of the lonely blind than could be provided in the best-conducted Public Assistance institutions. Blind Welfare is administered by a special committee whose sole function is to know the local blind and to meet their needs specifically.

Undoubtedly one factor which has produced this unique development is the vigour with which the blind themselves have demanded an adequate welfare system. No other service owes so much to its consumers. Edward Rushton, the pioneer of education for the blind in England; Louis Braille; Dr. Moon; Dr. Thomas Armitage, founder of the National Institute; Sir Arthur Pearson, former President of the National Institute and founder of St. Dunstan's; Sir Ian Fraser, present Chairman of St. Dunstan's; Ben Purse, initiator of Trade Unions for the blind; Sir Beachcroft Towse, President of the National Institute—these are a few of the host of blind men and women whose foresight and vigour have decisively influenced Blind Welfare. At the present day 22 out of a total of 83 members of the Executive Council of the National Institute are blind. The invaluable contribution of the blind lies in suggesting remedies which are psychologically adequate to meet the problems with which they themselves are faced.

It is probably true to say that both in its scope and in the method of its administration Blind Welfare is more highly developed than any other welfare service in the country. It has had a unique opportunity of becoming so. Unfortunately, however, the quality of the service differs strikingly from authority to authority and from region to region. This unevenness is due not only to differences in rateable values, but mainly to the fact that it is within the discretion of the local authority either to provide a generous service or to rest content with the minimum demanded by the Act.

In 1939, for example, the amount spent per head on the blind by county councils varied from £6 to £33, and by county borough councils from £12 to £50. Since that date grants have increased, but the variations remain.

These differences are unavoidably reflected in the quality of service provided. Some Home Visitors have as many as 200 cases under their charge, though experience shows that few Home Teachers, working under average conditions, can care adequately for more than half that number. Some authorities provide generous grants for higher or University education; others regard higher education as an unjustifiable luxury, and refuse to break the orthodox sequence of elementary school, training department, and workshop. Imaginative administration is not simply a matter of chance, but is in some measure the result of flexible planning and good staffing. Some authorities are so bound by tradition, and their staff is so specialized, that they are unable to adjust their methods to meet new situations and to grasp new opportunities. The war, for example, has proved what was already known in theory, that there is a wide range of industrial processes which the blind can do. In Birmingham 12·8 per cent of the blind population has been placed in war-time

employment; while in London, which offers equally good industrial opportunities, the corresponding percentage is 0·8.

A further result of this inequality is that those authorities which provide generous rates of domiciliary assistance, or which have training departments and workshops, tend to attract the blind from less generous areas into their locality. These migrants will be chargeable to the rates of the new authority after five years and, not unnaturally, the generous authority sometimes refuses training and employment to blind persons from other localities. Blind persons, who could profit by training and employment, are frequently unable to obtain either, simply through an accident of residence. Unsuccessful attempts to overcome this difficulty have been made by Parliament, by the Ministry of Health, and by the Associations of County Councils and County Borough Councils. The problem, however, is one which must inevitably arise so long as the welfare of the blind is considered solely as a local responsibility, and so long as the adequacy of the service is determined at the discretion of independent local units.

The rapid period of expansion through which Blind Welfare has passed in the last twenty-four years accounts for some of this inequality and administrative complexity. A simpler mechanism is already emerging under the impact of war.

3. CO-ORDINATION OF SERVICES FOR THE BLIND

The Blind Persons Act 1920 provided an effective means of co-ordinating services for the blind within each locality. Section 3 of that Act prohibited any charity from making public appeals unless it was registered with the local authority in whose area its headquarters were situated. Sub-section (*b*) of Section 3 provided that 'the registration Authority may refuse to register a charity if they are satisfied that its objects are adequately attained by a charity registered under the Act'.

The Act also vested an indirect power of co-ordination in the Ministry of Health. That Department made *per capita* grants to voluntary societies performing services which had been approved by the Minister. The threat of withdrawing this grant gave the Ministry's inspectorate an imperfect power of controlling the direction and quality of the service rendered by the voluntary agency. The Local Government Act 1929, however, substituted a block grant system for the *per capita* grants, and thenceforward agencies for the blind had to look to the local authority for subsidies. The Ministry can only effect co-ordination by reducing the block grant paid to the local authority for all services, and this power has never been used.

The Act, however, did not solve the problem of co-ordinating the activities of societies of more than local scope nor of correlating their

work with that of local societies. These more-than-local societies have to be registered with the local authority in which their headquarters are situated, but if one local authority will not register a charity it is probable that another may be induced to do so. Such co-ordination can therefore only be on a voluntary basis. The traditions of independence and local patriotism, which produced the vigorous growth of voluntary societies before 1920, often still remain to preclude the minimum basis of consent necessary for co-ordination.

To understand the nature of this difficulty, and to appreciate the degree of practical co-ordination which has been reached, it is necessary to know something of the position as it existed before 1920. The National Institute was founded, by Dr. Thomas Rhodes Armitage, in 1868, under the title of British and Foreign Blind Association. Its first task, and in one sense its originating motive, was to co-ordinate embossed reading methods. By the turn of the century it had generalized the use of Braille in substitution for a variety of other codes. Through Braille the Institute extended its interests to education and later to employment and the prevention of blindness. When it was incorporated under the Companies Acts in 1902, its Articles were ambitiously framed to include all departments of Blind Welfare though, until 1913, its main concern was the production of Braille literature and special apparatus. During the Great War, however, the Institute, under the impact of its new President, Sir Arthur Pearson, expanded at a pace seldom equalled in the history of voluntaryism. In 1913 the Institute's total income amounted to less than £15,000; in 1918 it had reached more than a quarter of a million per annum. In less than three years the output of Braille and apparatus was trebled, that of Braille music quintupled. Collecting branches of the Institute were established in twelve areas in this country, and in many parts of the Empire. St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Sailors and Soldiers was founded as a branch of the Institute, and its revenue soon exceeded that of the rest of the Institute. The first Sunshine Home for Blind Babies was established and Chorleywood College for Blind Girls was opened. Training in massage and telephony were started, and a vigorous after-care service initiated.

The Institute developed its services on the principle that certain needs of the blind could most economically and effectively be met nationally, and should be so met despite traditional boundaries and local interests. The new collecting technique in particular was resented by other societies. Some of them were swamped entirely, some came under the virtual control of the Institute. This policy cut across the traditional work of the Counties Associations, and the Institute's direct contact with local agencies undermined regional co-ordination, at which the Associations were aiming.

There were seven such Counties Associations, which had come into existence during the years 1902–14. Their functions, as described by Mr. H. J. Wilson at the Westminster Conference in 1914, were: To seek out, and organize help for, isolated blind persons; to establish new, and co-ordinate existing, local societies; to tone up the quality of local services; and to register the blind on a systematic regional basis. Mr. Wilson was addressing representatives of the Counties Associations, and this might explain why he attributed to all the Associations the benefits which undoubtedly resulted from the energy of a few. These Associations were financed by contributions from constituent agencies, until, in 1919, they were given a grant of £20 from the Ministry of Health for every 100 blind persons registered by them.

A body known as the Union of Counties Associations, composed of two representatives from each Association, met annually to consider and suggest lines of common action. This Union, however, only possessed advisory functions, and did not effect co-ordination where it was most needed—in collections, in services, and in national policy. It was concerned largely with the rural blind, and, though it instituted some new work, it did not bring together existing societies in effective co-operation. It possessed no permanent office or paid secretary until 1929.

The fact was that before 1920 there was little incentive for co-ordination. Local agencies feared that to unify collections would undermine the sentiment of local patriotism which was the bulwark of their appeal, and before 1916 national services had not developed sufficiently to prove that the needs of the blind could not be met solely from local sources. This attitude was demonstrated at the Westminster Conference in 1902, and again at an International Conference in Edinburgh in 1905, at both of which local and national societies alike opposed resolutions aimed at establishing machinery for co-ordination.

With the growth of the National Institute, however, co-ordination ceased to be merely a theoretical principle and became a practical necessity. Partly because they were unable to compete with a highly organized national appeal, local agencies realized that agreement, at least in the matter of collections, was the only way in which they could safeguard their interests. The experience gained through the elaboration of national services (e.g. embossed literature and special schools) showed that there were needs of the blind which local action could not meet because they required to be tackled on a national scale.

To balance the partnership between local voluntary associations and local authorities, established by the Blind Persons Act, need was felt for national liaison between the Ministry of Health and a body capable of representing voluntary societies as a whole.

The first step in this direction was taken in June 1926, when the National Institute resolved to give 17 out of 36 places on its Executive Council to nominees of the Ministry of Health. The newly appointed Council forthwith invited all local agencies for the blind to enter into unification-of-collections agreements. Such agreements took one of two forms. In the first, the Institute undertook the whole task of collecting in the area concerned, paying 75 per cent of the total to the local agency, and reserving the balance for its own services and those of the National Library for the Blind. In the second, the local agency did the collecting, paying 20 per cent of the proceeds to the National Institute and the Library.

The Institute has now made unification agreements, on one or other of these two patterns, with local societies covering the greater part of the country. Undoubtedly this simplification has reduced confusion in the public mind, and has done much to cement friendly relationship between the Institute and local agencies. The Institute and the Library, however, are the only national parties to the agreement. A number of other national agencies, the largest of which is St. Dunstan's—which separated from the Institute in 1923—continue to make independent nation-wide appeals. A few local societies continue, illogically, to make appeals on a national scale.

Unified collecting machinery paved the way for broader co-ordination of services for the blind. Effective control over these services was transferred, by the Local Government Act 1929, from the Ministry of Health to the local authorities. As a result of this devolution, the Institute, in order to carry out its role of national liaison, in 1931 widened the basis of its constitution to include representatives of local authorities. The details of this reconstitution will not here be set out, as seven years later an even wider basis of representation was adopted.

In the meantime the County Councils Association and the Association of Municipal Corporations formed a Joint Blind Welfare Committee with the object of framing a common national policy. One of the first matters it considered was 'the apparent excessive number of voluntary bodies undertaking functions in connexion with the Welfare of the Blind'. The result of its considerations was a request to the Ministry of Health 'to endeavour to secure a greater combination of effort, preferably under the aegis of the National Institute for the Blind'.

The final scheme, framed after consultation with the National Institute and some other organizations, was published in April 1936. It provided for co-ordination of national, regional, and local services. Paragraph (1) stated that 'all matters relating to the Welfare of the Blind which are, or may be, undertaken by voluntary associations on behalf of local authorities, should, with a view to the attainment

of a reasonable uniformity throughout the country, be correlated by one national body, acting in an advisory capacity, save in so far as executive functions of a national character are allocated to it'. This national body should be 'the National Institute for the Blind, suitably reorganized and divested of any local functions'.

The Institute accepted this scheme, and in 1938 reorganized its Executive on a completely representative basis. 31 out of the 97 seats on the Council were allocated to regional bodies, 20 to associations of local authorities, 12 to voluntary agencies, 12 to organizations of blind persons, and 21 national members, successors to the original voluntary nucleus.

The scheme had also been accepted by the Union of Counties Associations, and four regional bodies, three for England and one for Wales, were established in succession to the seven Counties Associations referred to above. The Union itself was abolished in 1938. The new regional bodies consisted of representatives of all local authorities and of voluntary societies acting as agents for such authorities in the respective regions.

The functions of the national body, as detailed in a schedule to the scheme, were: To convene national conferences, to collate statistics, to unify collections, to conduct research, to produce apparatus and embossed literature, to provide Homes, Schools, Colleges, and specialized courses of training, and to act in all matters as the national body in the co-ordinated scheme.

The main functions of the regional bodies were: To collate regional statistics, to promote regional conferences, to inspect voluntary societies on behalf of the local authority in the region, to establish ophthalmological referee services, and to assist local agencies in solving local problems.

This scheme has simplified but not solved the problem of co-ordination. It contains compromises without which it would have been unacceptable. It reduced, for example, the number of national charities for the blind, but did not substitute one national body for all others. The few national charities which remain all have representation on the Institute's Executive, but the activities of some of them do not fit easily into the general logic of the scheme. St. Dunstan's continues to make unco-ordinated appeals, and the National Association of Workshops for the Blind exercises a limited co-ordinative function in marketing and collective bargaining. No body, moreover, is able to compel co-ordination, and the scheme is effective only when the necessary basis of consent exists. Some societies and authorities, the largest of which is the L.C.C., have refused representation on the Executive of the national body, and a number of large institutions remain outside their regional Council.

In practice, moreover, the structure is imperfectly integrated at

its various levels. There is a certain ambiguity as to the point at which regional issues become national problems. In some instances, indeed, the regions have combined to pursue a policy, on purely national problems, contrary to that of the national body. Sectional planning of this type undermines the effectiveness of the national plan, and confuses the real unity of aim throughout the service. Questions of prestige tend to assume exaggerated importance. Blind Welfare has not yet fully absorbed the implications of representation, and appointing bodies not infrequently use their representatives as delegates pledged to serve sectional as opposed to general interests. This practice tends to play off municipalization against voluntaryism and to foster a peculiar form of 'Blind Politics'.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the new machinery has had to face the unprecedented demands of war-time administration. It has had to keep pace with the *tempo* of war-time planning, and give quick decisions on controversial issues which in peace-time would have been solved by a more leisurely process of compromise. The restriction on travel has made local action more attractive than distant co-operation. The difficulty of convening conferences and council meetings has favoured uncorrelated local solutions.

The fact that a new technique of co-operation has had to be worked out in this environment has retarded progress in the last five years. Further modifications will undoubtedly be required, but the scheme of 1936 is the farthest point Blind Welfare has yet reached in solving the difficult problem of co-ordination by consent through representation.

4. THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARYISM

The most convinced advocate of voluntaryism would not claim that private effort alone could have provided the blind with so comprehensive a service as that they now enjoy. On the other hand, experimentation and the intimate personal service which voluntary agencies can provide are necessary to maintain that comprehensiveness as a positive and dynamic thing.

Ever since the passing of the Blind Persons Act, some people have claimed that voluntary effort in the service of the blind is an unnecessary anachronism. They frequently support this argument by evidence which shows, not the inefficacy of voluntaryism as a whole, but the poor performance of some voluntary societies. Some members of the National League of the Blind advance a similar contention, claiming that the blind prefer financial assistance from the State rather than from private sources. There are indeed some who resent support from private funds, just as there are some who resent the means test, which is applied in the case of domiciliary assistance of the blind. But there is no evidence to show that the unorganized

blind feel strongly on this point. On the other hand, a number of blind people consider that appeals based on public sentimentality damage their independence, though they generally put forward this argument as a criticism of collecting technique and not as a case for abolishing voluntaryism altogether.

Advocates of voluntaryism counter these criticisms by claiming that, under local authority control, Blind Welfare has sometimes lost sight of the essential principle that the blind should be enabled not only to keep body and soul together, but to become self-supporting and self-reliant citizens. Undoubtedly, as dispensers of welfare, local authorities have many difficulties to contend with. They are open to political influence, particularly when public opinion can be organized by pressure groups of blind persons. Even apart from this, there is a temptation to earn kudos by ostentatious generosity.

In the matter of employment, for example, local authorities have acted with great generosity. They have paid augmentation of wages, made grants to cover trading losses and other management costs, and adopted minimum wages. In some cases they have built and equipped convenient workshops. Employment of the blind, however, has on the whole lost economic character. Costs have increased and the earned proportion of total wages has declined. Augmentation payments and grants of various kinds have tended to become the main element in total remuneration. Figures might easily be deduced to show that the decline has proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of local-authority control, and that economic production has been best maintained where workshops have continued to be conducted by voluntary agencies which have not allowed themselves to become entirely dependent on public grants.

A regrettable reduction in the number of employed blind persons has been one result of this loss of character. At 31st March 1925, there were 23,238 blind persons between 16 and 60 years; the number employed was 8,840. At 31st March 1941, there were 35,592 persons in the age-group 16 to 65 years, but the number employed was only 7,946. The age bracket at the two dates is not identical, but the comparison, after making allowance for the total aged 60–65 in 1925, indicates an actual decline from 38 per cent to 22 per cent.

As with employment, so in general welfare, the local authorities have acted with generosity and great goodwill. They cannot, however, move far ahead of public opinion, or incur expenditure on experiments. The persistent energy of voluntaryism in pioneering new services has been conspicuously demonstrated since 1920. On voluntary initiative, Sunshine Homes have been developed, Chorleywood College for Girls has been founded, Worcester College for Boys extended. Schools for retarded and mentally defective blind children have been established, and arrangements made for the education of

blind epileptics. Voluntaryism initiated work for the deaf-blind, ascertained their numbers and established Homes for their particular welfare. The care of the war-blinded, a voluntary enterprise in the last war, was carried on between the wars and has now been extended to include war-blinded civilians at the sole cost of voluntary funds. Research work in great variety has been undertaken by voluntary societies. Talking books have been developed, and wireless sets provided for all blind people who cannot afford them.

This enumeration of new services emphasizes the need for technical research. The needs of the blind change with the changing needs of the community at large. New inventions are constantly bringing new compensations for blindness. The search for new devices and methods of welfare must be incessant. Blind Welfare, as we now understand it, must be dynamic if it is to be truly comprehensive.

Voluntary effort, furthermore, is an essential element in effective personal service. Some blind people need friendship and personal care of a kind which cannot easily be reconciled with the duties of an official, however competent and kind-hearted. A local authority Committee cannot, in the nature of things, be so successful in enlisting this kind of service as can a society whose whole impulse is voluntary.

The plain fact is that, if voluntary effort is eliminated or is seriously weakened, the blind will not be so well served. Voluntaryism is irreplaceable at the present day, and is likely to remain an essential part of Blind Welfare so long as it is ever alert to improve its own efficiency.

CHAPTER 5

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE DEAF

By J. D. EVANS

BEFORE studying the role of voluntary bodies in the sphere of social service for the deaf, it is as well to be clear what is meant by 'the deaf'. One person in every six has some degree of hearing loss, and it is obvious that only a proportion of this great number will require the attention of welfare organizations. But what proportion? At what stage or degree of hearing loss does the affliction make the victims so handicapped that they need special help, and how many are thus afflicted?

The usual practice is to divide the world of acoustically defective people into two classes—the Deaf (sometimes called the Deaf-and-Dumb) and the Deafened (sometimes called the Hard-of-Hearing).

The former are either born deaf or deprived of hearing power so early in infancy that they never absorb a language in the natural imitative manner; not only have they to be taught one artificially, but they have even to be made aware that they have voices that can be used for communication. As a rule, their organs of speech are unimpaired, but unless they are taught and encouraged to use their voices they tend, as Aristotle said, to become mute. It is unusual for them, in any event, to develop normal speaking voices; the niceties of tone, pitch, accent, and cadence escape them, and their vocabulary is limited. Their number in Britain is generally accepted to be 40,000.

The deafened, on the other hand, are persons who suffer loss of hearing after a language has been normally absorbed, speech developed and vocabulary extended. They are normals falling gradually or swiftly into the strange world of abnormals. In numbers they are anything between six and seven millions; they may be more than seven millions.

No question of degree of hearing loss enters into this distinction; the deafened may be quite as devoid of hearing power as the deaf, or they may be scarcely affected. The difference lies in language and speech. A second and no less fundamental difference is that between the psychological attitudes of the deaf and the deafened to the world in general there is an almost unbridgeable gulf. It must be emphasized that at the beginning of their lives the deaf are abnormals shut off from that stream of verbally conveyed ideas which moulds the

individual mind to general sameness with the mental pattern of society, and that throughout their lives the deaf are struggling towards full normalcy. The deafened, on the other hand, are normals threatened with the horror of abnormalcy. To the change in their state, and particularly to the change in the behaviour of other people towards them, they are peculiarly sensitive—the least tendency on the part of the public to treat them as 'different' from normals fills them with acute distress, in some cases, indeed, approaching torment. They are so hypersensitive to public attitudes that they tend to camouflage their deafness and even practise self-deception as to their state. They will not class themselves with the 'true deaf', nor will they readily approach the 'deaf organizations' for help. They are thus a class apart. The implications of this psychological failing will be examined later; here it must be noted that this attitude of the deafened is a main reason why *the voluntary organizations concentrate almost all their endeavours on the deaf*, whose numbers are so much fewer and more easily detected, and whose needs are so much more obvious and tangible.

It is not to be supposed from these differences and from the policy of the voluntary bodies, however, that the deafened do not require special services. The true position is that while many of the deafened are as self-reliant as normals, many are as completely helpless as the deaf. Many deafened persons are, in fact, in a far worse plight socially, economically, and psychologically than the deaf. It is therefore impossible to divide the acoustically defective into categories and say that only persons in this or that group are in need of help. The facts of individual cases, rather than definitions, must guide the efforts of welfare workers. It may be noted here that, in addition to the 40,000 deaf persons in Britain, reasonable calculation suggests that between 130,000 and 180,000 deafened persons in England and Wales are so severely afflicted that they are in need of special legislation for their economic and social security. This is a small part of the total number of deafened, but it does show what a big task faces the voluntary bodies concerned with the welfare of the 'deaf'.[1]

The field of welfare work presented by this large number of deaf and deafened persons is one which the voluntary bodies have almost to themselves, for not only is statutory work for the hypacusic very limited, but that work takes effect in the main through the voluntary

[1] Sometimes the deaf are called the Deaf-and-Dumb and the deafened are called the Hard-of-Hearing, whilst the term 'deaf' is then used for all classes of the acoustically defective. To avoid confusion, we shall here speak of the *Hypacusic* when we mean all categories, and use deaf and deafened in the sense defined above. The term Deaf-and-Dumb is generally a misnomer, and the deafened are often not merely Hard-of-Hearing but totally devoid of hearing ability. *Hypacusic* is an unpicturesque but useful Americanism.

bodies. This is indeed an example of a voluntary movement struggling against odds in a field into which statutory authorities are reluctant to enter. Not only so, but the voluntary bodies make it part of their policy to draw the reluctant authorities into the field.

How far the voluntary bodies have the field to themselves may be seen from a brief consideration of the few statutory provisions for the hypacusic.

The main statutory provision—the Education Acts, 1921–37—may be lightly passed over, because they seek to do no more than give 'deaf'[1] children parity of treatment with hearing children in the matter of compulsory schooling. By these Acts, the local education authorities in England and Wales are compelled to provide for the education of all 'deaf' children between the ages of 5 and 16 years, either in their own schools or in those of other authorities, or in those of private or voluntary bodies, and parents are at the same time compelled to send their children to the available special schools. Of the 62 special schools in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland in 1939, 41 were provided by local authorities and 21 by non-statutory agencies. Even in the elementary education sphere, therefore, roughly one-third of the work for the hypacusic is done by non-statutory agencies.

When compulsory schooling finishes, the statutory authorities almost leave the field. The only other statutory provisions are:

(*a*) Financial aid in one form or another is extended by the authorities to trade schools and instructional centres for the hypacusic—i.e. the five voluntary trade schools which, in 1939, provided trade training for youths between 16 and 19, and the 25 part-time instructional centres, night schools, and polytechnics.

(*b*) Section 67 (*b*) of the Poor Law Act, 1930, permits Public Assistance Committees to make contributions to voluntary bodies for the purpose of placing 'deaf' (i.e. hypacusic) persons in work.

(*c*) Local Education Authorities and Public Assistance Committees which become members of Regional Associations for the Deaf may apply to the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health respectively to have their subscriptions taken into account for the purposes of government grants.

In these three instances, it will be noticed, the work of the statutory

[1] The term 'deaf' is here used loosely. The Ministry of Education has a useful classification of hypacusic persons for *educational* purposes, a classification based on amount of hearing loss as measured by the audiometer but having reference also to such factors as lip-reading and speech-power and mental development. There are three grades—I, IIA and IIB, and III. Usually only grades IIB and III are sent to special schools. We need not here define the grades.

bodies is indirect; they work through the voluntary agencies. The nearest they come to direct work for the hypacusic is when they join with voluntary bodies in membership of Regional Associations for the Deaf, which are voluntary creations. It will be noticed, too, that what concerns the statutory bodies is the employment problem of the hypacusic, which they seek to solve by financing voluntary bodies to train and place the handicapped.

Unfortunately, in each of these three instances, statutory work is inadequate. Thus the annual value of the grants to voluntary bodies for placement purposes is out of proportion to the need. In the years before the war they totalled at the most £3,000 per year. In 1933 the Ministry of Health was moved to issue Circular 1337, which was in effect a remonstrance against the small use of the permissory power; since then the position has only slightly improved and the improvement is due to the participation of local authorities in Regional Associations for the Deaf. The neglect of the permissory power is due to misinterpretation of the purpose of the grants, which some authorities regard as devices for 'removing deaf persons from the rates'. Actually very few hypacusic persons burden the rates; unless they have been unemployed over a long period of years, they are regarded as able-bodied and not transferred from Unemployment Assistance to rate-supported Public Assistance. The Public Assistance Committees thus do not find much incentive to make work-seeking grants, which would probably be much greater if made direct by the State. The hypacusic are widely scattered, so that while they offer a serious national problem they do not loom large in the eyes of local authorities, who cannot view matters in a national light.

Similarly, statutory bodies do not respond too well to the encouragement of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health to become members of Regional Associations. For instance, in 1939, there were only four out of eleven county councils and five out of twelve county borough councils represented on the London and Home Counties Regional Association; there were only nine borough councils and one urban district council in membership. The North Regional Association, which covered almost the whole industrial North and parts of the Midlands, had only forty-eight members amongst local authorities of every kind.

Finally, the trade-schools and part-time centres which receive financial aid are inadequate in number and poorly distributed. Twelve of the part-time centres are in London, and another twelve are in the Midlands and the textile country. There is no full-time instructional centre for *adult* hypacusic persons, nor may hypacusic persons be trained at centres for the hearing unemployed.

This is a small part to play, indeed, and it must be stressed that this work is essentially educational followed up by measures to see

that the public monies spent on education are not wholly wasted in the subsequent unemployment of school-leavers. As in many other spheres, statutory work for the hypacusic is very negative. It is noteworthy, for example, that preventive provisions are missing. Deafness is apt to be progressive; the slight deafness of to-day may be the severe deafness of a few years later, and hence early detection and treatment are of paramount importance. Yet detection is left almost entirely to the routine school medical inspections, which are highly unsatisfactory for this purpose. The auriscope, for detection of inflammatory conditions in the middle ear, is not compulsory at these examinations; nor is there any compulsion to use the much more useful gramophone audiometer by which 40 children at a time may have their hearing measured, and which enables 300 children a day to be tested. The London County Council uses the audiometer regularly, but not more than half a dozen other local authorities have made use of the device. Yet the L.C.C. tests revealed that some 8 per cent of the school children suffered from undetected partial deafness. Widespread American tests showed that 11 per cent to 14 per cent of the school children were partially deaf. In the preventive sphere, it must be admitted, British statutory provisions are slight.

The consequence of the small part played by statutory agencies is that the welfare of the deaf and the deafened after school age depends almost exclusively on voluntary societies (or missions) and the regional and national groups which seek to co-ordinate their efforts. The local mission, in particular, is the civic centre of the *Deaf* community, fulfilling every kind of want. Originally religious in function, and still making spiritual ministration their primary purpose, the missions have become, *as far as the deaf are concerned*, socially and economically indispensable. (The italicized qualification is important. The voluntary bodies in Britain, as a matter of policy, concentrate on the deaf, largely because the deafened tend not to come forward and partly because the characteristics of the two hypacusic categories are so different in many respects that they present practically two different fields for social service. The field of social service for the deafened is very wide but scarcely capable of precise definition or delimitation, and it is perhaps a wise policy for the missions to concentrate on the smaller and easily defined field of service for the deaf. It is true that the missions do seek to help those deafened people who appeal to them, but in the main their work is limited to the deaf, whilst the deafened lie almost completely outside the orbit of voluntary work for the hypacusic. Far more than the deaf, the deafened are Britain's 'Forgotten Folk'. In the following paragraphs describing the work of the missions, therefore, it must be understood that reference is being made to their

work for the *deaf*, although the deafened also benefit from some of the services.)

On the social side, the missions provide religious services, education, physical culture, sports, outings, and, above all, social clubs. The provision of social centres for the deaf is indeed their greatest work. Few people realize what difficulties and humiliations face the deaf and the severely deafened in their efforts to mingle with the hearing world; too often the deaf sink into themselves rather than face the task, and by so doing they tend to lose their lip-reading powers, their imperfect voices, and, worse still, their psychological balance. From these evils the missionary centre affords protection. It is at once the buffer between the deaf and the hearing world and the gateway into that world. It is to the deaf what Braille is to the blind—the grand solace.

On the economic side, the missions mediate between employers and hypacusic workers, advise on National Health and Unemployment Insurance and kindred matters, and run branches or 'lodges' of Friendly Societies. Much more important, the missions are *the* employment agencies for the hypacusic. Sometimes a paid work-seeker will visit a hundred employers on behalf of a single deaf person. On all sides (e.g. in the *Eicholz Report*, 1932), it is freely admitted that the ordinary Labour Exchanges cannot minister to the hypacusic; special agencies are needed, and the missions provide these.

On the legal side, the missions provide interpreters (for deaf persons only) in law courts and advise them in legal matters and civil ceremonies. In addition, some missions supervise the aged and infirm, including those in mental homes and public institutions; and, again, they seek out those deaf children in mental homes who should properly be in special schools for their kind.

This brief statement of their functions is sufficient to show that the voluntary organizations are of fundamental importance to the deaf and of high potential value to the deafened. When this is recognized, however, the pertinent question arises: is the voluntary movement properly organized to fulfil its great task? The structure of the movement will have to be examined to see whether it is strong enough to meet the needs of the hypacusic who are so dependent upon it.

The foundations of the whole movement, without which it could not stand, are the local missions which supply direct contact with the hypacusic and do the actual welfare work. There were about eighty-two of these in 1939.[1] Above these, attempting to co-ordinate them in a common national drive, is the National Institute for the Deaf, the only body approaching the problems of deafness on a

[1] *Vide* list in *All About the Deaf*, handbook of the National Institute for the Deaf.

national scale; and aiding the National Institute in this task are five Regional Associations, which do on a county-wide scale what the Institute does nationally. The most important feature of the membership of the Associations is that it includes not only missions and special schools, but local authorities and Public Assistance Committees; by this means the statutory authorities are brought into direct work for the hypacusic in intimate co-operation with the voluntary bodies, and a much wider territory is covered than would otherwise be possible.[1]

All this is certainly an impressive picture of unified endeavour, but it is largely illusory. So far from the missions hastening (as one might expect them to do) to affiliate with the National Institute, more than two-thirds were not affiliated in 1939. Some of these two-thirds complicated the position by being affiliated to their Regional Association (even to two Associations in one instance). They are thus affiliated at second remove to the Institute. Others are affiliated neither to the Institute nor to the Regional Associations. This is the case with the Royal Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb, the richest of all the missions, which gives as its reason for non-affiliation its refusal to face the risk of eventual control by a secular movement. It should be noted, also, that the National Institute has no positive authority over even its weakest member; it is in no sense either legislative or supervisory. If, for example, it should propose a case-paper system in order to keep track of necessitous deaf and deafened persons and help the compilation of national statistics, the missions could ignore the proposal. This, indeed, happened. The co-ordinating power of the National Institute is therefore not strong.

The same words apply to the Regional Associations. Although the majority of missions do affiliate with their Associations (in 1939, 33 out of 35 possibles were affiliated to the North Regional Association), the essential inability of the Associations to wield positive authority remains. The missions can at any time abandon the Associations, which are also partly dependent on the missions for funds to carry on. Further, the Associations are not representative of all the missions in their areas. In consequence they can only make suggestions and pass resolutions from which no action whatsoever may follow.

[1] In addition to the above bodies, which may be said to constitute the framework of the movement, there are the following, which minister to one or other specific need of the hypacusic: a Church Benefit Society (insurance); Guild of St. John of Beverley, Société St. Vincent de Paul, Council of Church Missioners to the Deaf (religion); various homes and hostels for the deaf; the National College of Teachers of the Deaf; various charities which function strictly as dispensers of funds to needy persons or scholars in need of help (e.g. Came's Charity); the Council of Church Missioners to the Deaf and the Central Council for the Spiritual Care of the Deaf and Dumb which co-operate in seeking to standardize the qualifications and co-ordinate the work of missioners and chaplains. These attach to the main structure in various ways more or less loose.

It has often been observed that a common weakness of voluntary welfare bodies is a mal-distribution of their work, because local units do not always appear where there is most need of them, but where voluntary energy is strong or where the charity potential is high. The hypacusic movement has not escaped this failing. Large stretches of Britain are either inadequately served or not at all. For example, between Pontypridd in the extreme south of Wales and Chester in the extreme north there is no intermediate mission in the principality. The Glamorgan Mission to the Deaf and Dumb has to serve almost the whole of the South Wales coalfield east of Swansea, and this area was considered the most depressed in peace-time Britain.

To this weakness must be added that each mission depends on its own funds, and thus it may happen that the economic circumstances of the area may make the missionary task hardest where there are least funds to carry on the work. The needs of the hypacusic from area to area are thus unequally met. The example of South Wales, above, is a case in point.

It may be said that these weaknesses in the hypacusic movement are inter-related, because one movement with central funds and real co-ordinating power could equalize the welfare work between area and area by directing funds to the districts of most need. In the same way, an integrated movement could establish a case-paper system on a national scale. Again, the work of finding employment for the hypacusic would be greatly assisted by a central clearing-house of industrial information managed by trained experts. At present it does not appear that co-operation between missions for placement purposes has been developed on regional or national lines. The creation of a central bureau, however, would necessitate treatment of the missions, the Regional Associations and the National Institute as parts of a single whole; and this, if the strange system of affiliations is any guide, the missions are unwilling to concede. By their attitude to affiliation, by their fear of secular control, by their treatment of the case-paper proposal, by their unwillingness to form a central pool of funds, and by their failure to establish a central or regional clearing-house for placement work, the missions, in fact, lay themselves open to a charge of separatism. In other words, the major criticism levelled against the hypacusic movement is that it is too loosely organized to achieve its ends.

This is a severe criticism. But it is important to note that it arises from the failure of the voluntary bodies to deal adequately with the *employment* problems of the deaf (and, one should add, to touch even the fringes of the employment problems of the deafened). It has not been suggested that the missions are inadequately organized to achieve their social and spiritual ends, for their work in this direction is limited not by faults of organization but by lack of funds to cover

the whole country. With adequate funds at their disposal, it is probable that the missions could minister to the social needs of the deaf everywhere, and perhaps also to those of the deafened. The economic work of the missions, on the other hand, is limited as much by defects of organizational structure as by lack of resources. The economic problems of the hypacusic (both of the deaf, which *are* tackled, and of the deafened, which *should* be tackled) must therefore be considered briefly to see whether they are beyond the powers of the voluntary bodies as at present constituted.

One of our criteria here must be the extent of unemployment amongst the hypacusic. It is clouded in obscurity, unfortunately, for although the missions have a rough idea of its incidence amongst the deaf, they are completely in the dark where the deafened are concerned. In part this is due to the difficulty of defining and tracing those deafened people whose unemployment is directly related to their deafness, and in part it is due to the reluctance of the deafened to bring their plight before the missions, but in part it is due to reasons which reflect on the missions—the absence of a case-paper system and of thoroughgoing national surveys.

Despite the lack of reliable statistics, however, there are good grounds to assume extensive unemployment amongst the deaf, and more especially amongst the deafened. Space necessitates a brief account only:

1. A limited survey carried out in nine districts in 1929 by the National Institute indicated that 40 per cent of 2,653 deaf men were either unemployed or employed only casually. It was also shown from a three-year study of the employment histories of deaf school-leavers in nine districts that 36 per cent of the boys and 46 per cent of the girls were unemployed. In all these districts, missions were at work.

2. Moreover, the figures did not include deafened persons, and yet their employment difficulties are probably worse than those of the deaf. It has to be remembered that the deafened, unlike the deaf, are not vocationally trained in their youth and specially guided into craft vocations where deafness is no handicap; they are rather persons who have to seek retraining for new occupations when deafness forces them out of their normal work. As the incidence of deafness increases in the older age-groups, most of the displaced deafened persons are to be found above the age of 30, when it is harder to readjust one's whole life, learn a new trade, and face the prospect of having to sink to inferior occupations and lower standards of living. This greater difficulty of the deafened has indeed been fairly well proved in the U.S.A., where a survey of 20,000 persons showed that only 51 per cent of the 'hard-of-hearing' were employed, as against 60 per cent of the

'profoundly deaf'. This survey also showed that employment difficulties increased with the age at which hearing was lost, for only 48 per cent of those who went deaf after 18 were employed, as against 60 per cent of those deafened before 2 years of age. The deafened, who have these greater difficulties to face, are vastly more numerous than the deaf. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has been estimated that there are in England and Wales perhaps 150,000 deafened persons standing in need of special legislation to safeguard their economic security.

These considerations do suggest that the employment problems of the deaf (and even more those of the deafened) are beyond the capacity of the voluntary bodies to tackle, especially in view of their failure to establish a central bureau for co-ordinating placement work. It seems that the voluntary bodies in fact recognize this, for one of their principal aims is to make the State responsible for the security of the hypacusic under the terms of a Deaf Persons' Act.[1] Here perhaps is another criterion of the efficacy of the voluntary bodies, because an important obstacle to the passage of a Deaf Persons' Bill is that lack of statistics for which the voluntary bodies must themselves be held partly responsible. It may also be added that the voluntary bodies have not been very successful in persuading local authorities to make sufficient grants for placement work. Thus there is much force in the criticism that the hypacusic movement is too weak in organization to achieve its economic ends.

[1] *The Deaf Persons' Act* is an amorphous proposal because, although substantial agreement has been reached on many points, the welfare organizations are still debating the exact provisions which the Act should make. Obviously, pensions for the unemployable and training centres or facilities for the employable are minimum legislative requirements, but before legislation can be safely ventured upon other pressing needs must be more precisely ascertained and defined, and graduated in order of priority.

There can be little doubt that the Act is needed, or that the need will be greater after the war. Some 33,800 persons were discharged from the Forces during the last war, as unfit for further service on account of deafness. We may expect inflation of this figure in the present war because the danger of deafness through concussive sound is incomparably greater. The proneness of tank crews to deafness is a pointer. All airmen and airborne troops are liable to deafness through sudden changes of air-pressure. Moreover there has been a stepping up of employment and activity in certain noisy trades (e.g. riveting) in which the incidence of deafness is notoriously high.

But a great deal of preliminary work must be done before Parliament can be convinced of the necessity for legislation. If the plight of the hypacusic cannot be proved statistically, welfare bodies will have only theories and sentimental appeals to support their proposals. Concrete evidence is necessary to show the precise needs of the hypacusic and the full extent of their social and economic distress. If the voluntary bodies cannot obtain this evidence by their own efforts, it would seem that their first demand should be not for a Deaf Persons' Act but for a Government Commission of Inquiry to obtain the evidence which is an essential pre-requisite of legislation.

This review of the work, structure, and strength of the movement should now help to form a fair idea of the future role of the voluntary organizations in British provisions for the welfare of the deaf and the deafened.

On the one hand, there can be little doubt that the voluntary bodies have a permanent part to play. On the other, it is clear from the policy of the organizations themselves that they would be glad to be relieved by the State of some at least of their economic functions. There is also a possibility that in order to secure relief from part of their economic work, and to perform the remainder better, they may have to sacrifice a good deal of their local autonomy to a central voluntary agency with more positive authority than is now possessed by either the National Institute for the Deaf or the five Regional Associations.

A very significant and interesting light is cast on these possibilities by developments in Russia, where the voluntary principle is at a strong discount. In that country two bodies act in close collaboration for the welfare of the hypacusic. One is a State body, the People's Commissariat for Social Maintenance, which looks to the employment of all capable hypacusic persons. The other is in the nature of *a State-subsidized voluntary association* composed of the hypacusic themselves and of persons interested in their welfare. This All-Russian Society for the Deaf and Dumb, as it is called, is supported by levies on the wages of members (1 per cent of their earnings), contributions from public bodies, and subsidies from the Government. Its functions are partly social and partly economic. On the social side, it ministers to all the cultural and social wants of the hypacusic in the same way that British organizations do. On the economic side, the Society is responsible for securing the training or retraining of hypacusic persons at the appropriate centres or schools or colleges; it then collaborates with the Commissariat for Social Maintenance in allocating these persons to employment in Government or co-operative enterprises. *This system thus recognizes the indispensability of the hypacusic persons' own association.*[1]

It is more than likely, therefore, that very important economic functions will remain to voluntary agencies in this country. With ample Government monies to support them, and with closer regional collaboration in their placement work, much can be hoped from them as employment bureaux for the hypacusic. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of any official body doing without their help. So many

[1] The only other country which seeks to train and place the hypacusic through special statutory agencies appears to be the U.S.A., where Vocational Rehabilitation Offices place the hypacusic in 'shops' and factories in which they may learn a trade and often secure permanent positions. During their period of rehabilitation or training, the State may in part maintain the trainees. The U.S.A., however, has no special training centres for the hypacusic, nor is there in that country anything comparable with the close relationship established between the statutory and the voluntary welfare agencies in Russia.

special problems arise when hypacusic persons have to be found work and helped to settle down on the job, that only an organization having intimate knowledge of the deaf and deafened as individuals can prove suitable. In consequence, any statutory body appointed to provide for the employment of the hypacusic is almost certain to lean heavily on voluntary organizations. The complexity of the problem may indeed incline the Government to subsidize the voluntary bodies for this work, and confine itself to granting pensions or other support for infirm and unemployable hypacusic persons. This seems an easy development from the present system of allowing local authorities to make placement grants to the voluntary organizations.

There is one further possibility not to be overlooked. It has been noted above that the Russian society is an association of the hypacusic themselves. Further, in Britain the blind play an important part in the voluntary organizations devoted to their welfare. Is it, then, possible that hypacusic organizations may become associations *of*, rather than *for*, the deaf and the deafened? Associations of people with common needs, it has been observed, have more vitality and coherence than the other type, and it may be desirable that the British hypacusic movement should become true societies of the hypacusic themselves.

It is almost impossible to imagine this happening in the case of the deaf. From the very nature of their handicap, they cannot be expected to organize their own movement. The sole organization in Britain which can be called an association of the Deaf, the British Deaf and Dumb Association, it is interesting to note, can scarcely be said to be managed by the deaf members; it leans heavily on hearing persons. In the case of the *deafened*, on the other hand, an organization entirely in the hands of deafened persons is a practicable proposition because so many manage to keep contact with the world of sound by means of hearing aids,[1] and because the deafened include persons with highly developed talents.

[1] There is considerable feeling that the National Health Insurance scheme should include the provision of hearing aids as a statutory benefit. At present the provision of such aids is a purely voluntary matter for Approved Societies, and few offer this amongst their additional benefits. This is not indeed surprising. The cost of hearing aids is prohibitive. The simplest of them, the speaking tube and trumpet type, cost only two guineas or so, but the modern electrical aids cost anything between £10 and £20 as well as the expense of upkeep, which may be 3*s*. per month.

The hypacusic have only one recourse if their Societies will not help them with the provision of a hearing aid. The special aural clinics attached to some hospitals help their patients to obtain an instrument at a specially reduced charge. Thus the clinic attached to the Department of Education of the Deaf at Manchester University helps National Health Insurance patients by means of a voucher which enables £19 models to be had for £13. Similar help can be had from six London hospitals and some few provincial hospitals. But clearly these facilities are available to only an insignificant proportion of the hypacusic population.

The deafened, however, are very unlikely to enter into an association of *all the hypacusic*. As has been noted, the deafened suffer from a profound psychological failing which causes them to stand aloof from the true deaf and the organizations for the deaf. This aloofness is so general and has so concealed the full extent of the economic plight of the deafened that some organizations have asserted, in spite of American statistics, that they have no real employment difficulties apart from those caused by their reluctance to accept lower grade work when forced out of their original employment. A symptom of the difference between the true deaf and the deafened is the fact that many of the latter cannot bring themselves to adopt the gestures of finger-spelling of the deaf, and the significance of this symptom is perhaps insufficiently appreciated by voluntary organizations. It may indeed be suggested that one reason for the failure of the existing organizations to attract the deafened is due to the failure of these bodies to make adequate allowance for the deafened man's psychological failing; the insistence of many missionaries that deafened people would be helped to find work if they learned finger-spelling has too often repelled these unfortunates. For these many reasons, the development of an entirely new organization for the deafened themselves may strike many as both possible and desirable, but this would demand very delicate and tactful inducement of the *deafened* into the organization. It is to be feared that if such an organization is not formed the deafened will continue to remain outside the orbit of social service for the hypacusic, and be, as before, Britain's Forgotten Folk.

CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPMENTS IN CASE-WORK

By U. M. CORMACK

INTRODUCTION

ORIGINS OF CASE-WORK

CASE-WORK is the youngest of the professions—the year of its appearance on the scene in London is generally agreed to be 1869—and the case-worker is still hardly recognized as a professional. Indeed, in England, at any rate, before the war the case-worker would apologize for her activities, conscious that she was, in a world of factory workers, farmers, artists, politicians, and creators of real wealth, a mere parasite, taking money for performing vicariously one of the normal and pleasurable duties of every man and Christian —the duty to help one's neighbour. Further, the need for these parasitic activities was transitional only and would disappear, as society began more and more to recognize its obligations to its poorer members. And the social worker[1] was the first to look forward to her own approaching extinction, in the meantime accepting poor wages, shabby offices, out-of-date equipment, and stultifying overwork as the least contribution she could offer for the privilege of earning a living by what should have been voluntary work. Yet all the time she was conscious, in the satisfaction of her daily employment, that she was doing something that no one else could do.

This confused and deprecatory attitude to the job of social work and social case-work, which was the result of its origin in the complicated strains and stresses of the nineteenth century, has been responsible for many failures and lost opportunities; and it is time to clear it up if this youngest of professions is to play its part in the work of social reconstruction where it will be so much needed. But the first step to the understanding of case-work's proper place in society is to consider its origin and the course of its development. In the following chapter an attempt will be made, first, to show how case-work answered the needs of the moment in mid-Victorian England, these needs being themselves partly the result of tendencies begun in previous centuries. Secondly, an attempt will be made to define the case-work approach in social service and to illustrate the

[1] In the profession of case-work women outnumber men, but the use of the feminine gender throughout this chapter is for grammatical convenience only. No feminist aspersions are intended upon the army of probation officers, Assistance Board and Labour Exchange officials, N.S.P.C.C. inspectors, etc., who recruit so largely from the other sex.

definition by a sketch of the different stages in the development of the idea. Its future will, finally, be very briefly touched upon.

For this purpose, the most important movement in the nineteenth century was the general reawakening of a sense of communal responsibility. Of course the names of writers and reformers could be cited to show that the feeling of obligation to help one's neighbour had never died out although it had undergone serious changes in its efforts to conform to new political and economic theories. But the duty to help one's neighbour may take three forms; two refer to individual action: the face-to-face duty of one human being, Sir Philip Sidney, for example, to help another if he needs it; and the functional duty of Dives, or, perhaps, Andrew Carnegie, who has more than he requires, to be a good steward of his superfluity, and give to Lazarus, who has less. But the third refers to collective action, the social duty of John Citizen, as a member of a community, to give such collective help to the other members of the community as they may need. Albert Schweitzer, for example, went to Equatorial Africa solely because he took upon himself the responsibility of the whole community of Europe to the coloured races.

It was this third form of social duty that had been forgotten or denied during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the interests of scientific and commercial development demanded complete freedom from the shackles and restraints of the earlier social system. Our medieval fathers had, with all their faults, tackled the fundamental problems of society and built up—in theory at least—'a magnificent conception of a community, penetrated from apex to foundation by the moral law',[1] where property was a public function, its uses limited by social obligations and necessities of state, and every member had dignity and worth not only as an individual soul, but as an essential element in the whole structure. 'The health of this whole commonwealth will be assured and vigorous,' said John of Salisbury, 'if the higher members consider the lower, and the lower answer in like manner the higher, so that each is in its turn a member of every other.' It was a system of inseparably connected rights and duties: each member had rights by virtue of his duties, and duties by virtue of his rights.

When the floods of the Renaissance burst their narrow medieval banks, the bonds that held society together gradually dissolved, the systematic character of society was washed away by the cross-currents of reformed religions, politics and economics, and rights and duties parted company. The old face-to-face duty of man to fellow man remained, though weakened and hardened by certain tenets of the new religions. The duty of the rich man to the poor began to revive in the nineteenth century and was an element in the movement for

[1] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.*

reform. It was the third type of social duty that was absent, particularly in the big towns where it was most needed. Remnants of it perhaps survived in out-of-the-way parts. In Dorothy Wordsworth's village, for example, when the Green parents perished in the snow, the whole community was moved by the disaster. The children were lodged, clothed, and fed, a committee was formed and the orphans finally placed and educated as seemed most to their advantage by the united efforts of neighbours, parish, and individual friends of Dorothy's. But this was in the Lake District, where old traditions lingered and inspired men like Bernard Bosanquet much later to formulate a theory of society and the common will, more in keeping with the facts than the eighteenth century's bland assumption that the unhindered pursuit of self-interest led to the common good. It would have been a different tale in the big cities, in Manchester, Liverpool, or Bethnal Green, where the rapidly increasing population was gathering. There is no need to recapitulate the various horrors of poverty in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the gin palaces and Tyburn hangings and the paupers and children working in the mills and mines. It was not only slum poverty which was the mark of the new society; it was disintegration.

The diagnosis was dimly grasped by the working classes and their leaders, and was tentatively voiced by publicists and writers like Carlyle and Disraeli, when the 'condition of the people' question was under discussion. There was something rotten, Disraeli said, in the core of our social system. 'There is no community in England; there is aggregation, but aggregation under circumstances which make it rather a dissociating, than a uniting, principle . . . it is a community of purpose that constitutes society. . . . Christianity teaches us to love our neighbours as ourself: modern society acknowledges no neighbour,' and he sums it up in *Sybil* when he describes England as consisting of two nations. 'Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, and fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners and are not governed by the same laws . . . THE RICH AND THE POOR.'[1] In such a society there were no rights, except the rights of property; no duties except those suggested by individual consciences and, in general, no system. And it was the impact, on this disorganized and scrambling world, of mass industrial poverty that finally forced the Victorians to social action.

Their problem was not merely how to redistribute the goods of one class in favour of the other, but how to reunite the classes. Mr. Hay Hill, though less eloquent, echoed Disraeli at a meeting of

[1] 1845.

the Camberwell C.O.S. in 1871. 'It seemed to him to be a great mistake to associate pauperism with any particular class. . . . and until they recognized that the element of pauperism with which they had to fight was not an element that grew out of any particular class, so long would it be impossible for them to bring the co-operative principle into force which he understood it to be the object of the committee to forward . . . the question could not be settled merely by Boards of Guardians or by the Government. It could only be done by the united men and women of England, who should meet together and do the best they could for their suffering fellow creatures.'

There is another strain in the Victorian constitution which must be recognized, as it is responsible both for the strength and the weakness of Victorian social work and is the foundation of case-work. No one can miss in the lives of the great reformers the horror not at the poverty, but at the degradation of their fellow beings. Octavia Hill writes of the house in Russell Place, where they first lived in London: 'There the first knowledge of misery and poverty came to me. There . . . I had sat and watched through the great windows, the London poor pass in rain and fog. There I sat and cried . . . at the remembrance of Tottenham Court Road on Saturday night with its haggard faces. There the first awful wonder about why evil was permitted came to me.'

Beatrice Webb was revolted by 'the slums of the great cities, stagnant pools of deteriorated men and women incapable of steady work, demoralizing their children and all new-comers, perpetually dragging down each other into ever lower depths of mendicancy, sickness and vice. To put it bluntly, sexual promiscuity, and even sexual perversion, are almost unavoidable among men and women of average character and intelligence crowded into the one-room tenement of slum areas, and it is the realization of the moral deterioration involved, more than any physical discomfort, that lends the note of exasperated bitterness characteristic of the working-class representatives of these chronically destitute urban districts.'

Pauperism was not merely poverty; it was moral degradation. And the object of the reformers therefore was to rescue character —to regenerate.

It seems evident to us now that this aspect of pauperism was the culmination of an historical process. In the name of commerce and religion the poor had been deprived of dignity and status. As R. H. Tawney points out in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, there was, in that very emphasis on individual character and will-power which was the strength of the Puritans, an element which led them to believe that the man who was a failure was a sinner also. To work was almost the first religious duty, to work at a trade was to please God, and the laws of trade had an almost religious sanction. 'The man who sells

his cow too cheap goes to Hell.' The poor were poor, presumably, because they disobeyed the rules of self-advancement, and poverty was therefore to be blamed. The Christian virtues became those most conducive to success in business—diligence, moderation, sobriety, and thrift. 'The Law of God saith, he that will not work, let him not eat . . . none should be suffered to eat till they had wrought for it';[1] and the true kindness to the poor was to regulate their miserable souls and instil into them the Christian virtues, not feed their miserable bodies. Even in 1909 the Poor Law commission could in all seriousness write 'it is not of course true that poverty is always a crime'.

But if the poor sometimes seemed to be allowed very little moral standing, they had still less economic dignity. Here their purpose in life was to be industrious and manageable, and whatever made them most so was the proper treatment for them. 'Everyone but an idiot knows,' said Arthur Young, 'that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious.' As usual, Mandeville, in the *Fable of the Bees*,[2] had made cynically explicit the underlying assumptions of his own and later times. The lower classes 'have nothing to stir them up to be serviceable but their wants, which it is prudence to relieve, but folly to cure', and 'to make society happy it is necessary that great numbers should be wretched as well as poor'. By the nineteenth century followers of Malthus were ready to show that the policy of leaving the poor to the severities of nature unmitigated by human interference was sound economics. Consequently in the end the poor became—in a sense—outlaws. They had no property and therefore merited no consideration. They were unsuccessful and therefore 'undeserving'. They became identified with their one marketable possession, their power to work, and were looked upon as one of the commodities in an economic contract—'water plentiful and labour docile'. And it was forgotten, at least by most people, that they were members of the body politic and fellow citizens with rights as well as duties.

When, therefore, the working classes drifted into the big cities and herded together in insanitary dens, when they had to sell their labour for a wage they could not live on and eke it out with dribs and drabs of poor relief, or alms given by people in whose world they had no real place, it was no wonder that many of the urban poor became incapable of hard work, pauperized and degraded; and the first object of the early social workers was not merely to relieve their poverty, but to find, beneath the wretched surface of apathy and dependence, the elements of character and will-power which alone could bring them back to be self-respecting members of society. If the working classes in the city slums seemed degraded it was because they had

[1] R. H. Tawney, *op. cit.*, quoting *London's Charity Inlarged*, 1650. [2] 1714.

actually *been* degraded by being treated like creatures of a lower order. Their deepest distress was due to a spiritual, not a material, condition: and that was why the early social reformers had to work on the spirit first. Hence their efforts to provide music, art galleries, a popular theatre, country expeditions, playgrounds, books, gardens, and, above all, what Mrs. Webb calls 'the regenerating atmosphere of religion and love'.

There was a third factor in the mid-Victorian reaction to the condition of the people, which is too well known to need description, but too important not to be mentioned. It was an age of Science and Progress. In those days many of the best intellects of the time believed in science as if it were a religion. The mighty movement, Herbert Spencer said, was always towards perfection, always towards complete development and unmixed good. By science natural forces had been subdued and men had built ships, engines, bridges, and machines. They saw no reason why human nature should be less susceptible than steam to scientific methods, and had an over-sanguine confidence that men would become perfect in a perfect world once science was applied to all their problems. An understandable exhilaration and sense of power at the wonders performed by man's mastery of physical science seized the Victorian practical men as well, and helped to make a general atmosphere of absorption in the progress of material well-being. Moreover, in handling their vast and complex schemes, they were accustomed to reducing quantities of refractory details to order and simplicity. It must have been an intolerable reproach both to scientists and business-men, this chaos of the urban slums, the futile efforts of well-meaning but unscientific people, the waste, disgrace, and danger to society, of the condition of the people; and throughout the century chaos increased as still more charities sprang up and overlapped.[1] From this point of view, also, the time had come for a new approach to social problems.

To sum up, then, by 1869 the stage was set for a new institution—social case-work—to make its debut. The formative conditions that it had to meet were, to begin with, a society dominated by the individualist enterprise of commerce, unrestrained by any integrating principles of social rights and duties, and split by a widening gulf between the classes. In addition, a widespread materialistic attitude of mind and a belief in science was supervening upon a religion which had not altogether suppressed a tendency to mistake success for goodness and poverty for vice. Upon this society fell the full impact of the mass industrial poverty of the big cities, with its attendant

[1] The number of new foundations increased with every decade of the nineteenth century, from 1801–10, 24; 1811–20, 27; to 1861–70, 90; 1871–80, 94; 1881–90, 136. (Estimate compiled by F. E. Maitland.)

and apparently insoluble problems of unemployment, poor relief, squalor, and pauperism.

The first result of this collision was a recall to duty, or duties. Carlyle, Disraeli, the Christian Socialists, Dickens, Ruskin, Lord Shaftesbury, each in their own way appealed to the public to realize that no one had the right to enjoy position or wealth or education or religion unless they first recognized and carried out their duties to any of their neighbours who lacked these privileges. And innumerable individuals, like Edward Denison, or Josephine Butler, took up and developed whatever work had happened to lie nearest to them. There was room for pioneering then, and the pioneers were, to begin with, not officials but individuals, some of whom, like Octavia Hill and Emma Cons, had to spend all day earning their living before they could begin their real work in their spare time.

The second result was the re-vindication of rights for the deprived classes. This movement began at the turn of the eighteenth century with the long struggle for the right to vote and the right to combine. It passed the negative or defensive phase when the right to have rights protected was established; a truck act, for example, protects a man's right to spend his own wages; sanitation and compensation acts and factory legislation defend a man's right to be free from the effects of bad drainage, infectious diseases, industrial accidents, and overwork. And now in the twentieth century this movement has reached the positive stage when it is trying to work out the practical conditions for the right to security.

The third result was the last to come and the most tentative and intermittent in its development. It was an attempt to build up again some system of society where every man could have a function and a place, and feel himself part of a community once more. The system we are struggling to achieve is a modern industrial democracy. The early social workers sensed this purpose, and were directed by it in their first efforts to improve the poor law and cover the field of relief work by organizing adequate poor relief or adequate and properly directed charity. But they were stultified by their failure to appreciate the facts and implications of modern industry, and by their lack of influence in the industrial sphere.

The re-vindication of rights, because it was concerned with categories of men, not individuals nor society as a whole, was out of the main line of the development of the distinctive contribution to be made by case-work, although it is integrally connected with it. But the return to duties and the attempt to rebuild a social system combined to produce modern social work and social case-work. And the fundamental principles of this new institution, based upon the social conditions outlined above, can be summarized as follows:

(1) A reawakened sense of social or corporate responsibility. This

had several sides. It implied, to begin with, that the individual felt an obligation himself to act for society in a crisis. For instance, if housing conditions had become a scandal, Octavia Hill would buy one of the worst courts in a London district, and manage it until it was a place where decent families could live in decent comfort. But the same individual also felt an obligation to use the experience to urge that society should reform the abuse, as Miss Hill, her helpers, and the local C.O.S. committees harassed their vestries, and worked for legislation to improve the dwellings of the working classes.

Secondly, the individual felt an obligation, before entering on any social act at all, whether it might be getting up a Sunday concert, or giving twopence to a crossing-sweeper, to weigh the consequences to the other party, to the man concerned. Not only so, but the consequences also to his neighbours, and to others in a similar position, and to the social scheme of things in general, must be considered. Social acts were to be part of a fully thought out social policy.

(2) A belief that rich and poor should get to know each other, and be friends, because they each had duties to the other and, as essential members of the same society, needed to work in unity.

(3) A confidence in the potential goodness of every human being, and a deep belief that the spiritual and material soundness and well-being of every man, woman, and child was inextricably connected with their responsibility for working out their own salvation, so that it was infinitely dangerous to take this over for them even temporarily.

(4) A rather ill-founded hope that a concerted scientific frontal attack could be launched against poverty, provided only that all the resources of the community could be enlisted and all the administrators most concerned, parliamentary, statutory, individual and voluntary, could agree to come in and submit to common planning and co-operation, on lines consonant with the principles described above.

EARLY SOCIAL WORKERS' APPROACH TO PROBLEM

Such were the principles of the first professional social workers, and they are of interest, not only historically, as the origin of modern case-work, but also intrinsically because, in spite of different attitudes and different words, each is in some form still an essential part of modern theory or practice.

When a man, walking across a sunny park, is confronted by a ragged fellow citizen demanding food, he has several courses open to him. He can quicken his pace, and hope to shake him off. This is the attitude of the house-agent's clerk who said to Octavia Hill, when she demanded in despair, 'But where are poor families to live?', 'I do not know, madam, but not on the St. John's Wood estate.'

He can give him sixpence or a florin, and walk on feeling ashamed of himself and futile. The inclination to adopt either of these courses was for practical purposes driven underground by the force of the propaganda of the C.O.S. Or, as a third course, he can declare that society is rotten and the law of the land must be reformed. All beggars must be fed on buns—or put in prison—or given work to do. This course was taken by the leaders of the C.O.S. to some limited extent.

They began at once to collect material dealing with the problems of poverty in other countries. They began the exchange of letters and ideas with America which has been so fruitful for both sides. They made investigations and reports on provident dispensaries, employment, voting charities, crèches, soup kitchens, vagrancy, the working of the Factory Acts, the extension of deposit savings banks, the Torrens Act, the schooling of 'educable idiots', the welfare of the blind. Within the first five years, by 1874, they had considered all these subjects and made recommendations upon them to Members of Parliament and Ministers, or written to *The Times*. They had established local committees all over London and outside London. And they went on to start labour exchanges, encourage family emigration, apprenticeship and training for young people, press for State provision for the feeble-minded and epileptics, set up school-care committees and meal centres, thrift clubs, reading-rooms, and open up new branches of case-work, founding the Invalid Children's Aid Association, and paying the salary of the first hospital almoner as an experiment. Similarly, in more recent times, C.O.S. leaders were influential in putting through the Hire Purchase Bill, the Money Lenders and the Adoption Acts, in helping to establish and work out the principles of the Citizens' Advice Bureaux as a war-time service, and in pressing for an increase in allowances for soldiers' wives.

But the problem that increasingly absorbed so much of their attention was the reform of the Poor Law. That the administration should be more humane, more scientific and methodical, and that relief should be adequate to need, was all vitally necessary to the situation of the time. That, as administered, it kept down and pauperized many of its recipients was undoubtedly true. And the social workers were justified in concentrating on the problem. But they mis-stated it, as Helen Witmer shows in her latest book.[1] The problem should have been how to relieve poverty without pauperizing. The C.O.S. misconceived it as the problem how to prevent dependence upon public funds and stop giving relief. If they had tackled the real problem they might have altered the course of social development and saved years of misunderstanding and suspicion, for they had the ear of those in authority, and at that time co-operation between

[1] *Social Work*, 1942.

voluntary and statutory bodies was natural and easy. As it was, they embarked on an experiment in three East End unions, where by agreement with the Local Government Board the Guardians undertook to eliminate out-relief and the voluntary societies undertook to relieve all the families whom they considered helpable, i.e. likely to be self-supporting. The outcome was indecisive: the numbers on out-relief certainly decreased, the numbers in receipt of help from charities increased; there were no immediate or striking results, but the C.O.S. espoused thereafter the losing cause and began to oppose State socialism. Socialists, on the other hand, lost patience with the insufficiently comprehensive and radical methods of the social workers who could not see that it was like sending a man to fight a Leviathan with his bare hands to expect a casual labourer to meet industrial unemployment by self-help. Even in 1910, only two years before the publication of Beveridge's *Unemployment: a Problem of Industry*, Sir Charles Loch was criticizing the folly of 'those whose whole object in life seems to be . . . to withdraw labour from the higgle of the market . . . The charter of the working man is freedom of exchange not only for commodities but for labour.'

CASE-WORK APPROACH

To return, however, to our gentleman crossing the sunny park, there is yet another course that he might take. He may or may not decide that society is rotten and must be reformed; but in the meantime he asks, 'Other people get along on unemployment benefit. Why can't you? What is different about you?' He then sits down to try to get to know the other man and to discover if there is any way in which he can find his own level in society again. This is the germ of the case-work approach. Whatever the social services may be, and whatever the social institutions, there are still some people who cannot take as much advantage of the services as their peers or play their part in the institutions, or, in short, come to terms with society. Social workers may insist that the institutions and the services need to be extended, that no unemployed man can find his level in a society which looks on him as useless and not worth feeding, that no tuberculosis patient can accept and benefit by treatment until his wife and family are properly provided for, etc. But broad general provisions are, or become part of, the social services and institutions with which the social worker has to work. Her real job is not so much to make the services as to help the individual to use them. A consideration of any list of types of social workers will show that this is their basic activity. Take the following, for example:

Family welfare workers.
Socio-medical workers, or hospital almoners.
Moral welfare workers.

Social workers attached to societies for child welfare.
Child Guidance workers.
Psychiatric social workers.
N.S.P.C.C. inspectors.
Probation officers.
Blind visitors.
House property managers, etc.

A family is breaking up because of the father's ill-health and the mother's debts. A family welfare agency can settle some debts, collect regularly for the others and send the father away for convalescence for a month or two. The test is not whether the individuals are deserving or undeserving, but whether the action to be taken will help the family to function properly again, i.e. to provide the shelter, food, clothing, companionship, recreation, and affection which the institution of the family is designed to supply. A man with spondylitis has a nagging, restless wife who teaches the children to despise him because he cannot earn. The doctor at the hospital asks the almoner to help the man to get the benefit of his treatment. She gives the children clothes, and the man convalescence, then gets him into a rehabilitation centre for training, whence he is placed in a new job which he can do sitting down. Here again the principle is not that every spondylitis patient should be given special training, but only that this individual man needs social help to take advantage of this treatment for spondylitis. A child is hopelessly unmanageable, defies his mother, runs away from home, steals, bullies, and destroys. A psychiatric worker explains the trouble to his mother, and assures her that he need not turn out to be a criminal like his father. She boards the child out under closer and more affectionate care, sees that he has scope to develop, keeps his mother in constant touch and advises her at various times of crisis (when John, for instance, is had up for stealing a bicycle), and finally stands by when mother and son decide that they can live together again in harmony. There the relationship between parent and child has prevented the child from functioning as citizen and son. The psychiatric worker does not give the actual treatment, but she copes with the social aspects, enables the mother to appreciate John and leave him free to benefit by the treatment, and make a place for him when he finally comes home. It is the same with all the other types of social case-worker; they all deal with individuals who cannot take advantage of the social services or maintain an equilibrium within the social scheme, and their basic function is to *individualize* whatever social service or social institution they are concerned with.

This definition of the function of case-work has not been reached without many vicissitudes and is not generally even now understood and accepted. To enable those interested to judge its fairness a short

description follows of the history of the idea. This will show how, beginning with deliberate practice of the art of friendship, it passed successively through a moralist phase (repugnant to modern workers), a materialist phase when environment was all-important, a paternal but inquisitive phase, and a psychological stage when the case-worker, setting out too ambitiously to change human personalities, ended too hopelessly by fearing to use any influence at all. A final equilibrium seems to have been reached by war-time developments and the idea is now ready to be put into more widespread practice.

THE IDEA OF CASE-WORK: THE GOOD NEIGHBOUR

Octavia Hill might be called the first professional case-worker, though Dr. Chalmers, who began a system of parochial visiting in Glasgow fifty years earlier, is sometimes cited. Her great message was 'Not alms but a friend', and in her life she was the embodiment of the Good Neighbour ideal which was the inspiration of so much early social work. Her contribution to the theory of case-work was her long experience that power to help any one depended upon knowledge and friendship. 'By knowledge of character more is meant than whether a man is a drunkard or a woman is dishonest: it means knowledge of the passions, hopes, and history of people; where the temptation will touch them, what is the little scheme they have made of their lives, or would make, if they had encouragement; what training long-past phases of their lives may have afforded; how to move, touch, teach them. Our memories and our hopes are more truly factors of our lives than we remember.' By friendship she meant giving all her resources to the common pool of daily human life in which she shared as an equal. She faced the first problems of poverty when she was at fourteen put in charge of a roomful of girls in the shop in Russell Place. She had persuaded them to put their pennies in a communal fund to provide better meals than the rubbish they brought with them. 'I am dreadfully grieved, however, that several of the children have absolutely nothing for their dinner at the end of the week. I was obliged to lend money for six dinners and a breakfast as I could not allow them to go without anything. This must be wrong. . . . I told them I could never lend money again, as I see no end to it; but what to do I don't know.' She was devoted to these girls and used to read to them and teach them, go with them to see the sights of London, take them for country walks and visits, and do everything she could to bring normal order, development, and happiness into their lives. As the Hills made friends with other neighbours they used to have a weekly evening in the kitchen for dressmaking and mending. They would have a bright fire and sing and read and make tea. One evening one of the guests was ill and Octavia took her home, to find that she and her four children had

only a dark damp cellar to live in. This set her off to hunt for better rooms, and, finding none, she formed plans for getting property herself. In 1865 she started with three houses bought by Ruskin. She had been warned not to put in window-panes or banisters or lay on water, as all fittings were always broken or removed; but she put them in and replaced them time and again. Her tenants were suspicious, kept her out when she called for rent or locked her in and threatened her when she insisted on it. But she treated them with 'perfect respectfulness . . . no entering their rooms uninvited, no offer of money or the necessaries of life . . . but sympathy in their distresses, advice, help, counsel in their difficulties, introductions that might be of use to them, a lent book when unable to work, a bunch of flowers brought on purpose'. The passages and landings were her territory and these she kept scrupulously scrubbed and whitewashed, after a time getting some of the older girls to make a cleaning rota for sixpence or so a week. 'One little girl was so proud of her first cleaning that she stood two hours watching her passage lest the boys, whom she considered as the natural enemies of order and cleanliness, should spoil it before I came to see it.' Gradually the doors opened and she won her tenants' confidence. She told them what the rents were and the surplus for repairs and improvements and made them see that the less she had to spend on replacing breakages the more she had to buy them basins and stoves and cupboards. The breakages decreased, the fathers helped her, and she began to launch out further. She started savings banks, opened a clubroom and got her pupils to have musical evenings with the girls, held individual tenants' parties, bought more houses, tried to teach the children, then bought and cleared a playground. This playground was a struggle too; twice the wall was pulled down overnight and the rubbish strewn about again, but she tried various experiments; once she hired an organ-grinder, 'the children's joy was overflowing. The whole ground was covered with tiny, dancing figures, each child danced alone, a step rather like a jig.' She had her reward when she heard her tenants use the expression 'one of us', as if she had built up real corporate feeling, and when she saw in the bad winter of 1867 that none of them needed any help at all. This account in its way epitomizes the case-work process, beginning with the realization of the neighbour's difficulties, the determination to expect the best of him and treat him like a friend until he gained self-respect and responded, the effort to work upon the good in him and bring it out, and, finally, the rebuilding of the sense of community. It was with knowledge gained from experience of this kind that Octavia Hill turned in 1869 to administer the Walmer Street district for the local C.O.S. committee. Again she met with bitter hostility from the people to begin with, but by the second year her real care for them had made its mark and

the success of the experiment helped to spread the theory of case-work.

One difficulty emerged early. Octavia Hill's triumphs were personal and depended upon her constant faithful attention to countless details: 'Really, it would be a small cost in value to pay any sum however tremendous to get rid of this annoying small perpetual care, if the work could be done as well; but then it couldn't; it is only when the detail is managed on as great principles as the whole plan that a work becomes really good. And so, I suppose, being really the school of training the tenants most effectually, I must still keep it, and hope that it will not finally make me either small or mean, or bitter.' Here Miss Hill puts her finger on a problem. The crux of case-work is the relationship between the worker and the client; the wider her sympathies, the deeper her experience and understanding, the better the case-work. So that in this profession, unlike others, the best talent cannot be spared to rise to the top and fill the organizing posts: it is equally needed at the circumference and in the field. Training of new volunteers and students therefore became an integral part of social work and Octavia Hill was the first great trainer, the Barnetts almost her first case-work pupils.

This was the pioneering stage; the first line of attack was to discredit indiscriminate charity and this was done so thoroughly that we cannot now appreciate the danger that was overcome; it seems incredible to read that the Barnetts were besieged in their vicarage in St. Jude's and had to cut an exit through the wall of the adjacent church to escape the threatening mob demanding the usual tickets for coal and bread, etc. The next line of attack was to substitute the methods of effective charity and in particular spread this theory of friendship and individual character reformation. A glimpse of this relationship appears even on the meagre case-papers of 1870–80, when a Bethnal Green client transplanted to Liverpool corresponded with Mr. Bailward: 'P.S. Please Sir, will you write me a letter at times I shall always be glad to answer them.' And Canon Barnett based all his ideas and work on friendship. Friendship would solve the problem of poverty from above and from below. From above, because no rich man would tolerate action that would hurt a poor man if he were a friend. 'No employer, for instance, who was in the habit of visiting his workman, who had seen him in his home and was familiar with his plans for his boys and girls, who, in a word, was his friend, could endure to take profit at the cost of that friend's well-being. At present he often says "impossible" when it is a question of the 3 or 4 per cent: he would then say "impossible" when it was a question between the recovery or death of his friend's wife, between the neglect or education of his friend's child. Selfish as trade seems to have made men, humanity is still strong, and there

are few men who could endure to prosper at a friend's expense.' From below, because friendship has the right, by grace, to give and take. No one was more certain of the danger of giving without knowing; no one more sensitive to respect the personality of others and not assume that they had no individuality because they had no money. 'There is no way in which strangers can judge character. The good and the evil must be let grow together and he who attempts to separate them will destroy the good with the evil. Beyond this, there is something humiliating, a loss of self-respect, which is entailed in submitting to such judgment. The secrets and sorrows of a man's life are his own: his efforts to save, his charities to children and to friends, his afflictions, the sins of his youth, are not for public use, and he who is called on to expose them suffers irreparably in character. There is a necessary modesty for the character as there is for the person.' So he thought public relief should be open to all who needed it, with no questions asked and only one condition, loss of freedom, i.e. entry into the workhouse. But for those who could be helped back to their place in society 'friends' should be available. To friends they could give their confidence because they would be asking not for alms but for help back to self-maintenance.

An illustration from a cathedral town's C.O.S. to show the case-work approach of that time can be taken from the many-volumed record of a drunken clergyman and his family who were supported for years until the drink habit was eradicated and the poor man once more licensed. The whole situation turned upon the interview to induce him to admit that he drank and wished to give it up. And the results were due to the worker's infinite tenacity and charity, and her attempt to apply Canon Barnett's panacea—friendship.

Case-work had, by now, shown that it could be, in the hands of its exceptional practitioners, an instrument to help a fellow citizen regain his self-respect and independence. 'There are very few cases,' declared Mr. Ribton Turner, with a certain carelessness of elementary carpentry, in the first number of the C.O. Reporter (January 1872), 'in which there is not a screw loose somewhere, and our duty is, not to turn our backs on such cases because there is a screw loose, but rather to endeavour to drive that screw home again.' ('Hear, hear!')

But the instrument was too delicate for the vast field before it, and case-workers, while not admitting any abatement of the infinite possibilities of their method, began to limit the numbers they could hope to deal with to the ranks of 'the helpable'. 'The unhelpable' were to be left to their own resources or the Poor Law. But 'the unhelpable' included both those who did not *wish* to be restored to self-respect and those who did not *need* to be restored to self-respect, but needed better wages, better houses, better chances. The C.O.S. leaders, Sir Charles Loch being now foremost amongst them, urged

that the only thing to do for the latter was to avoid undermining their self-respect and independence by mass-relief, i.e. State old-age pensions, for example. The former, who were an urgent problem, the hard core of poverty, could only be dealt with by a reformed Poor Law. Reform of the Poor Law, therefore, for the next decade engaged the close attention of social workers.

ANALYSIS OF STAGES IN CASE-WORK DEVELOPMENT

First Stage. In England the pioneering stage was over; it had been sustained by some of the finest spirits of the age, but by the twentieth century they were growing old and entangled in political controversies. The issues are clearer across the Atlantic, where the case-work movement, fertilized from London, had made similar progress. In 1843, under the auspices of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, wealthy young men began to visit the poor and 'by discriminating and judicious relief combined with admonitions to prudence, thrift, diligence, and temperature, to help them discover those hidden springs of virtue within themselves from which alone their prosperity might flow'.[1] The panic and depression of 1873 brought the condition of the unemployed into the limelight and the American social workers looked to the English C.O.S. for inspiration. They had a similar but more exaggerated individualism than the English: character was everything, circumstances nothing, and poverty was a moral failing. The key-notes of this first and moralistic stage were the belief that a man was responsible for his own fate and his own actions: and the use of personal relationship to bring out this inherent source of strength.

Second Stage. By 1896, however, the New York C.O.S. decided to strike out the word 'deserving' from its constitution. This marked the second stage of case-work. And the President of the Boston Associated Charities asked, 'Has not the new C.O. movement too long been content to aim at a system to relieve or even uplift judiciously single cases without asking if there are not prolific causes permanently at work to create want, vice, crime, disease, and death: and whether these causes may not be wholly or in a large degree eradicated?'[2] The various case-work societies in America began to run day nurseries, wood yards, labour exchanges, loan societies, and savings banks, etc., and to start campaigns against 'those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy'.[3] For the next decade or two social action was substituted for case-work.

Third Stage: Diagnosis. By the third stage social workers no longer

[1] Memorial of R. M. Hartley, quoted by Helen Witmer, *Social Work*, p. 159.
[2] Helen Witmer, *Social Work*, p. 193. [3] *ibid.*, p. 164.

believed in their clients' personal responsibility: they had seen the effects of improvements of physical environment and now became specialists in their knowledge of environment and how to change it. They still believed in the perfectability of their client: they had not forgotten Mrs. Bosanquet's reminder, 'the soul literally is, or is built up of, all its experience'. They went further in their apprehension of the complexity of influences that make up a man; and they added that 'it is in each man's social relations that his mental history is mainly written, and it is in his social relations likewise that the causes of the disorders that threaten his happiness and his effectiveness, and the means for securing his recovery, are to be mainly sought'. The problem was no longer merely the relief of poverty: it was how to put a man right with his family and his family right with society. The process of case-work is now clearly divided into four movements: (1) thorough investigation; (2) accurate diagnosis; (3) co-operation with all possible sources of assistance; (4) treatment. But the keynote is diagnosis.

This stage is summed up in *Social Diagnosis*, Mary Richmond's monumental work. By 1917, when she wrote, social work was established as a profession: in New York City alone, for example, 3,968 social workers were employed in private agencies. The social reforms passed during the preceding decade had, by making a variety of treatment available, made modern case-work possible, social reform and social case-work progressing together of necessity 'because individual and mass betterment are interdependent'. And case-work had by now been enriched by the experience of three types of social work. There were first, and earliest, the charity organization societies. Secondly, work in the children's courts had originated in 1896 with Lightner Witmer's clinic for examining children, and in 1909 Dr. Healy opened a psychopathic institute for the Chicago courts. Thirdly, socio-medical work or, as we would call it, almoning, which Sir Charles Loch initiated in England ten years before, started in America in 1902 with the tuberculosis campaign of the New York C.O.S. and was developed a few years later by Dr. Richard Cabot when he organized the first social service department in Massachusetts General Hospital. Dr. Cabot thought that every doctor—every intelligent human being—who wants to understand another human being asks four questions: (*a*) what is the physical state of the patient? (*b*) the mental state? (*c*) what is his physical environment? (*d*) his mental and spiritual environment? 'Social work, as I see it, takes no special point of view; it takes the total human point of view.'[1] Mary Richmond set out to incorporate the total human point of view into social diagnosis so that the increasing army of social workers could have common standards of technique and method.

[1] *Social Diagnosis*, p. 35.

Hers is the first real handbook of the technique and theory of the new profession.

Nothing is too small for her scheme. She discusses types of evidence, real, testimonial, and circumstantial; rules of inference; the collection of evidence (*a*) from the client in the first interview, (*b*) from the family (with separate sections on family life, husband and father, wife and mother, etc.), (*c*) from outside sources, with a discussion of the principles governing the choice of sources, and sections on medical evidence, evidence from teachers, employers, relatives, documents, social agencies, etc.; and types of bias, use of leading questions, etc.[1] Letters and telephone talks are given their due consideration and the processes of comparison and interpretation of material are followed by a chapter on the underlying philosophy of social work. The book concludes with exhaustive lists of possible lines of inquiry and desirable information suitable for certain situations or types of cases; the follow-up visit for a hospital, for example, the problems of the immigrant family, the feeble-minded, and so on.

The chapters on the interview show the limitations of all this deliberate technique. The objects of the first interview, for example, seem impeccable:

1. To give a fair and patient hearing;
2. to establish, if possible, a sympathetic mutual understanding and a good basis for further intercourse;
3. 'to secure clues to whatever other sources of information will give a deeper insight into the difficulties of his situation and their possible solution;
4. 'to begin even at this early stage the slow process of developing self-help and self-reliance, though only by the tonic influence which an understanding spirit always exerts, and with the realization that later the client's own level of endeavour will have to be sought, found, and respected'.

But there is a certain relentlessness about the 'slow, steady, gentle pressure' of the totally interested interviewer. One example given is of a visitor to a homeless boy who found him very ill; some one of weaker metal would have given him a drink of water, made his bed, asked his name, and fetched a doctor to get him into hospital; Mary Richmond's experienced worker, however, perseveres with questions until she finally elicits the name and address of an employer, gets into touch with him and starts a chain of inquiry which leads her to the young man's sorrowing parents. Within two days she has him back in his parents' house, a prodigal son, surrounded by every care

[1] The case-worker with little faith may ask, 'You have no relatives who would take on the baby while you go to hospital?' whereas the worker who gets results would put the question, 'Which of your sisters could best take the baby?'

and luxury. In spite of the successful issue one wonders if any social worker nowadays would feel herself justified in harassing a sick person with unwelcome inquiries.

Throughout the whole book the interviewer, as it were, shoots a sitting bird, plucks him, trusses him, bastes him, and dishes him up finally settled 'in his right relation to society'. For every client there is one and only one 'right relation' which the case-worker must discover and achieve. The methods of discovery were so comprehensive and took so long to codify that Mary Richmond was never able to finish her great work with a similar book on social treatment. She was only able to note that treatment demands for success an understanding of 'characterology' for which no satisfactory body of data then existed.

Fourth Stage: Psychology and Child Guidance. It was upon treatment and 'characterology' that case-work in its fourth stage was focused. Two new elements now appeared on the scene. The first was the more democratic point of view which, in England, followed the realization that the poor not only had a vote, but also a right to decent conditions of life in a society of which they were members. In America, the establishment of 15,000 offices of the Home Service Divisions of the American Red Cross during the last war brought to case-work a new type of client quite above the poverty line, and on a new basis of contact. Families were eligible for Red Cross advice and help because of their men-folk serving abroad, not because of their social inefficiency. The success of an office depended upon giving satisfaction to the clients, who were now patrons rather than applicants, while the help offered by the social work agency was in the nature rather of the service offered by a good shop than the charity given by a social reformer.

The second equally important element that entered social work after the last war and dominated it for the next decade at least was psychology and psychiatry. In the first stage of social work character was the force that determined action; in the second stage it was environment; and in the third environment and character combined. But by the time Mary Richmond's pupils had made their most exhaustive diagnoses and recorded conscientiously every minutest detail of evidence they could collect, it became obvious that neither character nor environment was the whole story or accounted for the differences in behaviour of different people or gave adequate guidance as to treatment. Social workers were, therefore, ready to look for help elsewhere.

The problem confronting social work in the fourth stage of its development was not so much the problem of poverty. Thousands were in this boat and were grappling with winds and waves and exposure under their own steam as best they could. The problem

was, How to understand the particular individual who could not steer his own ship without falling foul of others?, and How then, even if that could be accomplished, to treat him?

The rapidly extending study of psychology was ready to attempt an answer to this very problem. At the beginning of the century, Adolf Meyer[1] taught that mental disorders are symptoms of bad habits, the patient's lifelong answer to the difficulties of this world. The majority of such difficulties arise out of personal relationships. Psychiatrists, therefore, had to study the social rather than the purely individual aspects of their patient's personality, and, although the habits can seldom be eradicated without injury, yet the use the patient makes of them and their effect on his daily life can often be altered by psycho-therapy, and by beneficial experience. The object of psychiatry, therefore, is to bring about and control change—in environment, habits, and personality. Developments in psychological and social work theories went hand in hand, and the leadership in case-work was monopolized by social workers with psychological training. In 1923, when Meyer published *The Growth of Scientific Understanding and Its Relation to Social Work*, the psychiatric social worker had made her appearance, and general welfare agencies were beginning to employ specialist psychiatric workers. The psychiatrists needed the help of social workers to discover the social environment, encourage better habits, and, if necessary, modify the environment. The case-workers, who now believed that social breakdowns or inefficiencies were often indications of psychological disorders, needed the help of psychiatrists in their attempts at 'characterology' and personality changing.

The general interest in psychology brought also a second development during this period. One of the axioms of modern psychology is the fundamental importance of the early relationships and development of the child in the mental health or disorder of the adult. It was hoped that, if mental trouble originated in childhood, it might be prevented or cured more easily if the symptoms were detected early and treatment given at once. The child guidance movement, accordingly, arose out of the concept of psychiatric social work, although it also owed much to the mental hygiene movement and the experimental work of the juvenile courts.

Two features of the new Child Guidance clinics radically influenced case-work; the clinics offered treatment rather than diagnosis and consultation; and the treatment was organized by a team, consisting of psychiatrist, educational specialist, and social worker, where the social worker was not subordinate to the psychiatrist and the case-work was initiated and carried on simultaneously with the psychological treatment.

[1] Professor of Psychiatry at John Hopkins School of Medicine, 1909–41.

At first the social worker's part was to interpret the diagnosis and plan to the schools, the parents, and the agencies who had sent the child, on the assumption that plans had only to be explained persuasively enough and they would be carried out. It soon became clear that the trouble was not to be touched by reason, but was embedded at the level of the emotions, and the clinics soon adopted the attitude, 'for every problem child a problem parent'. The social worker tried to change the parent by leading him to get an insight into the situation for himself, or by using the relationship between him and herself, to release him from emotional conflicts. In all this, however, the parent is only a part, though an all-important part, of the child's environment. Later still in the child guidance movement it was considered no longer necessary to try to solve all the parents' own personality problems. It was realized that the clinics could and should limit themselves to the particular problems for which their help had been asked, and should focus their work on the child's social breakdown and the relevant child-and-parent difficulties. There has been a return—with a difference—to the old belief in the inherent strength of the conscious self or will, and the case-worker therefore is content to make for clients an atmosphere where they will not be distracted by the stress of approval or disapproval, but will be accepted, and thereby given confidence to work out their own problems. In modern practice the case-worker no longer tries to change the parent. She tries, first, to help him to free the child to take psychiatric treatment, and, secondly, to help him to work out a relationship with his child that will be adequate to the stresses and strains of daily life.

But to return to general case-work—the development in psychological social work and child guidance from a too ambitious paternalism to a more modest effort to help a client to apply himself to his own problems has been paralleled in general case-work. There, too, the school of social work which laid so much stress on social diagnosis had been too paternal in its anxiety to be thorough. To put it in an exaggerated way, the poor woman who asked for help with her rent until her husband's broken leg was better would within a few days find herself moved out of her basement-room into a sixth-storey apartment, with new linoleum laid, and beds, bedding, and curtains provided; her husband in hospital; two of her children in a home in the country, two others introduced to youth clubs, her compensation claim in the hands of a legal adviser, a regular visitor calling to instruct her about nutritious food and personal hygiene, and herself with all her teeth stopped and a pair of spectacles on her nose. With the coming of psychology, when case-work agencies began to employ psychiatric social workers for special problems, she might also find herself in the hands of an ardent and undaunted worker, who was

prepared to remould the whole of another human being's personality nearer to the current heart's desire. Of course the practical impossibility of attaining these ideals led to a reduction in case-workers' claims to be able to change a man and his environment. As a first step, they tended to ignore the environment and concentrate upon psychological adjustment. An English student remembers the growing consternation of herself and a client of a family welfare agency, a Polish woman recently arrived in the States and anxious to start a dressmaking business with her small capital; week after week elapsed while the American case-worker concentrated on the woman's past relations with her separated husband, and the little sum of capital steadily dwindled.

Fifth Stage. English case-work had been given fresh blood and inspiration by the Child Guidance movement. In 1927 selected English workers were sent, through the Commonwealth Fund, to train in America for Child Guidance work, and returned to staff Child Guidance clinics in England in 1929. Thereafter the interchange of workers and the contribution made by American experiments and theory continued, to the benefit of English case-work. English social workers, however, never pushed their theories to such practical extremes, although among the most progressive there was a tendency to decline resolutely to take any initiative in treatment—'therapeutic listening' was the accepted phrase to describe this method. The following example of this type of work is taken from a hospital almoner's records:

'DORIS S.,

'Attended the Endocrine Clinic—Diagnosis—precosity. She had been under Dr. G. H. since she was seven. Mentally she was backward—about five feet tall and weighed ten stone. She was 14 when the Lady Almoner first met her. Owing to illness she had had little schooling and now the problem was her future. Mrs. S. was a very sensible mother. To the best of her ability she tried to give Doris all the help and encouragement she needed. After two or three attendances, however, it was obvious she set too high a standard for Doris. Doris was consulted as to the type of work she would like to take up. She said she was fond of children, and was really enthusiastic when the Lady Almoner offered to make inquiries about training her for nursery work. The doctor also wanted to see how the child would progress away from home. But the experiment was not a success. Doris was unable to compete with the other children.

'On Doris's next visit to hospital it was obvious things were not well with her. The doctor had been given a full report and he made it easy for Doris to accept the suggestion that she should return home.

'A job was found for her by her mother in a nearby shop. After two months Mrs. S., unbeknown to Doris, came to the Lady Almoner in great distress. The Lady Almoner consulted the doctor and then wrote to Doris asking her to come up to the clinic. Doris was in a very emotional state. While the doctor was talking to her the tears just streamed down her cheeks. Dr. G. H. asked the Lady Almoner to come into the clinic. He then asked Doris if she would like to come and have a chat with the Lady Almoner every week if the Lady Almoner could spare the time. In that way he told Doris he could hear about her every week. Doris agreed that she would like to do so, and for the next eight weeks she never missed a visit. She used to do almost all the talking. Gradually she came to the state of giving almost a verbal diary of her actions and feelings. She said it was difficult to talk about her failures to her mother as her mother was always so upset by them. Not cross, but "too sorry" for her. The physical trouble cleared up after the third visit. There was no attempt on the Lady Almoner's part to give advice. She was merely conforming with the doctor's request.'

There, in theory at least, the case-worker's role is a passive one, but the almoner in practice introduced an element of guidance; and in certain kinds of social problems, in probation work, financial difficulties or moral welfare work, for instance, passivity is not enough. The problem for this, the fifth stage in the development of case-work, was to find a definition of purpose in social work which could be accepted by all case-workers regardless of personal differences in politics, race, religion, and material differences of types and conditions of service.

It came, therefore, as a relief to workers on both sides of the Atlantic when one of the American training schools began to work on the conception of 'agency function'.

Social workers were floundering for lack of direction. They were desperately anxious to avoid the accusation of sitting in judgment on the poor which might have been earned by the moral attitude of their earliest predecessors; they could not in practice justify the infinite pretensions of their immediate predecessors to take the whole man, environment, personality, and social nexus, into their purview, and alter him radically in his best interests; nor again, in practice, was it found to be effective or helpful to identify themselves entirely with their clients. The conception that they should limit themselves to the conditions of the agency of which they were the servants came to many as a liberation—a path through the jungle of controversy. The social worker could now explain to a client how her agency worked and why, examine his problem to see if the agency could in any way be of use to the client, leave it to him to decide whether he

would accept the service on the conditions stated, and then consider the various factors of personality, environment, relationships, etc., only so far as they were relevant to the particular problem with which the client needed help. The social purpose and conditions of the agency are not primarily the case-worker's responsibility, though she would not presumably have chosen to work for it if she were not in sympathy with its principles. In this way the case-worker could at last put all the resources of the social services at the disposal of the individual in social difficulty in such a way that he could ask for, and accept, them as an equal without loss of self-respect and dignity.

Sixth Stage: Recent Developments. The concept of 'agency function' which has been so helpful has been extended by force of circumstance. In America the vast schemes launched under the New Deal gave social workers an opportunity to help in the administration of statutory services and at the same time compelled them to adjust their standards of 'thorough' case-work to the situation in which comprehensive and equal provision had to be made for thousands. The authorities responsible for the various services seem to have come to one of three possible conclusions about the case-workers employed by them:

1. They find that social workers are too 'soft' to handle official regulations;
2. The tact and pleasant skilled approach of social workers make the services offered more palatable to the consumer;
3. Social workers are able, by using their distinctive skill, to administer the services so that the consumer gets the fullest possible measure of individual help from public provisions.

In England, similarly, war conditions made new demands upon social workers and gave them unprecedented opportunities. We can distinguish here between case-work proper and relief work. Evacuation, air-raids, and the temporary breaking-up of homes by conscription for the services or industry—to name three of the greatest social upheavals of this war—have produced innumerable types of breakdowns and extended the scope of case-workers, particularly psychiatric social workers, probation officers, and children's workers. It has been made disastrously clear that there are not enough trained case-workers to go round.

Relief work, on the other hand, has thrown light on some interesting aspects of the function of case-work in a community. To begin with, the professional workers and the ordinary citizen have come together on many committees spontaneously formed to meet local emergencies, for example, the need for refugees' clubs, or communal kitchens for evacuees, or the welfare organization of shelters. This contact has

helped the professionals to realize their place as servants of the community and the ordinary citizen in many cases to recognize that the value of his own effort has been doubled by the contribution of professional experience. Secondly, there has been an interesting change in the estimate of social workers by official bodies. Although, in the preparation of official schemes for evacuation and air-raid services, the opinion of social workers was not sought, yet naturally they had been giving some thought to the probable social effects of war-time conditions. Both when war was declared and when the air-raids started, social workers were perhaps more aware than officials of statutory authorities of the the consequences in terms of human needs and daily life. And because flexibility is more possible for voluntary organizations than for authorities, who must wait to frame comprehensive policies and draft regulations, social workers were perhaps more ready to improvise schemes for dealing with the human problems that arose.

But the most interesting development has been the application of case-work—in a greater or less degree—to a variety of emergency services, and the discovery that such services were more efficient if based to some extent on case-work principles. For example, a distinction was soon made between short-term and long-term case-work. If six hundred people need railway fares to get out of London, or have been bombed on Saturday night and need clothes on Sunday morning, there is obviously no time or place for diagnosis in Mary Richmond's sense. But to avoid waste of time, facilities, and morale, there is need for discretion and trained judgment if only to make best use of each individual's resources, strengthen morale by individual treatment, and pick out urgent problems that need special treatment—the shell-shocked mother with two babies who should be sent on to a special home, the helpless invalid whose only friend has been killed, the single girl of low mentality separated from her family, the neurasthenic last war pensioner, the tuberculosis patient sleeping in a crowded tube shelter. Many of the war-time services are unconnected with the usual problems of poverty or financial need; in fact, the most essential service after an air-raid, apart from the immediate provision of bully-beef sandwiches and a place to sleep, was found to be an information service, and it was in this service, either in administrative centres, rest centres, municipal offices, or C.A.B.s, that case-workers, skilled or unskilled, were found to be so useful. It is significant that in 1938, when the Emergency Standing Conference of National Voluntary Organizations were considering whether there might be any particular contribution to the war effort which social workers as a professional body should make, or whether their duty might not be merely to enlist as drivers, canteen hands, nurses, etc., the committee unanimously decided to open C.A.B.s as an essential

piece of war work; and the Government later, in the midst of total war, thought this service worth a special grant from the Treasury. The reason is clear enough. If your only object is, on humanitarian grounds, to rescue the helpless victims of unavoidable disaster, you will concentrate on soup kitchens, bully-beef sandwiches, and first-aid services in general. But when information is among the first services you provide, you are thinking of your clients as fellow citizens, not helpless victims; you expect them to take their share again in the common effort as quickly as possible, and you give them information as to how to do it. What you want from them is action—civic, or social, action. The principal object, in fact, of many of the war-time services has been to enable each individual to do his duty as a citizen, his social duty.

This war-time experience of working, whether with voluntary or statutory bodies, for a definite social object has been a practical corrective to the case-worker's tendency to admit no standards of behaviour except the client's desires and personality. The case-worker still is and must be the client's friend, and is in that sense a servant of the public; but she is also the link between the community and the individual who cannot for various reasons adjust himself satisfactorily to play his social part in it, and in that sense, too, she is a public servant. The case-worker certainly cannot, because she personally disapproves of divorce, advise a man to stick to his drunken wife, but she can and should interpret to him the general opinion of society that a stable family is the essential unit of a stable community, and ask him to weigh that opinion before he decides upon an act which will have social as well as personal consequences.

Summary. Now with this necessarily incomplete consideration of the latest, the war-time, stage in the development of case-work it is possible to attempt a definition of the function of case-work in modern society which will cover the different aspects brought to light in its earlier vicissitudes. The elements to be included are the early reformers' concern for their neighbours, their respect for every man's individuality, their belief in every man's obligation to do his duty, and their desire to unite all classes in society to form a real community; the need for social reform where general conditions defy the individual efforts of social workers was the contribution of the second stage; the realization of the complexity of all the different circumstances and factors that go to the making of each individual comes with the third stage, and the need for professional training and skill before attempting to fit the human being back into his place in society; the next stage brought an increasing realization of the psychological complexity of each personality and a wholesome recognition of the limits of what the case-worker can hope to achieve; the fifth stage brought a fortified belief in the potentialities of the

human will, once it is released from hampering feelings, and a deliberate use of the limits of the agency to achieve a democratic equality with the client; and the sixth stage, the application of case-work principles and technique to different specific forms of social service which the community wished to make available to its citizens. The sum total of all this leads to the conclusion that case-work is an expression of the community's concern for those who cannot unaided meet their social obligations or play their full part in society; and the function of the case-worker is to give such help that the individual may derive the fullest possible benefit from the provision made by the community and may be enabled to give the fullest possible contribution of which he is capable to the life of the community.

CONCLUSION

This incomplete survey of the subject cannot be brought to an end without some consideration of the part that case-work is likely to play in the social services of the future. It can be said at once that case-work is clearly not tied to the relief of poverty. The demand for case-work was not created by the poverty of the working classes in the nineteenth century; it was the response to the need to save from drowning the submerged slum-dwellers of the great cities. And the seed sown in 1869, and watered with Ruskin's foundation gift of £100, has borne fruit which is oblivious of the grimy soil of mid-Victorian London whence it sprang. The methods won acceptance where the social theory did not.

Propagation of case-work proceeded along various lines. First, as social services increased specialist case-work agencies were set up, sometimes on the initiative of the C.O.S., sometimes independently of it. One of the most interesting and important examples of this was the growth of hospital almoning or socio-medical work, as it is often now called. It seems to have been in 1885 that Sir Charles Loch first set forth the need for some kind of social service in hospitals. What was wanted he described as a 'charitable assessor, or co-operator . . . well instructed as to all forms of relief other than medical. . . . His office should be to supplement the work of the medical officer by obtaining the general assistance without which medical relief will often fail in its purpose.' The whole question was considered by a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1891, and in 1895 the C.O.S., anxious that a beginning should be made, offered as an experiment to provide the Royal Free Hospital with a trained person to start a service on case-work lines. Miss Stewart was appointed in 1895. During the next ten years seven other hospitals adopted the innovation, which by 1906 was considered to have proved its worth. In that year Sir Charles Loch formed the Hospital Almoners' Council to draw up a scheme of training, select candidates

and supervise their studies, and promote the appointment of competent almoners. By 1943 over 300 hospitals, voluntary and municipal, were employing one or more almoners, 35 out of a total of 500 being engaged by the London County Council. The growth of school care committees was another interesting development. Here the statutory authority, the London Education Authority, co-operated with voluntary societies both by borrowing one of the C.O.S. district secretaries in 1907 to be their organizing inspector and by recruiting numbers of voluntary workers to staff the committees and do the work.

A parallel development was the recognition of the need for training. No one felt more strongly than the first case-workers the evil of uninstructed, undisciplined, social work. The impulse to charity, Barnett believed, is the same in all ages but 'perhaps the charity of thought is something modern . . . feeling may be the steam but it must be shut in the boiler of reason'. Or, as even the ex-convict Patsy told Sir Stephen Tallents at Toynbee in 1908, 'No, sir, it ain't no good. It takes more'n people think to help a convict; and it takes more than people think to go about doin' good.' The training given to early social workers, however, was in the nature of an apprenticeship, where devoted and intelligent students saw social case-work in the making and imbibed the spirit and the principles of the makers along with the rule of thumb procedures. The desire to supplement this with more formal studies arose naturally among workers of such high calibre, and before the end of the century beginnings in systematic training were made. In 1890 the Islington C.O.S. committee organized a special centre of the London University Extension, with Mrs. Fawcett lecturing on *Problems of Poverty*. At about the same time Miss Sewell at the Women's University Settlement was working out a regular course of training for all her residents. 'It is misleading to know the poor only at such times as they are in need of relief, or to see one class of them only. Preventive work should be shown in its relation to relief work; the work of the state should be co-ordinated with the work of the individual, and so on.'[1] Accordingly, in 1895, the Settlement, the C.O.S., and the National Union of Women Workers united to form the Joint Lectures Committee whose paid lecturer was to give courses of lectures in London and the provinces. This was succeeded in 1901 by a C.O.S. committee as the Settlement felt the work developing beyond their scope; the committee grew into the School of Sociology with Professor Urwick in charge; and he went with the School of Sociology when it finally, in 1912, became a department of the London School of Economics and Political Science. But before this, in 1904, Professor Gonner had established in Liverpool the first School of Social Science, with the joint help of the

[1] E. Macadam, *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, p. 28.

University, the Victoria Settlement, and the Liverpool Central Relief and C.O.S. To-day there are seventeen universities or university colleges which offer courses on social study or public administration. Part of these courses are practical work which includes time in case-work agencies. To some extent therefore case-work has benefited. But although the development of formal training in the hands of the Universities has saved us from the excesses of those whose enthusiasm for technique confuses it with a philosophy of life, it has heavily handicapped the development of case-work in England as compared with America. There the original classes organized in 1897 by the New York C.O.S. evolved into the School of Philanthropy, now the New York School of Social Work. And the general tendency in America has been for training to combine theory and practice to the mutual illumination of both in a way that is not possible with the English system which, roughly speaking, provides a period of theory unrelated to practice and of practice unrelated to theory. As Miss Sewell said in 1893, 'We do not for one moment think of substituting training for personal devotion or expect that it alone will make the good worker'; but it still remains true that 'it takes more'n people think to help a convict'—or any one else—and neither enthusiasm nor a knowledge of economics and local government constitute the whole equipment necessary for a social worker who is preparing to administer the social services of this country.

On a lower level, an increased acceptance of the idea of case-work was brought about by the adoption of the case-paper system by workers unconnected with the original case-work societies. The distinctive feature of the case-work method is the use of case record. No doubt since the dawn of history, there have been born case-workers who instinctively applied the principles of case-work when they tried to help other people, without, however, setting pen to paper. This is natural enough because, as has been shown, the principles of case-work are natural principles, founded on the instinctive wisdom of the good neighbour. But for the general employment of professional case-work the case-paper system seems to be vital, not only because it allows one worker to take another's place without losing the benefit of her experience or disturbing the continuity of the treatment, but also because the very act of keeping a case-paper forces a worker to a certain extent to use her powers of analysis and construction upon the problem—and that upon a basis of essential fact. Important examples are the use of case records by Poor Law officials and by probation officers. By 1909 the case-paper was in use in a few Unions and earned an encomium from the Poor Law Commissioners as a useful method for ensuring adequate treatment. The practice soon became common, and, until the present reorganization of their work, at any rate, the general standard of case-recording

in relief offices was high. Probation officers keep a full and careful case-paper for each client, and the chairman of one juvenile court, at least, keeps a sufficient record to help him give each child continuity of treatment and individual attention. Case-papers are used in house-property management and tuberculosis care-work, in the Assistance Board, and even in more general types of social work such as club leadership, labour management, and parish work. Furthermore, a sort of applied case-work has made possible social research of such a valuable and humanized kind as *Men Without Work*. In short, the situation to-day is that the case-paper system is in general use in social work, not only in the case-work agencies proper, for example the I.C.A.A., but also in voluntary societies who employ case-workers as ancillaries to their main work, such as Dr. Barnardo's Homes, and in statutory bodies who use trained case-workers—mental hospitals for instance—or in statutory bodies who use officers not specially trained in case-work, for example the Assistance Board.

On the whole, case-work has been developed and practised by voluntary societies. But on the face of it there is no reason why this should continue to be so. The co-operation of the early social workers with statutory authority was close. It seemed natural in 1874 for Mr. Cross to send to consult Mr. Bosanquet before he produced his Artisans' Dwellings Act; and it seemed natural for the L.C.C. in 1910 to ask for lists of workers suitable to serve on school care committees. The early social workers supported movements and sat on committees, on Boards of Guardians, Royal Commissions, anti-tuberculosis Dispensaries, or Provident Medical Associations, and, indeed, on anything that was going, without noticing whether they were statutory or voluntary. The opposition to socialism changed this; but the opposition has for practical purposes died down; and in any event there is in the principles of social case-work no incompatibility with socialism or any other democratic system of society. There seems then, on the face of it, to be no reason why case-work agencies and statutory authorities should not work closely together; and no reason why case-work should not be developed and practised by statutory authorities. Voluntary societies have no monopoly of initiative and flexibility, qualities essential in case-work—sometimes quite the reverse; although it is more difficult for statutory bodies to make swift changes in policy when millions all over the country may be affected by their regulations. Similarly officials, as contrasted with the paid or unpaid workers of voluntary societies, have no monopoly of inhumane, unimaginative or impersonal treatment. There are case-workers employed by local authorities, municipal hospitals, the Home Office, or the Ministry of Health, who have felt no loss of scope or freedom.

On the other hand, there is sometimes a danger that the worker

who is under the supervision of an authority other than a case-work agency may find that a lack of understanding of the aims and functions of case-work has led to a considerable curtailment of her usefulness and even to conditions incompatible with her professional conscience. Some of the almoners in municipal hospitals were in this situation to begin with. Or, again, one of the most useful services performed by the social worker is her ability to act as a link between the State and the citizen; the citizen can air a grievance to her and she can either try to explain the reason for the statutory provision or try to persuade the official concerned to provide more satisfactorily. If the worker is an employee of the State her position as a link between State and citizen might sometimes be weakened with both parties. Another difficulty is that statutory bodies, particularly those entrusted with the expenditure of public funds, must be just and equal to all men and make favourites of none. Voluntary societies can discriminate and expend more upon one lost sheep than upon the other ninety-nine in the fold. Case-work must discriminate: it feels justified both in paying rent arrears for a man whose mental trouble may be stirred up again with worry, and in not attempting to pay rent arrears for other men just as worried but not just as subject to mental trouble. As with the labourers in the vineyard, it is only the result that is to be equal, not the expenditure. And for this reason some types of case-work, particularly those carried out by general family case-work agencies, might be more suitable for voluntary than statutory bodies. There is also the further point that the inspiration of case-work is the feeling of concern, of charity in its true sense, for our neighbour, the wish to do more for him, out of the warmth of this feeling, than we must do out of the obligation of duty. And it might be argued that workers whose original driving power is a personal feeling of this nature are more fittingly employed by voluntary societies who are free to choose their policies and principles and are not tied by regulations. But again, on the face of it, there seems to be no reason why the public official should not also be inspired by the most burning desire to serve that man is capable of feeling, particularly if present struggles to evolve an integrated social system are successful, and public servants of the future can feel that they are working for a democratic and united community.

In fact, however, the profession of case-work cuts across any apparent division between the statutory and the voluntary. Case-work is, by definition, an integrating service, which takes the conditions of society, the provisions made by the community, statutory and voluntary, as it finds them and uses whatever is available to help the individual to take his place in the community. If the case-worker is given freedom to be guided by her professional principles and not by economic, religious, or political considerations, then it

is of no real concern to her whether she is employed by official authority or voluntary society. She is in any case the servant of the community. The key to the situation seems to lie in this professional status of case-work, which in turn seems to depend upon free self-governing schools of training. If case-work can succeed in establishing its right to an independent status, its right to train and teach and develop according to its lights, and the right of its case-workers to act freely and consistently with their professional principles, then case-work is a bridge between the old individualism of the past and the new community of the future, and has infinite possibilities for service after the war with either voluntary societies or statutory authorities.

CHAPTER 7

MUTUAL AID MOVEMENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE

By G. D. H. COLE

SOCIAL service, or at any rate voluntary social service, as one ordinarily thinks of it, is by tradition essentially a middle-class affair. It is mainly the outcome of a movement, or a whole series of movements, which have been organized and run chiefly by those who have leisure or money, or both, as well as social conscience, for those who have very little of either leisure or money. Most of the organizations described in later chapters of this book have grown up under middle-class leadership, have relied mainly on middle-class money, and have worked mainly with middle-class helpers, salaried and voluntary alike. To a large extent, this character of the movement is a legacy from its past; for many of the bodies concerned in it originated definitely as 'charitable' agencies for helping the poor, and reflected the social ideas of a class which believed that it had a mission to govern, as well as a duty of Christian alms-giving. To be sure, most of these bodies were very intent on preaching to the poor the doctrine of 'self-help'; but their early protagonists were apt to understand this doctrine in a highly individualistic way. They were much keener on urging the poor to help themselves than to help one another; and they were for a long time apt to be suspicious of agencies for mutual self-help which were not established firmly under middle- or upper-class control. Witness the encouragement given in the first half of the nineteenth century to philanthropic Friendly Societies run by upper- or middle-class people for the poor, and the lack of encouragement over this period to Friendly Societies started and run by poor people for themselves—societies which were often suspected of serving to cloak 'subversive' activities, at a time when Trade Unions, and indeed most forms of working-class combination, were regarded as illegal conspiracies against the public. Witness, too, the entire isolation of the consumers' Co-operative movement from the recognized movements for voluntary social service, and the acute hostility displayed by many of the leading philanthropists towards any form of working-class combination which could be suspected of heretical opinions. Historically, philanthropy, in the form of charity, and working-class organization have been bad mixers. So many of the philanthropists have regarded charity as, among its virtues, a bulwark against subversive movements; and so many of the leaders of the working classes have been suspicious of help offered to their

followers *de haut en bas*. Some, indeed, have gone further, and have been actively hostile to all 'palliatives' designed to take the edge off the struggle of classes; but this attitude, common among the Socialists of the 'eighties, has never appealed to the main body of those who have led the Trade Unions and created the Labour Party as their political instrument.

Even where the philanthropists have not been guilty of the sin of treating charity as an insurance against revolution, there has often been a hardly less deep-seated antagonism between them and the working-class leaders. For, at any rate since the eighteen-eighties, most of the leaders of working-class movements have been fighting for the extension of public provision for the needs of the poor; whereas many, though by no means all, of the leaders of social service movements have been fighting a rearguard action against State intervention. There have, in effect, been three—and latterly four—divergent social attitudes towards the means to be adopted in relieving and preventing distress. One attitude has been that of private charity, regarded as a religious or social duty attaching to the possession of wealth or leisure, and finding expression in the great majority of the older movements for voluntary social service. A second has been the attitude of mutual self-help apart from the State, embodied in the self-governing Friendly Societies, in the Co-operative Movement, and in many of the earlier manifestations of Trade Unionism, especially among the skilled workers. A third has been the attitude associated with Socialism, in its aspect as a movement demanding that the State shall assume responsibility for the social security of its citizens—associated with Socialism in its inception, but later taken up by many who are not Socialists, and finding its culmination in the Beveridge Report. Finally, a fourth, much harder to define, but of steadily growing importance, while accepting a wide extension of State action, has stressed the need for a survival and development of voluntary agencies, to humanize and supplement and co-operate with the services provided under the auspices of the State, and to act as pioneer in fields of service which the State is not yet ready or equipped to occupy.

These four attitudes, which are not, of course, in any complete sense mutually exclusive, have gone to the making up of the various social service movements. This chapter is directly concerned with only two of them—with the attitude of mutual self-help, as it has manifested itself in a number of democratic voluntary movements, started and run under working-class, or sometimes lower-middle-class, leadership and control, and with the collectivist attitude, as it has affected both these and other predominantly working-class movements both in themselves and in their relations with the social services as a whole.

The attitude of mutual self-help is, of course, often manifested very strongly indeed among the very poor. One of the greatest problems of slum-clearance is that it is apt to destroy the exceedingly close relations of mutual aid which often exist in congested slum areas. The slum-dwellers, moved out into new and sanitary dwellings in blocks of flats or on cottage estates, are often heard to complain of the loss of the feeling of neighbourliness and mutual readiness to help. They suffer, in their new habitations, from a sense of isolation and social helplessness which did not afflict them before. There is in old congested urban centres, squalid as they frequently are in a material sense, often a feeling of community and mutuality that is signally wanting in many of the new urban settlements created in recent years; and the destruction of this neighbourliness may be a serious offset against the benefits of better housing and more spacious physical surroundings.

Organized mutual aid, however, as distinct from the spontaneous neighbourliness of the mean streets, is for the most part a characteristic of the better-off sections of the working class and to some extent of the tradesmen and supervisory classes. It exists, indeed, in the rudimentary form of local Friendly Societies and clubs among the worse-paid groups, in villages and small towns especially; but the growth of the great insurance companies and collecting societies has done a good deal to undermine the strength of this type of movement. The pence that used to go to the little local society or slate club are now very often absorbed instead by the insurance agent; and the great collecting societies which still gather in weekly the pence of the poorer wage-earners are barely distinguishable from the profit-making insurance companies. The Friendly Societies which do retain a social character and have not become almost purely business concerns do not for the most part touch the poorer sections of the working class, and do touch very many of the smaller traders, the independent workers, the supervisory grades in trade and industry and the small-scale employers who still, despite the growth of big business, make up so considerable a section of the British population. The Friendly Society movement, taken as a whole, is not a working-class movement, though it includes many members of the working classes. It operates neither among the rich nor among the poor, but predominantly among the groups which lie in between, and it cuts right across the borders of class, as class is ordinarily understood.

In this respect, the Friendly Societies are analogous to the Building Society movement, which embodies a similar mixture of classes, but goes higher up the social scale. The Building Societies are, however, nowadays so exclusively business concerns that no one would now think of including them, any more than the Savings Banks, within the category of social services. The Friendly Societies, as distinct

from the collecting societies which have lost their really mutual character, have to be included, because they are not purely business agencies, but do retain a social quality of their own, and do still administer on a substantial scale benevolent funds which are not mere matters of contractual obligation. Nevertheless, it will not be disputed that the social, as apart from the business, importance of the Friendly Societies has been for a long time on the wane.

The position of the Co-operative movement is somewhat different. Although it has in these days a not inconsiderable middle-class membership, it retains almost to the full its essentially working-class character. The middle-class housewife who buys some of her supplies at the 'Co-op' seldom feels any considerable pull of Co-operative 'loyalty'. It may be said that this is no less true of many working-class members of the Co-operative Societies; but the fact remains that in most areas the minority of active members who in effect run the Societies consists mainly of working-class men and women, and in many cases largely of men and women who are also active in the Trade Union or Labour movement. The Co-operative Societies cater primarily in most areas for working-class needs; and the social activities which exist in connexion with them have predominantly a working-class atmosphere.

It is perhaps remarkable, in view of this, that social service has not played a larger part than it in fact has played in Co-operative activities. Many Co-operative Societies on the Continent have gone much further than the British Societies in providing social in addition to trading services. It is not uncommon to find medical and dental services attached to Co-operative Societies in other countries, and to come away from the study of foreign Co-operative movements with a feeling that they embody more of the spirit of mutuality and community than exists in the British movement. This difference is due in part to the fact that much less is done in many of the countries concerned either by the State or by charitable agencies to provide social services; but it is also partly the outcome of a division of spheres of action which has developed historically in this country. Social services have grown up in Great Britain, prior to State action, under the auspices of Friendly Societies and Trade Unions rather than of Co-operative Societies. It is true that during the present century there has developed a large volume of insurance business in the hands of the Co-operative Insurance Society, which is under the auspices of the Co-operative movement, and that some Co-operative Societies, such as the Royal Arsenal Society, which covers a large part of South London, serve their members as Building Societies and do a good deal of 'friendly society' business. It is also true that nearly all Co-operative Societies set aside a part of their surplus for educational purposes, and that, on the educational side, their activities

lap over largely into the social sphere. It is true that this social side of Co-operation is very prominent, and that the Co-operative movement is full of 'Guilds' and 'Circles' having a predominantly social function. But this function is one of sociability rather than of social service. It binds the active members of the local Societies together in a feeling of community that is often very strong; but it does not usually find expression to any considerable extent in organized benevolence or forms of mutual aid outside the trading relations which are the movement's primary business.

That this should be the position has often been deplored by Co-operative idealists, who have again and again invoked the great name of Robert Owen against the narrowing of the Co-operative spirit into the channels of mutual trading. Co-operation in its earlier days professed a much wider and more idealistic purpose—nothing less than the transformation of the whole social system and the replacement everywhere of the spirit of competition by that of brotherly mutual aid. The early Co-operative Societies were often Friendly Societies and much more, in addition to their trading functions; but specialization and success went to a great extent hand in hand. The Co-operatives continued, and continue to-day, to be most important agencies of working-class thrift. They provide for working-class investment on a considerable scale, as well as for mutual trading on a non-profit basis. But in the realm of the social services, as the phrase is understood in this book, they play on the whole a very minor part.

Yet one in particular of the auxiliary agencies of the Co-operative movement has performed a function which, lying on the borderline of the social services, is much too important to be ignored in this study. The Women's Co-operative Guild, founded in 1883, and developed largely under the beneficent inspiration of the late Margaret Llewelyn Davies, has fulfilled a function among townswomen of the working classes in certain respects analogous to that fulfilled more recently in the villages by the Women's Institutes. The W.C.G. was, in effect, the first body which appealed successfully to really large bodies of working women to interest themselves in social questions, and to attempt to play a collective part in solving them. Moreover, the W.C.G., though there were a very few middle-class women among its leaders, was from the first essentially a body of working-class women managing their own affairs, with no such infusion of middle- and upper-class leadership in its local branches as went to the making of the Women's Institutes. A great many of the women who have since become prominent in the Trade Union and political Labour movements, as well as in the wider affairs of Co-operation, learnt their capacity for public action in the W.C.G.

This was not accomplished without severe struggles. It was one

of the aims of the leaders of the W.C.G. to make its members take a wide view of the social functions of Co-operation; and among its first efforts was an attempt to broaden the basis of the Co-operative Societies in such a way as to extend their membership to the poorer sections of the working classes. The backbone of Co-operative membership was, and is, almost everywhere, the more skilled, better paid, and more continuously employed wage-earners: its insistence on unadulterated goods of high quality and on 'no credit' trading put it in practice to a great extent out of the reach of the very poor and the casually employed, who were forced to buy cheap goods of poor quality and to live largely on 'tick'. The W.C.G. set out early in the present century to induce the Co-operative Societies to adapt their trading methods to the needs of the poor; and, even if it did not meet with any large measure of success in these endeavours, it did in the course of its agitation accomplish a great deal of social education among its own members.

The history of the struggle of the Women's Co-operative Guild in this particular field is of quite exceptional interest. In 1899 the President of the Co-operative Congress, in his address to the delegates, made this statement: 'There is a vast population which practically we have not touched—they are, as yet, outside the pale of the movement. They ought to be in, and there is every reason why we should strive to bring them within the fold.' The W.C.G. took up this challenge, and produced a series of proposals for the effective extension of Co-operation to the poorer consumers. It demanded that the Societies which had poor neighbourhoods within their spheres of influence should establish '(1) a People's Store, to supply wholesome food and other articles at cheap prices and in small quantities, to keep people out of debt by cash payments, and to enable them to save automatically; (2) a Coffee and Cooked Meat Shop; (3) a Loan Department, taking security in the form of bondmen, bills of sale, or personal property, so as to tide people over inevitable misfortune; to lend without taking advantage of necessity, to ensure freedom from fraud, and to undermine the habit of weekly pawning; (4) Club Rooms or Settlement, to be carried on by a special propagandist committee or resident workers, so as to attract from the public-house, to bring personal help, and form a centre of co-operative activity in the district.'

This was an altogether new idea of what a Co-operative Society ought to be; and from 1899 onwards the W.C.G. carried on an energetic campaign for experiments along these lines. They met with much opposition, both from the leaders of the movement and from ordinary members; for they appeared to run counter to the general idea of Co-operation as a movement of equals, and to involve an element of organized philanthropy in the interests of a lower class

of the people. The W.C.G. retorted that it was not asking for philanthropy, and that the experiment, if it were run on the right lines, could easily support itself without making any call on the 'dividends on purchases' paid to the existing members; and at length they found, at Sunderland, a Society which seemed willing to give their proposals a fair trial.

In 1902 the Sunderland Co-operative Society opened its Coronation Street branch, in a poor part of the town, as a People's Store on the basis proposed by the W.C.G. The new Store included grocery and butchers' shops—the latter selling cooked meats as well as ordinary butchers' supplies, and specializing in the sale of hot soup at ½*d.* and 1*d.* per cup. In addition to these shops there was a hall for meetings, and attached thereto a miniature 'Settlement' with two resident social workers, club-room facilities, and arrangements for voluntary help from women members of the parent Society. Leaders of the W.C.G. took turns in taking up temporary residence in the 'Settlement', and for a time the whole affair was a grand success, especially with the children of those who were brought into the Co-op. by the new kind of appeal.

Moreover, the experiment was a financial success. The Coronation Street Store, after meeting the costs of the 'Settlement', was able to afford a dividend on purchases of 2*s.* in the £1. A successful Penny Bank was started: there were no bad debts. Nevertheless, after the Store had run for less than two years, the Sunderland Society wound it up abruptly on an adverse vote of 82 to 25 at a quarterly meeting, the directors of the Society recommending its discontinuance.

Why did this happen? Not, in the main, because the Sunderland Co-operators felt their dividends to be in peril, though this had been the main argument used at the outset by the opponents of the scheme. It was not that: it was that the social workers and their W.C.G. supporters had fallen out with the directors. There had been friction and an attempt to curb the zeal and curtail the activities of the social workers; and the trouble had culminated in the resignation of the social workers in protest against the directors' attitude. The W.C.G. and its workers were too zealous in social service and too advanced in political and social attitude for the directors of the parent society; and in consequence the entire experiment was swept away. Nor, as far as is known, was it ever repeated elsewhere. It seemed as if this one brief trial had convinced the Co-operative movement that Co-operation and the settlement type of social service could never mix.

The W.C.G. also took up wider social questions, and became an open forum for debates on many matters of current controversy. It fell foul of the Co-operative Congress on account of its zeal in pressing for easier divorce, to which there was strong opposition in the

movement from Catholics and from some other religious groups; and, sooner than forfeit its freedom to take up and agitate upon any question affecting working women, it sacrificed for a number of years the money help which it had been receiving from the movement as a whole, and faced the difficulties involved in standing financially on its own feet. The W.C.G. is still an influential and important body, and a vital force for political and social education among the women of the Co-operative movement. If it is less important now than it was thirty years ago, the reason is largely that its pioneering work has helped working women to play a much larger part than would have been possible without it in the Co-operative Societies and in the Trade Unions, and that some of the energy which went to building it up has been transferred latterly to the Women's Sections of the constituency Labour Parties. It must be added that, though it has continued to be ably run and led, it has never found a successor at all equal in vision and inspiring force to that great woman who made it—Margaret Llewelyn Davies.

Trade Unionism, as we have seen, is much more actively engaged than Co-operation in what are ordinarily regarded as the social services. The Trade Unions were the pioneers of insurance against unemployment and from the first shared with the Friendly Societies the field of sickness insurance. They have supplied from the first funeral benefits, usually for the wives of members as well as for the members themselves; and they were early in the field with old age pensions, in the form of Superannuation Benefits payable to members retiring from gainful work. Tool insurance has been another common activity of the Unions; and it has been one of their most universal functions to safeguard their members in case of accident under the laws relating to Employers' Liability, and, more recently, Workmen's Compensation. In addition, it is common to find in Trade Union branches benevolent funds which can be drawn upon to aid members in cases of special emergency; and, apart from such regular funds, the 'whip round' in aid of a member in distress has been a common procedure for many decades.

Of these many 'friendly' activities, some are found in most Trade Unions, whereas others are mainly confined to craft unions charging relatively high subscriptions and limited to special categories of skilled workers. All Trade Unions make it their business to look after their members' legal interests in such matters as Workmen's Compensation or disputes arising out of the terms of the wage-contract—wrongful dismissal, lack of due notice, breach of enforceable trade customs, truck, illegal fines, infraction of factory or mining law, and a host of other questions. They also nowadays regard it as their business to advise and help their members with claims under the statutory social services—claims to benefit or

pension, disputes over the right to refuse an unsatisfactory job, and so on. On the other hand, such cash benefits as unemployment or sickness or disability payments can usually be afforded only by skilled workers, though Unions catering largely for the less skilled have often voluntary sections for these purposes, involving a rate of contribution higher than that paid by the main body of the members. There has been some tendency for Trade Union activity in the field of unemployment insurance to decline in recent years, partly because the State has taken over more and more of this function, and partly because the severe and prolonged unemployment of the inter-war years exhausted the resources of the Unions in the industries specially affected. Finally, superannuation has always been a most expensive benefit, and becomes even more expensive as the average age of the working population gets higher. The attempt to provide adequate superannuation benefits has driven many craft Unions into serious financial difficulties; and only Unions which are able to charge high weekly contributions are in a position to afford it at all.

Cash benefits, however, are no longer the most important social service activity of Trade Unionism, now that the State is taking over more and more of the burden of social security. This change of emphasis began with the National Insurance Act of 1911, and became much more marked after the general extension of unemployment insurance in 1920. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Trade Unions and the Friendly Societies had been attempting, on a basis of mutual self-help, to protect their members, drawn from the better-paid sections of the working classes and to some extent from the lower ranges of the middle class, against insecurities due to ill-health, accident, or industrial depression. What organized charity was setting out to do for those below the level of mutual self-help, the organized groups at a somewhat higher level were doing their best to achieve by their own efforts. In both cases, the burdens proved too heavy to be borne; and, as standards of provision rose, the State had to step in both to humanize the Poor Law and to provide standard benefits for the aged, the unfit, and the unemployed. This process, greatly accelerated by the severe depressions between the wars, is still by no means complete; and the Beveridge Report is in essence a plan for completing it, as far as it can be completed by legislative action. It has, however, gone far enough to bring about a big shift of emphasis in the work of the organizations responsible for mutual self-help, as well as in the field of 'charity'. To-day, the most essential social service of most Trade Unions is to be found in the continuous activity of their officers, national and local, paid and unpaid, in attending to their members' claims and difficulties of every sort and kind. The extent and character of this work differ from Union to Union, and from district to district. It is on the largest

scale where the Union is able to maintain on the spot a full-time local official, or officials; and it reaches its highest point among the miners, whose conditions of labour are continually creating the demand for it, above all in connexion with compensation claims and questions arising out of them, such as the provision of light work for the partially disabled man. The good local Trade Union officer, paid or unpaid, is not merely a negotiator or collective bargainer about wages and conditions of employment: he is also his members' guide and friend in a great many of the contingencies of life, including those which have nothing directly to do with the wage-contract. The local Trade Union officer is necessarily a 'social worker'; and, if he is hardly ever regularly trained for the job, he nevertheless picks up a high expertness at it in the course of his day-to-day experience.

The Trade Union officer or 'social worker' differs, however, from the social worker connected with most of the other movements described in this book in that his job is primarily that of advising his own members, and not anybody else. Indeed, this limitation quite often gives rise to practical difficulties. There is a strong feeling among active Trade Unionists that any worker who is not a member of a recognized Trade Union is a 'blackleg', and deserves no help. When a local Trade Union officer stands for Parliament, or wins a seat on the local Council, an awkward situation may arise. He may be appealed to, as a public man, by constituents whom his fellow Trade Unionists regard as outside the pale, because they are not Union members. If he helps such persons, out of humanitarian feeling or sense of social duty, he may be criticized for holding out the hand of fellowship to men who refuse to recognize its obligations. In most cases, this sort of criticism is not pushed very far, and the non-unionist does get advice if he asks for it. But he does not get, and cannot expect to get, the sort of backing in a difficulty which membership of a Union will ensure to him. There will be no Union fund to fight his case in the courts of law, if necessary right up to the House of Lords; nor can he expect an overworked Trade Union officer to attend to his affairs at the expense of setting aside those of members with evident claims upon him.

The strength or weakness of Trade Unionism in any particular area considerably affects the character of the voluntary social services carried on in it under non-Trade Union auspices. In the mining valleys of South Wales, for example, there is less for Citizens' Advice Bureaux of the ordinary kind to do because so much is undertaken by the miners' lodges; and even in industrial towns the voluntary social service bodies are usually more active in the poorer districts, where Trade Unionism is apt to be weak, than in the more prosperous working-class areas, where it is apt to be strong.

It is often not realized, outside the Trade Union movement, how

large a part of the time of many local Trade Union officers is spent on what are essentially social service activities. The growth of social legislation, while it has diminished to some extent the importance of the 'friendly benefit' side of Trade Unionism, has increased the work falling upon the Unions in defending their members' statutory rights and in giving them all manner of advice. This is especially the case among the less skilled workers, who have generally much less knowledge of what they are entitled to than the skilled workers, and much less ability to present a case to a public official or a tribunal or to fill up a complicated form. But the skilled workers also stand in need of this sort of help; and the Union officer, paid or unpaid, needs to have a good practical knowledge of current social legislation and of the administrative decisions governing its actual operation. It is an unquestionable fact that the injured workman who has a good Union behind him is less likely to be forced into an unsatisfactory compensation settlement than the non-unionist, and that the Trade Unionist is also at an advantage if some question arises with the employment exchange or the insurance company affecting his title to benefit.

Work of this sort can obviously be done with the greatest thoroughness and efficiency where the Union, with national resources behind it, keeps a full-time man on the spot locally to deal with cases as they arise. Most Unions, however, are not in a position to do this in more than a very small number of places, if at all; and a large part of the work necessarily falls upon the spare-time officers of local branches, the district or national full-time officers being called upon only when serious complications arise. It is the congregation of the coal-miners into large groups in a limited number of places, usually with full-time officers ready at hand, that gives them their ability to undertake a wide range of services on their members' behalf; whereas Unions with a more thinly scattered membership are at a disadvantage in this respect. There is, however, sometimes a countervailing advantage on the side of the craft Union which caters exclusively for skilled workmen of a particular type, where there are problems peculiar to the craft needing skilled attention. For example, the entire career of a railway engine-driver depends on his ability to pass certain eyesight tests; and it is one of the chief functions of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen to handle difficulties arising in connexion with these tests on behalf of their members. Such matters come near to the Trade Union realm of collective bargaining; but they are also a form of social service of prime importance to the workman.

Trades Councils and local Labour Parties, as well as Trade Union branches, have a part to play in social service activities. Only a few of the largest Trades Councils, linking together the local Trade Union

branches in particular towns, are in a position to employ full-time officials. The Trades Council secretary is usually a spare-time officer, and can do but little to aid the members of the affiliated branches with advice. But the Union branch officer who is in a difficulty will often bring a matter up in the local Trades Council; and where the matter needs taking up with the local employment exchange, or with the officers of the Assistance Board or P.A.C., the Trades Council secretary may take a hand.

Local Labour Parties are somewhat differently placed. In a good many areas, there is in normal times a salaried Labour Party agent, whose job it is to organize the constituency politically on the candidate's behalf. Labour Party members who want advice or help on a social service problem will often betake themselves to the Labour Party agent, when they have no effective local Trade Union official to act for them; and they will tend to go to the agent especially with problems that are related not to their employment but to other aspects of their everyday lives—for example, with disputes with landlords over rents or repairs, or with pension claims, or, nowadays, with troubles over income tax. The extent to which the local Labour Party and its agent deal with problems of this order differs a great deal from place to place. They tend, perhaps, to do most in areas, such as many of the new suburbs, where Trade Unionism is relatively weak, and where most of the inhabitants work and have their Trade Union connexions in one place and sleep and spend their leisure in another. Doubtless, Conservative and Liberal, as well as Labour, election agents and constituency organizations undertake services of these kinds on behalf of their adherents; and in addition to the election agent the candidate or sitting member, either of Parliament or of a local authority, may find himself called upon to give a great deal of help of this sort, especially if he lives close to his constituents. Such men as the miners' leaders, living in the colliery villages, are continually busied with work of this kind; and there are in many working-class districts particular persons who are looked to for help by almost any one who is in need of it. George Lansbury's house in Bow Road and C. H. Grinling's in Woolwich were, for many years, outstanding examples of this kind of unorganized community service.

There is another aspect of Trade Union social service in which some Unions have gone a long way. A number of Trade Unions maintain convalescent homes at the seaside or in the country for their members; and a number are also active in promoting special treatment for types of industrial injury to which their members are subject. Many Trade Unions help to maintain the Manor House Hospital at Hampstead for this purpose; and in most areas where there are organized works subscriptions to Hospital Funds the Trade Unions

are closely concerned in them. The Miners' Unions, in the older coalfields, play an active part in supporting Homes for Aged Miners; and Unions which do not provide regular sickness benefits have in a number of cases sick funds, to be drawn upon in case of special need.

Naturally, Trade Union activity in these and kindred fields is affected by the policy adopted by employers. Some big firms carry on a wide range of 'welfare' activities, including special funds in which the firm supplements the contributions paid by the employees. Other big firms, and the great majority of small ones, do practically nothing in the 'welfare' field. There has been, in the larger munition factories, a big advance in 'welfare' provision during the war. Factory medical and nursing services and works canteens have been widely introduced, though they are still usually lacking in the smaller establishments. It is expected that a large part of these developing services will continue after the war, and that there will be an extension to further trades and industries. To some extent, this type of growth is bound to alter industrial relations, including the relations of the Trade Unions to their members. When firms set up Works Welfare or Canteen Committees, or consult regularly with shop stewards or Production Committees about 'welfare' questions, and when this is done in a good spirit, there is a natural tendency for advice to be sought in some matters from the Works Welfare Officer or from some one else attached to the factory, instead of being sought from the Trade Union official, who is usually not on the spot. Fears are sometimes expressed that the growth of factory 'welfare' services may weaken Trade Union loyalties, not only by removing grievances connected with the terms of employment, but also by making the workman look less than before to the Trade Union for help in the varied contingencies of life. There is, however, little disposition to press this point, so as to oppose the development of such services, except where a particular firm tries to use its 'welfare' organization as an instrument for keeping Trade Unionism at bay, or insists on running its 'welfare' services dictatorially, without adequate consultation with the organized workers in its employment.

One industry, coal mining, stands in a special position, in that it has possessed since 1920 a statutory Welfare Fund, financed by means of a levy of 1*d.* on the royalty payable on every ton of coal raised. This Miners' Welfare Fund, which is controlled by a committee of coalowners and miners, with an impartial Chairman appointed by the State, has been the means of equipping most of the mining villages with some sort of hall or institute, ranging from a simple village hut to a large institute with varied facilities for education and recreation. The Fund has also provided playing-fields on a large scale, and at the time of the outbreak of war was spending large sums on the installation of pithead baths. On a smaller scale, it has provided

University, Technical College, and other scholarships for miners and the children of miners, and has made grants for a number of educational purposes. Outside the educational field, the Fund usually makes grants only for capital expenditure, leaving the cost of maintenance to be defrayed from local contributions, which often take the form of a weekly levy deducted from wages at the colliery office. The consequence of the Fund's operations has been that the miners, whose villages, except in a few areas, such as Durham, were usually very backward in social amenities, have come to be very much better equipped, and have run in this respect a long way ahead of other industries. Naturally, the same methods could not be applied to industries lacking the high degree of localization which is characteristic of coal mining; but the growth of factory canteens and restaurants and organized facilities for recreation during the war-years shows that there is a hardly less pressing need for Welfare Funds to finance such developments in a number of other industries.

Finally, it is necessary to stress the enormous extent to which every section of the working-class movement depends on voluntary service. The number of salaried Trade Union or Co-operative officials is relatively small, and that of full-time Labour Party officials very much smaller. The great bulk of Trade Union and political work, and a very large part of Co-operative work as well, is done by men and women in their spare time, either for no payment at all or for very small honoraria and payments for time lost or for 'delegation fees'. In a few cases the sums paid in these ways may be fairly substantial; but in the great majority they are much less than enough to count against the time and trouble. In effect, all branches of the working-class movement rely to a large extent on idealism to provide for the doing of the often thankless, day-to-day work on which their success depends. This mingling of salaried, part-paid, and unpaid service has its difficulties, and involves temptations to petty dishonesty when poor men have to handle considerable sums. But it is remarkable how little dishonesty there is; and even carelessness, which is a good deal commoner, is infrequent in relation to the large numbers who are involved.

The working-class movement has, in fact, a strong sense of comradeship and loyalty to inspire it to mutual service; and it is often inclined to look askance at those who attempt to serve its adherents in a spirit different from its own. It has, in particular, painful memories of the abuse of the spirit of charity; and, having been long outside the pale of respectability and political influence, it is apt to take, when these things at last come its way, an attitude coloured by its past experience. The strongest opposition between the voluntary social service movements and the statutory local authorities is found sometimes in areas where Labour is in power;

for the Labour Councillors, having got control of the local government, are sometimes disposed to try to use it for doing everything, and to reject as unnecessary any close co-operation with voluntary bodies which they suspect of upholding middle-class and anti-socialist views. Such conflicts have occurred of late over the development of the Youth movement; and they are not uncommon in the field of Public Assistance—the oldest battle-ground of rival social philosophies about the treatment of the poor. It would, however, be a great mistake to think of such conflicts as universal, or to regard them as unavoidable. They would be unavoidable, if the spirit of the voluntary social service movement were still, as with some of the older movements it doubtless is, that of charity as understood by the Victorians. It is not by any means unavoidable when 'charity' has really, as well as in name, passed over into social service with a democratic faith to inspire it.

It is, however, still to a considerable extent true that social service activities conducted on a basis of mutual self-help by working-class groups or by such middle-class groups as are associated with the great Friendly Societies tend to stand quite apart from other social service agencies because they deal largely, though not exclusively, with different people. Trade Unionism, though it includes an appreciable proportion of the less skilled workers, remains predominantly a movement of the better-off and of the more regularly employed. The same applies to Consumers' Co-operation, and, even more, to the active membership of local Labour Parties. The Co-operative Societies, and to a greater extent the Friendly Societies, include large middle-class elements, but seldom reach down in the opposite direction to the very poor. Social and social service activities organized on a basis of mutual aid usually imply, at any rate in the towns, an income or a degree of security above those of the slum-dwellers or the casually employed. It is, alas, common to find that the workman who, having been active in one or another of these movements, falls through illness or accident or continuous unemployment into primary poverty, loses touch with them, and suffers a spiritual as well as a material loss. The voluntary social services, on the other hand, are still mainly, though again not exclusively, in contact with the worse-off workers, and above all with those whom some defect or misfortune keeps out of regular contact with the better-off. They are largely engaged in helping those who cannot do a great deal, in any organized way, to help one another. This is much less true of the most recently developed than of the older services. It is not true of Citizens' Advice Bureaux, or of Rural Community Councils: it is not true of Youth movements, in their more recent phases, at any rate; and it is, of course, not true of the various movements for Adult Education—for education has of itself a selective effect. Nevertheless, it has hitherto

been true of the main body of what are ordinarily thought of as the voluntary social services that they have concerned themselves—at any rate up to 1939—mainly with persons who possess comparatively little capacity for organized mutual aid, however much they may be accustomed to aid and sustain one another in an unorganized, neighbourly way.

Thus it happens that the bodies concerned with social service on a basis of mutual aid tend to meet the other bodies active in these fields rather on the periphery of their labours than at the centre. This means that they are not compelled to come to terms, and that in the main each group can go on its own way, ignoring the activities of the other. This is much less true in the countryside than in the towns; and this is a reason why the National Council of Social Service has made much more headway with Rural Community Councils than with Urban Councils of Social Service. The village is still a community in which the classes intermingle; whereas the town is not, in anything like the same sense, and is so least in the field mainly occupied by the principal voluntary social services. Perhaps these barriers are gradually being broken down, as the range of the statutory social services is widened, as the 'taint' of pauperism ceases to cling round the recipients of assistance from public funds, and as the practical workers in the voluntary field become more conscious of the need to adapt themselves to the changing spirit of the age. But it will not be easy to break the barriers down altogether, as long as the social system retains its class basis and there continue to exist, among the socially minded, wide cleavages of opinion about what the class structure of the community ought to be. The working-class movement will maintain a tendency to 'keep itself to itself' as long as it continues to regard itself as having a mission to change the basis of the social order; and philanthropy will not quite succeed in throwing off its *de haut en bas* attitude to the poor as long as the poor whom it exists mainly to help constitute in fact a separate, submerged class. An effective Beveridge Plan for the prevention of want in all its forms would go a long way towards altering this situation; and in the long run a public educational system based on the 'common school' would go further still. But even such far-reaching social changes would take a long time to produce their full effect; and in the meantime the relations between the movements based on organized mutual self-help among the workers and on organized social services designed mainly to help those least able to help themselves or one another will remain uneasy, though uneasiness need not mean antagonism and will probably come to mean it less and less.

This chapter has touched only the fringe of a very big subject. It has been its task to describe, not the movement for mutual self-help as a whole, but only those aspects of it which come closest to the

forms of voluntary social service described in other chapters of this book. But these aspects of organized mutual aid are, when one comes to the point, exceedingly difficult to isolate. Social service is not so much a distinct part of the activities of the Friendly Societies, or of Trade Unionism, or of Co-operation, or of the political Labour movement, as an attitude animating these movements in their general momentum, and giving meaning to many of their proceedings which lie a long way outside what is ordinarily thought of as the sphere of voluntary social service. The social service aspect of these movements constitutes, however, an integral part of the national activity of the social services in Great Britain; and the tendency of those who are active in many fields of social service to ignore this aspect of them often results in a singularly distorted vision of the facts. It is of vital importance for the future of the social services that the 'voluntary agencies' and the movements based primarily on mutual aid shall come to a better understanding; for, until they do, much effort will be wasted in fruitless bickering, and the development of the spirit of democratic community will be artificially held back.

CHAPTER 8

VOLUNTARY YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

By P. F. BEARD

A GREAT and often vaunted quality of the youth organizations, their variety, is not an unmixed blessing when it is necessary to write about them in a short space. This chapter must begin, therefore, with some indication of the complexity of the subject and the dangers inherent in generalizing about it. There are seventeen leading national organizations represented on the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organizations.[1] To these must be added the many clubs, often attached to churches, which are not affiliated to any of these national organizations.[2] For example, there were eighty-six separate groups not so affiliated, with a total membership of 4,407, registered with the Bristol Youth Committee in 1944. The political parties have their youth groups. Finally, there are the pre-service organizations and the Youth Centres run by the local authorities, which must come under consideration though they are not voluntary organizations.

Many of these organizations include among their membership children under fourteen who are still at school and some adults. But they are mainly concerned with the 14–20 year-olds, for the great majority of whom full-time education at present ceases at fourteen.[3] Most of the organizations provide activities which reflect a threefold purpose: educational (including 'education in citizenship'), recreational (including physical recreation), and spiritual. Within this framework, however, there is a wide variety of emphasis and approach.

[1] A list of these organizations with the dates of their foundation and a very approximate figure of their total membership under 21 in the spring of 1943, including the percentage over 14, is given in an Appendix. A summary of their aims and methods will be found in *Aims and Methods of the National Voluntary Youth Organizations*, issued by the Standing Conference, 26, Bedford Square, W.C.1. The fullest description available of their work is in A. E. Morgan's *The Needs of Youth*, 1939. This book is now somewhat out of date (the training of leaders, for example, is considerably better provided for than it was in 1939). It has been condensed and some new facts added in *Young Citizen*, 1943 (Penguin Books). Another survey of recent developments in Youth work is by J. M. Brew, *In the Service of Youth*, 1943. Those who are tired of seeing the 'Problems of Youth' discussed in general terms should read P. Jephcott's *Girls Growing Up*, 1943, a vivid account of the lives of individual young people, in clubs and out.

[2] The Churches' share in youth work and the possibility of another dual system in this sphere, is an important issue which cannot be considered here.

[3] In 1938 approximately 2,273,000 or 81 per cent of the total population aged 14 but not 18 years in England and Wales (which was about 2,793,000) left school at 14.

It may be useful to illustrate this by attempting to divide the organizations into five groups:

1. The voluntary uniformed organizations, such as the Scouts and Guides and the Brigades. The aims and methods of the Scout and Guide Movements are too well known to need elaboration here. The Brigades are attached to churches, the Boys' Brigade and the Girls' Life Brigade to churches of all denominations and the Church Lads' Brigade and the Girls' Guildry to Church of England parishes only. Church attendance and Bible study and drill are a regular item in their activities. The object of the Boys' Brigade is described as 'The advancement of Christ's kingdom among boys and the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness'. It may be noticed that these organizations show a larger proportion of their membership under fourteen than the other youth organizations.[1]

2. Clubs which aim to provide a centre where young people can come and meet their friends without being too much 'organized'. Activities, often of a very varied and ambitious kind, grow up within these clubs, but the new member is often attracted to join the club because it is near his home or because his best friend belongs to it rather than because he wants to take part in a specific activity. Most of the organizers of these clubs lay great stress on the 'club spirit' and the growth of self-government within the club community; they also emphasize the importance of the development of the personality of the club member through club society. The N.A.B.C., for example, suggest that 'the club creates a community of boys wherein each boy learns in practice the art of human relationships'.[2] The N.A.B.C., N.A.G.C., and Y.W.C.A. clubs, some Church clubs (which may be affiliated to the N.A.B.C. or N.A.G.C.), and many local authority Youth Centres would fall into this group.

3. Organizations which exist primarily to provide educational activities in a fairly formal class way, for example, the Evening Institutes, some of the local authority Youth Centres and the Youth Groups of the W.E.A.

4. Groups which grow out of the common concern of their members (and, it must be admitted, of their elders) in a certain creed or political or social philosophy, and which often exist chiefly to propagate this creed or philosophy, for example, many church groups and the political party youth organizations. Similar in some ways, though on a broader basis and not attached to any particular Church or party, are the 18+ Groups, initiated by the Carnegie Endowment in 1941, which aim to help each member to find his place 'as a fully developed member of society, determining his own religious, political, and social affiliations'. Though the clubs in this group may be small

in membership they often consist of live young people in the higher range of the 14–20 age-group; and they are self-governing from the start, if their very existence springs from the interest and enthusiasm of their members.

5. The pre-service organizations and war-time service groups of all kinds, and all groups which exist chiefly to learn a technique in order to perform a service, of a specific and practical kind, such as the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Brigade Cadets. A new organization of this kind is the Youth Service Volunteers, founded in 1942, to run camps for young people willing to spend their holiday, or part of it, on forestry, agriculture, or other war work. It must be emphasized that this primary aim of service does not exclude and is itself the starting-point of wider educational and recreational activities, practice in self-government, and education in citizenship. The National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs, for instance, which might be placed in this group, aims

'(1) to form clubs to act as educational and social centres for the youth of local communities;
'(2) to encourage young people, both rural and urban, to appreciate the countryside and to train rural youth in the arts of rural citizenship;
'(3) to provide facilities for instruction in agricultural and allied subjects—rural crafts, stock-raising, horticulture, etc. . . .'[1]

On the whole, however, it is probably true to say that organizations in groups 3, 4, and 5 develop social and recreational activities so that members may get to know each other and also as a way of attracting new members, but that such activities tend to be a secondary consideration in these clubs and organizations and a primary one in the clubs in group 2.

Other considerations besides this intentional variety of purpose add to the difficulty of generalizing about youth organizations. Unevenness of provision is an almost inevitable result of voluntary effort, and there was before the war a great variety in the distribution of clubs over the whole country. Thus, in 1938 there were 86, 39, and 111 clubs affiliated to the N.A.B.C. in Birmingham, Bristol, and Liverpool respectively, but only 1, 3, and 2 in Cornwall, Leicestershire, and Suffolk.[2] It is natural to find greater need for clubs, and, therefore, greater provision in the towns; the *New Survey of London Life and Labour* reported in 1935, however, that provision inside London varied from borough to borough with little relation to need. As will be shown, the gaps in the provision of clubs have to some extent been filled since the war, partly by an extension of the voluntary societies' work and partly by direct provision by the

[1] *Aims and Methods, op. cit.* [2] A. E. Morgan, *The Needs of Youth*, p. 294.

local authorities. But some local authorities have no doubt failed, through poverty or indifference, to see that adequate provision is made.

The quality, as distinct from the distribution, of the voluntary and local authority clubs naturally varies enormously. The aims and principles of a national organization are easily to hand, but not so the achievements of its constituent groups. Differences between constituent clubs are particularly great in those affiliated to the N.A.B.C. and N.A.G.C. These organizations lay down a minimum standard for affiliation. Many clubs only just reach this, meeting with twenty or thirty members, on one or two nights a week in a church hall, with an unpaid leader, whereas others, like the large endowed city clubs, with their own buildings and paid leaders, rise far above this minimum. One of the greatest, Clubland in Walworth, for instance, was built at a cost of £100,000, with a church, theatre, gymnasium, handicraft- and music-rooms, and provision for medical and dental services. This comparison is not to imply criticism—the small club meeting occasionally in a church hall may meet the needs of many districts. On the other hand, Dr. Morgan estimated in 1938 that less than 100 of the 1,400 clubs then affiliated to the N.A.B.C. had premises really adequate to their purpose.[1] The quality of a club depends, even more than on premises, on the quality of its leadership. And 'the wind bloweth where it listeth' in voluntary organizations and in local education authorities alike. This truth must never be lost sight of in what follows, when administrative measures, and particularly the growth of state intervention in youth work, are mainly under discussion.

The older voluntary youth organizations were founded in the second half of the nineteenth century,[2] and for many years they worked as pioneers without any thought of Government intervention. The first tentative venture on the part of the State was in 1916, when, to meet war conditions and rising juvenile delinquency, the Home Office set up a Central Juvenile Organizations Committee. This was transferred in 1918 to the Board of Education. Local Juvenile Organizations Committees, consisting of representatives of the voluntary organizations, educational bodies, the local committees for juvenile employment, and so on, were set up. Sometimes Juvenile Organizations Committees were sub-committees of the local Education Committee, but they were usually, in practice, representative committees of the voluntary organizations, where they could meet together to arrange, for example, for joint competitions and displays, for training courses for leaders or the pooling of offers of voluntary help. Some Juvenile Organizations Committees obtained part of their income by public appeals for subscriptions. They were in some

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 284. [2] See Appendix.

ways as much a 'voluntary' as a 'statutory' body in appearance, despite their origin. But they did include representatives of the local education authority and they were usually the channel through which the authorities made grants to voluntary organizations under the powers given them by the Education Act of 1921 to provide for the social and recreational needs of young persons under eighteen, whether attached to schools or evening institutes or not.

The Juvenile Organizations Committee failed completely to secure an adequate and even distribution of provision for young people over the country as a whole. There was no compulsion to set up a local Juvenile Organizations Committee, and many towns never had a committee at all. The activity and success of those which did exist varied greatly, as the following figures from an inquiry made in 1938 show: of the 114 Juvenile Organizations Committees in existence 25 ignored the request to provide information, which suggests that they were moribund. Some met monthly, others only once or twice a year; 8 committees had full-time paid secretaries, 68 had honorary ones; only 8 committees employed clerical assistance; the smallest annual total income and expenditure reported was £1, the largest £2,445; 35 had an income of less than £200, and 4 of over £1,000. Grants from local education authorities varied from £10 to £1,500.[1]

In 1918, soon after the setting-up of the Central Juvenile Organizations Committee, the Fisher Education Act was passed; this envisaged direct State educational control of the 14–18 year-olds by the raising of the school age to fifteen and compulsory continued education in the daytime up to sixteen, and ultimately to eighteen. But, as is well known, the whole plan was wrecked, ostensibly on the rock of financial stringency, in the early 1920's, and only one compulsory local authority Day Continuation School, that in Rugby, survived.

Between 1936 and 1939 there was a considerable increase of interest in the needs of youth, and increasing financial provision was made to meet them. A great impetus came from the National Fitness Campaign, launched by Mr. Chamberlain's Government in 1936. In February 1937 the National Fitness Advisory Council was set up, with twenty-two Area Committees, each with its own headquarters and paid staff. The Council was fully representative of the voluntary youth organizations, as well as of bodies like the Football and the Ling Associations. The local committees were to survey the needs of their areas and to be the channel through which local units of voluntary organizations and local education authorities should make applications to the Grants Committee of the National Fitness

[1] *In the Service of Youth: the report of a National Conference of Juvenile Organizations Committees*, issued by the Juvenile Organizations Committee of the National Fitness Council, 1939.

Council, which would then recommend the Board of Education to make grants. The Central Juvenile Organizations Committee was replaced by a Juvenile Organizations Committee directly under the National Fitness Council, and the local Juvenile Organizations Committees were to co-operate with the Area Committees. Under this scheme £2,000,000 was to be expended by 1940 on grants towards capital outlay for premises and equipment; and, though physical education was the primary object, grants were made to local education authorities and voluntary organizations for buildings providing rooms for all social and recreational activities so long as they included gymnasia. Grants were also made to the national administrative headquarters of the leading voluntary youth organizations, which were chiefly used for the salaries of physical training organizers. In these years also the youth organizations received large grants for general purposes from the Commissioners for the Special Areas and the £1,000,000 of the King George's Jubilee Trust Fund which was devoted to work for youth.

The National Fitness Council was not a complete success. Its machinery was superimposed at considerable administrative expense on the already existing machinery provided by the local education authorities. The reason for this unusual arrangement is not clear. It has been suggested that one reason was a desire to by-pass the local education authorities who could not be relied on to recommend adequate grants to voluntary organizations. The reaction of many local education authorities was a refusal to co-operate. Some authorities would not build community centres; other, poorer ones, could not because grants only met part of the cost. Another disadvantage from both the L.E.A.s' and the voluntary organizations' point of view was that there were to be no adequate grants for maintenance once the premises had been built. Moreover, since the Fitness Council was concerned primarily with physical fitness, it could not in any case meet all the needs of the youth organizations.

Up to the outbreak of war in September 1939, then, though the local authorities had very wide powers, their actual grants to local units of voluntary organizations varied greatly; central government grants to the national organizations were limited to grants for the development of physical education, apart from exceptional provision for the Special Areas; and the direct intervention of the local education authorities was confined to the abortive scheme for day continuation schools, and the provision of classes in evening institutes, which were usually restricted to the very small percentage of young people taking formal courses. A handful of local authorities provided community centres with varying facilities. The wardens of these, whose duties might include the running of youth clubs, were occasionally paid by the authority. With the outbreak of war came a

revolutionary increase in the extent of grants to voluntary organizations, and in direct provision by local education authorities.

The initial capital expenditure under the National Fitness scheme was to have been completed by 1940. At the beginning of the war, however, the National Fitness Council was shelved and the Government seems to have repented of its cold-shouldering of local authorities. In September 1939 the Board of Education set up a National Youth Committee, composed of representatives of the Board of Education, the local education authorities, leading national voluntary organizations, and industrial and medical interests. The Committee was replaced in 1942 by the Youth Advisory Council, which is more representative of people actually engaged in youth work and of those with experience of war-time developments.[1] In September 1939 a special branch was set up inside the Board of Education to deal with youth work. In November the Board issued the now famous circular on *The Service of Youth*,[2] recommending the establishment of Youth Committees by the 146 local authorities for higher education. This time considerable pressure was brought to bear on the local authorities and the Board gave them four months to inform it of the arrangements made. By March 1940, 111 had already taken action and now all the Part II authorities have set up Youth Committees; smaller education authorities have also set up local committees. The committees were to be properly staffed and equipped with office accommodation and clerical assistance, and by February 1942 there were at least ninety-nine paid youth service organizers and Youth Committee secretaries (as compared with the eight in the days of the Juvenile Organizations Committee). Local education authority expenditure on the service of youth is eligible for a 50 per cent grant from the Board under the Education Act of 1921.

Two fundamental principles underlie the war-time development of the youth service: it is a partnership of statutory and voluntary effort; and it is to be considered 'an integral part of the national system of education'.[3] 'The association of voluntary effort,' says Circular 1486, 'with the public system is typical of the history of the growth of the educational services in this country, and will give the service of youth an equal status with the other educational services conducted by the local authority. In the Youth Committee the individual traditions and special experience of youth possessed by the voluntary organizations will be joined with the prestige and resources of the local education authority.'

[1] For example, the Chairman is Mr. J. F. Wolfenden, Headmaster of Shrewsbury, who was largely responsible for building up the A.T.C., and it includes the Youth Organizer for Hertfordshire, and the Principal of an Evening Institute in Hoxton, as well as representatives of the voluntary organizations, trade unions, and employers, and other specialists.

[2] Circular 1486, 1939. [3] Cmd. 6458, 1943, *Educational Reform*, para. 92.

In accordance with this policy grants to the voluntary organizations, central and local, have increased at a great rate. The expenditure of the Manchester Education Committee on educational work for voluntary organizations was some £100 a year before the war. In 1942–3 it was over £4,000.[1] Large grants have been made by the Board of Education direct to the national voluntary organizations. The N.A.B.C., for example, in the year ending March 1943 received approximately £2,880 in donations and subscriptions, £1,000 as income from investments, and £11,500 from the Board of Education. (Its largest source of income, to the extent of £12,000, was still the King George's Jubilee Trust Fund, and it also received £2,000 from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.) The Board has also provided training courses for youth leaders. It took the initiative in the foundation of the National Association of Girls' Training Corps to co-ordinate existing girls' pre-service units, but insists that the N.A.G.T.C. is 'an entirely voluntary body taking its place among the other girls' organizations'.[2] The Board is also represented, with the Ministry of Agriculture and representatives of the Federation, on an advisory committee to assist in the expansion of the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs, largely at the two Ministries' expense. As a condition of these grants the work of the voluntary organizations is, of course, open to inspection by the Board.

Apart from urging assistance to existing organizations, however, the circular on *The Service of Youth* declared that 'a new initiative is needed; young people must themselves be encouraged to find through their local Youth Committee new constructive outlets for their leisure hours and for voluntary national service'. New organizations on these lines have developed, particularly in rural areas, where, as has been seen, there was very little existing provision for organized leisure for young people. Such, for instance, are the Youth Service Squads of East Suffolk, in which young people come together at the instance of the Youth Committee, under their own leadership, but with adult advisers, to do jobs of national importance. The squads have also developed general social and educational activities. For the year 1941 the East Suffolk Education Committee allocated £1,900 for youth work. Before the war there were two clubs in Suffolk affiliated to the N.A.B.C.; by 1941 there were 1,500 members between fourteen and twenty of Service Squads alone, and similar figures could be quoted for other counties. Youth Committees in other rural counties, for example, in Somerset, have called on adult volunteers to start village clubs.

In all this there is still a large element of the 'voluntary'. Even more direct statutory provision has been made in many areas, in

[1] Third Report of the Manchester Youth Committee, 1942–3, p. 20.
[2] Circular 1585, *Registration of Girls*, 1942.

close connexion with the schools and evening institutes. This development is very marked in the towns. Thus Aberdeen has developed its pioneer Recreative Clubs, attached to Evening Institutes, which existed before the war, and opened new Youth Welfare Centres, in schools. Each centre has a part-time paid staff. The activities have included community singing, ball-room and country dancing, debates, and lectures, as well as all kinds of physical activities which have been carried on into the summer on school playing-fields. At the end of 1941 there were over 2,500 members in eleven such centres. Similar centres have been set up in many other areas, for example, in Manchester, Southampton, Norwich, Ipswich, and London. In Manchester, a city where the local authority has been active in making independent provision, and yet where there has been very close co-operation between the local authority and the voluntary organizations, the scope of local authority direct provision is indicated by the fact that in 1942–3 there were approximately 11,200 members aged 14–20 in Civic Youth Centres, 16,500 in voluntary organizations, and 10,460 in Service and pre-service units. It is interesting to note that there were 22 Civic Youth Centres, but 621 separate units of voluntary organizations.[1] In most districts Youth Centres are only set up in consultation with voluntary organizations to fill the gaps left by voluntary provision. One local authority which has been brought to our notice, Merthyr Tydfil, has gone all the way to ignore the voluntary organizations and has set up a comprehensive system of centres of its own. As is to be expected, day-school teachers have taken an increasing share, either whole- or part-time, in this form of youth work, and are, of course, usually paid for it.

One result of this war-time development is that the frontiers dividing voluntary from statutory provision in the service of youth are becoming increasingly blurred. The essential characteristics of

[1] *Third Report of the Manchester Youth Committee*, 1942–3: 'Service and pre-service units' include the N.A.G.T.C., British Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Brigade and Civil Defence and Fire Service Messengers, as well as the A.T.C., Army Cadet Force, and Sea Cadets. Duplication of membership among all youth organizations is said to be as much as 25 per cent. The approximate expenditure of the Youth Committee in 1942–3 is also interesting:

	£
(i) Grants to voluntary organizations	1,523
(ii) Supply of teachers to youth organizations	2,184
(iii) Expenses in connexion with the use of school premises by voluntary organizations	500
(iv) Expenses in connexion with interviewing after registration	385
(v) Cost of training courses	10
(vi) Maintenance of civic youth centres	10,200
(vii) Organization and administration	350
	£15,152

the national voluntary organizations are that they are organized on a national basis (and many of them have international affiliations); they appoint their own governing body and their constituent clubs are usually under the supervision of committees of management; the organizations determine their own policy; and their claim to autonomy is supported by the possession of a substantial income independent of Government grant, though the degree of financial independence varies from one organization to another. But the 'voluntary', as compared with the 'statutory', in youth organizations has nothing to do with the attendance of members; they are as free to come and go at the local authority Youth Centre as at the local branch of the Y.W.C.A. The voluntary organizations are not entirely staffed by volunteers, and rightly so. This fact has, however, led one Director of Education to assert that the only difference between the official employed by the education authorities and their counterparts in the voluntary organizations is that frequently 'the former are paid partly by the ratepayer and partly by the taxpayer, and the latter wholly by the taxpayer'.[1] On the other hand, as has been shown, local authorities have initiated clubs with voluntary leaders, some of which contribute considerable sums to their own upkeep.

The other important war-time development, apart from the extension of the work of voluntary organizations and the new initiative on the part of local authorities, has been the expansion of the pre-service organizations, the Air Training Corps, Army Cadet Force, and Sea Cadet Corps, from small voluntary units to their membership in August 1943 of some 450,000.[2] Within a year of its reorganization in its present form, which took place in February 1941, the A.T.C. had absorbed nearly a quarter of the total 16–18 male population of the country. There is an organization for girls, the N.A.G.T.C. (which has absorbed a previously independent organization, the Women's Junior Air Corps) on pre-service lines, but it does not automatically lead to the women's Services and receives no financial aid from the Service Departments. The principal reason for the success of these organizations is not far to seek. They all have a real and specific purpose and have offered young people a concrete job to do here and now. Popularity is not, of course, the only measure of value, nor even a measure at all. It may be arguable that the military character of the A.T.C. limits its educational value. Nevertheless, the A.T.C. has set high educational standards (it has certainly taken many of the best young people, and some of the

[1] John Newsom, in *The Boy*, Summer 1941, p. 158.

[2] See the Youth Advisory Council's report, *The Youth Service after the War*, August 1943, Appendix II. These figures do not indicate the extent of the demand for membership because the organizations have restricted their intake according to Service needs. Many boys have been disappointed in their wish to join the Sea Cadet Corps.

weaker spirits among its members have fallen by the way). It has made large demands, and has offered in return considerable technical skills, the opportunity to study machines and a route to the R.A.F. It is true that the uniform is a great attraction. But this itself is significant because it is a uniform which confers adult status.

The members of the older voluntary organizations have also, of course, done great service in the war effort; clubs have had their own youth service squads; units of the pre-service organizations have been established within clubs; and the Scouts, for example, have set up their own section of Air Scouts. Nevertheless, most young people of 16–18 interviewed and invited to join an organization have expressed a preference for the pre-service organizations or—the girls—for such organizations as the Red Cross, and these organizations have to a large extent absorbed those previously unattached to any organization.[1] It is unfair to draw any conclusions from this fact about the appeal of the older organizations. The older organizations have lost premises and teachers as a result of the war, and this must have made expansion difficult, though the losses have been partially met by assistance from the local authorities.[2] It may be that some of the young people who have joined the pre-service organizations had no wish in peace-time, for perfectly valid reasons, to join any kind of youth organization, however excellent. Nevertheless opinions expressed by young people at registration interviews do point the way in which the voluntary and statutory youth organizations must move—and are moving—if they are to meet young people's needs in the future. For instance, many of the older boys and girls interviewed 'were emphatic that they would not join organizations of which "children" of 14 or 15 were members'.[3] Young people often leave Scouts and Guides because as they grow older the element of make-believe loses its appeal. Other similar preferences of young people are for mixed clubs and for clubs which give them a large degree of self-government; and war-time developments in voluntary

[1] See Cmd. 6446, *Youth Registration in* 1942, especially the table on page 7. According to an estimate—'perhaps more of a conjecture than an estimate'—in this report, the number of young people between 16 and 18 associated with the Youth Service increased by some 15 to 20 per cent as a direct or indirect result of registration. If this was so, some 60 to 70 per cent of the boys and some 40 per cent of the girls in that age group were either at school or associated with some form of leisure-time training at the end of 1942 (para. 11).

[2] The fortune of the voluntary organizations generally is probably well illustrated by the experience of the Scouts in Manchester, whose membership fell from 7,168 Cubs, Scouts, Rovers, and Officers in 1939 to 4,304 in 1941—the result of evacuation, black-out, sirens, blitzes, and the competing claims of National Service. By 1942–3 it had risen again to 5,852 (*Third Report of the Youth Committee, op. cit.*). Some organizations, the Y.W.C.A. for example, have greatly expanded their work during the war. According to the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organizations, most youth organizations are now advancing beyond their pre-war strength.

[3] Cmd. 6446, para. 17.

organizations and local authority centres alike have been directed to meeting these needs.

It remains to consider the possible future relationship of the voluntary and statutory organizations in the service of youth. The White Paper on Educational Reconstruction, and the report of the Youth Advisory Council both draw attention to the fact that the Young People's or County Colleges providing part-time education from fifteen (or sixteen, according to the school-leaving age) to eighteen, which are provided for in the Education Act, will 'develop their social and community life and will make provision for a wide range of leisure-time interests'. At the same time they contend that there is room for all, that further education will encourage more young people to join youth organizations, and that it is vital to preserve the voluntary organizations because of their wide variety. Free choice of occupation is the essence of leisure. This appears to be irrefutable, though it is arguable that, in some rural areas at least, too many youth groups, possibly not fundamentally very varied, do lead to overlapping and waste of effort. It does not follow, however, that the present pattern of voluntary and statutory organizations must remain altogether unchanged. It may be useful to make some suggestions as to the possible future development of youth work in the light of the classification of youth organizations into five groups which was attempted on pages 136 and 137, above.

The voluntary uniformed organizations, as has been shown, include many children under fourteen. Apart from the fact that the raising of the school-leaving age may well extend their influence among the 15–16 year-olds, it seems unlikely that there will be any great change in their position.

The future of the war-time service organizations has been much discussed and is obviously very important. The Government has announced its intention of maintaining the pre-service Cadet organizations on a voluntary membership basis—as at present—after the war, with financial provision 'on whatever scale is possible or desirable from time to time'.[1] It would be in line with recent educational policy for the Ministry of Education to have a large share in their administration, as is recommended by the majority of the Youth Advisory Council in their report. The future of these organizations is, at any rate, involved in the larger question of compulsory national service. The essential thing to be remembered is that what has made them relevant, and therefore successful, in war may not necessarily make them relevant in peace. As a correspondent has suggested to the writer of this chapter, 'the crux is whether the community can recreate social purposes within itself alive enough to capture young people for peace-time as well as war-time'.

[1] The Earl of Munster in the House of Lords, 9 November 1943.

The other organizations in groups 3–5 may increase their membership as a result of interests stimulated by the Young People's Colleges and some of their branches may be attached to the Colleges, but it does not seem likely that they will otherwise be vitally affected. The purely educational groups can be fitted into the framework of the Young People's Colleges or of Adult Education. The 'missionary' groups, political or religious, exist in their own right; they are independent of Government funds (the political youth organizations do not qualify for Ministry of Education grant); and they do not compete with, nor can they be replaced by, the activities of the Young People's Colleges. Organizations like the Red Cross or the Young Farmers' Clubs have quite specifically defined activities and purposes and can, if and where it is thought desirable, be linked in some way with the Young People's Colleges without losing their identity.

The Government's reconstruction plans for the raising of the school-leaving age and the establishment of part-time continued education, and also for rehousing, will affect most directly the organizations in group 2, the great bulk of the non-uniformed clubs. For one great justification for and *raison d'être* of these clubs has been the lack of these facilities in the past. They have provided more comprehensive facilities than any other youth organizations—canteens, physical training classes, medical services, games, dramatics and classes of all kinds—and to do this well have needed good premises, teachers, and equipment. Many clubs could not obtain these without Government assistance (in money or in kind) which has only since the war been available on anything approaching an adequate scale. With the establishment of Young People's Colleges the need for these clubs will be less urgent and at the same time the Government will be providing in Young People's Colleges some of the facilities which it has hitherto subsidized in the clubs.

For example, for young people flung into industry at fourteen the club has often been the only social unit outside the family to which they could 'belong'. Further education will give young people time to grow up and find their own affiliations in society and the Young People's College itself will provide an alternative social group to the club. Again, the clubs have provided all kinds of educational opportunities. They have sometimes had great difficulty in securing their members' interest, because most of them left elementary schools at fourteen with mixed feelings about 'education', rejecting anything which reminded them of school subjects, largely because they felt too sophisticated at the grand age of fourteen to have any more to do with them, partly perhaps because they had boring associations, and yet feeling that they had missed opportunities. Further education should go some way to meet these deficiencies, at the same time stimulating young people to other interests. This may be interest in a club of

the social, informal kind, and in helping to run it, or it may be interest in a specific subject. It is significant that the Day Continuation School at Rugby has resulted in a high figure of attendance at Evening Institutes. The Young People's College itself will have the staff and facilities for all kinds of evening activities, and if it is to have an adequate curriculum will need more time than the meagre day allotted to it under present plans. It seems likely and economic that some of the classes previously provided in clubs by the education authority will be held in Young People's Colleges. Voluntary organizations may even meet in their premises and could send their members jointly to such classes, on the same lines as various voluntary organizations now meet at the Social Centre at Slough, but whether the non-uniformed clubs, at any rate, would all retain their identity in these circumstances is an open question.

One important function of the club has been to provide an alternative place to the street corner or overcrowded home for young people to spend an evening in and to meet their friends. The Youth Advisory Council puts better housing first on its list of recommendations. If and when this is achieved the material function of the club as a meeting-place will be less important, though it will not by any means disappear. Further education should also lead to increased interest in reading and other individualistic pursuits which can be carried on at home. No one would be sorry to see the end of the club in so far as it applies a kind of educational first aid.

There is, however, some danger in centralizing young people's interests entirely on the Young People's College. And there is also a doubt in people's minds about the school approach to youth work, unquestionably reinforced by experience of some teachers' methods in youth clubs. The Young People's Colleges themselves, however, will surely fail unless the approach of those who teach in them is nearer that of the youth leader than of the primary school teacher. Leaders of voluntary organizations might well be one source of the teaching staff of these Colleges. Experience gained in the many war-time experiments in training youth leaders can be used in the training of continuation school teachers.[1] It is also essential that the Colleges should work in co-operation with other agencies—with industry, the Churches, and the voluntary organizations. As Professor Clarke has pointed out, the strikingly new feature about recent thinking on further education 'is not the extension of control to a later age, but the contemplation of agencies of control other than the school, whether full-time or part-time. When we begin to speak, in terms of national organization, of clubs, community centres, sports, expedi-

[1] The important war-time developments in training schemes for youth leaders cannot be discussed here. They are touched on in *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, report of the McNair Committee, 'appointed to consider the Supply, Recruitment, and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders', H.M.S.O., 1944.

tions, forms of social service and active participation in industry as modes of public education which the State is prepared to subsidize', we have grown beyond the notion of education as a purely specialized function provided for in highly organized and sharply segregated schools and colleges and have 'advanced to the conception of a society that is healthily educative in all its functions'.[1] This wider conception of education owes a great deal to the service of youth and to the pioneer work of the voluntary organizations. It underlies, for example, the recent report of the Youth Advisory Council, with its stress on housing, health, and work, and Miss Jephcott's book on *Girls Growing Up*.

In the future provision for the 15–18 year-olds, then, the Young People's Colleges will have a key place. If they are wise, they will draw widely on the experience and methods of the voluntary organizations. Following the general trend in voluntary social service, what may be called the welfare side of these organizations will become less important. It is for the State to ensure that young people no longer need clubs because their homes are overcrowded, or because their education leaves off too soon. Continued education, however, should itself stimulate all kinds of voluntary activity, whether in the existing national organizations or in new societies started by young people themselves. These may well be associated with the Young People's Colleges and need not be organized on a national basis. As war-time experience has shown, all these groups, whatever their affiliations, must provide for the break at fifteen or sixteen; they must be largely self-governing; and they must be purposeful. One measure of their success, and of the success of the Young People's Colleges, will be the extent to which they lead on to active participation in adult society, whether in Church, trade union, or political party, and to permanent interests in carpentry, painting, history, music, travel, or what you will.

[1] 'The Social Function of Secondary Education', in the *Sociological Review*, July–October 1941, pp. 106–7.

APPENDIX

Organization	*Date of Foundation*	*Total Membership under 21*	*Number over 14*	*Per cent*
Boys' Brigade	1883	70,900	34,400	49
Boy Scouts Association	1908	306,530	86,000	28
Co-operative Youth Movement	1909	54,200	40,000	74
Church Lads' Brigade	1891	30,000	13,000	43
Girls' Friendly Society	1875	55,720	39,320	71
Girls' Life Brigade	1902	18,380	7,380	40
Girl Guides Association	1910	329,000	92,000	28
National Association of Girls' Clubs	—	93,500	51,500	—
National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs	1923	18,000	10,500	59
Y.M.C.A.	1844	29,750	27,000	91
Y.W.C.A.	1851	48,300	43,600	90
St. John Ambulance Brigade	1903	22,800	(exact figs. not known)	
Girls' Guildry	1900	21,400	5,500	26
Welsh League of Youth	1922	107,400	60,600	56
		1,174,680	510,800	

NOTE

1. The figures cover England and Wales only. Those for the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Associations include the Cubs and Brownies. For the National Association of Boys' Clubs accurate figures are not available, but it is roughly estimated that there are 180,000 club members over 14. The British Red Cross Society Junior and Youth Departments and the Youth sections of the Salvation Army are also members of the Standing Conference.

2. None of the figures is more than a rough approximation of the effective membership of an organization and the figure given almost certainly over-estimates it.

3. As is to be expected with long hours worked in industry, the competing claims of service organizations and the call-up at 18, the proportion of members over 14 is lower than it was before the war. Cf. Morgan, *The Needs of Youth.*

CHAPTER 9

VOLUNTARY HOLIDAY ORGANIZATIONS[1]

By P. F. BEARD

THE holiday habits of the people of this country have been revolutionized in the last hundred years. In the early nineteenth century Bournemouth was 'a wild piece of moorland on which bustards were still found', and Blackpool a small village set in desolate miles of coast. By 1931 they had populations of 116,000 and 101,000, and an annual influx of approximately two and seven million visitors respectively.[2]

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries only the well-to-do went away from home on visits corresponding in any way to the modern holiday. They went to spas or coastal resorts like Brighton, made fashionable by royal invalids, to their country estates, or to the Continent. The social and economic changes brought about by the industrial revolution, however, and in particular the development of railways, made it possible for the middle classes to follow their social betters to the seaside resorts. Working people had to be content with day trips, for the majority of manual workers received no annual holiday. In some districts, notably in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the works closed down for a week on end. For the better paid workers who could save throughout the year Wakes week was a valued tradition; for those who could not afford to save, however, this enforced leisure without income might be worse than useless, and the holiday little more than a lock-out. Holidays with pay for manual workers are a development of the twentieth century and have only been widely extended in very recent years.

In 1914 few manual wage-earners received holidays with pay. During the Great War, however, and in the years immediately after it, the number increased, until by 1925 some $1\frac{1}{2}$ million wage-earners were covered by agreements which entitled them to holidays with pay. Little advance was made between 1925 and the beginning of 1937. In that year the Government set up a Committee on Holidays with Pay, whose chairman was Lord Amulree. Partly as a result of the publicity given to this Committee's work, the number covered by collective agreements had reached 3 million by March 1938. To this must be added some $4\frac{3}{4}$ million manual and non-manual workers

[1] This chapter was written before the Nuffield College pamphlet *Holiday Making and the Holiday Trades* (Oxford University Press, 1945): *q.v.* for a wider treatment of the whole subject.

[2] See E. W. Gilbert, 'Growth of Inland and Seaside Health Resorts in England', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, January 1939.

in receipt of less than £250 a year, clerks, shop assistants, public employees, etc., who received a paid holiday by custom.[1] Thus 7¾ of some 18½ million insured workers were entitled to holidays with pay. The Amulree Committee's report led to the Holidays with Pay Act of 1938 which permitted Trade Boards and Agricultural Wages Boards to provide for holidays with pay. The Committee recommended that legislation to make holidays with pay for all compulsory should be deferred until 1940–1 in the hope that by that time they would be granted in most industries through collective agreements voluntarily arrived at. By October 1942 the Ministry of Labour estimated that 2 to 2½ million workers were receiving paid holidays under Trade and Agricultural Wages Board Orders and 6 to 6½ million under collective agreements. The building industry has since made an agreement. The number of workers granted holidays with pay by individual firms or in some other way, estimated by the Amulree Committee at 4¾ million, has probably been somewhat reduced because some shop assistants, for example, who were included in that figure, are now covered by agreements.[2]

Parallel with this growth in the number of people receiving holidays has been a notable change in the way in which holidays are spent. Most people still make an annual pilgrimage to their favourite seaside town. But the popularizing of the bicycle in the second half of the nineteenth century started an outdoor movement and led to the opening-up of the countryside. At the same time tours organized by Cook's or the Polytechnic made foreign travel possible for many people who would not have ventured alone. These developments have increased in momentum since the last war; and many Londoners have been enticed from the sands of Margate to the Welsh and Scottish hills, to Ostend and Paris, the Black Forest, or the Alps. Meanwhile, their place at Margate has been quickly taken by new holiday-makers.

As is to be expected, this new field of social activity has given rise to its own voluntary societies. The Cyclists' Touring Club, founded in 1878, has done much to encourage cycling expeditions of all kinds. The Co-operative Holidays Association, which was founded in 1891, grew out of a rambling club at Colne in Lancashire. The Holiday Fellowship, an offshoot of the C.H.A., was founded in 1913. The Workers' Travel Association originated in a discussion at Geneva in 1921, and in the desire to promote international understanding through foreign travel. The Youth Hostels Association was founded in 1930. Other societies, like the voluntary youth organizations, the Co-operative Movement, the Club and Institute Union, the Y.M. and

[1] *Report of the Committee on Holidays with Pay* (Cmd. 5724 of 1938), page 8 and Appendix I.

[2] Planning for Holidays (*Planning* (P.E.P.) No. 194, 13 October 1942).

Y.W.C.A., and the National Union of Students, have included holiday provision among their activities. Many diverse societies have concerned themselves with holidays for children—the Children's Country Holiday Fund, for instance, Seaside Camps for London Boys, the School Journeys' Association or the Federation of University Women's Camps for Schoolgirls. All these, and other similar societies, have contributed in no small measure to the provision for holidays. For lack of space, however, only the group whose sole task is the organization of holidays will be considered here, and no account will be taken of provision made for children.

The right to a holiday, even a holiday with pay, is useless unless sufficient accommodation is available at a price which the worker can afford. There is evidence that this did not exist in 1939. A holiday at Southend would have cost a London family with two children about £7 10*s*.[1] Supposing £3 of this were met by wages, £4 10*s*. would have to have been saved in the course of the year—nearly 2*s*. a week. The 80*s*. allowed for holiday accommodation in this estimate is an absolute minimum; at that price it would be of poor quality and the housewife might have to do the catering. A member of the Industrial Welfare Society who searched a South Coast town for cheap rooms in 1939 could only find for 35*s*. rooms 'in a small, gloomy, unattractive house, badly furnished and obviously of the poorest type, standing a good distance from the sea and with no view at all except of the railway'. The experience of the voluntary societies all went to show that good accommodation could not be provided, even on a non-profit-making basis, at less than 35*s*. a week unless all or part of the capital charges were met. In fact their charges were usually considerably higher than this, ranging in the majority of centres from 45*s*. to 72*s*. 6*d*. a week. It is not surprising, therefore, that a Public Opinion Survey conducted in 1939 revealed that while 9 out of 10 of those earning over £4 a week could afford to go away, only just over one-third of those earning less could do so.[2] There was undoubtedly a gap between the cost of the available accommodation and what the worker could afford to pay.

[1] Board and lodging (at 30*s*. each, the children half-price) £4 10*s*.; fares 15*s*.; rent at home £1 5*s*.; pocket money £1. There is very little evidence on which to base an estimate for pocket money. Most of the pleasures of a modern seaside resort cost money. An unpublished *Mass Observation* Report on Blackpool, which we have been allowed to see, points out how many people in fun fairs and elsewhere spend their time watching others, largely for want of money to join in.

[2] *News Chronicle*, 12 June 1939. We have also drawn considerably in this paragraph and elsewhere on the unpublished material collected by a Committee set up by the Industrial Welfare Society in 1939 to consider holiday facilities. The late Lord Amulree was its Chairman, and it was representative of commercial hotel and travel interests as well as of voluntary bodies, and had observers from Government departments. Another Committee, the Holidays with Pay Group, representing exclusively the voluntary organizations, was set up by the National Council of Social Service. This Group is making its own investigation into post-war holiday needs.

A holiday at prices considerably less than those quoted above is, of course, possible for those who will camp under canvas, or 'rough it' in one way or another. Here the voluntary societies have given an invaluable lead and have met with a ready response. The Cyclists' Touring Club, which had 36,609 members in 1938, includes among its services a very useful scheme for recommending approved lodgings. The chief organization concerned with camping is the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland, which had a membership of approximately 10,000 in 1939. The Club offered its members information on 2,000 suitable sites and itself owned 13 permanent sites. The Youth Hostels Association, alike in that it also caters for the young and active, had accommodation in 1939 for 10,689 people, at about 1*s.* a night. Meals cost from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* each; in many hostels visitors share in the cooking and domestic work. No one is allowed to stay more than three nights on end. The rapid growth of the Youth Hostels Association is proof of the need it has met and the demand it is stimulating. Founded only in 1930, it had by 1939 a membership of 83,418 and recorded 537,986 overnights.

Voluntary organizations concerned with this type of holiday-making have had their ground to some extent prepared for them by the schools and voluntary juvenile organizations which have fostered a taste for camping holidays. Employers might release young people for such holidays even if they did not grant general holidays with pay. Some of these organizations have also been able to get Government grants towards their work. The Camping Club managed three camp sites belonging to the London and Middlesex National Fitness Committee. The Youth Hostels Association received grants from the National Fitness Council and now has a grant from the Ministry of Education which amounted to £4,302 in 1941. There are several reasons for the ease with which these organizations have been subsidized compared with the difficulties of subsidizing ordinary holiday provision: for one thing they are allied to education, which is accepted as the State's responsibility; for another, to sport (and therefore, apparently, to national fitness, in a more direct way than the ordinary holiday); and, finally, they do not compete with the hotel trade.

It is a much more difficult problem to provide cheap accommodation for family holidays, and it was this which was particularly lacking in 1939. The other voluntary societies, the Workers' Travel Association, the Co-operative Holidays Association, and the Holiday Fellowship, have all been conscious of this need and have tried to meet it. So far as their activities include long walking and climbing expeditions, and foreign travel, they are not well suited for families with young children. But all these organizations now have centres by the sea, specially suitable for family holidays and with arrangements for children to be looked after so that their parents may have

some freedom. These centres provide better accommodation at a lower price than can be provided commercially, because all the societies are co-operatives, financed initially by members' subscriptions, and not concerned with making a profit. At the same time, as has been shown, their charges are still beyond the pocket of the lower-paid workers. Realizing this, the Co-operative Holidays Association and the Holiday Fellowship have deliberately tried to keep their centres simple, partly to keep costs down, and partly because the leading spirits in these societies believed in simplicity for its own sake—it promoted 'goodwill, the joy of service, and the love of simple strenuous living'.[1] But the C.H.A. and the H.F. centres have tended to increase in comfort—and in cost—to meet the demands of their members. In 1938, the W.T.A., in co-operation with the Co-operative Wholesale Society, set up a new company, Travco Ltd., 'to provide complete and inclusive holidays at moderate cost' and 'to be a practical contribution towards the holiday problem of the family as well as individual workers of limited means'. Corton, in Suffolk, was the site chosen for the first camp built by this company. It sought to 'give all the amenities, comforts, and facilities that a large communal holiday centre should provide'. The charges were still proportionately high, varying from 42*s.* 6*d.* to 57*s.* 6*d.* a week. The first year it was opened, moreover, the accommodation was booked long in advance by such people as civil servants and school teachers, and the W.T.A. found they had to refuse the very people for whom it was intended, workers who often did not know the date of their holiday until a week before it was due. This dilemma could only be resolved by some kind of means test, and this the W.T.A. was naturally very reluctant to apply.[2]

The W.T.A. has always had the close support of the Trade Unions, but there has been less provision of holiday accommodation by individual Trade Unions in Great Britain than in many other European countries. Nor has the organization of holidays by employers developed to any great extent, although this is one way in which the capital cost of holiday accommodation can be subsidized. When the Director of the Industrial Welfare Society made a report to the International Labour Office in 1938 on the *Facilities for Workers' Holidays in Great Britain*, he collected many comments from firms and the tenor of them all was that employees resented any attempt by firms to organize their holidays. Most firms confine themselves to advertising holiday facilities, to the interchange of information about

[1] See a book by the founder of the C.H.A., T. A. Leonard, *Adventures in Holiday-making*, p. 34.

[2] See below, page 162. The principle of the means test is, however, accepted in the W.T.A.'s Nominated Holidays Fund Scheme which assists friends of members who could not otherwise afford to go away. The H.F. and the C.H.A. have similar schemes for Free and Assisted Holidays.

accommodation among employees and to the organization of savings schemes.[1] An exceptional instance of a holiday home, based on trade interest, is the holiday camp at Skegness, built in 1938 by the Derbyshire Miners' Welfare Fund, at a cost of £35,000. There is accommodation for some 1,000 persons, and the cost in 1939 was 8*s.* per head per week for adults, excluding meals, which could be obtained for about 2*s.* 4*d.* a day. Application for accommodation must be made through the local welfare committee, so that those who can afford to pay more are excluded. Another excellent subsidized holiday home is that provided by the Guinness Trust at Newhaven for tenants on its London housing estate.

A consideration of the content of the holiday, as distinct from the cost, leads to another very important aspect of the voluntary societies' work, which, using the word in a very wide sense, may be called educational. The very existence of these societies is proof that holidays have not been forgotten in the growing concern with the general 'problem of leisure'.

There has been very little inquiry, however, into the kind of holiday which people want. There is plenty of evidence of the type of holiday that seaside resorts and commercial purveyors of amusement find it profitable to provide, but this may be a misleading guide to people's real desires. The indications are that some would welcome some degree of organization in their holidays. The *Mass Observation* Report on Blackpool, which is referred to above, points out how difficult it seemed for people on holiday in Blackpool to set up a new routine for themselves; their days were regulated by the arbitrary times of lodging-house meals, and many visitors were remarkably 'time conscious'—not a state of mind conducive to rest. It also seems that people want reproduced in their holiday resorts the amenities of the town. They want crowds. Many day trippers to Blackpool are said to make first for Woolworth's although (or because) there are elaborate Woolworth's in their own home towns. Blackpool is a 'seaside resort', but the emphasis is now on the second word. The success of the commercial 'luxury camps' is an indication of this desire for an organized holiday, reproducing the pleasures of the town. It was estimated that half a million people would spend their holidays in 1939 in the commercial holiday camps in England and Wales.[2] The same number of people could be accommodated in Blackpool every night. The holiday camps have their many merits, but, as J. B. Priestley pointed out after a visit to one, in some of them 'luxury' has nothing to do with quiet, privacy, and surroundings representing a high standard of material and workmanship. '"Luxury"

[1] See Industrial Welfare Society pamphlet, *Holiday Savings*, 1938.

[2] *News Chronicle*, 19 May 1939. By comparison, the leading voluntary societies were arranging something like a quarter of a million holidays a year before the war. (*Planning*, No. 194.)

means an instant appearance of size, brightness (without reference to taste), glitter, and in fact anything that looks like an expensive film set.'[1] 'Butlin's,' says the brochure, 'have built an Eden-on-Sea, and it's almost an earthly Paradise.' There is the Pig and Whistle bar, 'as perfect a reproduction of an Olde English Inne as you'll find anywhere', and 'dancing most of the day in one or other of the halls'. It is, of course, obvious that leisure tastes are shaped by education, and by habits formed all the year round. They will be reflected, not radically altered, in the spending of the annual holiday. During the present war, however, many local authorities, in co-operation with the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, have sponsored plays and concerts through the summer months under their 'Holidays at Home' schemes, and with great success. There is great scope for the development of C.E.M.A.'s work in the holiday resorts.

If the possibilities of the country and the sea are opened up to the holiday maker, however, he may not want to spend time visiting Woolworth's or the Tower Ballroom, or even attending a C.E.M.A. concert. It is in emphasizing the educational and recreational value of the holiday itself, as an experience as different as possible from the working weeks of the year, that the voluntary societies have made a distinctive contribution. The societies have provided a degree of organization: their guest houses have hosts and hostesses and leaders; visitors are usually urged and sometimes compelled to join in expeditions. This communal organization has its social value. To quote a W.T.A. pamphlet, 'one of the qualities which distinguishes the W.T.A. is its concern to provide men and women with something more than a holiday. It endeavours in many ways to promote good fellowship; it attempts also to strengthen among its supporters an understanding of the deeper social issues which are part of the foundation on which the W.T.A. has been built'—and this is equally true of the C.H.A. and the H.F. At the same time, organization has in all the societies been directed to introducing visitors to the intrinsic interests of their surroundings. 'No organization,' the W.T.A. fairly claims for itself, 'has done more to inculcate the idea that one of the chief aims of travel is to discover an insight into the way other people live.' This purpose of the W.T.A. is illustrated in its excellent monthly magazine, *The Travel Log*, edited before the war by W. E. Williams. The W.T.A.'s Trade Union connexion gives it special opportunities for making contacts with people abroad, and visiting them in their homes and factories. The C.H.A. and the H.F. have introduced many people to the pleasures of walking and mountaineering in the remoter parts of the British Isles, and on the principle that 'we enjoy most when we understand most' have linked their expeditions with talks, for instance, on local history and geology. Some

[1] *News Chronicle*, 19 June 1939.

people, having been introduced by the Holiday Fellowship to the pleasures of a walking holiday, will venture alone the next year (staying, perhaps, at Youth Hostels) and sample them unorganized. The W.T.A. provides an individual travel service, arranging only journeys and accommodation, the popularity of which has steadily increased in recent years. Some of the best voluntary social effort aims to make itself unnecessary. And while the social value of communal holidays must not be underrated, it would seem that the voluntary holiday societies will succeed to the extent that they develop initiative in their members, encouraging them to plan expeditions of their own. It is certain, however, that the voluntary societies' technique of organization, directed to the interpretation of the countryside, will become increasingly important as people unused to holidays are able to go away, especially as they may have to be accommodated away from the great urbanized seaside resorts.

It follows from their method of approach that the voluntary societies also bring home to their members 'such collateral interests of travel as the preservation of historic buildings, beauty spots, and social amenities'. The National Park Committee recommended that new huts and hostels for walkers should be administered by the existing societies, one of their reasons being that these societies 'assume a definite responsibility for the behaviour of their members'.[1] The Camping Club has obtained exemption on behalf of its members from some of the most stringent regulations concerning camping in the Public Health Act of 1936. But the societies, for all their merits, are, like all movements for the organization of easy access to the countryside, in danger of defeating their own ends. 'Any way of approaching Nature is better than a gregarious one. . . . It is no good pretending that because a few persons can derive much spiritual sustenance from a mountain solitude, therefore a thousand persons at a time should be allowed to do the same.'[2] This is a dilemma for which there seems no solution in a small and, from this point of view, over-populated island. It is one of many reasons why there should be every encouragement for foreign travel when it becomes possible again. The secretary of the Y.H.A. is already developing a scheme for using idle shipping capacity after the war for organized voyages for young people.

It is natural that members of the holiday societies should be trusted not to spoil the countryside; for these societies share the merit of most voluntary societies in giving opportunities for responsible social action. The extent to which members of the various societies co-operate in the running of them varies, though all, of course, provide for ultimate democratic control through an annual

[1] Report of the National Park Committee (Cmd. 3851 of 1931).
[2] R. C. K. Ensor, in the *London Mercury*, March 1939.

meeting. Membership is naturally most active at the time of the holiday. In the C.H.A. and the W.T.A., membership follows automatically from the booking of a holiday; Y.H.A. members, on the other hand, must join the association before they are allowed to stay at a Youth Hostel. In either case, for a great many members, joining the society must be quite incidental to the booking and taking of a holiday. Their membership will find expression in the small holiday unit of the society and for a very short period of the year. During that time it will, of course, involve active co-operation with other members of the centre in making the holiday a success. A significant fact about many of the voluntary societies' centres is that the domestic staff is on the same footing as the guests. By the end of the fortnight, visitors used to hotels and boarding-houses 'no longer assume that to be waited on is their privilege'. All the societies have local groups which provide a valuable nucleus for propaganda activities, such as the showing of travel films, and in which members can meet in social activities and short expeditions all the year round. The active share of these groups in the day-to-day working of the societies varies. The work of the C.H.A. and the W.T.A., for instance, demands a considerable professional staff at headquarters and at the centres, and control from headquarters. In the Y.H.A. and the Camping Club, on the other hand, responsibility for running the hostels and camp sites devolves on the local groups. Camping Club members in particular give a great deal of unpaid service in the management of camp sites.

The statutory contribution to the provision of holiday facilities must now be considered. One side of this has been the approval and recommendation by local authorities of existing accommodation. Many holiday resorts have an official list of accommodation. There are, of course, no legal standards beyond those imposed by the Public Health Acts; and caterers would only be struck off if there were very serious complaints of uncleanliness or other default. A few resorts, Scarborough and Margate, for example, have initiated or co-operated in the running of 'all-in' holiday schemes, which give people the great advantage of knowing in advance exactly what their holiday will cost.

The granting of holidays with pay in European countries, for example in Belgium, was followed very rapidly by state and municipal subsidies for holiday accommodation. The National Park Committee as early as 1931 recommended state assistance for the building of camps, hostels, and mountain huts. One of their members dissented, and put forward very forcibly the view that the provision of holiday facilities of any kind should not be included among the statutory or state-aided social services. 'Walking, hill climbing, and camping are excellently wholesome and commendable forms of recreation,' he

wrote, 'but we have heard no evidence to justify the conclusion that those whose tastes lie in these directions should be subsidized by the taxpayer.'[1] The Amulree Committee put the emphasis on public works to provide relief for unemployment as much as on the need for holiday facilities, suggesting that 'the development of accommodation in the country for recreational and recuperative purposes may be a matter of interest to . . . the Commissioner for the Special Areas'. There was, of course, considerable opposition from commercial interests to any suggestion that the Government should subsidize ordinary holiday accommodation.[2] In spite of some hesitancy on the part of the Government, however, there were two experiments before the war, one by a local authority, and the other by the central government, which are worth taking note of.

Municipalities have powers under the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937 to set up camping sites, and a number of 'reception' towns, such as Brighton, Bridport, and Paignton, have their own camping sites for tents and caravans. The possibility of municipal provision of more permanent holiday camps was discussed in 1939 by a conference of London boroughs. They considered the problems involved at some length, but only one borough, Lambeth, made plans to build a camp (at Herne Bay), and the building of this was interrupted by the war.

The work of local authorities in this sphere, however, needs to be co-ordinated and supplemented by the action of a central authority, which could, for example, ensure that camps were interavailable over the whole of Great Britain and prevent competition for sites. A national authority could also deal with the important questions of 'staggering', of travel facilities, holiday propaganda, and savings schemes and general co-ordination and oversight of the voluntary societies' work. An interesting model for such an authority existed in the Belgian National Office for Workers' Holidays, a permanent secretariat under the direction of a committee representing Government departments, commercial interests, employers and the Workers' Tourist Travel organizations.[3] The representation of the voluntary societies in one way or another seems very desirable. The National Park Committee, which recommended the setting up of National Authorities to administer National Parks (one for England and Wales and one for Scotland), proposed to secure the co-operation of the voluntary societies by associating them with the National Authorities

[1] *Report of the National Park Committee* (Cmd. 3851 of 1931).

[2] Expressed, for example, by Mr. J. R. Robinson, M.P. for Blackpool, when he said in the House of Commons on 29 March 1939, that 'he would take a firm stand against State camps for holidays. The holiday industry should not be faced with State-aided competition' (*The Times*, 30.3.39).

[3] See a report by the International Labour Office, *Facilities for the use of Workers' Leisure during holidays*, 1939, a general survey of the provision made in all countries.

in the form of Consultative Councils. One British prototype for a National Holiday Authority existed before the war in the National Camps Corporation, set up in 1939 to build camps intended primarily for use in war-time for evacuated school children. This is a non-profit-making body, financed in the first place by a Government loan, but it is expected to pay its way and refund 50 per cent of the capital. The camps are leased to local education authorities. When the National Camps Corporation was set up, the Government was urged by many voluntary organizations and private individuals to build some camps which could be used for adult holiday centres in peace-time. Government spokesmen seemed to have nothing against this in principle, but none of the camps was in fact constructed with this in mind.

Government interest in and assistance for holidays has developed in several ways during the war, in spite of the fact that many of the voluntary societies' centres were commandeered at its outbreak. The local authorities have been encouraged to develop schemes for 'Holidays at Home'. The Ministry of Labour has taken an active interest in the provision of rest breaks and holidays for industrial workers, and has given a grant to the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training and facilitated the reopening of Youth Hostels and other centres to this end. Another development which, though it does not now concern the provision of holidays, may provide a useful precedent for Government action in this field after the war, is the building of hostels to house industrial and agricultural workers and members of the Services. Some of these are controlled and managed directly by the National Service Hostels Corporation. Others, however, are managed for the Ministry concerned by the voluntary holiday societies. Many of these war-time establishments provide potential subsidized holiday accommodation, though not all of them are suitable in site or design. Some aerodromes would make admirable holiday camps.[1] The Ministry of Town and Country Planning is making surveys of 'areas suitable for national parks, nature reserves, and recreational purposes' as well as a detailed coastal survey, and the Minister recently announced in the House of Commons that 'there can be no doubt that the post-war period will see a greatly increased demand for holiday facilities, especially in the country; and the means of providing such facilities, including, in suitable places, the provision of holiday camps, are being worked out by the Departments concerned.' He had previously expressed his willingness to consult with the voluntary holiday societies.[2]

[1] For a fuller discussion of the available accommodation, see *Planning* (P.E.P.), No. 194.

[2] Mr. W. S. Morrison, *Hansard*, House of Commons, 3 and 4 November, 1943. Since this chapter was written, further proposals for possible government action to develop the catering, holiday, and tourist services have been made to

One fundamental problem arises out of the subsidizing of holiday accommodation by municipalities or by the central Government: Who is to use the holiday camps, once built? If they are provided with the needs of the lower-paid workers in view, should they, and can they, be reserved for their use? One solution, which we mention only to reject, is to provide 'simple' accommodation, so that those who can afford to will pay more to obtain better quality, and 'people will sort themselves out automatically'. The alternative is a means test. In Belgium, for example, there was a system by which workers earning less than a certain wage were given holiday cards which entitled them to a reduction in rail fares and to cheaper accommodation. On the other hand, it is arguable that accommodation paid for out of the rates should be available to all. The W.T.A., which was approached to manage the Lambeth camp, had stronger grounds than this for refusing to administer a means test. Despite its name, it has set itself firmly against the provision of holidays for 'workers' as a class. As Mr. Creech Jones wrote in a letter to *The Times*, 'the variety of workers and social experience one meets on a holiday is an unsuspected ingredient in the interest and enjoyment of it. The essential holiday problem in the new conditions is the creation of the right facility at a price within the means of working people, but facilities must be consistent with democratic principles.'[1]

This is a problem which can only be stated here, and not solved. The obvious solution is to abolish the need for discrimination—by adequate wages and family allowances and well-developed opportunities for saving. It is with this in view that some of the people most concerned to bring holidays within the reach of all have deprecated the subsidizing of holiday accommodation. Nevertheless, the problem must be approached from both ends. The scope of the social services is continually widening, both as to the facilities provided and as to the people for whom they are provided. Holiday provision is closely linked with the health services and with education, and it is the State's responsibility to see that an adequate supply of holiday accommodation does exist at a price which people can afford to pay. Apart from the granting of subsidies, of course, costs can also be reduced if holidays are staggered over a longer period, and the voluntary societies could give valuable help in this. Buildings used for holidays in the summer months could also be used in winter for residential adult education.

A second question which arises is: Who is to manage any holiday camps which may be built by the State? Obviously the existing voluntary organizations could not cover the whole field.

the Minister of Labour by the Catering Wages Commission. See *Rehabilitation of the Catering Industry*, 1945.

[1] *The Times*, 21 January 1939.

The National Holiday Authority might manage some direct, as the National Service Hostels Corporation manages some war-time industrial hostels; new voluntary societies may grow up; or existing societies not primarily concerned with holidays—the W.E.A. for instance—may want to rent some hostels. It would seem, however, that the example of Lambeth Borough Council in calling in the W.T.A., could be widely followed. The existing voluntary holiday societies have a nucleus of personnel and wide experience, and they are particularly well qualified for this task of management on account of the educational side of their work, which has been discussed above.

It seems likely, then, that the State's contribution to the organization of holiday facilities might be largely physical and material, the State helping to provide the buildings, the voluntary societies helping to administer them. In the provision of holiday facilities there is also room and need for a great variety of voluntary organizations, just as there is room and need for the voluntary organizations, hotel keepers, and landladies. The existing holiday societies took an active part in the formation of the British Youth Hostels Association, and have co-operated in the development of its work. The founder of the Holiday Fellowship has said, with a welcome lack of 'acquisitiveness', 'it has always been interesting to watch the uprising of new growths in this big people's holiday movement. We have never felt troubled by having our methods copied, and more than once we have given a helping hand to those who might have been regarded as rivals in the field.' If he were talking of societies for the care of invalid children, we might have cause to fear overlapping and inefficiency. But the type of organization needed is conditioned by the social service it seeks to provide. 'The essence of a holiday is liberty'; and in this instance there is and should be no limit to people's ability to co-operate in groups of varying sizes, with widely differing membership and aims, to satisfy their collective needs. If, on the other hand, the existing societies ever found that people had become so enterprising on their own account that the need for some of their work was past, they would contract automatically. There cannot be the same kind of vested interest in these organizations as there may be in some charitable organizations of nineteenth-century origin. They are democratic for the very good reason that they are financed by their consumers. And they are correspondingly independent of outside subscribers or of the State. They can bargain with the State on equal terms. The bargain should not be difficult to arrive at, because here, as has been suggested, is a social service in which the work of the State and the work of the voluntary organizations dovetails perfectly.

CHAPTER 10

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO FACILITATE CO-OPERATION AND CO-ORDINATION[1]

By A. F. C. BOURDILLON

FOR voluntary organizations at the present time the problem of effective co-operation amongst themselves and in relation to the statutory authorities takes precedence over all their other problems. A generation ago the main question in the sphere of social service was 'voluntary *or* statutory?'. But the solution to that problem has to a large extent been found. Neither voluntary nor statutory alone, but voluntary *and* statutory are needed. Each has its vital part to play and neither is complete without the other. The problem now is to discover how this should be worked out in practice; not whether to co-operate but how to co-operate.

The practical implications of this advance are many. If voluntary organizations are to be interlocked with the statutory authorities, it is obviously essential that they should put their own house in order. If a government department, for instance, is to depend on voluntary groups for some of its personal work for the deaf, say, it must be able to deal with local deaf societies through one recognized channel. It will naturally not be prepared to approach each society separately. Again, if voluntary organizations are to be increasingly recognized as part of the normal texture of society, they must co-operate for the sake of their own efficiency and their own reputation. A hundred years ago a new society could pick and choose its own sphere of work and the district in which it would function with comparative impunity. But to-day organizations are already so thick on the ground that strong action by a self-centred individual or group may do harm rather than good to the cause of social service if a scheme is launched without sufficient regard to the work of others. It is of the nature of voluntary activity that it should not be uniform or universal. But there must be some degree of likeness and of comparable standards amongst organizations sharing the same name or undertaking similar responsibilities. The reputation, for instance, of the

[1] Voluntary organizations may find ways of working together by co-operation or by co-ordination. The boundary line between the meaning of these two words is not clear. We have taken it, however, that co-operation is a wider term and usually implies something less formal than co-ordination. 'Co-operation' is more appropriately used of societies or groups which are not organically connected and which yet have found ways of working together. 'Co-ordination' is used chiefly to cover devices employed by societies which are already linked either by working within the same field of service or even by affiliation or branch membership.

C.A.B.s which have spread throughout the country will be harmed if in one or two places the standard of work falls very much below what is desirable. Yet the only way apart from standard staff training schemes in which a minimum standard can be ensured is by the co-operation of each unit with other units, by the meeting of local representatives in regional or national committees or conferences, by the pooling of experience, by the acceptance, via the headquarter offices, of ideas and methods tried out elsewhere; by the sacrifice, in fact, of some degree of independence.

If the need of co-operation is great so also are the difficulties of achieving it. Any national society, in particular, which sets out to increase co-operation is from the very nature of things faced with almost insuperable obstacles. Thus it is obviously the first duty of such a society to serve other organizations by helping them to work together peacefully so that they may cover the field of service more effectively. The society, therefore, must do nothing to add to the complexities of the situation, and it must above all avoid taking action which would bring it into competition with the organizations which it seeks to co-ordinate. It must mark out for itself functions which are clearly differentiated from the functions of these member organizations, and this will often involve leaving all direct practical work to these bodies. But if the co-ordinating society does no practical work it will easily seem to be doing nothing at all. 'I shall really feel glad to know if there is any practical use in your society. Do you do anything to help prisoners?' wrote the exasperated local secretary of a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society to the Central Society struggling to achieve co-ordination in that sphere. A co-ordinating society is continually faced with a choice of evils. Is it better to be accused of interfering because it does something practical or of doing nothing because its work produces no visible results? In fact, the results of really effective co-ordination will often be seen at a second remove only, in the added zeal or efficiency of its member societies. But results of this kind do not easily draw subscriptions.

The financing of a co-ordinating society presents quite extraordinary difficulties. Where should such a society get its money? Should it collect it through a national appeal to the public? But this would bring it into antagonism with local societies, each of which will claim a particular district as its own preserve. Should the society collect its money from the organizations which it seeks to co-ordinate? But this is not likely to improve the delicate relationship which is being built up between the two groups. Besides, the services of a co-ordinating society are often very intangible. If the secretary of a local society comes up to the office of his central society, collects some figures which will be useful for his next annual report, is introduced to another local secretary who also happens

to be calling, and afterwards in friendly conversation has a new idea about how to surmount some pressing local difficulty—what is that worth in £ *s. d.*? Who can tell? And what local society would accept the bill even if there were a central society bold enough to present it?

A co-ordinating society which is careful to avoid conflict with other organizations may limit itself firmly to collecting and disseminating information, holding conferences, and providing a table round which other societies may meet. But even here its position will seem in a sense superior to the position of the local or member societies—it will always involve some degree of leadership. But if it may not undertake work within the sphere of the member societies, how is it to establish a reputation sufficient to justify this leadership and give it a satisfactorily recognized standing?

Leadership of a co-ordinating society almost inevitably involves the sacrifice of some fraction of the independence of member societies. But voluntary organizations are the natural haunt of strong individualists; the smaller the society or branch the more marked its tendency to separatism is apt to be. It is very easy in this sphere for a War of Independence to break out. 'The Central Society is merely a voluntary body made up in the main of delegates chosen by each local society. It has no authority over the local society and has no power to interfere in any way with their funds or the management of their affairs. Should any such interference occur or unpalatable advice even be given, any society could withdraw its delegates and sever its connexion with the central body.' Such was the wording of a manifesto drawn up in 1922 in the course of a certain unsuccessful attempt at co-ordination. 'Mr. W.,' said the chairman of this eminently respectable Central Society at its next annual meeting, 'I am very anxious that nothing should be said this afternoon which would tend to promote a brawl.' Passions, in this business of co-ordination, certainly run high.

Finally, a society working to facilitate co-ordination or co-operation must have regard to the rights and the sensibilities of other societies with similar functions. At the present time there are many such organizations in existence; some deal intensively with one type of service in a limited area, some have adopted a more extensive field of service in a wider area, there are innumerable permutations and combinations of this kind, all of which may lead to misunderstandings even amongst those whose *raison d'être* is co-operation and friendliness.

1. THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DISCHARGED PRISONERS' AID SOCIETIES

The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies has been selected for study out of a vast number of possible alternatives because it has developed a specially close link with the statutory

authorities and for that reason is particularly relevant to the theme of this book. It is very unlike either of the two organizations studied later in this chapter in that the societies of which it is composed deal with a strictly limited problem—the needs of prisoners on discharge. Yet the task of co-ordination will be found almost as formidable here as it is with far more complex organizations.

The N.A.D.P.A.S. is the central organization representative of all the certified Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies in England and Wales. At the present time there are thirty-six such local societies. Their object in each case is to help the man or woman who has been committed to prison to return to normal self-supporting life. In order to carry out this work every society employs one or more full or part-time workers, known as 'Agents' or, more correctly now, as 'Welfare Officers'. These officers, with varying degrees of direction and assistance from their committees, are responsible for visiting prisoners before discharge, helping them to find new employment or negotiating for their return to a former employment. They can also assist discharged prisoners temporarily with board and lodging, travelling expenses, clothing, stock, or tools. Above all, in the constant personal contact and after-care, prolonged sometimes for years, lies the value of the good welfare officer or committee.

The object of the N.A.D.P.A.S. is to serve these thirty-six local societies by securing the effective co-ordination of their work. In order to understand the efforts made to this end some reference must be made to the early history of these societies.

Several of the Aid Societies which exist to-day are more than a hundred years old. For instance, an Aid Society was founded in Shrewsbury in 1792, in Hampshire in 1802, in Surrey[1] in 1824, and in Warwickshire in 1835.[2] These societies and many others which followed them grew up spontaneously wherever a group of public-spirited people chanced to be conscious of this particular type of social need. Local prisons at this time were county institutions and they received prisoners from within each county area. An Aid Society which developed in the neighbourhood of a particular prison was thus essentially a local enterprise and there was naturally no attempt to centralize policy. In one area it was the custom of a society to use its funds to subsidize local firms for a stated period in order that they

[1] Now the Royal London D.P.A.S.

[2] The origin of the funds of some societies is older still. The need for a national body to guard the interests of discharged prisoners is shown by the diversion of certain eighteenth- and nineteenth-century funds originally intended for the benefit of debtor prisoners. On the abolition of imprisonment for debt a number of these, with funds amounting to over £100,000, were merged into a Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts. In practice, apart from a regular subvention to the N.A.D.P.A.S., the large part of the income is distributed among unrelated charities such as hospitals. Similarly, the Prison Charities of 1876, in which other small debtor funds were merged, devotes its entire income of £2,000 to convalescent homes.

might give employment to discharged prisoners. Another society was in the habit of guaranteeing such employers against loss. A third established an industrial home where a man could have free maintenance until he was able to become self-supporting. There was a wide variety in the nature of the work done and wide variety also in the quality of the work done. Some districts had an energetic society, some had a society which accomplished little, some districts had no society at all. All the societies were bred in a tradition of strong local independence. This long-established tradition must be borne in mind if the later difficulties of co-ordination are to be appreciated fully.

The work of the societies within or on the threshold of prisons naturally brought them into close touch with the responsible statutory authorities. Here it was impossible for them to be entirely self-sufficient. At an early stage each of them was driven to evolve some form of co-operation with their own prison authority. By the Gaol Act of 1823, visiting justices had been given power to make grants up to £1 to prisoners who, on their discharge, had served a twelve months' term 'with extraordinary diligence or merit'. The justices made little use of this power, however, and as the Aid Societies grew in numbers and in reputation it was natural that the administration of the grants should pass to them. By the 'Aid to Discharged Prisoners Act' of 1826, this transference was made legal and at the same time the maximum grant was raised to £2 per head. With such large sums potentially involved it is not surprising that the Act should lay down some conditions. Before receiving any grant an Aid Society had to produce its rules and evidence sufficient to justify the grant of a 'certificate of efficiency'. Only a society holding such a certificate was approved within the meaning of the Act.

Once linked with the statutory authority to this extent it became increasingly necessary that the D.P.A.S. should not only carry out their work efficiently but cover the ground completely and adopt a comparable basis for their work. 'Should Prisoner X be cared for by your society because he is *confined* within the area covered by your society, or by my society because he was *committed* from the area covered by my society? And what about Prisoner Y from that district where there is no effective society in existence at all?' Questions of this nature forced themselves upon the attention of people with a more than local social conscience.

As early as 1858 a committee representative of all local Aid Societies had been formed, but it had little effect in co-ordinating their efforts. In 1878, under the stimulus of the newly created Prison Commission, a Central Committee of D.P.A.S.s was established. In 1893 its chairman could speak of having attended eight earlier conferences on D.P.A. work, but he complained that in spite of these

gatherings the affiliated societies still worked on different lines and were not equally effective. A speaker at the fifteenth Conference of the Central Committee, held in 1910, went further than this. 'One society,' he said, 'is satisfied with spending the whole of its small income in providing a breakfast for prisoners on their discharge; another concentrates the whole of its energy in procuring work; another is content to provide small doles or trousers or boots; another is content to have an agent whose duty consists in seeing prisoners off from the station to a great distance.' In 1918 the Central Committee developed into the Central D.P.A. Society, but again the tradition of local independence was too strong for any scheme of co-ordination to be effective. At the annual meeting of the Society in 1922, a letter was read which throws some light on the attitude of mind which still persisted and which largely explains this long-standing failure. The letter was addressed to Sir John Anderson, then Permanent Under-Secretary of State, in answer to a proposal for certain readjustments in D.P.A. work. 'Your statement,' says the letter, 'that "the Government must regard the work as a whole" was regarded as a totally new departure . . . every society is a distinct unit which has made its own bargain separately with the Government and has received its individual certificate from the authorities as a sign of that bargain.'

Time, however, was against the extreme separatism expressed in this letter. The authorities had already made a number of efforts to secure the co-ordination of the societies. It had been one of the first tasks of the Prison Commissioners in 1878 to review the conditions under which certificates were issued to them and to draw up regulations 'which aimed at obtaining some uniformity of action' amongst them.[1] In 1895, the Gladstone Committee recommended that a competent person should visit every prison and report on the work of the societies with a view to their better organization.[2] Neither of these efforts had much success, but after 1914 circumstances combined to increase the urgent need of co-ordination both from the point of view of the societies and of the Prison Commissioners. Between 1914 and 1930, twenty-six local prisons were closed and as a result a large number of Aid Societies lost the framework upon which they had been built up. There were now 'closed' societies and 'open' societies. The former was the name given to those which had lost the prison which had been their natural centre. Henceforth they could only carry out the work preliminary to discharge in co-operation or amalgamation with 'open' societies whose local prison was still in working order.

Moreover, the Prison Commission, as time went on, increasingly

[1] Report of Mr. Whitbread's Committee, p. 6.
[2] Report of the Salmon Committee, Part II, p. 9.

followed the enlightened policy of concentrating special types of prisoners in particular prisons and thereby directly cut across the territorial arrangements of the societies. Above all, in 1923 they established Wakefield as a special training centre for first offenders from any part of the North and the Midlands. This meant that men from the areas of both 'open' and 'closed' societies were sent out of their own districts altogether and, by the Standing Order then in operation which made the society *at the prison* responsible for men leaving that prison, the whole burden of the work fell on the West Riding D.P.A. Society. In a very short time that society fell heavily into debt and even a 'Special Grant Allocation' by the Commissioners failed to save the situation. The West Riding D.P.A. Society looked round for other sources of help and decided to appeal, for the solution of their difficulties, to the reason and good sense of those immediately concerned. Accordingly, in 1930, they called a Conference of all the Northern D.P.A.S.s and this was followed by three others in that year and 1931. But even in this group of societies who had everything to gain by agreement, advance was slow against the old tradition of parochialism. The Prison Commissioners were sympathetic, however, to the difficulties which their administrative changes had brought to the fore and they gave every help to the assembled societies. An important advance was made when, at one of these conferences, Mr. Alexander Maxwell (now Sir Alexander Maxwell, Permanent Under-Secretary of State) announced that the Commissioners were recommending a change in the Standing Order so that in the future responsibility would rest in every case with the society in whose area the offender had committed his offence. Thus, in 1930, one of the most serious causes of friction between the societies was brought to an end through official intervention.

Shortly after this, in 1932, a Departmental Committee was established, under the chairmanship of Major Isidore Salmon, to inquire into methods of employing prisoners and of assisting them to find employment on discharge; and the inquiry involved an investigation into the work of the D.P.A.S.s and of its Central Society. The findings of the Committee were, in general, unfavourable. 'As an agency for co-ordinating, guiding, and stimulating the work of the various local societies,' says the Salmon Report, the Central Society 'has failed to achieve the main objects of its foundation.' It proposed, therefore, that an entirely new body should be created under the title of the National Council of D.P.A. Societies. Its chairman and the chairman of the executive committee (who might be the same man) were to be appointed by the Secretary of State. The Council was to consist of representatives of the local Aid Societies, of the Prison Commissioners, and of the Borstal Association, and the Central Association for Discharged Convicts. Members were to be

appointed in such a way that out of a total of from 40 to 45 persons a maximum of seven might be government officials. For two years the executive was to be appointed by the Home Secretary, but afterwards it would be elected by the Council.

This proposal roused the fierce opposition of the majority of the Aid Societies who regarded it as a flagrant attempt at State control. At a Conference held in 1935 the Salmon Report was rejected as a basis of discussion and it was agreed instead that the societies should themselves establish a Committee to investigate their own condition and to make proposals for improving the machinery of co-ordination. The alternative scheme appeared in the Whitbread Report, issued in April 1936. This was accepted by the societies as well as by the Prison Commissioners, and as a result, in 1938, the former Central D.P.A.S. was reorganized and so the present National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies came into existence.

The hope of effective co-ordination amongst the local societies is now dependent primarily on the success of this society. The N.A.D.P.A.S. has a constitution of particular interest and it already has considerable achievements to its credit.

The Association is constituted as a fully representative body. It is composed of up to sixty-five persons elected from and by the local Aid Societies with certain officers and co-opted members and only three members nominated by the Prison Commission. Financially the National Association is largely dependent on Government grants, for since April 1942 the whole of its administrative costs have been guaranteed from this source. The Aid Societies, however, are still financed largely from voluntary funds. In 1941, for instance, approximately £23,000 was raised voluntarily as compared with a total Treasury grant of £1,500 towards administrative costs and (in 1942) a grant of £2,868 towards the salaries of secretaries and agents. Apart from this, the Aid Societies are entitled to a grant of 2*s*. per head of discharged debtor prisoners and convicted prisoners, provided that one quarter of the total amount is raised from voluntary subscriptions. In the expenditure of this capitation fee the Aid Societies act only as almoners for the State; the money passes through their hands and they use it at their own discretion for the prisoners' direct benefit, but none of it can be used to cover their own expenses.

Just as the financial position of the National Association is clearly differentiated from the financial position of the affiliated Aid Societies, so their work is clearly differentiated. The Aid Societies are concerned with the welfare of individual prisoners. The National Association confines itself to general policy, the business of co-ordination, and certain special case-work. It is responsible for seeing that the field of work of the Aid Societies is covered effectively; it acts as liaison

between the individual Aid Societies and the Prison Commissioners;[1] it distributes Government grants to the societies in accordance with the statistics which it collects from them and the Prison Governors; it holds invested funds as custodian trustee for its affiliated societies amounting now in the aggregate to nearly £40,000; it arbitrates on difficult questions related to the division of responsibility between the various societies. Its nearest approach to direct executive action is in connexion with aid on discharge from special prisons such as Wakefield Prison where the population is composed mainly of 'Star' prisoners drawn from all over the Northern and Midland counties; in such prisons which affect not one but several D.P.A. societies, the work is supervised by a special non-local sub-committee of the National Association. The Association will also take action in difficult individual cases where it may be an advantage that a prisoner should not be dealt with locally by people who know him in private life. Such work, however, is only undertaken at the direct request of a local society or some official person or government department.[2] The boundary between the functions of the National Association and the functions of the Aid Societies is clear.

The last and most striking characteristic of the National Association is the strength of its position as between the local societies and the Commissioners. According to the Standing Orders of the Commission a grant is only payable to an Aid Society if it holds a certificate of efficiency issued by the Home Secretary, and 'in granting, withholding or cancelling a certificate of efficiency the Commissioners will have regard to the advice tendered by the National Association'.[3] Moreover, every Aid Society must become a member of the National Association and application for the grant must be made by each Society through the National Association. Also every Society 'shall define the area of its activities in consultation with neighbouring societies. In case of disagreement the question shall be referred for decision to the National Association.' If the possession of a sanction is any guarantee of success in co-ordination the N.A.D.P.A.S. is well endowed. It certainly possesses a highly charged weapon which requires much skill in the handling.

Within its few years of existence the National Association has made considerable advances. It has helped to solve a problem of

[1] This does not preclude direct contact also between the Home Office and individual societies; it would be difficult to estimate how much of the success of this work is due to the unfailing interest and support and the enlightened policy of the Home Office.

[2] In peace-time the number of special cases referred to the National Association averaged approximately 250 annually. In addition, the National Association is affiliated to the International Penal Commission, and arranges for the reception of all British subjects deported from abroad. It also supervises reciprocal arrangements for all foreign subjects deported from this country.

[3] Handbook of the N.A.D.P.A.S., p. 50.

many years' standing by negotiating an arrangement with the Assistance Board by which a prisoner is supplied before his discharge with a form that he can pass over the counter of the Exchange and so obtain immediate assistance without the embarrassment of special inquiries or the inconvenience of a period of waiting. The Association has been instrumental, too, in the solution of a number of problems of area, and whereas the Salmon Committee complained in 1935 of forty-eight certified local societies as compared with twenty-six local prisons, the number has now been reduced to thirty-six. 'Moreover, the area of each Society is clearly defined . . . so much so that we have been able to publish a handbook which contains the name of every Court of Summary Jurisdiction in England and Wales showing the responsible Aid Society attached thereto.' And that some headway has been made against the fear of State control is proved by the acceptance by the Association of a grant to cover full administrative expenses.[1]

A great deal of further advance cannot be expected, however, while war conditions persist. The shortage of paper prevents the circulation of bulletins of information; difficulties of travel, accommodation, etc., hinder the holding of conferences and explain the transformation of the full executive Committee into an Emergency Committee of six members only; shortage of staff makes the establishment of schemes of training more difficult. In these and many other methods of work natural to a co-ordinating society little can be done in war-time. No encouragement is given, therefore, to the development of a 'common mind'—the slow-growing root without which co-ordination cannot flower.

By hindering the holding of conferences the war has also held up another vital necessity for the successful evolution of co-ordination amongst the D.P.A.S.s. The war has made it more difficult for secretaries and agents as well as for committee members to meet. In some other spheres of social service the contribution of the amateur and volunteer committee member has been enriched by increased contact with the professional who actually does the greater part of personal work and is in regular contact with the citizen in need. The professional is constantly under the discipline of hard facts and particular cases and his contribution is essential if administrative policy is to be realistic and flexible to the influence of changing conditions. Any sharp distinction therefore between those who make policy by personal contact and those who make policy by administration must be unhealthy, but in the D.P.A. a good deal of it persists. The idea probably derives some justification from the principle that those who handle the funds of any organization should not be in

[1] Since November 1944, the work of the Central Association for the Assistance of Discharged Convicts has also been transferred to N.A.D.P.A.S.

control of that organization; but it also seems to show some lack of understanding of the true meaning of co-ordination and co-operation. It seems sometimes to be assumed that there is some hard and fast line dividing paid from unpaid workers—in fact, employees from employers. That such distinctions preclude true co-operation and are harmful to the concern as a whole has been shown by modern experience even in the more complicated sphere of industry. But the long-established traditions of D.P.A. work and the small independent units in which it has developed make it easy to understand why outmoded ideas linger on. It is none the less essential that Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies should struggle to move forward with the times, and it would not be the first time that they have profited by a change of heart. Sixty years ago any action by the Government seems to have been regarded with immediate suspicion and to have been labelled out of hand as 'State control'. Experience has proved, however, that the Home Office is in fact a wise and forbearing friend to any good work for discharged prisoners and has been rather the Good Fairy of the piece than the Bad Bogy. In the same way there is every reason to hope that the supposedly dangerous co-operation within the ranks of the society will be its salvation. On this the future health of the work most certainly depends. Until such fears are dissipated the National Association will not achieve the fullest results in its beneficent work, though it may be taken as an earnest of good intentions that the National Association has, during the war, created a special fund towards the cost of post-war conferences and retreats. If voluntary organizations are to justify their existence in a changing world they must above all things be receptive of new ideas and flexible to the influence of first-hand experience.

2. THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

The C.O.S. is the earliest and most striking example of a society which aimed originally at promoting co-operation amongst other societies. It was launched at a time when demands for the better organization of charity were being heard on all sides. On February 11, 1896, for instance, *The Times* devoted two and a half of its majestic pages to a minutely detailed synopsis of the reports of some 260 metropolitan charities. This list omitted all the endowed City and Parochial Charities, yet it showed a total annual expenditure of £2,040,897. 'Bewilderment, incredulity, disgust, and despair,' thundered the leader on the following day, 'would represent probably the impressions successively produced on the public mind by the enormous mass of charity statistics which we printed yesterday.' . . . 'The most cursory perusal of our synopsis will have shown that the one thing needful was organization in the sense of union, concert,

and economical combination. How is it possible or even conceivable that as many as 1,000 separate distinct societies should be required in a single city . . . for the work of charity?'

The Charity Organization Society came into existence with the express purpose of providing the 'economical combination' which *The Times* demanded. It did this as well from a fear of pauperism as from a love of good order. It is difficult to realize the horrifying outlines of this bogy which haunted our grandparents as effectively as Buonaparte haunted an earlier generation. The commercial depression of 1866–7 had produced a great deal of unemployment and destitution, especially in the East End of London. It was dreadful that there should be so much poverty, but to the majority of contemporary thinkers it was even more dreadful that so many people should be in danger of losing their independence through pauperization. If all the charitable societies could work together some of this danger might perhaps be avoided. This was the general attitude in influential circles. So the C.O.S. at its start had a great deal of support.

In 1869, after several months of discussion and negotiation, the infant society[1] decided on a programme of co-ordination and launched it with whole-hearted fervour. In February of that year 1,251 invitations were issued for a conference of the charitable agencies working in London. At this gathering Dr. Hawksley expounded a scheme which is more ambitious than any which has since appeared and which claims attention for that reason. All London charities, Dr. Hawksley suggested, should submit to a tax of £1 per cent on their annual incomes and their accounts should be subjected to a central audit. The sum raised by this tax should be used to finance 180 local societies which were to be the sole channels of relief in each area, being employed by the guardians in place of relieving officers and by the local charities as their common almoner. The 180 societies were in turn to be supervised by a central office to which £4,000 of the tax fund was to be devoted for information and propaganda services.

The conference broke into a heated discussion of this plan. Mr. Macrea Moir 'objected to centralization and desired the multiplication of small charities'. The Rev. C. C. Butler wanted the charities to supplement, not to supplant, the work of the relieving officers. 'He suggested the appointment of a Government officer with power to give a licence or certificate to such institutions as were satisfactorily conducted (cries of 'No', No').'[2]

It was clear that this scheme went too far. 'The result of the first Conference created great discouragement amongst some of us, for

[1] For an excellent account of the origins of the Society see *C.O.S. Review*, October 1892.

[2] *The Times*, 12 February 1869. A similar scheme for Government inspection of voluntary societies is advanced by Mr. William Rathbone in an extremely interesting essay entitled *Social Duties*, published in 1867.

not only had the meeting manifested such signs of impatience that Dr. Hawksley was obliged to cease speaking before he had nearly finished, but almost all the speakers were strongly opposed to his whole plan and refused altogether to have their charities organized.'[1]

The C.O.S. learnt at this early stage that those who co-ordinate can seldom attack their objective directly. They must proceed by devious paths. The initiators of the society cut their losses and were soon ready with a new scheme. If the London charities would not unite as a whole, their relief work in each poor law district might yet be co-ordinated with the help of the District Committees of the C.O.S. on which should sit representatives of all the charitable agencies of the area as well as of the churches and the Poor Law. The new society proceeded at a great pace to set up such District Committees. By February 1870 ten of them were at work, during that year six more came into existence, and within four years of the foundation of the Society 'the first task which the Council had set itself was accomplished', for there was a District Committee in every London Poor Law Union.[2]

The original intention was that these district committees should not actually give relief themselves. In December 1868 it had been resolved that the Society should confine its work entirely to influencing other societies. It was still hoped that the C.O.S. would work 'not by doing other people's work for them, but by bringing Government, societies, and individuals to do their share of the required work at the right time and in the right way'.[3] In January 1870 it had been laid down that 'the local committees are intended to be, in the ultimate resort, sources of relief for cases that cannot be properly dealt with by any other agency'. But it was extraordinarily difficult to live up to this line of policy. The flood of distressed cases threatened to swamp the committees and it was impossible to avoid taking a share—and a leading share—in the work of relief. In 1881 it was officially stated that 'the C.O.S. is not primarily a relief society and it desires to act in that character as seldom as may be'.[4] But whatever the theory, it was clear, in fact, that the district committees had slipped into doing work which differed little in kind (though it differed in quality) from the work of other relief agencies. The functions of the C.O.S. as a co-ordinating body were being merged with the functions of the bodies in need of co-ordination.

As a result this second attempt of the C.O.S. to organize charity was never wholly successful. Great efforts were made to surmount local jealousy by ensuring that the district committees were representative of all the interests concerned. But no manipulation of

[1] H. Bosanquet, *Social Work in London*, p. 23, quoting a contemporary account of the meeting.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 32. [3] *ibid.*, p. 22. [4] *C.O.S. Papers*, 1881.

Committee membership could compensate for the special difficulties caused by working directly in a field where the agencies in need of co-ordination were also at work. From that day to this district committees of the C.O.S. have only succeeded in some places in the work of local co-ordination. They have set a standard of case-work which has had an influence on charitable work everywhere. They have carried out a vast amount of practical work. But only a few of them have become the focal point for local relief agencies.

The C.O.S. has certainly succeeded in establishing a marked degree of unity within its own ranks. Through all its seventy-four years of existence it has maintained close links with the district committees in London and to some extent with the Provincial Societies affiliated to it in other parts of the country. It has been able to do this because it has never hesitated to enunciate precisely the principles upon which its work is based. When the district committees were first established, no detail of their organization was too small for the attention of the central C.O.S.[1] They were supplied, for instance, with forms to use in issuing invitations to a preliminary meeting and a subsequent public meeting, they were given the wording suitable for a resolution to form a committee, hints were offered as to the best place of meeting and the equipment which would be required. Provincial societies were only allowed to affiliate to the London C.O.S. on certain specific conditions; every year they had to send information under ten heads to the central office and 'accept the general principles of the C.O.S.'. The rules and bye-laws 'suggested' for their use ran to fifty-eight separate items. The financial arrangements of the Society in relation to the London committees were also calculated to ensure strong central control. For many years past these district committees have received financial support from the central office. At the present time all of them (except two) receive such support, and their District or Organizing Secretaries are paid and so appointed by the central office. All these secretaries have received the full (and very forceful) C.O.S. training, and the influence of the central office is maintained also through Conferences, two of which have been held every year from 1890 up to the outbreak of the present war.

No wonder with such arrangements in force that the C.O.S. has retained its identity. No wonder that it has suffered considerably from the over-strong influence of its own original tradition.

It remains to point out two directions in which the Society has carried out co-ordinating work on a rather less ambitious scale and in a less formal manner.

On innumerable occasions the C.O.S. has provided that basis of

[1] See *C.O.S. Papers*, 1881.

reliable information which is almost always needed before co-ordination can take place. Here the Society's direct share in relief work has been an advantage. Its practical work has given it a claim to speak with authority and has provided it with valuable contacts and first-hand evidence. Thus, in 1880 a bequest of £300,000 had been made for the promotion of the welfare of the blind. The Trustees of the new fund at once envisaged the building of a new and magnificent institution for training and housing the blind. The C.O.S. collected evidence to show the number of Blind Institutions already in existence, and urged that the bequest be devoted to the less romantic work of co-ordinating all efforts for the assistance of the Blind.[1] Similarly, the Society collected evidence in support of a scheme for the co-ordination of all institutions for the welfare of mental defectives.[2] Again, in 1888, the Society appointed a special committee to facilitate the establishment of a Central Board of Management of the London Hospitals.[3] The Society was not wholly or immediately successful in any of these schemes, but it was obviously in the vanguard of progress, for each of these efforts has come to fruition in later years, and each of them owes something to the original sorting of evidence undertaken by the C.O.S.

The established reputation of the C.O.S. has also enabled it on many occasions to act as an arbitrator between groups of charities whose spheres in some way or other overlap. One interesting example of this may be cited.

The habit of raising money by Street Collections developed during the emotional days of the last war. The device became so popular with organizers of charity that during 1929, for instance, the long-suffering London public endured 321 distinct Flag Day Collections. It was obvious that this could not continue—or the goose that laid the golden egg would revolt against her hard task. The C.O.S. was asked to work out a scheme for grouping Flag Days. This was put into operation in 1937 and was so successful that twenty-nine Flag Days produced more in that year than the 321 Flag Days had produced in 1929.

On this occasion the work of the C.O.S. was assisted by the obvious fact that if Flag Days were not co-ordinated they would collapse altogether through the exasperation of the public and the withdrawal of police permits. Sixty-odd years earlier the initiators of the Society had hoped that co-ordination might be achieved if a reasonable scheme was formulated. History had shown that this was a vain hope. Some kind of sanction was needed to overcome the separatism of voluntary organizations. In the case of Flag Days the threat of their complete collapse provided this sanction and enabled the C.O.S. to carry through its good work with the minimum of friction.

[1] Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, p. 195. [2] *ibid.*, p. 202. [3] *ibid.*, p. 215.

3. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The field in which the National Council of Social Service works differs in kind as well as in degree from the field either of the Charity Organization Society or the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies—or, indeed, of any other of the many co-ordinating societies which might have been considered. The purpose of the National Council of Social Service is to assist voluntary organizations to work more smoothly with each other and also with the statutory authorities. Consider the immensity and the diversity of this task. Other societies find it a sufficient burden to co-ordinate their own branches or to draw together all the societies working within one particular sphere. The National Council of Social Service has a concern for all the voluntary organizations for social service, and for their relations with all statutory authorities. Moreover, at every stage of the work both central and local, their business is with a mixture of groups. In a village, say, their object is to facilitate the establishment of happy relations and vigorous life amongst the Women's Institute, the British Legion, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Scouts, and the Parish Council. Fundamentally, the National Council is concerned with the energy and sense of social responsibility which expresses itself in a vigorous Women's Institute and a lively British Legion. The form which this social energy takes is a secondary consideration.

The size, diversity, and peculiarly fundamental character of the sphere in which the National Council of Social Service works condition its methods. Its novel ends naturally demand novel means. The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies has the help of economic sanctions since the Association has at least one hand on a source which supplies every one of the local societies. Similarly, the District Committees which are so effectively co-ordinated by the C.O.S. are to-day almost all dependent on the mother society for a large proportion of their general funds. But, by the very nature of its field of work, the National Council of Social Service should not, and in many cases could not, depend on sanctions to achieve its ends. It has been distributing agent to some of its member societies and to some other local groups linked with it for funds placed at its disposal by outside bodies.[1] It is its intention in such cases to avoid using direct pressure, to limit itself to influence and to avoid the temptations of control, although it is no easy task always to recognize and to respect this distinction. But besides these relationships the National Council has dealings with many societies and groups to

[1] e.g. the Carnegie Funds which were granted to some R.C.C.s in their early years, the grants from the Ministry of Labour to Area Unemployment Committees and from the Ministry of Health to C.A.B.s.

whom it offers no material advantage whatever, and with whom it has no constitutional links. Moreover, the statutory authorities both central and local are necessary parties to the co-operation which it seeks to achieve and clearly there could be no question of controlling or using sanctions where these bodies are concerned.

It follows from this that the National Council of Social Service must from its very nature seek to be less an executive than a consultative body. Instead of speaking of the co-ordinating work of the National Council of Social Service it is correct rather to speak of the work of the National Council of Social Service 'in facilitating co-ordination'. At every level, as will be shown, it seeks to provide the equipment which will enable other entirely autonomous bodies to co-operate. Sometimes this equipment is material; it offers typewriters and box files, an accommodation address and an office desk to a group of women's organizations who want to come together on a new problem which concerns them all from a variety of angles. When this group meets the individuals concerned will not be able to take decisions which commit their organizations to executive action without reference back, but by personal contact the emergence of a 'common mind' will be made possible. Sometimes the equipment of co-ordination offered by the National Council or its member societies is something more abstract, a neutral 'platform' where different religious groups or different political groups may meet to air some common social problem. Or the equipment may be administrative, as where the National Council provides the administrative and research staff for an inquiry on behalf of a number of organizations concerned with holidays with pay.[1] In each case cited the National Council does not co-ordinate, rather it can be said to 'facilitate co-ordination'.

The nature of the field of action of the National Council of Social Service conditions its work in another way. It is concerned, as has been shown, primarily with that social responsibility which is at the root of social action and which expresses itself in this country in a thousand protean forms. To this body, therefore, the way a job is done is even more important than the job itself—and that is saying a great deal. Above all things, it seeks to spread responsibility broadly, and for this reason on every possible occasion to make the smaller rather than the larger group the source of power. Hence the insistence of the National Council on the autonomy of the smaller or more specialist group, and hence also one other constant and significant feature of their work; where a new social need is discovered, the National Council or its member societies will take action and, if necessary, executive action, but it will be their object always to

[1] In this and similar cases the N.C.S.S. is represented on the responsible o mmittee but has nothing approaching a majority vote.

thrust such work away from them as soon as circumstances permit. Amongst the 'facilities for co-ordination' which they offer it is not enough to provide a means of drawing a variety of groups together; they also provide a way of initiating new work and distributing it where it most properly belongs.

The effect upon the Council's methods of the field in which it works will be clarified by a more detailed consideration of its activities in various spheres. Town Councils of Social Service will first be considered, since they were the media through which the ideas of the National Council first found expression.

When the National Council was established in 1919 it was largely the product of a number of vigorous local experiments and was itself formed out of a union of local societies, fifteen of which were represented on it from the start. The first Annual Report took it for granted that it should work largely through such societies; it stated categorically that the foundation of a local Council of Social Service in every area 'was the National Council's first task', and by 1931 120 organizations bearing the title 'Council of Social Service' had come into existence or adopted the title.

A Council of Social Service is composed ideally of representatives of all the voluntary social service organizations in existence in a particular area and of all the appropriate statutory authorities and departments. Essentially its task is to survey the social needs of the area as a whole, and, where it perceives a gap, to initiate action. Only if no other body can suitably meet the new need should the Council itself take direct action, and where it does so it will be on the understanding that the new activity is to be floated off as an independent organization, or passed over to some other body at the earliest appropriate moment, leaving the Council to return to its primary task of looking, thinking, and once again initiating.

This account of the functions of a Council of Social Service will read strangely to many who have a first-hand knowledge of bodies bearing this title. For the outstanding fact about such Councils to-day is that, in the technical sense, many of them are not Councils of Social Service. It is easy to explain this. The founders of the National Council were painfully short of money, for contribution to their funds had none of the satisfaction of direct charity. As a result the detailed staff work which was required to put across the N.C.S.S. ideal was lacking. The new organization needed missionaries, but it could not afford to pay them. In the event, Councils of Social Service were in many cases grafted on to existing voluntary organizations who often had little idea of the implications of the title. In other cases the new name, which had an up-to-date flavour, was adopted in place of an old one while the work continued as before. No one could complain of this. It is not possible to put a patent on such a

simple phrase. But for the lack of such a patent the special meaning which the phrase carried became increasingly blurred. Sometimes a new body was formed as a result of local initiative and without any reference to the national body, sometimes affiliation was refused and the title only was borrowed with no appreciation of its technical meaning. Co-operation, for instance, as a normal function of a Council of Social Service, was sometimes regarded entirely from the negative point of view. 'If we can prevent the work of the Personal Service League in our town from overlapping with the work of the Civic League of Help, then the money of the charitable public will be saved, there will be less chance for cadgers, and that will be a Good Thing.' This was a travesty of the original idea of a Council of Social Service. Co-operation was advocated by the National Council because they believe that something happens when people of different kinds get together for a common purpose which would not happen if the people were all of one type and in one group. But those who did not grasp the creative possibilities of this idea regarded co-operation as a means of economy. Here, indeed, was Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

Even where the essential functions of a Council of Social Service are understood, they have not always been carried out. For it must be realized that they are extraordinarily difficult of attainment. They require a very high degree of self-abnegation. What normal Committee, when it sees a job of work, can resist doing it? What cat, it might be asked, can resist chasing a mouse, or when it has once tasted blood, can let the dainty morsel go? Yet this is what is expected of a Council of Social Service. Where such a body functions in a large town or over a large area the position is not so difficult. In practice the most successful Councils are usually those which function in large towns where they have more than enough to do in looking, thinking, and initiating. In such circumstances a Council's zeal for action will be satisfied in carrying out these its proper functions without desiring to hold on to work which it should more appropriately pass to others. In the smaller towns it needs quite exceptional leadership for a Council to find a permanent and proper outlet for its energies. If it is alive it frequently strays off into practical spheres, notably relief work, where it will often become submerged.

The essential functions, then, of a Council of Social Service precisely reflect the functions of the National Council of Social Service itself, and they are peculiarly difficult of attainment. The same is true of their rural counterparts, the Rural Community Councils. But throughout their history these bodies have had many advantages over Town Councils of Social Service, for they meet a more obvious need. Not only are the areas with which they are concerned larger, but their administrative organization is more

complex. In a County Borough, for instance, such a Council will be concerned with the representatives of only one local authority. In a county there may be parish councils, urban and rural district councils, municipal borough councils, and the county council all concerned in some particular problem. The organization of the voluntary social services will also be more heterogeneous in a country area. It is obviously valuable to have an organization in existence which can provide an informal meeting-place for all these bodies. Again, amongst such a variety of authorities and agencies responsible for the needs of so many different units of population, there is a stronger likelihood of gaps in the social provision and more elbow room, therefore, for the local Community Council.

Above all, Rural Community Councils have had an advantage over the town Councils of Social Service in getting more attention from the parent body. It happened that the leaders of the National Council in its early days were more interested in the country than in the towns; and who can blame them? After all, apart from the Women's Institutes, which were only a few years older than the National Council, no other national organization had made a serious attempt to revive village life, whereas there were generations of effort behind the town Councils. In the counties there were endless possibilities of improvisation and development, and it is disappointing that in spite of this Rural Community Councils (which differ a great deal in quality) exist to-day in only twenty-nine of the administrative counties.

The Rural Community Councils movement was fortunate in its early days in the discovery of a source of income such as the town Councils of Social Service never had. In 1923 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust agreed to finance a limited number of Rural Community Councils for an experimental period, and this grant aid was continued until 1934, by which time Rural Community Councils (or similar bodies) had been formed in twenty counties. These grants did not by any means cover all the needs of the Community Councils. The usual painful struggles were needed to supplement them, but they did at least give some of them a chance during an experimental period.[1]

Rural Community Councils were fortunate also in finding a sphere of action which was proper to them and which yet was something that the plain man could see and appreciate. Any contact with village life revealed the fundamental need in innumerable cases for a common meeting-place. In the past village halls had sometimes been presented by a benevolent local magnate, and in more recent years the local Women's Institute or the British Legion had sometimes contrived to meet the need. But only a comparatively few

[1] Town Councils of Social Service, on the other hand, could collect a small amount of money more easily than the R.C.C.s but in the smaller towns it was seldom an adequate amount. For that very reason the danger was increased that the C.S.S. would be diluted by an admixture of other types of organization.

villages had these buildings, and where they existed they were often reserved for, or under the control of, one section of the community only. The National Council and the Rural Community Councils saw their potentialities as a contribution towards the integration of the village as a whole. They proceeded, therefore, to take direct action in the matter. They offered professional advice on the best building plans, on trust deeds, finance, rates and taxes, licences and insurance. They provided a pool of experience so that any village could profit by the experience of those who had struggled before it in the same cause. Through the generosity of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust they were able to make some grants and through the co-operation of the Development Commission they were able to offer loans for this purpose. As a result, 500 villages have been enriched by the addition of a village hall which presumably would not have been there but for the intervention of the National Council of Social Service. But, by their method of intervention, the National Council contributed a great deal more than four walls and a roof to these 500 villages. They made it a condition of any grant or loan that the managing body of each village hall should be representative of all the existing groups within the community. The condition was easily accepted, for the National Council's officers were experts, and when they said that the method worked they were naturally believed by people fumbling with a new problem. At one stroke, then, the Rural Community Councils and the National Council helped to provide the material equipment necessary for common action—a hall where people could act a play, run a debate, or hold a parish meeting—and they also helped to establish an administrative device facilitating common action—a representative management committee. Moreover, the fact that they could not, and did not, provide more than a proportion of the funds needed was also of social value. The village itself had to labour to collect the remainder; it had, say, to make itself a nuisance to the county council, thrust itself upon the notice of the local education authority, and run a village fête—all different ways of expressing and so exercising and developing a sense of social responsibility. The fact that, up to date, every loan to a village hall has been wholly paid up is evidence of the effectiveness of this policy.

Through the work for Village Halls which they carried out in association with Rural Community Councils, the National Council discovered the value of expert advice as a means of promoting their desired ends. By this method they could stimulate local action without in the least interfering with a local sense of responsibility. The device was accordingly employed in later years in other spheres. Thus, with the help again of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and with the co-operation of the Rural Community Councils, the National Council has been able to provide skilled advice on music

and drama; a specialist service is also available to encourage and instruct parish councils and a scheme has been initiated for the encouragement of the study of local history. In each case the experts have drawn together a variety of the groups concerned, and in this way they have not only helped them to a higher standard of attainment, but also have cross-fertilized them by this very process of mixing.

In later years the National Council discovered a way of giving its help on a similar basis to certain town communities. One of the important social facts of the inter-war years was the growth of huge new housing estates. At Becontree, for instance, a population of 120,000 was assembled within a few years. A new town, in fact, was planted, but it was town in the material sense only. It was composed of houses and roads and a few shops, but nothing had been done to help this agglomeration of houses to develop into a community. The planners stopped short when they had made provision for the basic physical needs of the people. The situation in housing estates of this type was a new one, and no organization existed to deal specifically with the problems which it raised. The National Council accordingly took action itself.

The new task was tackled in accordance with existing principles. Local groups called Community Associations were encouraged; their functions were primarily consultative and they were composed of a wide variety of autonomous lesser groups. This clearly is the same structure as has been seen already in Councils of Social Service, Rural Community Councils, and Village Hall Management Committees.

The first committee formed to initiate developments in this field was composed of representatives not only of the National Council of Social Service, but also of the British Association of Residential Settlements and the Educational Settlements Association, and the nature of the change-over from Settlement to Community Centres typified in this mixed Committee is an interesting one. Two generations ago the great settlements set out to build up integrated communities in the slums. Their method was to bring people of light and learning from the outside world, and establish them like colonists in these desert places, which then proceeded, in some cases, to blossom as a rose. But in the nineteen-thirties standards of living had risen and therefore the desirability of a more democratic form of social service had increased. Outside settlers would not be welcomed in the same way as before, for people on the housing estates were within reach of being able to manage things for themselves. Outside leadership was still necessary, but it had to be more self-effacing than in old days. Thus, a trained social worker is often employed at a community centre as full-time warden or secretary, and he or she may be resident in the centre where it is a large one. But more

characteristically professional social workers when they are employed live on the estate and live singly, not as a colony. Voluntary part-time work is done not by outsiders but by the people of the neighbourhood, for in the building-up of an integrated community the doing of this work is more important even than the work done.

Here again was a field of work most suitable to the National Council. The nature of Community Associations demanded that they should not be closely controlled, but they had a vital need of expert stimulus and advice. To persuade a local authority, say, to provide a community centre, a good deal of technical information was needed. Above all, it was necessary to know what had been done in this sphere by progressive authorities, since this was a most valuable argument for others that were less daring. Only the National Council had this information, and they used it to the full. They also found architects who were willing to give advice about suitable lay-outs, and as with village halls they knew all there was to know about rates and taxes, licensing and insurance, and about the best ways of arranging management and leadership. All this was offered to the struggling local groups to enable them to deal with their particular local difficulties, and the offers met with a ready response. Before the war 220 Community Associations were in existence. Since 1933 and up till the outbreak of war, one officer of the National Council had been working exclusively in this field; in addition, after 1936 there was considerable expansion, and by 1939 nine full-time officers had been appointed. Conferences have been held annually, and the demand for admission to such conferences reached such proportions that in 1938 they had to be divided into ten regional groups. The war has played havoc with the Community Centres movement, and in 1944 there were only sixty-two Associations in existence; yet constitutional growth continues. Originally the Community Association work of the National Council was managed by a Committee representative of (1) national voluntary organizations, (2) local government associations and government departments, and (3) representatives of the Community Associations. Since the war the guidance of these associations has been handed over to a body composed exclusively of their own representatives, with the addition of a few co-opted members. The National Council is already loosening its hold over the movement which it has initiated. The self-government which it advocates within each Community Association is being encouraged to develop also through the Community Centre movement as a whole.

During the inter-war years the National Council took the initiative in meeting another new situation of major social importance—the problem of mass long-term unemployment. It is important in this connexion to realize the nature of the work which the National

Council of Social Service undertook. Unemployment affects two aspects of a man's life. It affects him economically by reducing his income to a bare minimum, and it affects him socially and psychologically by breaking the links which connect him with the rest of society. It is in work itself that a man's strongest social links are formed. 'Workers of the world unite', cries the Communist, and he is only asking for the building-up of many small natural units of community into one all-embracing unit. Unemployment destroys these natural work units. It also destroys the lesser social groups to which a man may belong, since it destroys the margin of income which normally gives him entrance to a friendly public-house, a club, or the dog-racing track.

The National Council could not and did not make any attempt to deal with the primary economic effects of unemployment; it attempted, however, to tackle these secondary social effects of unemployment.

In their work in this sphere the National Council of Social Service built upon two experiments, initiated independently in 1927 in Maes-yr-haf and Lincoln respectively. In other places well-meaning people anxious to help the unemployed had vaguely tried to fill up so many empty hours by arranging games, lectures, or concerts, or by providing facilities for elementary cobbling and carpentry which would make possible household repairs and replacements. But at Lincoln and Maes-yr-haf a quite different approach to the problem was made. The essential need was to give the unemployed man a sense of purpose by giving him responsibility and by directing his activities to something outside himself. The new clubs were therefore self-governing and they engaged in work which met some real communal need. At Maes-yr-haf, for instance, tools and seeds for allotment-holders, and fresh fish were bought at wholesale prices and sold cheaply to club members. Such schemes involved responsible administrative work, and this was of even greater importance than the cheap vegetables and fish which were their material results.

The success of these schemes was obvious to all observers. In particular the Ministry of Labour realized the value of this method of attacking the secondary effects of unemployment. They wished all the unemployed to have an opportunity of becoming members of an occupational club, but in the nature of things they could not themselves organize such work. A self-governing club could not be run by a Government department, and the Ministry accordingly looked for a voluntary body to act as intermediary. By 1932 there were already 'occupational' or 'social service' clubs in existence with a total membership of about 10,000, but they had developed spasmodically and no national organization had taken or seemed anxious to take a lead in this field as a whole. In November 1932 the Ministry

invited the National Council to become the channel through which grant aid might be made available to all clubs, and in spite of the dangers involved the challenge was accepted. Inevitably, and at a stroke, the National Council became the headquarters of the Occupational Club movement.

The methods which the National Council of Social Service adopted in facing their new task are clearly recognizable as an extension of their methods in other less complex spheres. It is noticeable in the first place that the Council did not itself become responsible for any of the local clubs, nor were any of them affiliated to it. Policy was directed instead towards building them up into an autonomous movement by the provision of a number of vital necessities. For a successful club the first essential is adequate premises, and to this end the National Council distributed large Government funds. Up to October 1935, for instance, 512 clubs had received grant aid by this means and for this purpose. Individual clubs needed also to be in touch with other neighbouring clubs in order that their sense of purpose might be emphasized; they needed skilled instruction in the many crafts customarily practised in clubs, and, above all, they needed help in the art of self-government. For this last purpose three residential demonstration centres were established where would-be leaders could go for training, and, in addition, the country was divided into nine regions, for each of which a full-time officer was appointed whose business it was, with the help of a representative regional council, to keep in touch with individual clubs and with the area committees in which they were grouped.

The provision of the facilities which we have described naturally involved the National Council in a very large distribution of grant aid. Between 1933 and 1939 more than £1,000,000 was received from the Government for this purpose, and in addition an even larger sum was received from voluntary sources. But everything possible was done to make the manner of distributing these funds contribute to the main purpose in hand—the building-up of self-governing groups. Thus grant aid for premises or equipment was only given where local voluntary help was also forthcoming. All unemployed members paid 1*d.* a week in subscription, and this amount up to March 1935 had produced £20,000. In most cases the unemployed contributed labour to the building, adapting, or decorating their own clubs, and they also collected money for capital expenditure from their own localities with whom therefore they were to that extent linked. This local link was an essential feature of the National Council's schemes for the unemployed. 'Break it up into little pieces,' they said of the vast problem in 1932, through the lips of the Prince of Wales. And in accordance with this principle the committees which were responsible for each club were normally composed of the

members themselves with the addition of some few local representatives. Moreover, the area committees in which the clubs were grouped were composed of representatives of the clubs and of the appropriate local authorities. But they were consultative only and were intended to stimulate individual clubs without in any way detracting from their complete freedom of action.

The nature of the work of the National Council of Social Service for the unemployed was the same as in the less complex fields of Village Hall Management Committees and the Community Associations. In each case the National Council sought to provide facilities, organizational and material, which would combat the isolation of people living in a group which was imperfectly integrated. In each case they followed the same main principles; they threw responsibility back on the local group wherever possible, assisting it by pooling experience, lending specialists, and by making grants or loans towards capital expenditure.

The most recent major development of National Council of Social Service work is in the development of Citizens' Advice Bureaux. This subject has been dealt with from another angle in a separate chapter, and will not therefore be treated here. If the main features of the work of the National Council have been clarified, however, it will be obvious that these are reproduced in an interesting form in this new war-time device.

An adequate account of the work of the National Council should also entail a study of the facilities for co-ordination which it provides centrally. But this would require far more space than is available. The Council is a complex of committees, standing committees, sub-committees, standing conferences, and groups. To give a simple picture of this set-up would be to give a false picture. A brief mention will be made, therefore, of only one or two interesting recent tendencies in the central development of this body.

In early years the Council consisted simply of (*a*) representatives of the Town Councils and Rural Community Councils which were affiliated to it, (*b*) representatives of affiliated national voluntary organizations, and (*c*) representatives of local authorities and Government departments. As time passed and the work of the Council broadened out, the strong belief of the National Council in the value of autonomous groups enabled it to improvise a new method of dealing with bodies not formally linked with it. It brought into being, first, a Standing Conference of Voluntary Organizations. The membership of this Conference extended beyond the affiliated membership of the Council. It had no executive powers, nor did its decisions bind its member organizations. Since the war this administrative pattern has been developed further. At present there is in existence a Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organizations,

a Women's Group on Public Welfare, a Churches Group, and a Holidays-with-Pay Group; and these are all bodies with membership extending far beyond the limits of National Council of Social Service affiliation, and they are all linked very lightly with the national body. In each case their secretariat is provided out of National Council of Social Service staff, but they have independent Chairmen, their minutes are not confirmed by the National Council Executive, and the member organizations are not bound by the majority vote of groups, for their functions are consultative rather than executive.

The unique advantages of this loose method of association is demonstrated by the fact that on the Churches Group there are represented the Anglican Church and all the Free Churches, the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish community. Moreover, this group has been able to draw up a 'statement of agreed policy for immediate thought and action on the part of the bodies represented. . . . The gist of the proposal is the setting up wherever practicable of a local Churches Group for Community Service.'

The groups associated with the National Council present that long-suffering body with certain practical problems. Take the Women's Group on Public Welfare as an example. This extremely active body came into existence in September 1939, and by the end of 1942 its membership was representative of thirty-nine national organizations; it had held forty full meetings and established nine Sub-committees. One of the tangible results of the work of the group was the production in April 1943 of an important study of the conditions revealed by evacuation, entitled *Our Towns, a Close-up.* But its most important results are intangible and incapable of exact measurement. For three years the secretaryship of the Women's Group had occupied most of the time of a highly skilled official of the National Council, as well as using space, typewriters, gas, and an immense quantity of paper. The hospitality so provided cost the National Council at least £500 per annum in extra expenditure. Yet, in spite of more than one appeal the total contribution up to the end of 1942 from constituent members and private persons amounted to £68 9*s.* 6*d.* This position of affairs might at first glance seem a reflection on the women's societies. But the position is understandable. The societies are all hard up and any impulse to spend must be restrained in those who control the expenditure of voluntary subscriptions. The share of responsibility held by each of the thirty-nine member organizations appears small, and in any case is a responsibility for consultative rather than executive work. Expenses incurred through group membership, therefore, would not show up well in any annual statement of accounts. Yet it is clear that the activities of the group are of considerable value to member organizations and that this value lies largely in their informality and in the

fact that membership is independent of affiliation and that the host society does not obtrude itself upon the co-operation which it has made possible.

The Women's Group is typical of many other sides of the work of the National Council which have or might have been mentioned[1] in that it provides something which it is everybody's interest to have and nobody's interest to pay for. In facilitating the development of these consultative groups the Council has again demonstrated its belief in a method of co-ordination which involves influence but not control. At the centre, in particular, the National Council is dealing with highly organized bodies amongst whom co-ordination by sanctions would be wholly unacceptable. Once again it is clear that it is the nature of the field in which the Council functions that conditions its methods of work. Its principles have evolved in the course of its development, and this helps to explain the limited extent to which, up to the present, they have been made articulate.

CONCLUSION

It must be obvious to any who have read the preceding pages that the studies presented here of the N.A.D.P.A.S., of the C.O.S., and of the N.C.S.S. are in no way comparable. The N.A.D.P.A.S. works in a strictly limited sphere, but throughout the country; the C.O.S. works primarily on one aspect of welfare and primarily in London, but has an authoritative standing throughout the country and links with very many sides of social work; the N.C.S.S. is unlimited geographically, and its interests range over every aspect of social service. Moreover, the studies of these societies are themselves not comparable or planned on parallel lines. With the C.O.S. attention is concentrated largely on the early days of the organization while the present-day position is sketched in lightly. In the case of the N.C.S.S. the infinite variety of its work has made it necessary to give attention to the ideal nature of what the Council is attempting rather than to any detailed assessment of what it has achieved.

And lastly, the work of the three bodies, particularly of the last two, is so different in kind that comparisons would be false however skilfully they might be made. The C.O.S. is a practical body doing a practical job of work. Originally their main object as symbolized in their title was to 'organize charity', or, as we might paraphrase it, 'to co-ordinate relief-giving'. But many developments have taken place as the chapter on case-work has shown. Within the last year the society has taken the drastic step of deciding to change its title, the title-elect being 'The Family Welfare Association', and in so doing emphasized its present-day concentration on the highly skilled work

[1] For instance the Information Department and the Studies Department.

of helping individual families in distress. Any co-ordinating work which the Society may do at the present time is the direct outcome of their work for individuals. Their high standing and their first-hand experience in this sphere means that they can be consulted as the authority on many of the problems of social service. They are thus able on many occasions to take an invaluable and often unacknowledged part in schemes to further co-operation. The N.C.S.S., by its very nature, works quite differently. Although the enrichment of the life of the individual may be regarded as its ultimate aim, its direct dealings are with organizations and communities. It struggles therefore much more obviously with the problems of co-operation. A large proportion of what it does in this sphere is visible for all to see, and its failures also are more clearly in the limelight. There can be few with a concern for social service who do not wish devoutly that these two outstanding bodies, the N.C.S.S. and the C.O.S., might find a way of linking themselves together to their mutual advantage, and the enrichment of the social fabric of our country. But it will be a first essential to progress in this direction that their very different, though complementary, tasks should be more clearly articulated, and it is to be hoped that the sketches of their work presented in various chapters of this book may contribute something towards this.[1]

It is difficult to draw many conclusions from these studies of the efforts of three so different organizations in the sphere of co-operation and co-ordination. One consideration appears to stand out clearly, however; co-operation cannot be achieved by force; it must be the product of a common will to co-operate. It cannot be achieved through the action of some one committee or group working at the head of affairs within any particular organization. There must be a desire for co-operation through the whole network of the society, and there must be a general acceptance of the give-and-take which the co-operative way of living always implies. The branch must be ready to consult the headquarters and, even more, headquarters must be ready to consult the branch. It should be among the basic assumptions of social service work that such work can only be done co-operatively. Unco-operative social service is a contradiction in terms. There must also be leadership of an effective kind—of a kind, that is, which is worth having. The small unit or (as in the sphere of the N.C.S.S.) the more specialized body must feel it an advantage to accept the co-operative functions of the central body. Such a body must offer special skill and knowledge, it must show that it has profited by a wider experience and a larger horizon, it must be more progressive, more in touch with the latest developments of thought

[1] Since the writing of this chapter a new and fundamental experiment in co-ordination is being undertaken by the C.O.S.

in that sphere of work, it must make contacts which other bodies cannot so easily achieve, and it must undertake responsibility for the training of new workers and put them in touch always with the newest discoveries.

It is sometimes maintained that the only 'advantage' to which a branch or associated society will respond is the advantage of a subsidy received from the central society. That economic sanctions may influence the situation cannot be doubted, but the materialist view that they will be decisive is surely false. It would be easy to quote examples where grant aid has flowed uninterruptedly between branch society and central society—but there have been few signs of real co-operation.

A central society can, as the title of this chapter suggests, 'facilitate co-operation'. It can scarcely do more. Within its own ranks its most important task will be to achieve such a high degree of self-abnegation that other societies or branches will really believe that it puts their interests first and does not care more for its own power and position. Co-operation will never be achieved unless each unit feels that it is part of a larger whole and is a participant, therefore, in the leadership which it accepts.

And if co-operation is *not* achieved amongst social service organizations, then with them, as with the nations of the world, the alternative is chaos and deserved extinction.

CHAPTER 11

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN WAR-TIME— CITIZENS' ADVICE BUREAUX

By A. F. C. BOURDILLON

THE spread of C.A.B.s since the outbreak of war is one of the most interesting and characteristic features of present-day voluntary effort.

There can be no question but that the Bureaux are popular. 'The outstanding addition to voluntary service in war-time,' is the typical comment of a student of social organizations in Yorkshire, and many similar references could be quoted from the evidence at our disposal. The speed of the development of C.A.B.s is proof not only of the efficiency of the initiating body (the National Council of Social Service at the instance of the Standing Conference of Voluntary Organizations),[1] but also of the essential popularity of the Bureaux. A skeleton organization had been prepared before the war, and on the first Monday after war was declared 200 C.A.B.s were opened, mostly in big cities, in all parts of the country. At the end of 1942 there were 1,010 C.A.B.s in existence, of which 102 were in Outer London and 61 (organized by the C.O.S.) were in the L.C.C. area. In the years 1941–2 two and a half million queries were dealt with in these Bureaux. The spread of C.A.B.s is not even throughout the country, for their development is ultimately dependent upon the energy of innumerable autonomous local groups; the extent to which the Bureaux which exist are used differs widely, and the quality of their service varies from place to place. Obviously there are bad C.A.B.s as well as a great many good ones. Yet the fact remains that while there is no compulsion on anyone to set up a Bureau and no compulsion on anyone to make use of a Bureau, people all over the country have been willing to co-operate in the work of maintaining them, and the man in the street has gladly taken his troubles to them.[2] Why is this? What is there about C.A.B.s which commends them to people to-day? How can one explain their sudden large-scale growth? Is it advisable that they should continue after the war, and, if so, in what form? These are the questions which will be discussed in the present chapter.

The rapid development of C.A.B.s since 1939 is the more remarkable when it is realized that the idea of a C.A.B. is by no means

[1] And, in London, the C.O.S.

[2] Taking one month of 1942, for instance (based on an average of 3 months), in Huddersfield, 1 person in 53 used the Bureau; in Rugeley, Staffs, 1 person in 36. In Liverpool in 1942, during a period free from raids, 374 people consulted the Bureau on each working day.

new. Similar services of information and advice have been rendered for many years by some Trade Unions, by some local branches of political parties, and as part of their personal welfare work by a number of case-work and relief organizations.[1] Moreover, the establishment of a universal voluntary service of information and advice was actually recommended by the Inter-departmental Committee on Public Assistance Administration in 1925. 'We think it would be desirable,' says the Report,[2] 'that there should be in every large centre of population some officer who will be in a position to give reliable information and assistance both to individual applicants and to officers of the several services . . . in dealing with cases falling apparently within the scope of a number of services. . . . Such an officer might with advantage be appointed . . . and his work supervised by the local Council of Social Service. . . . (His) functions should be strictly confined to those of giving information and advice.' Here, then, with certain obvious differences, is the germ of the present-day C.A.B. service. But the germ has lain dormant or has attracted little attention for fourteen years. What are the climatic conditions which have brought it to life now? What is it that favours the development of the C.A.B.s at the present time?

The superficial answer to this question is obvious. C.A.B.s have developed rapidly since 1939 because war has disturbed the private lives of ordinary citizens to an unprecedented extent, and Government regulations, seeking to control and direct this disturbance, have impinged upon private individuals as never before. The citizen needs information and advice about all the new factors which the war has brought into his life, and the Bureau supplies this need. Taking, for instance, the inquiries made at the Toynbee Hall, Burnley, and Finchley C.A.B.s during periods in 1941 and 1942,[3] it will be found that 72 per cent, 77 per cent, and 88 per cent respectively are classified[4] under obvious war-time headings. These include army and service questions; evacuation and billeting; the problems of refugees, internees, and aliens; the Red Cross postal message scheme; food rationing and clothes rationing. All C.A.B.s reach the peak of their activity after air-raids. In every region a C.A.B. mobile squad is available for dispatch to any area which is seriously raided. Also in the post-raid Administrative Centres, for which local authorities

[1] At Chesterfield, for instance, the existing Borough Welfare Committee 'as was natural, became the C.A.B. for the town. It would be more accurate to say that the Committee acquired an extra label because it has in fact been a C.A.B. throughout the years of its work' (Chesterfield B.W.C. Report, 1939–40). Bury C.O.S. speaks of the C.A.B. as 'the new name given since war started to an old branch of C.O.S. work' (Bury C.O.S. Report, 1940–1). Similarly, an Advice Bureau had been initiated in Chester after the last war.

[2] Cmd. 2011, para. 148.

[3] Toynbee Hall, January to August 1941, Burnley, March 1941 to March 1942, and Finchley, January to December 1941.

[4] These percentages exclude the inquiries classified as miscellaneous.

are responsible, C.A.B.s have often played an important part. Sometimes they organize the general reception desk; often they are merely at hand to deal with people whose needs obstinately refuse to fit any official classification—and a surprising number are in this position.

The response of the C.A.B.s to direct war-time needs accounts in part for their flourishing condition. But there are several points of a deeper interest and significance here. Three more fundamental reasons, which appear to explain the present popularity of the Bureaux, will now be considered.

1. C.A.B.S PROVIDE FOR A CLOSE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE VOLUNTARY AND THE STATUTORY

All C.A.B.s work in the closest association with the appropriate statutory authorities. The 'text-book' of every Bureau is the *Citizens' Advice Notes* issued periodically by the National Council of Social Service. This publication is described as a 'digest of information of a social and domestic nature as it affects the life of the man in the street, compiled from Government and other authoritative sources'. Up to March 1942 these 'Notes' reached a total of 1,477 single items, and the vast majority of them consist of digests of legislation and of regulations expressed in simple language. But an effective C.A.B. needs to be equipped with a great deal of material besides these Notes. In each locality, facts and figures, addresses and the names of officials, information about arrangements for emergency feeding, for rest centres and the casualty service—these and a thousand other particulars must be collected from the voluntary and, above all, from the statutory agencies. The collection of this material is in itself no small task;[1] it cannot be undertaken at all without the goodwill of the agencies and authorities concerned, so that its compilation alone involves very close association between the voluntary and the statutory.

Again, a great deal of the work of the C.A.B. is undertaken at the direct request of the statutory authorities. It was arranged by the Board of Trade through the National Council of Social Service that the Bureaux should make provision for inquiries about clothes rationing. Similarly, after negotiations with the Inland Revenue Authorities, the Bureaux have undertaken to deal with simple inquiries about income tax from people to whom its intricacies are a new experience. The Ministry of Health placed upon local authorities the responsibility for organizing a Searcher Service (which helps to trace people who are missing after air-raids), and in a large number of places the local authorities delegated the work to a C.A.B. The

[1] The Central C.A.B. at Manchester issues a weekly bulletin on these matters to other C.A.B.s in the district.

War Office, too, makes use of the C.A.B. service in obtaining information after air-raids about the families of serving men. It has become quite customary when a new Government regulation is announced on the B.B.C. to hear that further information should be obtained through a C.A.B. The advice to 'consult your local C.A.B.' is actually printed on some official forms. The Government departments, in fact, as well as local authorities, as war-time conditions developed, made increasing use of the Bureaux as a means of interpreting their regulations to the individual citizen.

It is clear, then, that both in the material with which they deal and in their sphere of work C.A.B.s are closely interlocked with the statutory authorities. Without this intimate connexion between the voluntary and the statutory, C.A.B.s could not survive. They are in fact the product and the expression of a fundamental need for such co-operation. Their success is evidence that an advanced stage of this co-operation has been achieved. The time demands just what the Bureaux can supply, and for this reason they flourish and increase as their prototypes have not flourished. This is the first point of permanent significance in the present-day popularity of the Bureaux.

2. C.A.B.S PROVIDE FOR THE NON-MATERIAL NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The nature of the service which the C.A.B. provides for the individual citizen will now be considered.

The Bureaux, as we have seen, offer information—facts about a man's rights and duties—and also advice. This advice may take many forms. Sometimes it is of a simple variety differing little from information and involving, say, merely a name and an address. 'If that is your difficulty I advise you to go to the City Engineer's Office' . . . or the 'Education Officer' . . . or 'the Church Army . . . and here is the address.'

Some advice is really moral support. Thus, after a blitz, many C.A.B. workers spend a good deal of their time 'just listening'. For people whose private lives have been wrecked along with the physical structure of their homes, such a service may be of vital importance. It may turn the scales when they are swinging dangerously near to despair. And amongst all the results of enemy action, it is despair which is most to be dreaded, whether one is primarily concerned to relieve human suffering or to support public morale.

Sometimes, advice of a more active or specialist nature is needed. In such cases, where a Bureau is not fully equipped with trained personnel, it must always be ready to pass its clients on to the appropriate specialist organization. One of its main functions is to link the citizen with the best available source of help. Thus in some towns the C.A.B. has been able to refer to a Poor Man's Valuer

Service to help people to fill up the complicated forms dealing with war damage. The existence of a C.A.B. makes the need for the provision of a Poor Man's Lawyer Service more than ever apparent. And, in fact, nineteen new Poor Man's Lawyer centres had been organized in the Provinces during 1941, as a direct result of negotiations with the C.A.B. branch of the National Council of Social Service. A good many Poor Man's Lawyer schemes are organized directly by a C.A.B.

In dealing with requests for advice, it is sometimes impossible to understand the problem which is involved without knowledge of the individual's general background. Sometimes this is a lengthy business and sometimes it involves home visits.[1] In such circumstances the Bureau may often become involved in what is loosely known as case-work. This phrase is used to describe work that deals with people and situations one by one, help that is given 'retail and not wholesale'.[2] Essentially also the true case-worker must have the attitude to her client which a really good and humane doctor has to his patient. Thus the case-worker inevitably keeps precise records ('case-papers') devised to facilitate a fair analysis and ensure, in so far as it can be ensured, that the average worker does systematically what the best worker does by instinct.

All C.A.B.s deal with people one by one and to that extent all their work might be described as case-work. But the detailed analysis which is characteristic of case-work is seldom possible or in fact desirable in a C.A.B. inquiry. The Bureaux thus provide a kind of quick snack-bar service which is as useful a development in the world of social welfare as it is among restaurants.

It is clear from the handbook already quoted that N.C.S.S. policy discourages C.A.B.s from undertaking detailed case-work if an organization skilled in this delicate technique is available. Yet if the need for it arises, the C.A.B. worker must not evade the trouble and responsibility which is involved. 'Workers should try to ask only those questions which seem relevant to the matter under discussion, but if it appears that deeper difficulties exist questions over a wider field should be asked with a view to giving more comprehensive help.'[3]

For the most part the 'comprehensive help' of the C.A.B. consists in explanations and advice, moral support, or intervention with third parties. But sometimes the Bureau will uncover situations where material help is essential and yet it may be impossible to meet this need under any of the existing statutory schemes of assistance. It will then be a difficult matter for the Bureau to stop short of giving

[1] 2,184 home visits were paid by workers for Finchley C.A.B. in 1941.
[2] See Gordon Hamilton, *Theory and Practice of Social Case-Work*, p. 12.
[3] *Principles of the C.A.B. Service*, N.C.S.S.

relief itself. The official policy of the N.C.S.S. is clear on this point. A C.A.B. 'should set out to attract all kinds of citizens, rich and poor, employer and employee, worker and leisured, landlord and tenant'.[1] And for this very important reason, 'the C.A.B. should not itself administer relief. . . . The importance of disassociating the giving of relief from the giving of advice cannot be overstressed.'[2]

The extent to which C.A.B.s succeed in carrying out this line of policy differs in different places. The minority of residual cases who need relief and who yet cannot be included in any official category should, in theory, be passed on to the nearest and most appropriate general relief agency. But in some places no such agency exists. Also the individual in question may fit into none of the categories which would make it possible to refer him to any of the more specialist societies. People have an unfortunate habit of being for instance neither Scottish and so within the scope of the Royal Scottish Corporation nor Roman Catholic and so able to make application to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, or else they live in districts where neither these nor any other suitable society has a representative. Of many people who come to the Bureau it can only be said, 'This is a very common case. It is unique.'[3]

Faced under these circumstances with the desirability of separating advice-giving from relief-giving, the C.A.B. adopts a variety of expedients. At Woolwich C.A.B. the discussion of financial assistance is forbidden, but when the need for it looms up the inquirer is sent on to a special officer called the Personal Service Officer who works on behalf of the Council of Social Service rather than on behalf of the C.A.B. In some places a separate room is set aside for inquirers in need of relief. The chief difficulties in this connexion arise in small towns where staffing arrangements and accommodation are limited. The necessary differentiation of functions is much easier in the large towns or wherever there is a large Bureau. In any case the principle upon which the C.A.B.s are founded is crystal clear. 'Whatever happens we do not believe that the C.A.B.s should themselves give relief.'[4]

In adopting this policy the N.C.S.S. has shown itself in tune with the temper of the time. Vigorous efforts have been made to secure a break with the old tradition of charity and its unfortunate associations with patronage and condescension. Although a complete break is not easy it is within the range of possibility because the war has forced the statutory authorities to advance further than they have ever done before towards meeting the basic material needs of distressed citizens. C.A.B.s are the lineal descendants of the charitable societies, case-work bodies, and relief organizations which necessarily

[1] *ibid.* [2] *C.A.B. Handbook*, p. 1. [3] S. P. Grundy.
[4] N.C.S.S. Memorandum, 1942.

flourished in the nineteenth century. But, because the State is now shouldering more responsibility for material needs, voluntary organizations can concentrate increasingly on non-material needs. The Bureaux give advice and moral support where their predecessors gave relief. They are popular because they have found for themselves the sphere of voluntary activity which is 'right', granted the present advanced stage of provision by the State. This is a second point of significance in their present standing and popularity.

3. C.A.B.S PROVIDE CONTACT BETWEEN THE STATUTORY AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The growing burden of responsibility which is shouldered by the State inevitably involves also a growth in the control of the State over the individual. With every new regulation the vast pile of officialdom towers higher and higher above the ordinary citizen. It becomes increasingly difficult and increasingly necessary, therefore, for the statutory authorities to know how their regulations work out in practice.

Here the Bureaux have a vital contribution to make. C.A.B. workers not only collect and distribute information to their clients. They also gain an intimate knowledge of the impact of many of the social services on the individual. And as with the classic case-work of the C.O.S. it is intended that this knowledge shall be put to practical use. According to the official N.C.S.S. pamphlet, *The Principles of the C.A.B. Service*, one of their objects is 'to collect information on the kinds of problems which are at any specific time causing difficulty and distress and to bring such problems to the notice of those who have power to prevent and solve them'. This aspect of the Bureaux' work appears to be of outstanding importance. In Bristol, 'difficult cases are followed up and as satisfactory a solution as possible reached. In this way information has been obtained about special needs and injustices', which is then passed on to the C.A.B. Committee or to the Bristol Council of Social Service which 'make it their business to consider the wider implications of the . . . inquiries . . . and to press for these injustices to be remedied and gaps in social provision to be filled in'.[1] Again, for many months in the early part of the war, the Community Council of Lancashire analysed the material collected in all their Bureaux and circulated the resulting reports to high officials of Government departments and local authorities in the district. By this means many misunderstandings were smoothed out and many valuable adjustments made. Pressure based upon first-hand information can also be exercised centrally owing to the national organization of the Bureaux through the N.C.S.S. Thus there is a Central C.A.B. Committee composed of

[1] Bristol report to the Nuffield College Survey.

representatives of local C.A.B.s in each of the twelve Civil Defence Regions, and this meets bi-monthly to consider matters of policy. Also, nearly all the Regions have a C.A.B. Regional Advisory Committee on which sit representatives of the local C.A.B.s and also of Government departments, central and local. This network of committees provides a valuable method by which the leverage of first-hand experience may be utilized for the general good.[1]

C.A.B.s often perform other vital functions as between the statutory authority and the individual. They may act in the capacity of a friendly champion. When the 'small man' takes his trouble to the Town Hall or the Employment Exchange, he will probably be dealt with by a junior official. Where such an official finds the case is complicated his easiest way out is to give a negative. It is obviously safer to disappoint the undistinguished citizen on the other side of the counter than to risk the displeasure of a senior officer by going one fraction beyond the letter of the law. Many C.A.B.s have already done valuable work in bringing complaints arising from situations of this nature to the notice of the heads of a department. The Bureau worker in such cases is in a very much stronger position than the individual. He can treat with senior officials as with his peers—and these senior officials are more sure of their standing and so in a better position to interpret the law generously. Moreover, as a distinguished third party backed by a representative committee, the Bureau worker will obviously get a better hearing than the individual whose sense of grievance will often lead him to put his case in the worst light. When a complaint comes through the C.A.B., it will not appear as an accusation from outside. The City Housing Manager will lift his telephone receiver—'Ah, it is that good fellow Brown from the C.A.B. office'. They have a word about the wife's cold, and then, 'what I really rang you up about is this man John Citizen. He came to our C.A.B. office this morning. There seems to have been a bit of misunderstanding over his rent. . . .' At once the official and the social worker are consulting together about something in their show that has gone wrong. 'Right you are. I'll see him myself at 12.0 to-morrow.' By such championship, John Citizen's troubles will be smoothed out with the minimum of official friction.

C.A.B.s may be useful, too, in the reverse process of helping the individual to realize that the official also is human, that he is playing a necessary part in the life of the community, and that there is some justification for the regulations which he administers, however hard their bearing in an individual case. Sometimes officials are too busy to explain why a particular action has been taken. Sometimes they

[1] Various changes in War Service Grants owe something to the evidence collected and pooled in this way.

communicate their decisions in writing, and official language may be incomprehensible or may strike a chilly note. In situations of this kind the C.A.B. worker may help to dissipate such causes of dissatisfaction as are based on a misunderstanding. Granted the advanced degree of State control which has been achieved in recent years, such work as this is of vital importance. 'Democracy face to face with hugeness'[1] needs just such a device for adjusting the machine to the individual and the individual to the machine. The Bureaux have here discovered and are meeting a fundamental contemporary need. This is the third reason for their present popularity.

THE FUTURE

Certain factors in the post-war situation would seem likely to diminish the need for and increase the difficulties of the Bureaux. The end of air-raids and the gradual withdrawal of rationing will lead inevitably to a diminution in the number of inquiries. However much a social security plan may be modified in the course of its passage through Parliament, there can be no doubt that it will lead to a sorting out and tidying up of the present machinery of the social services. It is likely, therefore, that there may be fewer anomalies to be dealt with through voluntary agencies. In the long run, also, advances in education may affect the future of C.A.B.s. At present C.A.B. workers spend a good deal of their time filling in forms and writing letters for citizens who only need more education to make them capable of doing such things for themselves. Again, in the long run, the custom may be ended of putting the junior office boy 'on the counter' in municipal and other statutory offices. When this happens there may be fewer misunderstandings to be cleared up.

After the war it is possible that the financial and staffing difficulties of the Bureaux may also increase. In 1941 and 1942, the Ministry of Health made grants to the N.C.S.S. of £36,000, of which £25,000 was distributed to local Bureaux, and £11,000 was devoted to headquarter expenses, and the salaries and expenses of eight Travelling Officers. This grant is based on the Government's recognition of the need for maintaining the public morale. It might be maintained that the justification for such a grant was lessened when times became normal. Local authorities have in some cases made grants to the local C.A.B. More often they have supplied a variety of facilities—accommodation, light and heat, the telephone, and the assistance of junior staff. Some of these arrangements have been improvised on a friendly and informal basis, and it is possible that they might be disallowed in peace-time when the need will be less crudely obvious. Yet without some kind of statutory assistance for

[1] See G. D. H. Cole, 'Democracy face to face with Hugeness' (*The Christian News-Letter*, July 16th, 1941).

basic material needs it is difficult to see how C.A.B.s could survive. Voluntary workers have enrolled with the C.A.B.s as a form of war service. Will they be so ready to work under the less romantic circumstances of peace? Again, C.A.B.s are likely to have rivals when the war is over. As soon, for instance, as the political parties are unleashed, they will presumably begin to reorganize the information bureaux and vigilance committees which have lapsed in many cases since the war.

Lastly, the Beveridge plan would seem to envisage a universal system of advice bureaux as part of the statutory provision, and this might seem to make voluntary C.A.B.s unnecessary. 'The social security system,' says the Report, 'even when unified and simplified in the way proposed here, must still be a machine with many parts and complications to deal with all the complexities of need and variety of persons. Citizens cannot be left to find out all about it by reading official pamphlets. . . . There should be in every local Security Office an Advice Bureau to which every person in doubt or difficulty can be referred and which will be able to tell him not only about the official provision for social security but about all the other organizations—official, semi-official, and voluntary, central or local—which may be able to help him in his difficulty.'[1]

Any consideration of the future of the C.A.B. service must obviously take account of this recommendation in the Beveridge Report. It appears, however, that the acceptance of this recommendation would make the continued existence of a voluntary C.A.B. service more, rather than less, necessary. The particulars given in the paragraph which has been quoted suggest that the official Bureaux should be more exactly described as Information Bureaux. Their purpose as envisaged by Sir William Beveridge is to tell people about the complexities of the official system and to pass the individual in difficulty on to whatever organization may be able to help him. This is not advice-giving in the full sense of the word. There are many people who want information not just about the official provision which is available, but rather about themselves. However perfect the official system, there will still be a place for patient and detailed work where the factors to be sorted out are rather psychological than administrative. As Professor Levy has said, 'it is one of the great tragedies of social life that constantly new combinations of misfortune, ill chance, and also of self-caused distress arise'. A statutory authority, however reformed, must work within defined limits. There are no limits to human distress or to the varieties of confusion in which the individual may become involved. Only a voluntary

[1] *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, by Sir William Beveridge, para. 397, Cmd. 6404, 1942. *Cf.* also the information service provided by the Ministry of Labour.

body can have terms of reference wide and general enough to meet the needs of the whole man.

Let us then, in the large centres of population, have voluntary Advice Bureaux as well as official Information Bureaux, and let the two co-operate to the fullest degree. But it is vital that the voluntary element in the 'Citizens' Advice Bureaux' should be retained and kept distinct from any official provision for information. The strength of the C.A.B.s lies in the fact that, with certain regrettable exceptions, they are backed by a committee representative of all sections of the local community. This aspect of their organization must continue and be further developed. They must be organized by the community for the community, and so have a right to act as friendly local watch-dogs safeguarding the interests of the individual in his dealings with the statutory authority. The local C.A.B.s must also, as now, have machinery enabling their first-hand knowledge of the consumers' needs to be pooled and made effective nationally. Some people will prefer to deal with their troubles in this sphere through their own political organization, through a trade union official or through some other club or society, and there is obviously need for the work of many agents. It is childish to wish to sweep away one form of a good thing because another form of it is also good.

For C.A.B.s generally, practical difficulties of finance and accommodation should be met through the continuance and increase of the existing Government grant. The grant should not reach the Bureaux directly, since this might imply too much official control. Also it should be distributed as now through a national agency such as the N.C.S.S., which would therefore have a leverage on the local C.A.B.s for the encouragement of a high standard of work and training. At present, the N.C.S.S. grants annual certificates to C.A.B.s which reach a certain 'standard of approval' and grant-aid is dependent on the attainment of such certificates. Some such arrangement as this should be continued, even though it presents the national body with a weapon which is not easy to handle. Also, as at present arranged, Government grants to individual Bureaux should not exceed fifty per cent of total expenditure in order that they should be dependent to this extent on local support, either from local authorities or voluntary subscriptions. The N.C.S.S. should receive ample grants, however, to enable it to encourage schemes for training voluntary and full-time workers, and for the maintenance of a staff of Travelling Officers.

A full-time trained social worker should be appointed as king-pin in every large Bureau, or at least in each Bureau which is central to a group of lesser Bureaux. The primary (but not the only) task of such professional workers would be, with the help of the Travelling Officers, to stimulate and train voluntary workers. Such training

should be regarded as practical training in citizenship, and should merge into other schemes for increasing local interest in local government, and in the social services generally. It might well be made available also to officials of the Ministry of Social Security. The co-operation of the Social Science departments of the Universities should everywhere be enlisted.

If some such scheme as this were adopted, it is unlikely that there would be a lack of voluntary workers available. The C.A.B.s are already distinguished in that they have attracted to social work a large number of people who had never before undertaken voluntary service. They have done this because, as has been noted, the Bureaux are essentially contemporary in their principles and in their methods of work. A C.A.B. is one of the devices by which the individual can be made aware not only of his rights, but also of his responsibilities. It is a bridge to connect the citizen, whether C.A.B. worker or C.A.B. client, with the State, and a method therefore of breaking down the distinction between 'them' (the Government) and 'us' (private people). As such, voluntary C.A.B.s have a vital and permanent part to play and one that will draw to them all the workers they need—provided only that post-war Britain is predominantly democratic rather than totalitarian in character.

PART III

CHAPTER 12

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRYMAN

By A. F. C. BOURDILLON

THERE are more than 11,000 rural parishes in England and Wales; none of them are identical in circumstance or traditions; their social set-up differs in each case, therefore, and it is a bold writer who will generalize on the subject. Yet it seems possible to risk one generalization: thirty years ago there were very few voluntary organizations in existence in country districts; to-day there are many.

Authoritative statements made in 1919 and 1942 respectively can be cited in support of this estimate of the position. The first is quoted from a Report on Adult Education presented to the Ministry of Reconstruction, 'before the war' (of 1914–18). It says, 'Organized activity of a vigorous kind was not a prominent feature of rural life. . . . Rural life is defective in that organization which is so marked a feature of town life.' A second quotation is taken from a study of present-day rural conditions made by Mr. W. H. Pedley.[1] 'There are innumerable social organizations in the countryside,' he says, 'some national, others regional, and others parochial, and all striving to make life for the rural inhabitants more pleasant and valuable.'

How can this marked contrast in village society at these two dates be explained?

VILLAGE ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE 1914

Before the last war such voluntary organizations as existed in rural areas appear to have been of three main types. The most fully developed had either a religious or else an insurance basis, and in each case many of them were branches of national societies. Such, for instance, amongst the religious groups were the Girls' Friendly Society, founded in 1875, and the Mothers' Union, founded in 1876. The village church and the village chapel[2] also linked their members in groups which had social as well as religious implications, and linked them to some extent with the outside world and with important national organizations. Similarly the great Orders of

[1] W. H. Pedley, *Labour on the Land*, p. 142.

[2] 'The Dissenting Chapel has been an outstanding example of associative life, quite apart from its special religious functions, in many large agricultural parishes', A. W. Ashby, *The Rural Problem*, Social Reconstruction Pamphlet No. 1, 1916.

Friendly Societies (Oddfellows, Druids, Foresters, etc.) had lodges in many parts of the country which were often genuinely local centres of village life and which yet were parts of a larger organization.

For the rest, village groups were mostly spontaneous developments entirely local in scope and not affiliated to any outside society. Such were the cricket clubs and flower shows which replaced the Harvest Homes and Village Feasts of earlier days. Such also were the village clubs which were fairly common in the early years of this century. Mr. A. W. Ashby tells us that, in 1916, one village in every four in Berkshire had such a club, and in his pamphlet written in that year suggests it as a new idea that they should be linked together. 'A county federation for developing such clubs is an experiment which might be made by persons of education and broad outlook on life.'[1] The village inn was frequently the headquarters of other purely local and spontaneous groups whose object was not social uplift but the amelioration of harsh economic circumstances by schemes of mutual aid. In many places, little groups of farm workers formed Rat and Sparrow Clubs; they co-operated, that is, in chasing rats and netting sparrows, thereby earning a few shillings to supplement inadequate wages. Slightly more organization was required in the pig clubs and cow clubs which evolved in a number of places. There was a Pig Insurance Society started at Woodford in Wiltshire, for instance, which, in 1911, had spread to several villages and with an entrance fee of 6*d.* had accumulated £50 for the relief of its members.[2] Thirty years ago, also, Sick and Dividing Clubs still survived in many places. Their members contributed weekly sums, drew benefits when they were sick or, if these were not needed, divided out the pool at the end of each year.

Since the last war there has been a decline in the importance of all these older types of village organizations. Those based upon the churches, in the first place, have dropped to a position of secondary importance. This is due in part to a tendency in the Churches during the last thirty years to adopt a policy of peaceful penetration. Individual Church members, that is, have been less inclined than formerly to establish a specifically Church organization on any occasion when their social conscience is aroused. Instead they have usually initiated or joined societies which are open to all men of good-will, whatever their religious persuasion. Social organizations established primarily for insurance purposes have also diminished in value

[1] A. W. Ashby, *op. cit.*

[2] F. G. Heath, *British Rural Life and Labour*, 1911. According to figures given by Mr. A. W. Ashby, there were in 1914 some 1,080 village pig clubs and 157 cow clubs in England and Wales, and these, says the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (1919) 'are to-day perhaps the most active of village societies. . . .' 'Until recently, except in the northern and eastern counties, spontaneous rural organization was rare in any other form than that of village friendly societies.'

or disappeared altogether. This is a direct and obvious result of the coming of the National Health Insurance system. 'The Village Sick Club,' wrote Mr. Ashby as early as 1916, 'was no longer self-organized or self-governed. It had either disappeared before the insurance-man of the great companies, or it had become attached to one of the great orders of friendly societies.'[1] Finally, the small spontaneous local groups are relatively less important. Without the stimulus of outside affiliation they are naturally short-lived and they have had little to offer which would ensure survival when the individual enthusiasts who founded them died off.

Thirty years ago, then, voluntary organizations did not go very far in meeting the needs of the countryman. And indeed such developments had only recently become necessary. The community of the self-sufficient English village had evolved round the responsibility of landed gentry for their tenants and of farmers for their workpeople. Ideally in these circumstances personal links were so strong that formal organization was not greatly needed. The lady of the manor, the parson, or the big farmer between them initiated flower shows, cricket matches, or Sunday School treats, or saw to it that blind Mrs. Hodge and her crippled son John had some kind of nursing and a reliable supply of soup at least twice a week.

But by the early twentieth century this position was radically altering. The economic self-sufficiency of the village had long disappeared. A thousand years ago Hogs Norton produced practically all its own requirements except millstones and salt. By 1914 there was almost nothing which the people of Hogs Norton needed that did not reach them via the wholesaler's van. Sometimes it was difficult even to get local milk or vegetables. The social integration of the village under its traditional leaders was also waning. The old aristocratic families were moving off to mend their fortunes in the 'City'. Even when they survived they moved about more easily and their local links were correspondingly weakened. The new rich who replaced them sometimes lacked any sense of social responsibility and sometimes were so enamoured of their new role as lords of the manor that they over-played the part, indulging in forms of philanthropy which belonged more properly to the eighteenth century. In any case they seldom became an integral part of village society. Similarly there was a tendency in some places for the old links which bound the farmer with his workpeople to weaken so that their relationship became increasingly a matter of wages and hours.[2] Above all there was a growth of independence amongst the men who came back from the war and amongst the newly enfranchised women which made the

[1] A. W. Ashby, *op. cit.* The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, quoted above, is also emphatic on this point.

[2] See H. E. Poole, *Perspectives for Countrymen.*

old personal basis of rural society unacceptable. The village community was in fact disintegrating and it had to be rebuilt in modern terms if it was to be rebuilt at all.

The significance of voluntary organizations in this connexion is that they have often made an important contribution to the process of re-integration.[1] But even where this has clearly happened it has seldom been in the minds of those responsible for any particular organization. Much more limited objectives have usually been sought and some of these must now be considered. A beginning will be made with those societies, formed largely amongst townspeople, with the protection of the countryside as their primary aim.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

It is easy to explain the popularity of these groups. As towns have grown in size, town life has become ever more mechanized and by reaction there has been a growing hunger for country things and 'natural' occupations. The rapid development before this war of riding schools, the popularity with the general reader of books by A. G. Street, Adrian Bell, Henry Williamson, and Scott Watson, the mounting subscription list of the *Countryman* (established in 1927): these are straws which show the direction in which the wind has been blowing. It is platitudinous to remark on the strong feeling for nature which has always been characteristic of the people of these islands, but in recent years this feeling has been intensified because the countryside has been in danger. Efforts to solve the country's housing problem resulted in the building of four million houses between the two wars—and this produced a new problem, the urbanization of the countryside. The towns were spilling over into rural areas at an alarming pace. Sir George Stapledon estimated in 1935 that if urbanization and the reversion of permanent grass to rough grazings continued at the pace set since 1921, then 'there would be little or no agricultural land in the proper meaning of the word in England in 400 years'. And since the wastage was greatest in districts near the great towns 'at this rate our grandchildren will witness the end of farming in Surrey'.[2] The vast increase in motor transport largely explains this process and in innumerable other ways it has endangered the beauty of the countryside. Professor Patrick Abercrombie, writing in 1926, speaks of 'the sudden outburst of the motor bus. . . .' 'The immediate physical assault upon the landscape by motoring,' he says, 'can indeed in no wise be compared

[1] Only slight reference is made in this chapter to the activities of the Rural Community Councils which now exist in twenty-nine administrative counties. Some description of their work appears in Chapter 10. A full study of them, under the title *Voluntary Organizations in Rural Areas* by the late Dr. Henry Mess, is published in the *Political Quarterly* for January–March 1943, Vol. XIV, No. 1.

[2] R. G. Stapledon, *The Land, Now and To-morrow*, 1935.

with the scars inflicted by the railways but the complete permeation of the country is more thorough.'[1]

The change which was going on endangered the countryman's livelihood and the townsman's holiday retreat. As a result, men and women from both groups united to form innumerable voluntary organizations for the defence of the countryside.

The societies created for this purpose in the post-war years followed in the honourable tradition of a number of older societies, each of which had risen to meet some new danger to the countryside. Several of these still exist and flourish; foremost amongst them is the Commons, Footpaths, and Open Spaces Society, founded in 1865. The first concern of this society was the defence of the London Commons which were disappearing fast under the hands of the Inclosure Commission. Soon the society was fighting also for rural commons.[2] Since its foundation the society has watched and secured emendations in the public interest in every bill dealing with common land and open spaces,[3] and has itself been the instigator of several important measures in this sphere.[4] In later years it has worked for the preservation of village greens and open spaces generally and for rights of way, all of which were in danger from the spread of housing into the countryside and from the development of intensive farming. Some measure of the effectiveness of this society is shown by the fact that it has been instrumental in saving between 500,000 and 600,000 acres for the public. At the present time there are approximately 1,680,000 acres of common land in England and Wales. For about a third of this total, then, the public is largely indebted to the efforts of this society. Yet every acre, it must be realized, has been won as the result of a hard struggle. When a lord of a manor wishes to enclose some of the common land in his district he usually has a very strong financial incentive for he probably wants to sell the land at a comparatively high price for building development. When he is opposed by the Commons Society he is opposed by people whose fighting power might well be weakened by diffusion, for the pecuniary interests of its protagonists are not involved and no single individual has a great deal at stake. It is an uneven fight between the public interest in an amenity and a private vested interest in profit-making. Yet, through the instrumentality of this society and the experts

[1] L. P. Abercrombie, *The Preservation of Rural England*, 1926.

[2] And fighting is the word. On one occasion, in 1866, it sent 120 navvies down to Berkhamsted by a specially chartered midnight train to remove two miles of iron railings which had been wrongfully erected round the Common by the Lord of the Manor, and the Society won the resulting case. Eversley, *Commons, Forests, and Footpaths*, 1910, p. 52.

[3] e.g. Commons Act of 1876. 'It was generally admitted that no government measure had ever been so altered by the persistent efforts of a small minority of determined and instructed members.' Eversley, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[4] e.g. the Access to Mountains Act, and the Rights of Way Act, 1932.

which it has been able to employ, a very important contribution has been made to the needs of the countryman and to the country needs of every townsman as well.

One other of the older societies working for the defence of the countryside may be mentioned here. The unfortunate effects upon rural amenities of the development of commercial advertising led to the foundation in 1893 of Scapa (the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising). The methods and the difficulties of this society are typical of the pressure-group type of organization. The first milestone in its progress was the Advertisement Regulations Act of 1907, which gave local authorities a limited control over advertisements. Another eighteen years of hard work was required before it could secure a second Act (in 1925) to repair the defects of the first. It now became an offence to exhibit advertisements which would injuriously affect areas within the scope of by-laws made under the Act. The whole scheme was a dead letter, however, if the local authority could not be goaded into making these by-laws. Moreover, in order presumably to avoid giving commercial interests too sudden a shock, these by-laws were not to become operative until five years after they had been put on the Statute Book. In view of the timid and hesitant character of this legislation, pressure by the members of Scapa was essential locally as well as centrally. As the honorary secretary of the society expressed it, 'The cardinal doctrine of my working faith is that if we are to combat the forces making for defacement, our organization must rest in the last resort upon a basis of persistent and pervading local influence and effort'.

The Commons Society and Scapa, as well as several other of the older and surviving societies working for the defence of the countryside (e.g. the National Trust, the Ancient Monuments Society, and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings), each concentrated their efforts in certain fairly limited fields. The characteristic development of the post-war period is the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, which is a large society co-ordinating many other societies of every size and type, and able therefore to direct their total and combined force wherever a new danger appears. At its foundation in 1927 the Council was composed of 42 constituent bodies and 41 affiliated societies. In 1942 it had 42 constituent bodies, 160 affiliated societies, and 30 local branches.

The C.P.R.E. came into existence because, as usual, there was a heavy time-lag between a new social need and the legislation designed to meet that need. The post-war boom in housing, coupled with the ease of motor transport, produced a 'rash of little red houses' over the green fields of England. But 'planning' until 1932 was interpreted as 'town planning'; it was designed to control building in areas either already developed or about to be developed. The Town Planning

Acts of 1909, 1919, 1923, and 1925, aimed primarily at reducing density; they were the product of minds still obsessed with the industrial slum and dreaming of garden cities. But from the point of view of the countryside, the greatest danger in the 'twenties and 'thirties came from building which was too loose, rather than too dense—ribbon development which made the building up of a community almost impossible, and did the greatest possible harm to the greatest possible stretch of the countryside at the greatest possible expense. 'Town planners and sociologists,' said Professor Patrick Abercrombie in 1926, 'were caught unawares by ribbon development.' The C.P.R.E., by lectures, pamphlets, and books, by exhibitions, and by canalizing the efforts of experts, sought to rouse public opinion to the dangers which assailed the countryside from this new direction.

Some few significant elements may be distinguished amongst the many societies which are members of or affiliated to the C.P.R.E. There are first the protection societies pure and simple. Such presumably are the 'Tillingbourne Valley Defence Association', and the 'Association for the Preservation of Ickwell Green', and 'The Society for the Greater Beauty round Pendle'. There is a touch of nostalgia in some of these titles; they perhaps reflect a desire to keep things as they are, if not to go back to times when the country was undisturbed by urban elements. In fact, of course, as Sir George Stapledon points out, the country can no longer 'be the prerogative of the few —that happy time for the favoured few has definitely ended; it is useless to resist'.

Luckily there is a second element amongst the societies linked with the C.P.R.E.—the societies which aim at preserving the countryside by teaching town dwellers how they may invade it without injuring it. Such are the many holiday societies which have developed in post-war years, the Caravan Club, the Holiday Fellowship, and the Ramblers' Association, for instance, and above all the Youth Hostels Association.[1] All these societies insist upon the duties inherent in the townsman's privilege of having access to the countryside and encourage their members to learn to show consideration towards the farming community, to realize the offensiveness of litter and of leaving gates unfastened or doing harm to crops.

It is significant that within the C.P.R.E. there are grouped a number of organizations whose interests, at least on a short view, are likely to be in conflict with each other. Thus amongst constituent bodies are the Travel and Industrial Development Association, the Institute of Builders, the Town and Country Planning Association, the Ramblers' Association, and the Automobile Association. This

[1] Whose foundation in 1930, as Sir G. Stapledon remarks, was 'an act of pure genius', *The Land*, 1935, p. 268.

juxtaposition is a typical and important feature of the machinery of voluntaryism, and wherever it occurs something has been done to relieve some of the stresses to which society is subject. Even if some of the organizations which have been mentioned use the council table of the C.P.R.E. as a battle-ground, their struggle will surely be less bitter than if they met only in the ordinary way of business. The C.P.R.E. will be a reminder at least of what they have in common, despite their divergent sectional interests.

The primary object of most of the 'protection' societies[1] which have been cited is the benefit of the town dweller. But these societies also benefit the countryman, and that not merely in a negative sense. They help to protect the country from spoliation and also, by bringing townspeople to take an intelligent interest in the country, they increase the countryman's pride in himself and in his form of life. As a result of long years of depression in the agricultural industry and because of the migration of young workers into the towns and the general disintegration of village life there was a danger that this proper pride might be broken down as, to a much more acute degree, it was being broken down within the mining community. One of the factors tending to build up the countryman's self-respect was the increased interest shown by the townsman in country affairs. This is the true significance of the 'protection' societies. They did not merely defend certain fair acres, they did something to build up that self-respect without which a truly modern village community could not evolve.

ORGANIZATIONS DERIVING FROM THE WAR OF 1914–18

The upheaval caused by the first Great War resulted directly in the formation of a number of organizations both for men and women. Outstanding amongst these are the Women's Institutes, which have developed on a very large scale. After only ten years of work one in every eight countrywomen in England and Wales was a member of an Institute.[2] In March 1942 there were 5,852 Institutes in existence and their individual membership reached a total of 294,971.

In view of the outstanding importance of this movement it will be worth devoting some space to considering a few of the reasons for its success.

1. The circumstances under which the Women's Institutes were founded contributed in the first place to this success. The earliest Institutes were founded in England and Wales in 1915 and 1916 on the initiative of private individuals and under the wing of an existing

[1] It will be realized that many of the societies grouped here are not merely 'defence' societies. With the C.P.R.E., for instance, 'preservation' includes the idea of improvement and it does not hesitate to encourage good building on the right sites.

[2] J. W. Robertson Scott in the *Countryman*, April 1927.

voluntary organization;[1] but from the beginning there was close co-operation with the statutory departments. Indeed, from 1917 to 1919, the Board of Agriculture[2] made itself directly responsible for propaganda for the formation of new Institutes and employed seven organizers on the work. The Board also made grants towards the expenses of the central organization of the new movement, the National Federation of Women's Institutes. This body received grants which rose to £10,000 in 1919 and continued on a diminishing scale until 1927. During the early 1920's the organization was looking forward to the day when it should be completely self-supporting, but was not apparently regarding this as a day of deliverance. Indeed, in 1919, when faced with a choice between accepting large subscriptions from private individuals or small subscriptions from members, supplemented by a Government grant, the Executive of the N.F.W.I. preferred the latter alternative since 'large subscriptions could not be accepted without injuring the tone of the movement'.

Circumstances arising from the war explain these happy relations between the voluntary and the statutory. It was the U-boat menace of 1917 which gave countrywomen their opportunity. The nation was in urgent need of more home-grown food and of more careful use of the food that was available. The Government of the day was ready to encourage anyone who would assist in this vital work. Under the stress of war this group of citizens did not fear State aid, and so they were carried through the early years when it is difficult for any voluntary body to be self-supporting. In addition, a tradition of good relations with the statutory authorities was established which has continued unbroken throughout their history.

2. The activities of the early Women's Institutes were directed almost entirely to increased food production and improved housewifery. Only gradually were wider and more cultural subjects introduced into the programmes of monthly meetings. When the war was over the extreme urgency of the practical work of the Institutes naturally declined, but again the tradition established in the early days of the movement has had its effect. The first object of every Institute is still to produce good housewives, to see that its members are better at making jam, better at bottling fruit, more skilled in all the arts of the home. This is psychologically sound. Women's Institutes have made an important contribution to the social needs of countrywomen because their efforts are broadly based on the more immediate and material interests of their members. 'Feed the brute', says the traditional wise woman to the bride looking

[1] The Agricultural Organization Society. The first W.I.s were established in Canada and the idea of them was brought to this country by Mrs. Arthur Watt.

[2] Or more precisely, the Women's Branch of the Food Production Department of the Board of Agriculture.

for conjugal happiness. 'Feed the brute efficiently,' says the Women's Institute, and ensures the devotion of its members.

3. But Women's Institute schemes go far beyond housewifery. The attention of their members is continually drawn to the outside world, to the needs of the village as a whole, and to the world beyond the village as well. Resolutions are passed and acted upon on every conceivable subject of local interest. 'The bus-stop is inconvenient for passengers living beyond the church, and would the bus company consider moving it 100 yards farther up the road, where those waiting can shelter in Mr. Higgins's barn?' . . . 'The ditch beyond Brown's shop is filled with stagnant water; will the Parish Council see that it is cleaned?' From such resolutions it is an easy step to the discussion of larger local government and Parliamentary affairs.

4. The administrative machinery of the Women's Institute movement is extremely successful, for within its ranks the difficult problem of the relations between the individual branch and the regional and national groups seems to have been solved. Emphasis is laid continually on the fact that it is the Institute itself which is the vital unit upon which the whole structure of the movement depends. Thus, the central event of the Women's Institute year is the Annual Meeting, to which every Institute in the country sends a representative and at which every Institute is able to propose resolutions. The meeting is sometimes described as a 'Parliament of countrywomen', but in practice it is less successful as a representative assembly than as a social function of a special kind. Each member who attends is expected to bring back a precise account of the matters discussed and the decisions taken. But she will do more than this. Sitting with thousands of other women in this gathering, for which the Albert Hall is already too small, she will have direct experience of membership of a great national movement. Consciousness of this is not easily expressed in words, but the stimulus which it imparts will have an effect on most of those who attend, and, since it is customary never to send the same delegate twice, the influence of the meeting is considerable.

Whilst the basic importance of the village unit is always stressed, the National Federation ensures the unity of the movement by offering ample advice and leadership. An Institute cannot be formed 'from above', since it is laid down in the constitution that at least twenty-five women living in a particular village must state their wish to form such a body, but also their wish cannot be implemented except by an officially appointed organizer sent down by the County Federation of Women's Institutes. This organizer will explain the aims, objects, and usual activities of Institutes, and she will pay a second visit to see that it is working on the right lines. It will be her business to explain that 'within the framework provided by the Rules

each Institute must decide its own character and develop in the direction most helpful to the village in which it is formed'. The National Federation has seen to it that the individual Institute, and the County Federation, will find it worth their while to keep in close touch with the central organization. Thus, trained organizers are available to give advice on agriculture and marketing, drama, music, handicrafts, education, and international affairs, and every County Federation has the right to one visit a year from a member of the Executive of the National Federation. A whole network of links connects the National Federation, the County Federations, and the individual Institute, and by this means some unity of standard is secured whilst the individuality of each Institute is also preserved.

These, then, are some of the reasons why Women's Institutes have made such an important contribution to present-day rural life. Dr. McIntyre, after twenty years' experience of rural Devon, and after investigating the voluntary organizations in that county, says that Women's Institutes '. . . have become part of the organic structure of village society'. It may be claimed that they have done this at the cost of accepting the established order, but nevertheless they have modified that order very considerably and always for the better. No other rural voluntary organization can compare with them in importance.

The last war produced two other organizations which have had some influence on village life—the British Legion and Toc H. Neither of these bodies had the all-pervasive effect of the Women's Institute; they were, in any case, not specifically rural organizations, and the scale of their development in country areas is not comparable to the scale of Women's Institute development, but their contribution should not be ignored.

The British Legion and Toc H both came into existence in order to carry over into peace some of the advantageous by-products of war. Above all, they sought to perpetuate the sense of comradeship which developed to such a memorable degree under the pressure of extreme danger on the Western Front. The aim of the British Legion was 'to obtain justice for those who had suffered, to perpetuate the memory of the fallen, and to retain and develop the great spirit of comradeship which animated all ranks at the Front'.[1] In Toc H 'those who had known the glorious possibilities of comradeship and service in war-days saw . . . a way of living which offered the same possibilities of friendship and service as well as adventure, but without the beastliness of war'.[2]

The two organizations sought to express these comparable aims in very different ways. A society devoted to the encouragement of comradeship obviously cannot tolerate the extremes of poverty

[1] *Handbook of the British Legion*, 1940. [2] *Toc H Defined*, 1937.

amongst its members. The British Legion has concentrated mainly on the economic needs of all ex-servicemen whether members or non-members. 'The essential work of the Legion is to help ex-servicemen and their dependants',[1] and 'help' here mainly means help in finding employment, and obtaining adequate pensions or making grants itself to individuals. Its expenditure has been on a large scale. The annual income of the Legion in 1941–2 for benevolent purposes passed the three-quarters of a million mark, and Poppy Day has now produced for the British Legion benevolent work the grand total of £9,594,077 since its foundation in 1921.[2] The Legion acts in fact primarily as a relief society for one section of the population.

Toc H aims at including a cross-section of the community within each unit, with representatives of all types of social class, occupation, religious denomination, and age-group.[3] The units are seldom large, for the whole idea is to achieve the atmosphere of a family and to avoid the red tape which is inevitable in a large organization. Each group has a 'Padre' who is not the leader but rather in the position of a naval chaplain, 'the friend of all aboard'. There is also a 'Pilot', who directs the teaching, or, to use Toc H vernacular, the 'thinking fairly', and a 'jobmaster', who looks for opportunities of service to the community and allots them to different members. In the past, country units of Toc H have made and staffed summer camps for boys from the towns, they have shared in starting some of the earliest Youth Hostels, collected and staffed hospital libraries, produced men as scout-masters, and helped in boys' clubs of various types. Their participation in these activities often goes unnoticed, for service, in the view of this organization, is inherent in the Christian way of life, and it does not call therefore for particular mention and certainly not for commendation or publicity.

In their different ways the Legion and Toc H have both done something to enrich village society. The Legion is concerned with one section of the community only, and it makes no special effort to break down the class divisions which are reflected in military rank. The activities of Toc H are akin to those of a dynamo, which may be harnessed in any of a dozen directions. However much more complete the system of statutory social services becomes, there will always be opportunities for Toc H service. But the Legion covers a sphere which will diminish as State services become more adequate.

It is interesting to consider why organizations deriving from the war had more effect amongst countrywomen than amongst countrymen. Women suffer more from the disadvantages of rural life, where these exist, than men, and they have fewer compensations. Men at

[1] *Handbook of the British Legion*, 1940.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1941–2.

[3] There is a women's section called the Toc H League of Women Helpers, but it is not so widespread as the men's and its country units are very much fewer.

least have an open-air life, but for women domestic work is much the same whether in town or country, except that in the country it may well be more onerous since public utilities are usually less adequate. Moreover, before 1914 countrymen were not so completely lacking in social organizations as were countrywomen. Friendly Societies, village clubs, pig clubs, and cow clubs, for instance, catered almost exclusively for men and youths. The village inn always satisfied some aspects of the countryman's social needs, whereas women, whose working life might be more solitary, did not until recent years customarily join in this form of sociability. Whatever the reason, there was certainly less drive and a less universal appeal in the groups which evolved after the last war amongst countrymen than amongst countrywomen. In a curiously prophetic passage, B. S. Rowntree, writing of village society in 1913, says 'specially among the women there is a slow disturbance, something that is not yet rebellion and not yet hope, that seems to hold the dim promise of both. The waters are troubled, though one hears some very contradictory accounts of the appearance of the angel.'[1]

THE W.V.S.

No general attempt will be made in this chapter to assess the complex of organizations and groups which have emerged in rural areas during the present war. But, although the W.V.S. is not a voluntary organization for social service according to the definition on which this book is based,[2] it is difficult to omit a brief mention of this body. Its machinery in the first place is of a type that is new in this country, so that it throws the interesting light of contrast on other organizations under review. Also, it is impossible to resist paying tribute to the heroic contribution of many individual W.V.S. members.

The story of the foundation of the W.V.S. is different from that of any of the other bodies discussed here. The W.V.S. was called into existence by the Home Secretary under powers vested in him by the A.R.P. Act of 1937. The Dowager Marchioness of Reading was invited to act as its Chairman, and in June 1938 all local authorities in Great Britain were notified officially by circular of its promotion. 'The aim of this organization,' says a later circular (February 1939), 'is to assist the Authority in the performance of its statutory duties. . . . Its local representatives should work under the direction of and in the closest co-operation with responsible officers of the Authority.' Clearly, then, the W.V.S. performs a national service and acts under Government instructions.

The nature of the task of the W.V.S. explains its methods. If an organization is to make any important contribution to national war-time needs two things are necessary—it must work quickly and its

[1] B. S. Rowntree, *How the Labourer Lives*, 1913. [2] See above, p. 3.

services must be available throughout the whole country, and not only in places where energetic individuals happen to live. The need for a complete service is met by building up the organization of the W.V.S. on the framework of the corresponding statutory authority. It is as easy to find out who is the W.V.S. official in any given area as to find out who is the appropriate local government official, and, similarly, no part of the country is outside the sphere of some one individual in the W.V.S. hierarchy. But no voluntary group could provide such universal service at speed were it to wait upon local initiative. Inevitably, with the prompt provision of certain services as their only object, initiative in this organization must come from headquarters. Thus officials are not elected by members in any locality, but are recommended by the County or Regional Staff, considered by an Appointments Committee at headquarters, and appointed by the Chairman. Similarly, it is possible for an official to be removed from office on the decision of the Chairman, who is under no obligation to explain the reason for her action. Again, if the Government or any of the Ministries want a piece of work carried out by the W.V.S., they do not have to submit their suggestion to the deliberations of a committee. There is an advisory council, but the Chairman's word will be sufficient to set the machinery in motion. Thus, any slack or unwilling minority can be ignored. Neither the headquarters nor any branch of the W.V.S. holds funds of its own, and all expenses are met either by the Government or by the appropriate local authority. The W.V.S. lacks economic independence, and for that reason no obstacles stand in the way of its taking swift and united action at the behest of the authorities. Like an army, it can be commanded and like an army it is not provided with any method of saying 'no'.

It is frequently assumed that the W.V.S. is a 'voluntary organization', and the use of the word 'voluntary' in its title encourages this idea.[1] There is, of course, no precise limitation on the meaning of the phrase. It can be used to cover any free associations of citizens for any common purpose. The only groups which must be excluded by this definition are those which, deriving their authority from the State, have power to enforce their decisions and to employ the sanctions of the law for this purpose. But it is also common to exclude any associations whose primary purpose is profit-making or economic advantage. Also on the fringe only of the groups properly termed 'voluntary organizations' are those bodies which act as the agents of some other body—machinery at their disposal, that is, for the performance of a particular piece of work. Clearly, a voluntary organization in the full sense of the phrase must be more than this. It must have a life of its own, expressed in the manner of its birth

[1] This subject is discussed also in Chapter 1, p. 3.

and through a control over its own policy and finance. The W.V.S. obviously has none of these qualifications. It is a *voluntary agency*, a piece of administrative machinery which serves the statutory authorities and enables the individual to volunteer to do war service without pay voluntarily. As such it has shown itself remarkably effective for the immediate purposes of war. But as such it is outside the strict limits of this book. These few paragraphs have been included, however, in order to clarify a subject on which there appears to be a good deal of popular confusion.

Another group of organizations more strictly within the sphere of interest of this book must now be considered—those which foster the cultural life of country people.

CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Since the last war voluntary organizations have played an important part in the development of the cultural life of the countryside. That development has taken place is proved by the growth of the reading habits of country people. In 1915, when Dr. W. G. S. Adams presented a report on rural libraries to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, he showed that only 2·5 per cent of the rural population had access to public libraries as compared with 79 per cent of townspeople. By 1927 96·3 per cent of the whole population of England and Wales was living in library areas.[1] In 1925 3½ million book issues were made by county libraries, in 1935 48½ million issues were made; in 1925 there were approximately 6,000 book distributing centres in county areas, and in 1935 there were 17,415. These figures are evidence, as Mr. Pedley points out, of a 'peaceful revolution in the habits of rural dwellers'.

The initiation of schemes which made this 'revolution' possible is due to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. In 1915 the Trustees accepted Dr. Adams's plea that the facts showed 'a great need and a great opportunity', and accordingly they offered £5,000 to the Oxfordshire County Council for the provision of a county library and for its maintenance over an experimental period of four years. The offer was refused by Oxfordshire, but accepted by Staffordshire, and it proved a success. Subsequently the offer was made to other counties, and nineteen schemes were in existence by 1919 when County Councils for the first time were enabled to adopt the Public Libraries Act. But the Trustees were too wise to imagine their work was done when permissive powers had been granted to local authorities. In 1920 they offered to pay the capital cost of libraries in all counties which applied before the end of 1925, and all but three counties did so apply.

[1] This section is largely indebted to the information given by Mr. W. H. Pedley in *Labour on the Land*, 1942.

The county library system not only owes the greater part of its original capital equipment to voluntary sources; it is also largely maintained through the help of voluntary workers. In a town library the scale of the work is such that a staff of professional librarians is obviously needed. But in the country districts small units of population are supplied with small collections of books and their management is habitually in the hands of volunteers. In Oxfordshire, for instance, there were about 250 voluntary librarians responsible for library centres in a corresponding number of villages. Each of them dealt with lots of between 50 and 500 books, which were normally changed three times a year. About 80 per cent of these librarians in 1938 were school teachers, 5 per cent were Women's Institute officers, and the remaining 15 per cent are classed as 'miscellaneous'. The librarian in every case is supposed to have the support of a small working committee, but this does not always materialize.

In many counties village librarians are invited to periodic social gatherings at the headquarters of the County Library, where they are addressed by writers and artists of distinction. Often this will be the librarian's only chance of meeting an author outside the covers of a book. Since the contact will be brief, its effects may be very elevating. The librarian goes back to his village stimulated to enjoy his responsibilities, with a widened horizon and a keener enthusiasm for the world of books. The village is richer for the work of these small functionaries and for the co-operation between statutory and voluntary effort which they represent. Moreover, where the school teacher is the village librarian he has at least the opportunity of making direct contact with parents and of doing something to break down the barrier which even in a village too often divides the school from the ordinary life of the community. The village library can be, and sometimes is, an integrating force as a centre of village life and culture.

The development of the reading habits of village people has its parallel in a remarkable development in rural music since the last war. Whether it is a new birth or the return of the native is a deep and fascinating problem well beyond the scope of this chapter. There is no doubt, however, that music was a part of village life in the last century, as it has not been until recently in this. The memories of men now sixty or seventy years old could provide galleries of pictures to support this; the old squire holding his stomach as the creaking violins in church tuned up; the adenoidal soprano's swooping rendering of *Jerusaleb, Jerusaleb*; the stolid one-song bass; the more versatile light tenor who could read a part at sight, fill in gaps with *Poor Tom Bowling* or *My pretty Jane*, and play the fiddle by the hour for younger folk to dance to; the Sunday nights in winter spent round the fire practising *Good night, good night, beloved*, and *Come*

where my love lies dreaming, with only a tuning-fork to give the note. All this musical life, such as it was, was rooted in rich and varied local traditions, which gave its character to the free harmonies of Wales, the music of the Five Towns, the brass bands of the industrial valleys, the male-voice choirs of mining districts where the woman's part is to bide in the house in case of accidents, the folk songs lingering in the quieter West Country, the devotion to oratorio in Yorkshire, and its great choral societies founded, some of them, as long ago as 1818, or 1822.

But by 1918 in most parts of England this seemed dead or dying—as far as rural music-making was concerned at least. The Yorkshire ploughboy's one idea of Paradise still might be the Hallelujah Chorus sung by massed choirs *fortissimo*, but he could no longer take a part himself, and he and his young lady spent the evenings after work going in by bus or bicycle to the pictures. And yet in this apparently dead season of decay the stirrings of a new life were already felt. The narrow view of music, as something which young ladies learned to perform on the piano, was swept aside by a social conception of music which filled its exponents, musicians like Sir Walford Davies, with an apostolic devotion and missionary zeal. They soon enlisted support of every kind, the most important single source being the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The movement might be said to have begun with an extension of eisteddfodau or festivals. Of course, the first festivals for village choirs had been founded long before, in Staffordshire in 1850 with the Lichfield Diocesan Choral Festival; in Kendal in 1880 by Mary Wakefield; and in 1905 with the Leith Hill Festival of Seven Choirs under Dr. Vaughan Williams; but in 1923, 1924, 1925, etc., there was a crop of newcomers, beginning with the L.M.S. Temperance Union, and by 1938 there were 226 Affiliated Festivals. To the constant attender at one of these newly founded festivals the revival of rural music seems to have taken place before his very eyes. In the first year, say 1924, the venture, heavily guaranteed by music patrons throughout the county, opens with a splash of speeches and votes of thanks and congratulations from the adjudicators and general high hopes. The Corn Exchange is packed with friends and relatives of performers hanging on the words and marks of the adjudicators, laughing—sometimes uneasily—at his strictures, and fervently joining in Parry's *Jerusalem* at the end of the evening. The family grocer goes up in the world's estimation because it turns out that the second treble prize-winner last night, with the lovely voice, is his youngest son. The first prize went to the oil-shop's son, a round-faced choir-boy, not because his voice was better, but because he seemed to know what to make of the song, as he knew what to make of his piano piece. A member of the Wesleyan choir was singled out for special praise; and one or two

mumbling young men given tips on voice production. The choir that came all dressed in blue and sang *Down in Yon Summer Vale* presto, just to be different, surprisingly lost a lot of marks, and everybody's musical repertory willy-nilly was enlarged by dint of repetition. Next year the oil-shop's son is singing, sight-reading, accompanying and playing the piano; and is called up to the platform and publicly patted on the back. One of the mumbling young men is 'coming on'; the member of the Wesleyan choir is offered music lessons in London; the choirs are less freakish and outlandish in their interpretations, and there are one or two violin and 'cello classes. A dashing young schoolmaster charms everyone with some little school choirs that he brings in from the country, and is later offered a choir-master's post on the strength of it. In the third, and fourth, and fifth years, elocution, reading, impromptu speaking, country dancing, and instrumental trios and quartets are added. The oil-shop's son is no longer a competitor but an usher, and brings in nervous competitors and accompanies them and adjusts piano seats and music stands in a cheerful, reassuring way. He goes to Cambridge with a music scholarship next term. The Wesleyan choir member is now an L.R.A.M. and giving lessons. One of the young men has been performing at some concerts at Eastbourne and is also acting as an usher. The male-voice choir under the young schoolmaster is as good as any out of Yorkshire, and those nice girls from Little Bilberry are really beginning to make a good string quartet. In time the dramatic work increases, small orchestras are formed, and the first competitors have developed into a company of real musicians as well as performers, teaching in the county town, giving their services free as accompanists and choir trainers. One of them, the Wesleyan choir member, inspired by Mary Ibberson's work in Hertfordshire, starts violin and recorder classes in the villages, enrolling one of the nice girls from Little Bilberry, now a qualified violinist, to help her. By 1940 they have formed a Rural Music School, with a fully qualified staff of six, advised by the C.E.M.A. traveller and the Central Rural Music Schools Council.

The Rural Music School movement, started in 1929, is still in its infancy; only six counties have schools of their own and the number of students is probably under 3,000. Their work grows steadily in spite of the shortage of teachers trained for this very exacting form of musical social work and the handicap of transport difficulties and shortage of petrol.

But if the war has delayed rural music-making, it has brought about a quite unprecedented revolution in rural music-taking, so impressive indeed that the Cumberland survey,[1] for instance, singled out as the most important 'effect of the war'—'the series of C.E.M.A.

[1] Made for Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey.

concerts, plays, and operas which are touring this isolated region. One of the drawbacks of the country has been the absence of cultural entertainment. Now we can see the Old Vic, Sadlers Wells Opera Co., hear Bratza and other famous people. It is a wonderful opportunity.' It is an opportunity which the countryside could never have had but for C.E.M.A. and the Carnegie Trust. There is a very narrow margin between the best and most established musical societies and failure. Even some of the jealously independent big Yorkshire choirs would have had to close down, as did the York Choral Competition, but for help from the Carnegie Trust; and yet the total amount given to eighteen Yorkshire choral societies between 1936 and 1941 was only just over £1,500. Similarly, C.E.M.A., by giving the Yorkshire String Players £500 guarantee for ten concerts, is opening the county to orchestral music. A big orchestra needs 2,000 seats to make a concert pay. If the only available hall seats 800 the concert is bound to be a financial loss however much of a cultural success it may be. C.E.M.A.'s grants to make up the seating capacity loss is making it possible for the country for the first time to hear first-class music.

How the inevitable assumption of financial responsibility by statutory authority for these pioneering efforts of voluntary societies will work it is difficult to forecast. Local education authorities have already contributed to the Rural Music Schools, but will have to treble their grants to keep them going after the Carnegie grants-in-aid are finally withdrawn. In reply to a memorandum submitted in March 1943, the Board of Education recognized the value of the work and urged the L.E.A.s to help financially, on the strength of the fullest possible Exchequer grant. Now that the Treasury has replaced the Pilgrim Trust in financing C.E.M.A., there have already been some changes in favour of administrative tidiness which are said to have narrowed the scope of the very personal work of the 'travellers' by holding up standards of quantity rather than quality; but there is ground for hope that the local education authorities will not make the same mistake in their dealings with Rural Music Schools and County Music Committees. The whole subject is, however, too vast for this chapter, which is only concerned to underline the revolution in country culture brought about by the efforts of voluntary societies to help the countryman to take his share in the new revival of the art of music.

A similar story, for which unfortunately there is no space here, could be told about a development of almost equal proportions in the field of rural drama. Once again local enthusiasm has been stimulated and established by national voluntary organizations and the great trusts. In this case the N.C.S.S. with the help of the Rural Community Councils had made a specially valuable contribution,

and through its work for village halls in many cases helped to provide the building which is the first material necessity for rural drama. Technical information and advice has also come to many villages through the work of these organizations and of the British Drama League and the National Federation of Women's Institutes. Some local education authorities have also made a substantial contribution in some areas where County Drama Organizers have been appointed.

In the sphere of cultural organizations reference must be made to Young Farmers' Clubs, which contribute something of particular value to rural life. The first of these were established in this country in 1922. By 1939 there were 400 in existence, and at the end of June 1943 the figure had risen to 690. Membership is open to boys and girls of all ages from ten to twenty-one. The great majority of the clubs are in country districts, but the impetus which the war has given to gardening and allotment-keeping has led to the formation of a few Y.F.C.s in town districts. Kentish Town in London and Byker in Newcastle-on-Tyne, for instance, each boast a club with thirty members, and in the county borough of Northampton there are no less than nine Y.F.C.s Since 1932 all clubs have been affiliated to a National Federation, which serves the usual purposes of a national headquarters and was responsible in 1943 for the work of twenty-three area organizers who visit and stimulate individual clubs.

The activities of Young Farmers' Clubs cover a wide range. To quote a few examples: they rear and judge stock, grow vegetables, flax and tomatoes, make farm implements and equipment, keep bees, organize contests in public speaking, demonstrate hedging, ploughing, sheep-shearing and silage-making, study local government, get up plays, run whist-drives and parties. It will be noticed that these activities are not purely agricultural. A Y.F.C.'s primary aim is to provide the youth of any district with a centre where they can come for continued education and for their social contacts. To be healthy and vigorous such a centre must be rooted in local circumstances, hence their insistence on studies of the rural environment. But the movement aims also at introducing members to the wider background of this environment. If there is any method of encouraging the growth of a real rural culture this is surely it.

Young Farmers' Clubs appear to be making an attack on some of the traditional weaknesses of English agriculture, an unwillingness to adapt to the requirements of the new scientific knowledge and an unwillingness to co-operate. Thus clubs are encouraged to adopt activities which necessitate members working together in groups (in silage-making, for instance) so that the habit of co-operation may be developed. Also, in all their agricultural work the clubs do not merely learn the methods which are customary in their district: they investigate the latest scientific methods with the help of County

Agricultural Organizers and other experts. Moreover, their meetings and demonstrations are often attended by adult farmers and farm workers,[1] who come perhaps to patronize but remain inevitably to absorb some of the forward-looking attitude of their juniors. Apart from their long-term educational effects, Young Farmers' Clubs appear to have stumbled upon a singularly tactful way of spreading new ideas amongst present-day agriculturalists.

It is surprising that the potentialities of this movement have not been more quickly realized and generously supported by the statutory authorities. Women's Institutes, whose basic idea is closely parallel to that of Young Farmers' Clubs, had the advantage of being founded in time of war. Young Farmers' Clubs missed the first Great War, but appear to be coming into their own at least in the later years of the second Great War. In 1942 the National Federation received grants from thirty-six county councils in England and Wales and a substantial grant also from the Board of Education. It is greatly to be hoped that the policy of endowing the headquarters of this movement will be continued.

ADULT EDUCATION

Voluntary organizations concerned with formal adult education in country districts are rather differently placed from their counterparts in the towns. Their task is in some ways more difficult and, quantitatively at least, they have achieved less. It is estimated that about 3 per cent of the possible field of recruitment is catered for by adult classes of one kind or another in the country as a whole, whereas only one out of every 200 to 300 adults is following some form of education in rural areas taken separately.[2] This is only to be expected. Improvements in school education quicken and widen the demand for adult education, but such improvements have only recently begun to spread into country districts, and their effects have hardly begun to show themselves.

Rural classes have greater physical difficulties to overcome. Students often have long distances to travel, transport facilities are usually non-existent, and unless meetings are fitted in with the vagaries of the moon, there are black-out difficulties from which the coming of peace will bring no relief. Above all, rural adult education is conditioned by the fact that it can only be administered in very small units and the educational background of the people forming each unit is very varied. It is no easy task to retain the interest of the postmaster's old mother and the local Free Church minister, as

[1] Young Farmers' Clubs have been asked by the Technical Development Committee of the Ministry of Agriculture to demonstrate to farmers the correct use of lime. Similarly, their help has been enlisted in the milk recording scheme of the Milk Marketing Board.

[2] *Times Educational Supplement*, 4.9.1943.

well as farm labourers young and old. Yet this presents the normal range in a rural class. The countryman proper is characteristically inarticulate. He is used to dealing with things, not words. In his working life words do not often intervene between him and the job he has on hand. He is subject, too, to far less outside stimulus. Twenty years ago it was easy to find villagers (at any rate in the West Country) who had never been so much as six miles from their homes. Holidays, and particularly holidays away from home, are still rare exceptions. Even the coming of the cinema to every market-town, and the wireless to most country houses, has not broken down the comparative isolation of the countryman and his dependence on his own resources.

These facts all help to explain the difficulty of adult education in rural areas. But they also present most special opportunities, opportunities which voluntary organizations are peculiarly fitted to meet. In towns there are, as a rule, regular facilities for adult education which are provided or subsidized as a matter of course by local education authorities. In larger towns these cover such a wide range that practically every interest may be catered for. In the small rural unit, however, a special class is formed to meet the needs of a particular village at a particular time. The country student will start, therefore, with the feeling that the class has been created for his benefit. He will recognize his responsibility, for absenteeism soon leads to total collapse where the original numbers are very small. In early days adult education was a matter of delivering lectures. But, through the influence of such men as Canon Barnett and Albert Mansbridge, the tutorial method has spread everywhere. In the movement now education is by 'infection rather than injection', and the tutor's task is primarily to introduce, stimulate, and guide the discussions of class members. For work on these lines the mixed background of a country class obviously has great advantages. Tutors also who are accustomed to the 'slickness and smartness sometimes found in London classes' often find delight in the slowly moving but sincere thought which they can stimulate among country people. Facility with words, like facility in any other media, makes second-rate work easy. And the reverse is sometimes true. Finally, the very absence of alternatives increases the stimulus of adult education for the countryman. His class may have an importance for him which it seldom has for a townsman. 'I can't go on with the classes,' said the wife of a farm labourer in Cumberland, 'they're too exciting for me. I'm good for nothing next day.' It would be unusual to find such a reason for non-attendance given by a town student.

The characteristics of rural adult education which are here outlined explain the important hold which voluntary bodies have in this field. The small unit is essentially the province of the voluntary group,

whilst the statutory authorities must inevitably give preferentia treatment to large numbers likely to justify the expenditure of public money. The tendency of the countryman to depend on himself in everyday affairs helps to make a reality of the voluntary factor in the voluntary organizations working in this sphere. The tutorial method has emphasized this, and where sufficient initial stimulus is applied has built up a tradition of self-determination and self-government in many country classes.

In view of all this it is only to be expected that rural adult education should have originated through the efforts of voluntary bodies. Before 1914 the Universities and the W.E.A. were almost entirely responsible for such work as was done. Since 1918 other organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the National Adult School Union, the Co-operative and Trade Unions, Rural Community Councils, the W.I., and Toc H, have all played a part. But development has been slow, uneven, and inadequate in proportion to the size of the field of opportunity. Up to 1927, the adult education movement had not penetrated into the countryside to any appreciable extent. 1927 was the year when, profiting by a successful experiment made in the East Riding in 1921, the first resident tutors were appointed for Bedfordshire, Devon, and the North Riding. These appointments were made by the W.E.A. and funds were provided for a three-year period by the Carnegie U.K. Trust. This was a big step forward. Country people were to be inspired to study by people soaked in the country atmosphere. Education, it was recognized, should not be synonymous with urbanization. This was the period when the L.E.A.s for the first time began to take a share of responsibility for rural adult education. In 1926 Oxfordshire County Council made what is believed to be the first grant-in-aid for this purpose. The precedent having been set, it was taken up by other authorities, until to-day, under the special stimulus of war-time need, co-operation between statutory authorities and voluntary organizations for the provision of rural education has become the normal procedure. The highest peak of development on the statutory side is to be found in the Cambridgeshire village colleges and in C.E.M.A. But, although these institutions are supported entirely out of public funds, they each make use of voluntary bodies in their several ways.

Adult education, like all education, must be based on a difference between students and teachers, but its characteristic feature is the large amount of independent thinking which is expected of students. This independence necessitates the informality, flexibility, and variety which is found in our present stage of society only amongst bodies organized voluntarily. But adult education cannot hope to flourish on an adequate scale without continuous encouragement and support from the statutory authorities. More than in most of the

services studied here the voluntary and the statutory are complementary and must work together if the needs of the countryman in this sphere are to be adequately served.

DISTRICT NURSING AND HOSPITAL CONTRIBUTORY SCHEMES

In practically all rural areas in this country there is a District Nursing Association and a Hospital Contributory Scheme—parts, that is, of the health service, which are still organized on a voluntary basis. Both these two groups of organizations have undergone fundamental changes since the last war, and these changes appear to reflect the general revival of village life which is traceable in a number of spheres.

District Nursing originated as a philanthropic scheme for 'providing trained nurses for the sick poor in their homes'.[1] This was the basis of William Rathbone's plan when, for the first time in 1859 in Liverpool, he employed the nurse who had been attending his wife to attend some of the poor in the slum districts round about. When the service spread to country districts it was again on charity that the whole undertaking was based. As the standard of living was raised, however, some patients began to wish to dissociate themselves from the receipt of charitable service, preferring to make payments for the help which they received. Payment at the time of illness, however, was inconvenient to the patient and embarrassing for the nurse. It was an obvious improvement to make a regular payment during health, and after 1920 this scheme became increasingly common. It developed so rapidly that in 1922 the Council of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing altered the wording in the conditions of affiliation of nursing associations; the phrase 'the sick poor' disappeared and instead it was stated that 'the primary duty of the nurses shall be to attend . . . those who are unable to employ a private nurse in their homes, it being understood that free nursing is given in cases of necessity'.

This change of words symbolizes the all-important change from philanthropy to consumers' co-operation. The figures which follow show this process in action in one District Nursing Association, which may be taken as broadly typical of many others:

Percentage of Revenue of one District Nursing Association from Charitable Sources[2]

1894	1904	1914	1924	1934	1937
97%	95%	68%	54%	22%	19·3%

[1] From the definition made by the original Committee of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing.

[2] *The Domiciliary Nursing Service*, by a group of secretaries of District Nursing Associations, 1942.

District Nursing in country areas has also been modernized by the gradual and piecemeal growth of the powers of local authorities in this sphere. As early as 1879 the Poor Law Act gave power to Public Assistance Authorities to make grants to voluntary associations for the proper nursing of necessitous cases. Subsequently they were permitted to make grants for the nursing of such diseases as are notifiable, for tuberculosis nursing and after-care, for Health Visiting, School Nursing, and Maternity and Child Welfare. In town districts at the present time such work is normally divided out amongst specialists, who are almost always in the direct service of the local authority. In country districts it will often be preferable to have one nurse, and that one the local District Nurse carrying out all these functions, and in many districts this arrangement still obtains. Where this is the case the voluntary organization is contributing something of social value to the village community. The voluntary District Nurse is one of the 'figures' of village society, the committee of the local Association appoints and employs her, is responsible for her comfort and well-being, and often owns the house where she lives.[1] The funds out of which she is paid, except for local authority grants, are raised entirely within each small unit of organization, and those who contribute are paying for something on a co-operative basis which they can see and take an interest in. With the development of a State medical service the voluntary basis of this arrangement would presumably disappear. Every effort should be made, however, to see that the advantages of the new system are bought at the lowest possible cost in terms of local responsibility.

The significance, for our present purposes, of the development of Hospital Contributory Schemes is parallel to that of the District Nursing Service Contributory and Provident Schemes. Hospitals from medieval times have been supported by the gifts of the charitable. It is only since the last war, with the rising standard of living and the accompanying increase of independence, that there has been a gradual changeover to the support of voluntary hospitals by payments for specific services rendered and by payments from contributory schemes. From the point of view of the village community it is this last source of income—payments from contributory schemes —which is of chief importance.

The first Hospital Contributory Schemes developed in the Oxford and Sheffield districts in 1920. A scheme was evolved shortly afterwards in London, which by 1940 had 1,930,000 members; the Oxford scheme in 1943 has 100,000 members, about 70 per cent, that is, of the total population of the area covered. In town districts a large proportion of the contributors pay their weekly dues (generally

[1] 2,000 nurses are accommodated in country districts in houses owned by District Nursing Associations. See *Domiciliary Nursing Service*, 1942.

3*d.* for a single individual and 5*d.* for a family) through the deduction of the amount from the weekly wage. In country districts this is scarcely ever possible, and instead these small sums are collected by an army of volunteers. In the Oxford district there are approximately 1,300 such collectors, about two-thirds of whom are working-class people, and their methods of carrying out the work vary considerably. The organizers lay down certain basic rules about the amount to be collected and the benefits recoverable, but for the rest the method of collection is left to local initiative. Sometimes there is one collector, sometimes the work in another village of the same size is divided amongst six people; sometimes a committee is elected to oversee the work, sometimes it is left to one person; sometimes the payments are made weekly, sometimes at quarterly intervals only; sometimes the contributors bring their money to a fixed place at a fixed time, sometimes the collector calls round at each house. The motives which lead people to undertake the work are varied. A woman living alone may enjoy an excuse to visit her neighbours; an ex-patient may like to feel that he is helping in the upkeep of 'our hospital', since memory casts a romantic haze over his last visit; another may wish to make himself a figure of importance in the village. But, whatever the motive or motives involved, the voluntary collector is undertaking a responsibility and so forging a stronger link between himself and the village as a whole.

Moreover, the duties of a collector do not normally stop short at collecting pennies. The hospital, where a scheme is in good working order, takes trouble to keep contact with its collectors. At intervals they are invited to meetings at the hospital, taken over the new wing and shown the latest wonder in the operating theatre. All this first-hand knowledge is taken back to the villages where collectors are encouraged to hold meetings or arrange, say, for the Women's Institute to run a film show about the hospital service. As a result, the collector in question is often built up into an authority on health or hygiene, and accordingly he may have considerable influence as a 'missionary' carrying fragments of good health teaching to the remotest units of population.

CONCLUSION

The subject of this chapter has necessarily been sketched in on broad lines only, yet the evidence presented does suggest that a revival has taken place in rural life during the last thirty years.

In the first place this revival can be credited to the upheaval caused by the last war (of 1914–18). The existing order was less inevitable and therefore less acceptable to men who had experienced modern fighting and to women who had suffered with them and who had proved their powers of independent action under war-time

circumstances. An improvement in recent years in the economic position of agricultural workers probably made some contribution to the change in the village. During the last war money wages rose considerably, but only to an extent that compensated for the rise of prices. After the war prices and wage-rates fell, but the cash handled was more than in 1914, and though by 1931 wages had little more purchasing power, the spare money handled may have given an illusion of well-being. With the fall in prices after 1931 and some increase in money wages the situation became more favourable and by 1939 it is estimated that average real wages were about one-third higher than in 1914. Moreover, as a result of the submarine campaign of 1917 the agricultural worker, through the Corn Production Act, achieved the representation of his unions on national and district wage boards, where the Farmers' Union was equally represented. It seems probable that both these facts had some psychological significance for the rural population. They gave at least a gleam of hope, and hope is heady stuff.

The breakdown of the isolation of the village is undoubtedly the most important single cause of revival. Improvements in transport and communication helped to disintegrate the old self-sufficient village, but they have also, at a second stage, been an integrating force. Outlying hamlets and isolated farms have been linked with nearby villages, groups of villages have been linked with their neighbouring town, and the development of a new and more lively type of village community has thereby been encouraged. The extent to which this has actually been achieved differs enormously from place to place. The impossibility of talking dogmatically about 'the village' can hardly be exaggerated for, in fact, it is the story of 11,000 different and distinctive rural parishes which needs to be told. This difficulty runs throughout this chapter and any conclusions are advanced therefore with the greatest diffidence.

Improvements in transport have enabled the countryman to know something of the townsman's standards and the townsman to take an interest in country things. A cross-fertilization has, in fact, taken place, and in facilitating this voluntary organizations have had a great influence. It is difficult to recall any organization of importance in rural areas which has had a purely rural origin. In every case it is townspeople or people with a town education who have taken the initiative, and it is in the nature of things that the national headquarters of every rural organization should be in London, and so subject to a strong urban influence.

The country has benefited greatly from the town during the last generation, but the town may learn also from the country. In his work and in his social relations, the life of the countryman is less specialized than that of the townsman. The industrial worker is

responsible for only one out of a thousand of the processes of production. The countryman sees and takes a share in the whole circle of production. Like Jack, he gathers the hay that feeds the cow, that manures the field, that grows the hay that the cow eats. This is one of the fundamental causes of the satisfaction of country life, and for it the townsman hungers in vain.

There is a similar absence of specialization in the social life of the countryman. In a town the middle-class wife of a rising solicitor may have a circle of friends of her own kind, send her daughters to a school where they meet the daughters of people of the same kind, join a tennis club or a literary society, attend a church, and, whatever the social context, always move in the same circle. Similarly, the family of the unskilled worker or the small shopkeeper may live and move and have their being all within their own sets. But the position is quite different in country districts. Here there are few people of each type, and they cannot avoid some contact with each other. The majority of voluntary organizations inevitably draw people from all ranks. In towns some churches produce this mixture, and some branches of political parties. A few voluntary organizations struggle to produce it, as, for instance, Rotary Clubs and Townswomen's Guilds, but circumstances do not make the task easy. In country districts the mixing of types may happen naturally and without conscious effort.

Democratic society naturally evolves most easily where a lot of people of the same kind associate together, and from medieval times the towns have been the obvious cradle of democracy for this amongst other reasons. But a richer form of democracy evolves where people of different kinds meet and are aware of each other, and yet discover how to live together on democratic terms.

The greatest contribution of voluntary organizations to the needs of the countryman is that they produce a scaffolding on which this more difficult type of democratic society may be built up. They cut across the ordinary social hierarchy of village society and make it possible for many different types of skill and worth to win recognition. The good organizer, the skilled batsman, the green-fingered gardener, the enthusiastic collector of subscriptions, all these may win themselves a position through the machinery of voluntaryism. The same may, of course, be true in towns, but here the competitors in these various spheres will probably all be of the same social type. It is in their small mixed groups that villagers have an advantage over the townsman. Village democracy where it evolves can be richer than urban democracy.

One other corollary of the lack of specialization in village society may be noticed here. The obvious fact has already been noted that a city librarian will be a full-time trained official, whereas the village

librarian is generally a part-time volunteer. The contrast is typical of many others. In the village there are a great many small jobs which can be done by a great many people giving a limited amount of time. Their counterparts in the towns will inevitably be officials, and the opportunities for participation by the ordinary citizens in public affairs will be correspondingly less. A thousand years ago the English village was bound into a community by the distribution amongst ordinary villagers of the offices of hayward, swine-herd, warrener, cow-herd, and a dozen others. The wheels have turned slowly, but now again, largely through the emergence of voluntary organizations, there are innumerable opportunities for 'little functionaries' who enrich their own lives and bind the community together by sharing in its responsibilities.

Many of the social services are in process of reform at the present time. Changes are likely to be made in the interests of comprehensiveness and efficiency, and it seems unlikely that the present method of organizing Hospital Contributory Schemes and District Nursing (to cite two examples) will remain unaltered. It is illogical that they should retain their voluntary basis indefinitely, for in this form they will never secure 100 per cent membership, and a feckless minority will always, therefore, either elude the service altogether or profit at the expense of the virtuous majority of subscribers. It might seem an improvement to sweep all such organizations into the hands of visiting officials and depose, say, the all-purpose locally supported village nurse. But changes of this nature, if adopted without modification, would imply a serious social loss in country districts. Large units of organization have a deceptive fascination. There is an optimum size for every service unit, and to discover this optimum many things must be taken into account—the nature of the service, the way people live who use it, and the opportunities which it can provide for the exercise of responsibility. It should not be beyond the wit of man to devise schemes which would be efficient, because based on these several considerations, as well as comprehensive.

CHAPTER 13

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN BETHNAL GREEN

By P. J. O. SELF

I

INTRODUCTORY

OUR aim in this chapter is to take one small corner of England, the London borough of Bethnal Green, and to discover what part is played in its life by voluntary social service. In every community there are people who give their time and labour to serve it. But what sort of work is done and what sort of workers do it depends very much on the nature of the particular community; although its nature, in turn, is changed and enriched by the work done for it. There are national societies which operate everywhere to relieve distress or to promote welfare, and one approach to our subject would be to find out what, in practice, is their influence and activity in this particular district. The circumstances of the case suggest that our procedure should be otherwise. We shall make an entirely local approach, look at local needs and see how they have been met, other than by the great national societies which do not discriminate between one place and another. We shall also consider how these needs should be met in the future. The fact that they are not often mentioned in this chapter does not mean that these national societies have been inactive in Bethnal Green, for many of them have done valuable work. First and foremost, though, our concern is with local life and its special problems, and national societies are only mentioned when they have special relevance to these problems. Thus we shall attempt to get as close as outsiders can, which is perhaps not very close, into the life of the Bethnal Green community. One major reason for choosing this approach is that Bethnal Green is not a 'typical' or 'ordinary' borough, but a special case; and since it is impossible to analyse social services in a vacuum, and since our chosen course is to see them as answers to the problems of one community, the first thing to do is to find out what Bethnal Green is like and who are the people living there.

Bethnal Green lies close to the City, only a few hundred yards from Liverpool Street. With an area of 759 acres, it is one of the smallest boroughs in London. There are only two main streets which cross roughly in the middle, breaking the oblong rectangle of the borough into four sections. The Bethnal Green Road runs east, the Cambridge Heath Road runs north, and along them go the buses,

while outside them there is no public transport except for an unimportant station on the L.N.E.R. As well as being small, the district is tightly packed. The estimated population for 1938 of 94,750 gives a density of 125 to the acre. Even so, the population has been falling slowly for the last half-century from its peak in 1891 of 129,680, which represented 171 persons to the acre. Following population statistics farther back still, we find that in 1801 the figure was 22,310. This indicates clearly when most of the borough was built—in the first half of the last century. It is mainly a product of the earlier part of the industrial revolution, a fact evidenced by its bad housing and chaotic lay-out.

To the casual observer, the East End must seem a drab and uniform mass with little to mark off Poplar from Stepney or Stepney from Bethnal Green. But in fact, most boroughs have a fierce pride in themselves and a sense of community which would startle an inhabitant of suburbia. Especially are these qualities found in Bethnal Green. No one who was born there will deny the fact; he will be proud of it. Comparatively small numbers of its people ever emigrate and the great majority of the residents are Bethnal Green born and bred. They have a certain exclusiveness so that the Mile End Road forms a barrier more insuperable than any casual observer would believe possible. There still exists something of the atmosphere of a village community. In some ways Bethnal Green, like many other London boroughs, is a village. This can be explained historically by the fact that from Saxon times until the end of the eighteenth century it was an agricultural village. There is further localism within the borough. People are apt to look for their friends and their club within a close range. The social settlements draw nearly all their members from within a third of a mile, while tradition dictates which way borderline streets face for their social life. The main streets are very real social barriers, and to some residents the Cambridge Heath Road resembles the Grand Canyon.

Bethnal Green has a history dating from Saxon times, but it would be inapposite to do more than touch on this history's details. Most of the records, as is usual, tell only of the few famous and say nothing of the mass of the people. Thus, stories survive of Queen Matilda falling into the Lea at the old ford in Bethnal Green, which since Roman times was on the highway into Essex (an accident which led Henry I to build Bow bridge and so inadvertently 'by-pass' the borough); of the picturesque Dog Row, still standing, where Charles II kept his hunting-dogs; of Pepys hiding his diary in Bethnal Green during the Great Fire and congratulating the borough on its silk and its strawberries. The excellence of the silk was due to the craftsmanship of the Huguenot weavers who settled originally in Spitalfields and spread eastwards. At the beginning of the eighteenth century,

the weavers, the villagers, and some suburban dwellers and great men with estates there, seem to have lived in pleasant conditions in Bethnal Green, over three-quarters of which was probably farmland. By the end of the same century, the conditions were no longer pleasant, and a lack of roads and of sanitation were in evidence, the forerunners of the many squalors of industrialization, while the weavers had suffered a decline of fortune. Since then the majority of the population have been industrial workers, and their rapid increase of numbers has brought with it poverty and overcrowding, two evils which were at their worst in the middle of the last century, and have since been progressively mitigated, but which are still evil giants to-day. It is with the story of the Huguenot weavers that the realm of courtly annals is left behind and it is possible for the first time to see into the lives of ordinary people. To know their lives, and thus to understand their needs and reactions, it is vital to appreciate their economic background.

Where does Bethnal Green work? The borough grew up, industrially, as the City's backyard, where clothes and furniture were made for prosperous London. Small workshops belonging to these industries, with a staff of from one to twenty, were once the rule, and are still in a majority. There are few large factories, perhaps a dozen employing over 100 people. Recently medium-sized clothing factories have been on the increase at the expense of small ones. More serious in the last twenty years has been a general shift of the clothing and furniture trades northwards out of the East End to the Lea Valley and to Outer London. These things have meant that the small workshops are fewer and their future increasingly precarious. The two forces of decentralization and concentration of industry are pulling at them, and there have been added special war-time factors. The war-time labour shortage seemed to hit the small firms worst, and many have had to close down. They are chiefly family businesses and doubts have been expressed whether sons returning from the Forces will be prepared to pick up the threads their fathers are being forced to drop. Nevertheless, there are forces favouring their continuation—local tradition, local skill and labour, the local next-door market. It is safe to say that, so long as there is any room for workshops of this sort, they will flourish in Bethnal Green.

About a fifth of the residents are Jews, mainly traders and workers in the clothing industry. They do not constitute the same social and economic problem as in neighbouring Stepney, where they are much more numerous, but they do give rise to difficulties in times of crisis, when feeling can be stirred up against them. In the absence of provocative elements, they are not looked on as foreigners, though they possess some of the best jobs and, as elsewhere in the East End, Jewish landlords are said to be bad landlords.

Nowhere are local qualities shown more than in the system of street trading. People cling to the excitement of comparing and bargaining at street stalls, while the traders gain an obvious economy in rent. Every day all varieties of stalls and barrows are to be seen strung in a line down one side of Bethnal Green Road. Sunday morning is the occasion of its largest and most varied street market, when stalls and barrows overflow down numerous side-streets. This is a famous and popular event. It has been said that, despite its unpretentious character, Bethnal Green shopping has to live up to a high standard.

In 1921, 32,000 residents worked outside the borough, while 15,000 from outside entered it for their work. Besides industrial workers, Bethnal Green houses a moderate proportion of office workers, travelling daily the short distance to the City. Some of these, who could afford to move to an outer suburb, see the advantages of a lower rent and cheaper fare, and choose economy in preference to appearances. One must assume, too, that others are tied to the borough by local sentiment and by a greater dramatization of life, despite much poorer conditions, than can be found in any suburb. On the other hand, some young people who can afford it move to suburbia upon marrying; one suspects the wife's influence.

Though not comparable with the appearance of some northern industrial towns, Bethnal Green looks a slum. By modern standards the houses are close-packed, shabby and mean, in dismal streets. Their quality is very poor, and overcrowding is the borough's biggest problem. The compilers of *London Life and Labour*, published in 1932, pointed out that, apart from the smaller district of St. George-in-the-East (Stepney), an area composed of south-west Bethnal Green and south-west Shoreditch was the worst overcrowded in London. This area averaged 1·46 residents to a room, while the average for the whole of Bethnal Green was as high as 1·33. Indeed, seven out of a hundred people in working-class families were living more than three to a room, and there were, of course, appalling special cases of seven and more sleeping in the same room. Though slightly mitigated, the great problem shown in these statistics is not out-dated. Compared with conditions rents are high,[1] and in some cases exorbitant, but they are kept up by pressure of demand. The rateable value of the borough is the lowest per head in London, the figure for 1938 being £516,383, or £5 9*s.* per head of the population, compared with £8 10*s.* per head in neighbouring Stepney.

If housing is bad to-day, it must have been indescribable at the end of the last century, when the population was higher by over 30,000 and sanitation in many districts non-existent. At that time the second evil giant, poverty, was dangerously big. The Booth

[1] A sample inquiry undertaken for *London Life and Labour* showed an average rent of 9*s.* 7*d.*

Survey in 1889 found 44·6 per cent of the borough 'living in poverty'. The street survey, which formed part of *London Life and Labour* and was modelled on the Booth Report, gave a comparable figure for 1929–30 of 17·8 per cent. It must be remembered that these were years of depression, and that poverty in the 'thirties, for instance, was vastly less than in 1889. Inadequate wages probably cause more distress than unemployment. In 1937, 6·8 per cent of the insured population were unemployed, which was lower than the average for the County of London of 7·2 per cent, and much lower than the 8 per cent recorded for Stepney; this figure was largely due to the small number of women unemployed, only 3·1 per cent of those insured against 4·8 per cent for the County. The extremes of poverty and unemployment no longer exist in Bethnal Green more than in many other places, and whatever the position at the time of the Booth Survey, they are not now its distinctive troubles. But the rate of wages in Bethnal Green is certainly not high—neither furniture making nor clothing are well-paid trades—so that a great throng of people live close to subsistence level. The average weekly income, in about 1929, appeared to be from 78*s.* to 81*s.*, while nearly half the residents were wage-earners—a high proportion.[1] In times of prosperity, the residents earn enough to have a good deal of enjoyment, but the store of wealth is still sadly low, nor is it particularly well spent. It remains true, all the same, that Bethnal Green is more a slum in looks than in pocket.

So much for work, housing, and the standard of living. But what are the people like who do these things and live in these conditions? It has already been shown that they are proud of their community, and individualists by nature and circumstances. They have been described as hard-boiled and apathetic, and also as warm-hearted, responsive, and friendly. Both descriptions can be right, because they refer to two different spheres of behaviour. The latter attitude is the one seen in their social and day-to-day life and in helping each other in adversity. The former is the attitude taken to education, to culture, and to the established order of Church and State. Constructive criticism of these two hierarchies is certainly in its infancy. The people have no real faith in their own power to effect changes, and—partly a cause, partly a result—small initiative to learn anything. Their way of life is unimaginative, but they are sufficiently sophisticated to suspect leadership from outside, as also, rightly in some cases, of course, the intentions of those who wish to help or advise them. The solid Labour majority on the borough council is more a reflection of the 'Doubting Thomas' attitude than a resolve to transform society. Local Labour is cautious, and certainly the council has most of its achievements still before it, but then its

[1] From a sample inquiry reported in *London Life and Labour*.

resources are dismally small. The lack of wealth and the lack of initiative between them, again, are responsible for the paucity of social and cultural facilities. There are over 160 public-houses, but hardly any clubs except those started by 'foreign' social workers and the embryo, but promising, offshoots of civil defence organizations; the latter showing, incidentally, that the residents can do much if an opportunity is brought home to them. The public-houses are the legacy of the drinking boom of late Victorian days, but are no longer all wanted, so that most publicans engage in some other occupation as well. There are many cinemas, but no theatre. There is a good library and there is a museum. There is an acknowledged need for a community centre, but there is no money for it. In brief, in the social, as in the economic sphere, the means to lead a full and active life are lacking.

The people have still not the resources, either of wealth or brains, fully to be masters of their fate. This helplessness is the quality which has been responsible for the original character of voluntary social service in Bethnal Green; a character, that is, of outside charity rather than of common effort. Historically, its social service belongs to the period when the conscience of man awoke to the distress around him so that he went into the wildernesses of England to help as he could. This is an early stage in the history of social service that comes well before many associations of equals were formed to promote the good life. Bethnal Green contains no diversity of classes such that the educated and the rich can contribute in their several ways to the welfare of the community. There is only a working class; once very poor, still poor; once completely uneducated, still inadequately educated; once the victim of circumstances, and so without initiative, still limited and handicapped in all directions, and, partly because of the past, unequal to using what power it has. Thus, Bethnal Green, as a whole, has been an object of charity, a community into which voluntary effort has been pumped from outside instead of growing up and circulating within. This is true of other poor towns, and the situation is well known. But it is the key to any history of Bethnal Green's voluntary social services.

II

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

The distresses caused by the industrial revolution and its attendant expansion of population were slow to receive attention. When help came, it was from religious bodies in the first instance. Missions had, to start with, a monopoly of the field of social work. Some came to convert and stayed to feed, others came to feed as a way to conversion. The aims of saving souls and filling bellies were muddled up

together, so that when the people started to think, being originally too hungry to do so, they suspected the motives of the missions. The mildest mission was there to help poverty at the cost of a lecture; which seems to this century's egalitarian spirit to be taking an unfair advantage, although to a century nourished on the classical economists and later given to misinterpreting Darwin, poverty itself was something of a crime and deserved a lecture. The 'mission attitude' remains in modified form to-day. It is dying, certainly, but it is an unconscionably long time about it. Much of the religion expounded by some missions to-day remains a simple and crude fundamentalism, which believes that the sum of attainable knowledge is to be found in the literal words of the Bible. Old-fashioned religion, right out of touch with the intellectual or spiritual needs of this age, is companioned by other out-dated ideas. In fact, some of the missions which came in the last century are still living in that century's atmosphere. However much the Victorian age has been misabused its pioneer work in the field of social service needs to be supplanted, if only because it was pioneer. Indirectly, their religious atmosphere, however admirable in itself, has brought some discredit upon the old missions. Social workers still suffer from the suspicion that they are in Bethnal Green to sugar a pill, and the pill may be thought of as either religious or political. The trouble is the confusion of aims. However, the State is progressively accepting the responsibility for relief work. When this process is completed, religious creeds will be forced to stand more on their own feet, and under any catholic view of truth, this is to their own interests. People may still be bribed to listen to them, but they will not have to hear or starve; alternatives, admittedly, which were never exact and were far from being the wish of the missions themselves.

Probably the oldest social settlement in Bethnal Green, but one which is not now exclusively local, merely having its headquarters in the borough, is the Christian Community. Originally founded by the Huguenots, it was later revivified by Wesley, only to rebel against the Methodist discipline of that time, since when it has led an independent existence. Its work is to take services in the wards of institutions and hospitals, to provide their inmates with annual outings and 'bun and orange' concerts at Christmas, and to run some local clubs with a religious background. These tasks are done by a hierarchy of voluntary workers. These are 'members' who become so by passing an examination in theology, which demands short answers to problems controversial enough to confound divines. Only members can preach and they are assisted by ordinary workers. Senior members in turn become superintendents, who among other things make out quarterly lists of preachers for their ward or mission hall. An exhaustive list of all arrangements is published quarterly

as a *Plan for the Christian Community*. The work of this society is greatly appreciated by many old people, but its scope lies with the simple and the neglected and not, certainly, with the man in the street.

The evangelical revival also played a part in the history of the King Edward Institute. This is another very old-fashioned mission, and one of size and standing. Besides a great number of part-time voluntary workers, its staff includes two deaconesses. These undertake systematic visiting, while care is rendered to the sick; there are parties for the old and an annual meal for the needy. All these are first-aid activities, and the war has increased the amount of welfare work done by this organization. Shelter and other help has been given to many people, for instance. In a different sphere, the Institute runs a large number of clubs. Pre-war membership was restricted to those who attended the service held on Sundays, although this rule has been relaxed since the war in the interest of getting youths off the streets. There is a family atmosphere about the Institute's activities, which, like other voluntary bodies, tends to attract the more decent and respectable local residents, and to have less contact with the rowdy, the cynical, and the pagan, who must be admitted to be numerous in Bethnal Green.

The Medical Mission is an admitted example of relief work undertaken as a means to spiritual conversion. It supplies medical treatment for a low, sometimes merely a nominal, cost. It has been a very real assistance to people who are not eligible for National Health Insurance, and it has better facilities than most panel doctors. There is a well-equipped surgery, two trained nurses, two doctors, one of whom at least virtually gives his services, and voluntary weekly visits from a dentist and a chiropodist. A condition of getting treatment is that the patient should attend a religious service, held daily before the surgery is opened. A real gap in health services is met by the Mission, and met kindly and efficiently. At the same time the Mission claims that there are many contented people whose souls have been saved through its teachings, and that this is its main object. This body is, in fact, an exact example of the mixing up of evangelism and relief work. Voluntary medical assistance is also provided by Queen Adelaide's Dispensary, which was set up to succour 'the sick poor of Bethnal Green', each of whom needs to produce a 'letter' signed by some 'governor' stating that he is 'a fit object for charity'. An alarming list of rules on the back of the 'letter' tells the applicant to bring a clean 'gallipot' (an appropriate archaism), and to keep the 'letter' clean. The Dispensary, doubtless, does excellent work. But it may be a surprise to some that the superb condescension of the nineteenth century is still with us.

A more mature type of social service than the evangelical missions is the group of residential settlements which came to Bethnal Green

fifty years ago and which centre round Oxford House. These settlements were the fruits of a movement started by Canon Barnett, who led the way by founding Toynbee Hall in Stepney. Barnett's aim was to persuade the Universities, and the educated world generally, to come and see for themselves how the poor lived. The voluntary workers at residential settlements were expected to follow their own professions but to live in the East End, and to help and educate its residents in such ways as they could. If only for establishing contact between two worlds which had hardly met, a contact which shamed one of them and surprised both, the movement started by Barnett was invaluable. Now these settlements are becoming the homes of full-time, specialized social workers. Although they inevitably had something of the 'mission attitude' and a religious basis, they had little interest in preaching dogma. Whereas the earlier missions sprang from a crude evangelism which permeated all classes, Oxford House and its contemporary bodies were the specific response of the educated class to a need which they at last realized. It was a typical response—generous, humorous, surprised, broadminded, tardy, sometimes a little irresponsible and, to the recipients, a little incomprehensible.

There are about fifty residential settlements in England, and Bethnal Green can be said to contain at least five of them. Of four which were all founded about fifty years ago and which have points in common which we have just described, one was St. Hilda's, the Cheltenham College Mission for girls. An interesting characteristic of this body is the useful work done by its skilled employment agency. The other three were Oxford House and its two offshoots, St. Margaret's House and University House. St. Margaret's House is complementary to Oxford House as regards youth work, catering chiefly for girls where the latter's main interest is boys. University House also runs a boys' club and is now remarkable for possessing an extensive service of Poor Man's Lawyers. It is unique among social settlements in serving as a hostel for local people to live in. This is in line with the social intermingling so keenly desired by Barnett. University House also devotes time to publicizing social problems. Oxford House itself is the voluntary society with the widest public and greatest influence in Bethnal Green. It has had a chequered career, however. Some time ago it was the centre of the borough's life. Then its head became mayor and hoped to co-ordinate all activities round Oxford House. The attempt did not succeed, and its influence declined for a period but, since the war, it has regained a central position. Oxford House is now the mainspring for initiating new schemes of voluntary service and for interesting the Borough Council in them.

Two settlements of a religious nature, but more enlightened and

adaptable than many missions, are the Presbyterian Mission and Friends' Hall. The latter is one of the nine centres of the Bedford Institute Association, which is the instrument of the Quakers' social work in the East End. Before the war the chief activity of Friends' Hall was youth work and its head has remarked that the blitz brought them into contact with their adult neighbours for the first time. Its youth work is extensive and progressive, with what has been described as 'an educational and religious bias, but no cobwebs'.

These, then, are some of the main social settlements in Bethnal Green. The list is not intended to be exhaustive. Most bodies have a religious purpose or point of view. One characteristic which is true of all the settlements, but especially the residential ones, is the continuity of their social work. Some may cater for men only, some for women only. With changing times some, such as Oxford House, have become centres for the whole family. But, in any case, in most of these settlements a place and a welcome can be found at any age. It is not that the family is treated as a unit, which might be undesirable, but the continuity of interest in each individual establishes a family connexion between him and the settlement. Bodies which cater only for a specific age, like the new Youth Recreation Centres, lack the stabilizing tradition which such continuity of interest provides.

III

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

The history of voluntary social service, crystallizing horizontally in the development of new national societies to meet changing needs, can be seen vertically in the evolution of the social settlements in Bethnal Green. They have not stood still, but are unable to make a clean sweep, so that even where they are really progressive they may seem formally antiquated. In other words, they look more old-fashioned than they are. A transformation of purpose is taking place such that yesterday's job will not be to-morrow's. The present is a transition period between two kinds of work and two kinds of aim. What the new function of the social settlements is likely to become is touched on in the conclusion of this chapter.

In their inception these voluntary bodies were missions not only in the religious sense. They were promoted, financed, and managed from outside Bethnal Green. They were the ideas of people who saw that the inhabitants could never put their own house in order. They were financed by private subscribers, many of whom had, and perhaps still have, a not very clear idea of what services their generosity performed. They were under the control of a general committee, one of whose main functions was to raise money, so that

its members were apt to be chosen for their prominence in public life rather than their knowledge of the borough. In any case they were not often local men. They were staffed by voluntary workers who came from more prosperous districts or from the universities. The purpose behind the work was that something should be done for the slums, either in the way of spiritual advice or material comfort. The recipients of charity were expected, perhaps, to have too passive a role. It was a case of 'ours to give and theirs to take', and it was not believed that the takers should be much consulted. A very different outlook is now coming into fashion.

In this section some of the changes in the staff, the finance, and the administration of the social settlements will be considered. The tendency is for greater control to be exercised by the staff who are on the spot. This has led in some cases to a broadening of the membership of the general committees. Most voluntary part-time workers are now organized in workers' councils or some similar representative body. At King Edward's Institute, the workers' council nominates seven members to the general committee, whose other eight members are influential people in public life who are asked to join by the President and the Treasurer. This helps to keep the committee in touch with local needs and to prevent it from being a mere medium for launching financial appeals. More important than methods designed to secure for part-time workers a share in the central direction of their society is the recent appearance in Bethnal Green of full-time and paid social workers. The war has increased the vagaries of organization which are bound to occur in societies which rely upon casual help from people not residing on the premises. The part-time workers have been often described as nice but unreliable, and the latter quality is not altogether their fault. Of course all the main social settlements possess a small nucleus of full-time staff. Oxford House now has a full-time staff of eight, and it is this fact more than anything else which enables it to take a leading position in the borough. Most other settlements still have to rely a great deal on part-time workers, although as a result of the war a small group of Quakers have come to stay at Friends' Hall (in the first instance to relieve air-raid distress) and have added enormously to its effectiveness. Full-time workers can give to the voluntary societies that continuity and efficiency of work which they so often lack through no fault of their own. Voluntary social work in Bethnal Green has always tended to be jerky, proceeding by sudden bursts of enthusiasm and collapse, and contrasting in this with the mechanical uniformity of statutory social service. Full-time workers should provide the solution to this difficulty, and their importance cannot be overemphasized. As yet, they can rarely be paid more than a bare subsistence allowance.

Often, the personal attitude of the staff is well in advance of the official attitude of their organization. No society in Bethnal Green should be judged too closely by the spirit of its publications. In practice it is hard to find anyone more egalitarian than the modern social worker. A late mayor of the borough once remarked of King Edward's Institute, not the most progressive of bodies, that whatever its theoretical function its staff were 'living socialism'. There is no condescension left at the personal level. The views of the staff of some voluntary societies are still sadly old-fashioned, especially over religion, but their practical attitude often runs ahead of what they profess to believe. By contrast, the modernism of other societies is sometimes too much for their members. A story is told against Oxford House of a small girl in tears at the prospect of calling the staff by their Christian names, according to the established custom in that settlement.

Changes are taking place in the financing of the social settlements, some of which point in the same direction of greater local control and responsibility. Originally the money was raised almost exclusively by private subscriptions and legacies from the well-to-do living outside the borough. This source still supplies the bulk of the finance, but the well is gradually running dry. This is partly the result of heavy taxation and partly a reflection of the view that much of the field covered by philanthropy should be supplied out of the coffers of the State. At the beginning of 1943 one large society experienced an influx of subscriptions as the result of a special appeal, but few of them are expected to recur annually. For a long time the level of private subscriptions has been steadily falling and the trend is certain to continue. However, two new means of income have now made their appearance, one being Board of Education grants and the other the possibility of raising money inside the borough.

Government grants are available for any expenses in connexion with youth work, including salaries, and have been introduced since the war. Some voluntary bodies in Bethnal Green are now receiving fair-sized amounts from this source. The technique is for recommendations to be made by both the borough and the L.C.C. Youth Committees, and the Board of Education then sends an investigator. in Bethnal Green he and the local committee have not always agreed in their estimates! There is no type of Government control attached as a condition to these grants, but one leading social settlement has refused this opportunity through the fear of finding itself in leading-strings. There is the obvious danger, if the Government's contribution grows, that voluntary bodies will find themselves free agents only on sufferance. The other new potential source of finance is very different in the ties which it introduces. The old custom of social workers providing services free is now discredited. There is a growing

tendency to make members of clubs pay what they can, not of course a great deal, towards their upkeep. It is also hoped by some voluntary workers that, as the borough's standard of living rises, its residents may corporately or individually make contributions to the societies whose primary aim is to serve Bethnal Green. A start has been made in this direction, but this source is a hope for the future more than a present fact. It is certainly desirable that Bethnal Green should have a greater financial stake in its voluntary societies, which would of course be accompanied by greater local control of how the money was spent. There is already a tendency to decentralize financial control. For instance, the current income of the Unitarian Church, originally administered by the general committee, is now in the hands of the local church committee.

New sources of income are certainly going to be needed. The war has increased the already expanding outgoings of the social settlements, who have not felt like refusing the many new openings for serving the community forced upon their attention. The result is heavy annual deficits in their budget books. One of the largest bodies could only cover three-quarters of its expenditure in 1930, and two years later its annual deficit had passed £2,000. Private legacies and subscriptions and contributions from the big charity trusts are still the main source of income, but it is worth pointing out that some of these items, especially legacies, are apt to be tied to specific purposes, such as providing free meals or advanced education. Some bequests lose some of their value by the rigidity of their conditions. A holiday camp was left to one settlement whose site proved unsuitable for young people, but could not be sold to enable accommodation to be found elsewhere. On the other hand, a voluntary society occasionally gets a welcome windfall. Such was the large sum received by King Edward's Institute from the George Yard Mission when the latter was wound up. All in all, the financing of voluntary societies in Bethnal Green is not an easy job, nor is it growing any easier.

Perhaps the most important of the changes taking place in the social settlements is the attempt to persuade the people of Bethnal Green, on whose behalf they are there at all, to take a greater share in the running of clubs and the initiation of new schemes. One aspect of this is the increased co-operation with the local council which is discussed in Section VI of this chapter. Another aspect is the wish that the social settlements' public shall take an active share in organization and not be passive consumers. Most voluntary clubs now appoint their own committees which arrange activities and, in some cases, have some financial control. It is important that each club within the framework of the same large voluntary organization should have its own committee; otherwise, in the words of one who has seen it happen, 'the women's club will try to boss the boys'

brigade', or vice versa. The members both get a valuable lesson in responsibility and feel a greater interest in a club for whose administration they are partly responsible.

These changes add up to an important movement. The social settlements are ceasing to be foreigners and are becoming rooted in the borough's life. They are no longer so much helping those who cannot help themselves as providing a framework within which people can use their own initiative. They are ceasing to be missions and are beginning to aim at becoming self-supporting community centres. This is still a remote ideal, but it is there in the distance. This change of character is illustrated first by a change of control and, second, by a change of function.

Responsibility is being decentralized. This is illustrated by the greater power and representation of the staff and by their greater say in matters of finance. More fundamentally, it is seen by the greater stake which Bethnal Green is getting in the life of the social settlements. The public for which they cater is no longer spoon-fed but is asked to express its own wants and to decide its own activities. A greater local contribution to finance and a stronger local share in administration both have the effect of promoting responsibility and pride. Bethnal Green is beginning to see that the social settlements are an integral part of the borough. The partial transfer of responsibility inside the voluntary societies is the beginning of a movement whose final end will be their complete democratization. The more that finance is raised and administered locally the more will they become self-supporting and independent, while those who get the benefit will learn to pay for it. In the long run the staff should be drawn from local people. Finally the social settlements should find themselves transformed from charitable organizations into societies for mutual aid and for the promotion of community life. They will then have experienced, in their own history, the history of voluntary social service as a whole.

Similarly, there is a change of function. The work of these bodies was originally the relief of distress. This is now gradually being admitted as the province of the State. The Beveridge plan has yet to be accepted, but the sociological idea behind it—that the State should secure to everyone a minimum standard of living—is accepted by all reasonable men. There is still plenty of work in this field to be done by voluntary societies, but it is ceasing to be their main concern. The new function which can be seen emerging is one of education. This is using the word in a very wide sense. The work consists in the first place of providing facilities, cultural and social, which the borough still lacks. But an essential corollary to providing the means of the good life is to teach people how to use them. In the long run the aim must be to teach them to do the work themselves and to run

and expand and diversify the services which are now given to them. What is now being undertaken is an education in responsibility and initiative.

It is this change in the function of voluntary workers which will bring about the democratization of the voluntary societies; and it is because the need for charity is beginning to cease in Bethnal Green that voluntary workers can turn their thoughts in other directions. Correspondingly, the higher the general standard of living and the standard of education are raised by State action, the greater progress will be possible in Bethnal Green's education in running its own life and in making that life a full one. Voluntary social service can never move forward in a vacuum independent of other trends. The task before the social settlements needs to be fitted into its place as one element in a national campaign to abolish unemployment, to relieve want, and to improve the lives of the poorer members of the British community.

IV

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

The obvious place to begin educating for responsible citizenship is with the young. But it is only comparatively recently that youth work on an appreciable scale has been undertaken in Bethnal Green. At the present time youth work is a major concern of the social settlements, yet so far, valuable and progressive though it frequently is, it covers a limited field only. The actual membership figures of the various organizations are not a trustworthy guide, since many are passive or short-term members, and it cannot, of course, be known how much a boy or girl is getting from belonging to a single body. In any case there is the obvious problem of the 'rest', the people of few interests in whom few show interest, the street-wanderers, and, possibly, the society-destroyers. This is not the place for generalizing about the character of modern youth, but one thing is obvious; they have not the same definite scale of values as their fathers, though fundamentally they may be just as, or more, idealistic; nor are they expected to obey the same discipline, though they may be equally responsive to leadership. These points must be made to explain why there is perhaps a graver problem now, when something at least is done, than previously, when nothing was done. The little education which is so dangerous has made youth acutely conscious of the shortcomings of society. They believe something to be wrong, but may not have the ability to distinguish between quacks and doctors. Before the war the Young Fascists had an alarming amount of members in Bethnal Green. Here, one resident of standing remarked, lay the real youth movement. Their rallies were attended, doubtless, less out of political zeal than because they provided a useful meeting-place

and something to do requiring little effort. The membership of the clubs and the Evening Institutes suffered correspondingly, and the situation became so serious that these bodies called an emergency meeting, at which a local firebrand told them that they had only their own ineffectiveness to blame; a statement which was partly, and only partly, correct. The Young Fascists were further strengthened by antipathy to their rivals, the Young Communists, so that mutual dislike fanned both movements. The war has enabled the latter society to have a free field, and they are now the only political body capable of arousing enthusiasm among Bethnal Green's youth. The success of the Young Fascists is a danger signal. It should be clear by now that the fault lies both sides of the fence. Many young people are troublesome or unresponsive. Some youth work suffers from a narrow appeal or an old-fashioned attitude, the former breeding indifference and the latter cynicism.

The shortcomings of voluntary work in this field have, if anything, been over-emphasized in the preceding paragraph. Its achievements must now be considered. Of recent years progress has been made in two directions at least—mixing boys' and girls' clubs, and giving the young members a greater share in running their own activities.

Mixing can hardly be regarded as a good in itself, and much depends upon the age of those concerned. A few years before the war there was considerable opposition to it from the more cautious social workers, many of whom appear to have been outraged at a mixed camp which was promoted by an enthusiastic club leader. The more progressive organizations have now taken to the idea. Oxford House, a centre for men's and boys' clubs, now has a club for girls as well, and the more adult clubs are mixed after nine in the evening. Other bodies have either joint clubs or complementary ones which meet together on certain occasions. Part of the response of the authorities to the war-time dangers of loafing in the streets is the promotion by the L.C.C. of Youth Recreation Centres, of which there are two in Bethnal Green. They suffer from being stopgaps and from a lack of traditions, but they do meet a need. They are designed as mixed clubs. However, not all the impetus towards mixing has come from organizers, strong pressure being exerted since the war by the boys and girls themselves. The head of the Boys' Evening Institute summed it up by saying that before the war his boys were girl-shy, now they are girl-crazy. He attributed the change to the unsettling and levelling impact of the London blitz. When the war began the L.C.C. had just started to allow a few mixed ballroom dancing classes as an experiment. The blitz compelled the Boys' and the Women's Institute to share premises for a while, and when this need ceased frequent dancing classes together were continued and eventually monopolized so much attention that they had to be stopped at the

Boys' Institute. One result was that many boys enrolled themselves at the Women's Institute. There is as clear a case for a mixed Evening Institute after the war as there is for mixed clubs, but discretion needs to be used as to the ages which should be included. The boys and girls under sixteen, in the Institutes at any rate, prefer to be left to themselves and only to meet each other for certain classes. The war has caused a great decrease at the Boys' Institute of those over sixteen, a situation which has enabled the younger boys, who previously tended to be crowded out, to come into their own, and they have made good use of the opportunity. The need should not be overlooked after the war of leaving the juveniles room to expand; in the case of the Evening Institutes, for instance, separate clubs for them could be fitted into the pattern of a mixed club for their elders. Another device which does not seem likely to succeed in Bethnal Green is mixed family organizations or clubs for mothers and daughters. The young like to be left to themselves when going out in the evening. This must be said despite the grandmother of seventy-two, who is a popular figure in a girls' keep-fit class and the other grandmother, slightly older, who, finding two Bible classes for children and adults, chose the former because of its higher standard. At all events, though Bethnal Green is still in the experimental stage, mixing of various kinds is far preferable to the old rigid distinctions based on age and sex.

The most progressive innovation is one that has now got into its stride and is going to be carried a great deal further. This is the attempt to make the members take an increasing share in the running of youth clubs and organizations. The method used is the traditional one of committees. It should thus act as an education in democracy. Two social settlements may be cited as illustrations of this movement. At Friends' Hall, the senior youth club has a monthly meeting at which it elects its own committee, which settles activities and spends subscriptions and canteen profits, out of which it defrays a small part of the settlement's expenses. Oxford House is more thoroughgoing. Here every club is autonomous as regards its own affairs, and even the juniors elect their committee. It is interesting to attend a meeting of half a dozen boys of fourteen or fifteen charged with running a club. Such things are discussed as equipment, camping holidays, and the admission and expulsion of members. At that age, perhaps at all ages, committee members are apt to find themselves in embarrassing positions. Some boys guilty of destroying club property could plead that the committee members had done the same thing before their election, but they received an appropriate reply to the effect that responsibility makes for a different attitude. The manager of the club, a member of the Oxford House staff, acts as chairman. He does not boss or overrule the

committee, although it is doubtful if the latter could have done without him! However, early in its history and during the last century, Oxford House boys' club was self-governing, electing two senior members. So the idea is hardly new and if anything the elected boys had greater freedom then. But the system is now better organized and more widespread. Other organizations are trying similar experiments along these lines. There is one group of young people in the neighbourhood who have done better and have started, in the face of opposition, a flourishing club on their own with no official adult affiliations. Originally they held educational classes in an air-raid shelter, but, when some adults there became obstructionist, they succeeded in getting permission to take up quarters in the Cephas Street Evening Institute. They have to take L.C.C. classes as a condition, which they are more than willing to do, but they choose their classes and conduct all other activities through an executive committee which is elected democratically. Because they will not be connected with an adult committee they have been refused admission to the new mixed section of the London Federation of Boys' Clubs and London Union of Girls' Clubs, and their independence is also shown by their annoyance that an adult must accompany them to Y.W.C.A. camps. An enterprising act was to persuade the public library to loan them 200 books. At the time of writing, the membership of this group is said to number nearly 200. Actually, Cephas Street is just in Stepney, and the ability of Jewish children living in that borough is said by some to be responsible for the organizing ability both of this group and the Young Communists. There is only a modicum of truth in this. Anyhow, half of the members of the Cephas Street group come from Bethnal Green. Whether this club is a bubble or whether it lasts, it has shown that initiative and independence are to be found among young people in Bethnal Green.

On a wider scale than in individual organizations, and entering on the field of politics, the leaders of Bethnal Green youth have made it clear that for their part they want to exercise greater power and, it is to be hoped, greater responsibility. Bethnal Green now has a Youth Committee that is very unlike the normal. Under the constitution laid down by the London County Council Education Committee, only adults—either youth leaders or local personalities—can be members. But in Bethnal Green half the members are young people, the elected representatives of youth organizations. How this came about is interesting. To most borough Youth Committees there is attached an advisory committee of young people, usually called the Youth Council. In Bethnal Green this Youth Council became dissatisfied with its indirect influence. Its rôle was rather expected to be one of making suggestions for rambles and so on, but some of

the members wanted a direct voice on such subjects as politics and publicity. Their views were sympathized with by some members of the Youth Committee, and, after a good deal of difficulty, the amalgamation of the two committees has taken place on an experimental basis. The young people thus have a direct and equal vote with their elders on all matters, including finance, and they are in fact often in a position to outnumber the latter, some of whom have become more assiduous in attendance as a consequence. The scheme met with strong opposition from certain Labour councillors, who detected the hand of the Young Communists in the proceedings, and dreaded being put on an equal footing with younger and more extreme left-wingers. So far, however, the scheme has been a great success. It is admitted now by many of the adults that it is of great value to have first-hand knowledge of what youth is thinking, instead of having to act as their trustees in the dark. For instance, it was the young members on the committee who convinced their doubtful seniors that Bethnal Green's youth would welcome a special series of health talks. This new composition of the Youth Committee is the climax, to date, of the process of handing the reins to youth. Its fate, however, is still uncertain, since the arrangement has no official sanction.

It is only to be expected that there would be many critics of this movement. But they are not by any means all Colonel Blimps. To give young people greater control is to raise the question of how fit they are to possess it. Even those who were most anxious to start youthful committees are critical of the ability of their members, who should presumably be the pick of the bunch. One youth organizer has said that there is only one able member on his senior club committee. Another such, one of the most progressive clergy in the borough who has done pioneer work in starting Church youth groups, has found that such committees are unequal to much freedom. They are sensible enough about conducting ordinary business, where a routine has been laid down, but they lack initiative. In other words, their responsibility is one of method and not of direction. When one turns to youth in the mass, criticism becomes much more severe. Lawlessness seems to be on the increase, shown by such nightly episodes as the wrecking of allotments and the smashing of windows. These things are pointed to as showing the need for discipline. To some little extent, the modern social worker can be blamed. The creed that anti-social behaviour is the product of a bad environment and is not blameworthy has been, perhaps, pushed too far. Egalitarian views have led some youth leaders to treat their charges almost as contemporaries whom it would be an insult to criticize, and this may have led to too little leadership and guidance being given. The need for more leadership from adults may be admitted, but this does

not mean that youth should not produce its own leaders as well. The larger the stake it is given in clubs and organizations, the greater will be the feeling that these bodies are its own and need to be cared for and respected as such, and are not just something which can be passively accepted or rejected at will. The earlier effects of blindly given charity can be studied in this, one of the most social-worked boroughs in the East End. Where no effort is demanded from youth, there will be no strong attachment. Thus, the head of the Evening Institute has found that more respect and interest is paid to facilities, for which the members help to pay, than if these are presented to them free. Self-discipline is the most effective type of discipline, nor is it incompatible with leadership from above. Bethnal Green youth has still, perhaps, to show quality of leadership. But it is now getting the chance to learn.

Voluntary bodies as well as statutory have a big interest in further education. The education authority, which in the case of Bethnal Green is the London County Council, supplies most of the facilities. The traditional attitude of the L.C.C. has been to provide a reasonable range of facilities, and then to leave it to the individual to come and get what he wants. This approach has been too formal, too like that of an ordinary school. But the L.C.C. are now coming to realize that voluntary education, to be successful and popular, involves social work as much as teaching. The informal approach of the Evening Institutes in Bethnal Green, which runs far in advance of the letter of the law as laid down by County Hall, has helped them to a reasonable popularity in a district that is not naturally disposed to much disciplined effort. At the same time, the cultural efforts of the voluntary bodies are improving in standard. Smooth co-operation between the voluntary clubs and the Evening Institutes is very desirable, since—for instance—eighty per cent of the pre-war members enrolled at the Boys' Institute took their classes in the clubs; and smooth co-operation has been attained. The voluntary social workers are still, of course, much more informal in their approach than statutory bodies and can spare more personal attention to encouraging thought and cultural activities among their members. But this work is, of course, casual and on a small scale compared with the educational facilities of the L.C.C.

Thus, at both the Evening Institutes and at the Social Settlements, there are now youth clubs. At the former the club has a functional basis of work, but at the latter it would not be true to say that there is a basis of either work or recreation. In a sense, of course, the clubs at the Social Settlements, now that they are shaking themselves free of an atmosphere of preaching or condescension, should aim to be as much like the Athenaeum as possible—somewhere to meet your friends, have a drink, and play billiards. But after all, their members

are rather different from the Athenaeum's. Perhaps they are best defined as personal clubs, communities which extend the advantages of the home, its atmosphere of friendliness and interest—advantages, however, which bad living conditions preclude from so many Bethnal Green homes. Possibly it is because they were faced with so few alternative experiences of value that so many Bethnal Green residents look back on their 'club days' with affection; much as an old boy looks back on his public school. It may be that the social settlements shine in Bethnal Green's life *faute de mieux*; but at least they are remembered with gratitude by many.

V

THE CHURCHES, THE BOROUGH COUNCIL, AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The Churches are not a strong force in Bethnal Green. This is not altogether their fault. There are obstacles in their way which only the most enlightened and courageous clergy could start to overcome. Bethnal Green has been described as an 'entirely pagan society'. This is obviously an exaggeration, but it remains true that, while there is a fervently faithful minority, the majority have little but apathy and indifference for religion. Nor is this all. The Churches are politically suspect as well. Native cynicism about motives is, anyhow, high in Bethnal Green. The suspicion lingers, however unjustifiably, that their role is to turn the people's aspirations into unworldly channels. The parson is no longer accorded a ready-made audience or a ready-made respect. Such influence as he has he must create for himself, and in Bethnal Green he has not been conspicuously successful. How far is this his fault? There are more difficulties here than in many other districts, it is true, but it is equally the case that the Church has not been active in surmounting them. In a district where that is the quality least desirable, the clergy have tended to be conservative in their approach. They have shied from going into the highways and the byways to gain that personal contact with the actual feelings and worries of present-day people, so remote and untouched by the academic approach from the pulpit, that alone could act as a passport to success. It is thus that responsible critics in Bethnal Green come to say that Church and people 'live in two different worlds'. Equally it is the negative approach that the Churches have made to the great issues of every period, especially to the need for reforms which appear so pressing to poor districts such as Bethnal Green, that have caused them to share the discredit of the existing order of things. Less for any action than for an unmasterly inactivity, they are counted among the reactionaries. These shortcomings cannot all be attributed to the modern parson.

They are rather a legacy from the recent past—not the days of Barnett, but the early years of this century—but it is a difficult one to outlive. The situation now is such, indeed, that the person seems to get most respect who can be regarded as strictly neutral in every controversy. Any axe to grind is assumed to be a bad axe.

These general conditions, and the lack of contact which they indicate, explain why it is that the Churches, for the number of their representatives, are not very active participants in social work. Their youth groups are small and mainly confined to younger children. As might be expected, far more work is done among women than among men. Whether the women attend knitting clubs, religious groups, or Conservative clubs, the result is often dangerously near being a gossip circle. However, given the patience and the skill, this field of work can be a very profitable one, and the women prove capable of intelligent thinking about the factors which govern their lives and create their environment (as in the women's group which studies Wells's history of the world and attends planning exhibitions). The war has led to a very considerable destruction of Church premises. Perhaps this explains why the needs and crises of the war have not proved the stimulant to the Church's work that might have been expected. One parson, however, who was admitted by all to be doing excellent work before the war, seems to have found some of his public melting away. Why it is hard to say, unless it is that individual Churches are too small and specialized to meet the mass demands of war; or that there is more force in the criticisms made above than we hope is the case.

Bethnal Green has been tending for some years to become politically homogeneous. The borough council is entirely Labour. Of the two M.P.s, one is a Co-operative and the other a Liberal. The Co-operative Party works in closely with the Labour Party, having the same secretary and enjoying the support of the latter in the last election. The Liberal Party has the support of tradition. Bethnal Green has a loyalty to established institutions and personalities, which is part of its community pride. The Communist Party is growing rapidly and beginning to be a serious rival to Labour; between the two parties there is no love lost. Currently, however, and for some time past and to come, there can be no doubt that Labour is in the saddle, at least in local politics. With such an assured majority it might be supposed that the local council would be energetic and progressive. This is not so. Its main social work has been in the field of health. Community facilities are admittedly inadequate, and there are many social needs towards meeting which the council might be expected to exert some influence. Since the war, indeed, individual councillors have been willing to take an increasing part in the schemes promoted by voluntary societies. There is not, however,

much social work undertaken by the political parties as such. The Co-operative Guild is one plant that has grown and been watered on local soil without any outside assistance, but its public is limited. Both the Labour and Liberal parties have run advice bureaux for some time past. The latter party has been more successful in this work, due to its felicity in establishing personal contacts and to the fact that the services of legal and other advice rendered by the Liberals' agent have become well established as one of Bethnal Green's strong traditions.

No survey of Bethnal Green could be made which did not include a description of the men's Evening Institute which, while it ranks as a statutory social service, undertakes work that is, as we have seen, closely akin to that of voluntary bodies. Indeed, in its early days, the task before it was much less that of providing an authorized set of services than of creating an atmosphere into which people would be glad to come to learn some craft, hobby, or branch of knowledge. That, at least, was the way in which the head regarded his task. Starting in 1920 with £500 and no teachers, it had come by 1939 to have a paying membership of 3,500 and to be, in very many ways, the centre of the borough's life. Its head has a flair for publicity and the Press has been regaled with stories of cat-burglars who took advanced courses and unemployed men who became leading painters. Behind this unimportant smoke there lies a real fire. Before the war, it had a great number of flourishing clubs with activities ranging from music to boot repairs and to the well-known rabbit and poultry clubs. The Institute's annual art exhibition was an important event. The head's recipe for success was to establish a friendly and sociable atmosphere but to insist that members paid their way and worked at their subject. Thus the activities provided the nucleus for successful social clubs, some pupils continuing to attend for the fun of it after twenty years, but the recreational side was firmly grounded on a functional basis of work. The war has, unfortunately, reduced greatly both the Institute's public and its equipment. All will hope that its firm foundation of common effort will enable the Institute to regain its position after the war.

VI

CO-OPERATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE

Co-operation as a business ideal may still have its claims disputed by those of competition. In the sphere of voluntary social services there can be no such controversy. The greater the effort that is made by voluntary societies, both to work together between themselves and to work in with the schemes of the statutory authorities, the less will be the loss caused by dispersal and redundancy of effort.

Co-operation in Bethnal Green, is not based upon any formal

machinery, for Bethnal Green does not take kindly to formal machinery of any sort. The linking together of the voluntary societies and their relationship with statutory authorities could never be achieved by a purely co-ordinating body. Such a body would have no chance of success in the borough. It would be regarded as an imposition from above and not a growth from below, even if its members were local social workers. To be well established in the borough and to have a definite public and work of one's own are essential conditions for initiating any big scheme requiring a wide measure of co-operation. The initiating body needs to be a recognized power in local life rather than an *ad hoc* organization. Indeed, the same rule seems to apply between bodies in Bethnal Green as between the nations. The ability of any single unit to promote working together depends upon its own standing and direct influence.

There is another factor deciding co-operation in Bethnal Green. It is that personalities are more important than organizations. Perhaps this is true of voluntary social service as a whole, and it is certainly the case in this borough. The social settlements are not there to implement but to improvise a programme. Their work is largely what they choose to make it. Their aim is to serve the needs of the community and they will tackle those that appear to them most pressing, but the way they set about the task is a very individual affair. Their strongest tie is tradition, but it has already been shown that changing circumstances are leading some of them to break its bonds. They are still pioneers. This being so, it is natural that their influence should be very largely the product of the influence of their staffs and, especially, of their heads. Apart from the special character of the social settlements, Bethnal Green as a whole thinks in terms of personalities. The personalities are not very great, perhaps, by ordinary standards. They tower in stature simply because it is a backward area with many needs. Few residents have so far had the confidence or ability to initiate schemes of social service, much as they are needed. Those who do achieve something of value appear, in consequence, to be giants. Beyond this, it may not be fanciful to suppose that Bethnal Green has, anyhow, a liking of its own for colourful personalities. This would be in keeping with the tradition of a close-knit and proud community. At all events, most successful pieces of co-operation are brought about by outstanding individuals.

There is little formal co-operation among themselves between the voluntary societies in Bethnal Green, but there is no pressing need for it. The societies chiefly concerned are the social settlements. These bear no traces of a universal stamp, but are indigenous bodies, formed to tackle the borough's special needs. They each have their own answer to these needs. The field is wide, and each settlement is mainly concerned with a public of its own. Overlapping will still

occur, however, in the provision of certain services which are of interest to the residents as a whole. In this field there could certainly be some centralization of services, although as yet none exists other than that provided by officially sponsored bodies such as the Youth Committee. A very simple illustration is the story of the musicians. For years there have been a few musical enthusiasts scattered by twos and threes in numerous clubs; at last a proposal has come, via the Youth Committee, that they should form a single club, which would be large enough to undertake some worthwhile activities, at one of the settlements. As things are, the need for co-operation only seems to be felt in a crisis. For instance, when the Young Fascists became a big nuisance as well as drawing members away from the clubs, the voluntary societies and the Evening Institutes summoned an emergency meeting. It did not achieve very much and a proposal for a central publicity office was turned down. This does not indicate much progress in a crisis. In normal times there is at least a case for machinery to ensure a full interchange of information.

A relationship that has proved more active is that between voluntary bodies and statutory authorities. The link between the former and the local representatives of the L.C.C., as education authority, is a happy one. It does not call for formal ties. It has worked smoothly largely because the representatives of the statutory authority, as in the case of the Evening Institute already quoted, have been friendly and imaginative and not sticklers for rules dictated from the centre. They have been local personalities immersed in the borough's life. It is because of their understanding of the nature of social work that they have got on well with voluntary social workers. By contrast the relationship of the latter with the borough council has not, until lately, been satisfactory. The council have found it difficult to shake off the initial suspicion of Labour in the East End that the voluntary workers are there for some ulterior purpose. Many councillors are, at the same time, very critical of the Church's social work. One peace-time mayor went so far as to attempt to inaugurate a religious drive with official blessing. His efforts failing, despite an impressive inaugurating ceremony arranged by himself, he summoned a meeting of clergy, some of whom refused to listen to his strictures. Incidents like this can do a great deal of harm. One war-time mayor was extremely circumspect in giving money to the clergy from the Mayor's Fund. The attitude of the council to the social settlements was originally very suspicious and occasionally hostile. It is now becoming much more favourable, due to the fact that the settlements have unmistakably proved their worth. It is in a more friendly spirit that individual councillors now accuse the staff of Oxford House, for instance, of being alternately Tories and Communists. The war has led to a great increase in the

amount of co-operation between the voluntary bodies and the council, as well as increasing the friendliness shown by the latter. The war has created a need for many types of work, and in several ways Bethnal Green has risen corporately to the occasion.

The war has also illustrated very strongly that it is personalities who make co-operation. Bethnal Green's shelter welfare officer, for instance, was a live wire in this field. She has started a number of schemes, only loosely connected with her job, for which she has secured the participation of voluntary bodies and the largely unofficial help of the council. A good example is the Bombed Sites Producers' Association. This, as its name suggests, grew out of the fact that there were numerous derelict sites, suitable for allotments and for nothing else, which only required organization to be put to good purpose. The Council was persuaded to supply help and equipment, a voluntary social worker acted as secretary, and the Town Clerk supplied legal assistance. Finance was put on a firm basis, with the help of the ceiling established by the Ministry of Agriculture upon rents of this character and the opening of a fund for donations. The association is run democratically with two members chosen by each ward in the borough. Its work has been remarkably successful. Bethnal Green has always been enthusiastic over back-yard gardening, but the lack of space has imposed limitations. As a result of the association's efforts, every bombed or derelict plot has been used to advantage. The history of this voluntary scheme is worth quoting in full because it is an excellent example of co-operative effort between a number of bodies, voluntary and statutory, achieved by one person. It should not be thought that co-operation of this sort is yet at all extensive. The shelter welfare officer, however, has been able to promote a number of other schemes, such as enlivening the museum in the evenings with a canteen which the Londoners' Meals Service was persuaded to provide and with other facilities secured by the attendance of voluntary workers; filling the need for play centres by interesting the L.C.C. and the Save the Children Fund; and supplying the borough's war-workers with holidays at a Catholic retreat in Dorset.

The shelter welfare officer held a post that was at least semi-official, but she was only a temporary member of the Council's staff. In the co-operation that has begun to grow up between the Council and the social settlements, most of the spade-work has been done by the latter. Oxford House, especially, has started many voluntary schemes which it has later attempted to put on a co-operative basis. It has started a nursery school which was finally recognized by the Council, which followed the example and started three of its own. The holiday centre which was run by Oxford House has now been entrusted to the care of a joint committee, on which councillors are

strongly represented. A far more important scheme of the same sort is the one proposed for University House. This is a social settlement, associated with Oxford House by foundation, which among other things has become the recognized centre for general advice and for legal aid; under the latter heading it carries on extensive work with the help of six or more lawyers. The suggestion emanating from Oxford House is that the control of University House should be transferred to a joint committee, on which the council and other local bodies would be represented.

These plans for University House, as well as similar arrangements made on less important matters, are significant not only as important steps forward in co-operation, which they undoubtedly are, but as harmonizing very closely with what was suggested in Section III to be the new function of the social settlements. Part of their aim was said there to be the promotion of responsibility. It is thus not just their job to start schemes which meet some need, but to hand over such schemes as soon as possible to fully representative and local control. Because Bethnal Green cannot yet altogether afford to run its own life satisfactorily, it is still the work of the settlements to take the initiative and fill some gaps; but it is just as important that Bethnal Green should be taught and persuaded to administer for itself the social services which it needs. It must be admitted that the Council has not made use of its opportunities for providing social services. One example is the giving of advice and information, a great deal more of which could have been provided through the welfare officers at the Town Hall and the Labour Party's bureau, whereas in fact most of this business has been handled by University House. However, the Council is now coming forward readily to help in joint schemes. It must be remembered that the local residents lack knowledge and experience of social services, partly as a consequence of lacking so many of the services themselves. It is not just a question of supplying the means of the good life that must be tackled by voluntary societies, but of teaching the borough how to provide the means for itself. Such an aim requires the progressive democratization of voluntary schemes and of the social settlements themselves. It is because Oxford House has realized that it has an educative role that it has gained such a central position in the borough. It is beginning to take a lead in the initiating and democratization of voluntary schemes. This is a process which, for the social settlements, will find its end in their transformation into representative locally run community centres. The voluntary workers at Oxford House and elsewhere must thus aim in the long run at making their presence superfluous. When Bethnal Green has been trained to provide all its wants for itself, the special causes which brought voluntary workers into Bethnal Green from elsewhere will have been finally eliminated. This does not mean that voluntary

social service will be at an end. It merely means that such service will then consist entirely of mutual aid and of community effort. There will be no trace of the 'foreign' spirit which came to bring charity to Bethnal Green when it lacked the essentials of life and stayed to educate Bethnal Green to run its own life and to make that life a good one. However, the ideal of a self-sufficient Bethnal Green looks well into the future. There remains in the present the beginnings of the transference of voluntary social service to democratic local control. This is a change that greatly increases the need for co-operation between voluntary and statutory bodies. In turn, the degree of successful co-operation that can be obtained will go a long way to determine how far the policy of decentralization and democratization can be carried by the voluntary bodies.

CHAPTER 14

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN BURNLEY, LANCASHIRE

By M. P. HALL

INTRODUCTION

BURNLEY is a Lancashire industrial town of approximately 83,000 inhabitants. It is a County Borough and one of the largest of the cotton-weaving towns of the Ribble-Calder valleys, being situated well up the valley of the Calder among the Pennine moorlands. These towns form the northern edge of industrial Lancashire, and beyond them hills and valleys stretch unspoilt to Ingleborough and Carlisle. To the south, Burnley is cut off from Manchester and the industrial area surrounding it by a stretch of moorland, which, although now intersected by good roads, forms quite an effective barrier, so that this part of Lancashire has a life and tradition of its own.

The natural lines of communication of the region are up and down the Ribble-Calder valleys, and there is both rail and bus communication between the various towns, so that Mid-Lancashire forms a natural geographical and economic unit; but so far there has been little regional co-ordination.

The staple industry of Mid-Lancashire is cotton-weaving, each town specializing in the manufacture of different kinds of cloth, and until the war, at least, the fortunes of Burnley were closely bound up with those of the cotton trade. Thus, the nineteenth century was a period of prosperity and rapid growth, but Burnley shared to the full in the industrial depression following the last war, which hit the cotton trade particularly hard. These years of depression between the wars meant prolonged unemployment for many workers, and 'under-employment' for many more, and they meant, further, that at a time, such as this, when voluntary social services were badly needed, money was scarce, and some of the social service organizations started then, such as the clubs for unemployed men and women, depended largely on outside help.

Cotton-weaving is generally regarded as woman's work, and comparatively few men are engaged in it.[1] The men are mainly employed

[1] In 1937–8 the number of weavers employed in Burnley and District was approximately 13,000, of whom 9,750 (75 per cent) were women, and 3,250 (25 per cent) men. Since the concentration of the cotton industry in 1941, the total number of weavers has declined, but about 90 per cent of those remaining are women. No accurate figures are available for the period following the concentration.

in the coal mining and engineering industries. Many women continue in factory work after marriage, and the problems of the 'married woman worker', now receiving so much attention, are not new to Lancashire. At the same time married women's work has meant a comparatively high standard of living in many homes, and the women, accustomed to the life of the factory, and conscious of their economic independence are sure of themselves, capable and enterprising. Many take an active part in such organizations as chapel sisterhoods, and the Co-operative Guild, but others find the double burden of looking after a house and family and working in the factory a physical and nervous strain, and have no energy for other activities. Life for them is 'all bed and work'. The prolonged economic depression between the wars greatly reduced the number of married women workers, but large numbers have returned to work since the outbreak of war.

As one would expect in a town with a long industrial tradition, 'mutual help' organizations such as Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, and the Co-operative Movement are strong. The local council has a small Conservative-Liberal majority, but the Labour Party and the Trade and Labour Council are very active, and play a prominent part in the life of the town. A Labour M.P. represents the borough in Parliament.

The middle class is made up mainly of manufacturers and their families, together with shopkeepers and professional people. With its factory chimneys, its steep streets, and harsh climate, Burnley has few attractions for the leisured or elderly, and hence there are few of the retired or unoccupied people who in some places play a prominent part in social work. One 'county' family, the Kay-Shuttleworth family, has been outstanding in the interest it has taken in public and social work, but, generally speaking, the voluntary social services have been built up by the efforts of groups of townspeople coming together to work for a common end.

The atmosphere of Burnley is friendly and democratic. Thus it is noticeable that, apart from strictures on its climate, the most usual remark about the town by outsiders coming here to live is that it is a friendly place. This is probably partly due to its size, as well as its industrial character, for it is small enough for people to know each other and take an interest in local affairs, but large enough for a varied community life. At the same time its comparative remoteness, and the struggle which life has always meant for the majority of its people, has made them independent, determined to do their best for themselves and their children, and proud of their achievements and own ways of doing things. Burnley people are, moreover, essentially democratic in outlook and the community is, on the whole, a homogeneous one, sharing the same traditions and interests.

This, together with a strong tradition of self-help and self-respect among the working class—sorely tried but not broken down by the long years of hardship when unemployment was rife—must be taken into account when considering the development of the social services, particularly those concerned with the relief of poverty, and those community activities in which the question of self-government is a vital one.

The industrial and social life of Burnley has not been adversely affected by the war to anything like the same extent as life in some other parts of the country. The town has suffered no appreciable damage from air-raids, nor has there been any large influx of soldiers or war workers. Originally scheduled as a neutral area under the Government evacuation scheme, it received a party of women and young children from the Channel Islands in June 1940, and women and children from London followed during the autumn. The majority of the Londoners quickly returned home, but the Channel Islanders are likely to remain until after the war. To many local people, the war has brought full-time employment and higher wages after years of hardship. Probably the small-shopkeeper class has suffered most, together with those families where the husband has been called up and the wife is unable to go out to work. The town has suffered the usual difficulties resulting from transport restrictions and the 'black-out', but social life has not been restricted to anything like the same extent as in the target areas. In one respect Burnley gained as a result of the war, as for eighteen months it was the headquarters of the Old Vic and Sadlers Wells companies, and this gave the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood a unique opportunity, of which they took full advantage, of seeing classical plays, opera, and ballet. It is to be hoped that an Old Vic and Sadlers Wells season will be a feature of Burnley's life after the war.

It is for this town and its people that the voluntary social services outlined below have grown up. They vary considerably in purpose and character. It is proposed to survey first what is being done in the way of general social case-work. This will be followed by a discussion of the work of the voluntary social services on behalf of those members of the community who are in need of special care—the physically and mentally handicapped, children, young people, and the aged. An account is also included of the help given to the evacuees, as in describing the response of the social services to an emergency an indication is given of their strength and limitations. The care of the sick has been omitted, as the work of hospitals was originally excluded from study in this volume. Finally, an attempt is made to discuss the part played by the voluntary social services in building up a healthy and varied community life.

GENERAL SOCIAL CASE-WORK

Social case-work may be defined as helping individuals and families to overcome their special difficulties and lead more satisfactory and harmonious lives. Many of these difficulties are economic, and in the past social case-work was often equated with the giving of relief. Of late years, largely owing to the development of the social insurances and the increasing scope of statutory assistance, the emphasis has changed somewhat, and is now much more on the giving of advice and general friendly help, although a certain amount of relief-giving is still necessary to meet needs not covered by the public social services.

Burnley has no old-established Charity Organization Society or kindred organization to be the recognized family case-work society for the town. Before the war two organizations, the Burnley League of Social Service and the Burnley Citizens' Guild, concerned themselves with the general relief of distress, but neither on a large nor comprehensive scale. The League of Social Service is the older of the two bodies, and was established in 1911. During its early years it was mainly concerned with Infant Welfare (see page 276), and as a result of this work came into contact with families in need of relief in cash or in kind. The League set out to relieve individual cases of distress brought to its notice, but the work never developed on a large scale, perhaps because, except in very special circumstances, it does not use its own funds for this purpose. Hence its assistance has usually been limited to obtaining help for families from national funds. Further, it has never employed a full-time, or even part-time, social worker in connexion with this side of its work.

The Burnley Citizens' Guild was founded in 1935. It was probably intended to be a co-ordinating rather than a relief-giving organization (see page 268), but a clause in its constitution enables it to consider the distribution of money or goods in urgent cases or circumstances where no other body is able to assist. Grants and loans have been made in rare cases from two very small funds earmarked for the purpose, and for a time the Guild was responsible for a small second-hand clothing store—a legacy from the local branch of the Personal Service League, which was created to meet the exceptional distress of the early 'thirties, and died a natural death with the revival of trade shortly before the outbreak of war. The volume of clothes distributed by the Guild was very small, however, only thirty-five families being assisted in 1939, for example, and shortly after the outbreak of war its remaining stocks were handed over to the W.V.S.

Since the war the people most in need of material assistance have been the wives and dependants of serving men solely dependent on service allowances, and the evacuees. The work of the voluntary

organizations on behalf of the evacuees is discussed below, pp. 288 f., so here attention will be confined to the families of serving men.

In spite of successive increases in Family Allowances, and the help which can be obtained from War Service and Emergency Grants, the wife of a serving man with no other resources and a family of young children is still frequently hard put to it to clothe them adequately and meet all emergency needs. Hence the necessity for the work of the voluntary organizations which seek to help these families. Of these organizations the Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Families Association is perhaps the best known. It is an old-established national organization with a network of local committees and representatives. Until the end of 1942 the local representative for Burnley was a retired civil servant. He had no office, and had to carry on the work from his own home, but co-operation was established with the Citizens' Advice Bureau, at whose office he interviewed clients once a week, and the W.V.S., who supplied clothing from their stores to people recommended by him. During 1941 he dealt with 153 applicants, and distributed £87 in cash to 47 families. He worked very conscientiously, but found the work, all of which was voluntary, very exacting, especially as he was expected to organize money-raising efforts in addition to his responsibility for case-work. He resigned in December 1942. Since then efforts have been made to get together an S.S. and A.F.A. committee, including representatives of the various organizations interested in the welfare of serving men and their dependants, but so far (September 1943) these efforts have not been successful. Meanwhile the work is being carried on by one or two members of the W.V.S., the head of which is acting as local representative.

Instead of, or in addition to, applying to the S.S. and A.F.A. in an emergency, the wife or dependant of a Burnley serving man can appeal to the Mayor's Fund. This was established in November 1939, and intended primarily as a Comforts Fund for Burnley men serving in H.M. Forces, but the Mayor who started it declared from the first that help would be given to their wives and families should they be in need. The responsibility for the administration of the Fund has always been vested in the Mayor for the time being, and while, on occasion, the Local Representative of the S.S. and A.F.A. or the Secretary of the Burnley Citizens' Guild have been asked to investigate applications for relief, in the main persons applying for help have been assisted without reference to any other organization, nor have successive mayors left case records to which their successors can refer.

The only other voluntary organization in Burnley which undertakes comparable work is the Benevolent Committee of the British Legion, which deals with applications for relief from discharged

serving men and their dependants. The Committee meets weekly, and interviews about thirty-five cases a month. All monies disbursed by the Committee come from the British Legion headquarters, and while the local Committee has power to issue vouchers for food, and rent, applications for financial assistance have to be referred to the Regional Office.

Considering the work of the voluntary associations concerned with the relief of distress as a whole, three characteristics stand out—the lack of co-ordination, the fact that nearly all the work is done by voluntary workers, and the almost complete lack of the close scientific case-work which the C.O.S. and kindred organizations consider so essential. The case committee is almost unknown.

In 1936 the Burnley Citizens' Guild tried to deal with the problem of overlapping by setting up a Mutual Register of Assistance and Care, but it was discontinued in 1941 as the relief-giving societies made no real use of it. In a town the size of Burnley, co-operation and the avoidance of overlapping should be possible with the minimum of machinery, provided the different societies are willing to do their part. Some concern has been expressed about the position with regard to the families of serving men, but as yet there are few signs that the relief-giving organizations are sufficiently alive to the need for them to take action in the matter.

In view of the uncertainty as to the future scope and elasticity of the public social insurance and assistance services it is difficult to predict the part which the voluntary organizations are likely to play in the relief of distress after the war, but it looks as though for some time to come their help will be necessary in exceptional cases or circumstances. As already indicated, there is no voluntary organization in Burnley with the resources in personnel or finance which would enable it to undertake relief-giving on a large scale. Nor has any voluntary body a tradition of such work. Whether, in view of modern trends in social service any of the voluntary organizations will develop relief-giving on a large scale is doubtful; but if there were a fund available for the relief of distress in exceptional cases outside the scope of the statutory authorities, and the administrators of this fund were prepared to co-operate with the other social service organizations, and to develop constructive case-work in connexion with their relief-giving, this would be of value.

Just as there is no central relief agency in Burnley, so, until the war at least, there was no generally recognized centre for advice or legal aid. It was, however, possible for the citizen to approach a number of organizations or individuals. The local councillors are in close touch with the people they represent, and many people consult them as a matter of course. Trade Unions are strong, and for some time the office of the Trades and Labour Council has been a centre for

information and advice on workers' problems. The giving of advice in matrimonial and family difficulties has always been part of the work of the Probation Officers, and of the Superintendent of the House of Help, and although there is no Poor Man's Lawyer Service in the town there is a Poor Persons' Divorce Committee. Hence it is doubtful if the need for an advice centre was consciously felt, although some social workers thought a Poor Man's Lawyer Service would be of value, should it be possible to get one organized. Just before the war the Burnley Citizens' Guild made tentative approaches to the local Law Society to see if they would consider the establishment of a Poor Man's Lawyer Service but without any concrete result.

When the National Council of Social Service started organizing the Citizens' Advice Bureau service throughout the country in the summer of 1939, the North-West Regional Officer approached the Burnley Citizens' Guild, which is affiliated to the National Council, with the suggestion that, in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, it should be responsible for organizing a Citizens' Advice Bureau in Burnley. The Executive Committee of the Guild agreed to do this, and enlarged its membership, which already consisted of representatives of several of the voluntary organizations, to include representatives of the Assistance Board, Public Assistance Committee, Health Services, and the S.S. and A.F.A. It did not, however, invite representation from the churches or political parties. Officials of the government departments likely to be concerned and of the local authority were informed of the project, but while they agreed in principle with the idea, they did not appear to think that there was much which a C.A.B. could usefully do. However, the Guild went forward with the scheme, and the Bureau was opened in September 1939, with the Guild's Organizing Secretary, a trained social worker, in charge.

The Burnley Citizens' Advice Bureau has now been open for four years. During this time there have been no large-scale air-raids on the town, nor any major disturbances of its normal life such as would emphasize the need for a Bureau, and the C.A.B. has had to establish itself gradually. At first inquiries came in very slowly, but the number has increased[1] so that the average for the year ending 30 September 1943, was 510 per month. Further, the Bureau is now recognized by government departments and the local authority as one of the town's social services, and inquiries are frequently referred to it by other organizations, both statutory and voluntary.

From this it would seem that the Bureau, started to meet a wartime need, may develop into a permanent institution. It should be

[1] *C.A.B. Inquiries*, April 1940—March 1941, 2,410.
,, 1941— ,, 1942, 4,953.
,, 1942— ,, 1943, 5,850.

realized, however, that the vast majority of the inquiries are about specifically war-time problems—communication with persons in enemy occupied territory, clothes rationing, dependants' allowances, and pensions, and the war-time problems of the industrial worker. In a total war this would seem to be inevitable, and it may be that having formed the habit of going to the Bureau with his war-time difficulties the citizen will do the same with his post-war problems. But if the C.A.B. service is to become permanent, and to continue on a voluntary basis, it will have its own problems to solve, among them being the financing and staffing of the Bureaux, and the relationship of the service to that of the other voluntary organizations.

No contribution towards the upkeep of the Burnley C.A.B. is received from the local authority. Some donations and contributions have been received locally, but the chief single source of revenue is a grant from the National Council of Social Service, without which it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for the Bureau to carry on. It is not possible to say whether the N.C.S.S. grant, which is ultimately derived from the Ministry of Health, will be continued after the war, and it seems that, unless the Bureau receives more support from the community which it sets out to serve, its future, from the financial point of view, is problematical.

As the Burnley C.A.B. was started as one of the activities of an already existing organization, the Burnley Citizens' Guild, the services of the Guild's Organizing Secretary were available for C.A.B. work, and it was not, like more Bureaux, entirely dependent on voluntary help. This is an advantage, for a worker who is available for the greater part of the time ensures a measure of continuity in administration, and further, while the majority of inquiries can be dealt with by a person of common sense and intelligence without a great deal of special training, some problems which are brought to the Bureau involve detailed case-work, and can best be handled by a trained and experienced worker. In Burnley no great difficulty has been experienced in getting a sufficient number of voluntary helpers of the right type, and it is hoped that they will continue to give their services after the war.

A third question which arises from this consideration of the possible future of the C.A.B. service in Burnley is the scope of its work in relation to that of the statutory and voluntary social services which specialize in dealing with particular types of problems, and whose workers have special training and wide experience in their own field. The Burnley C.A.B. regards itself as a link between these services and the public, and whenever it is clear that the inquirer needs specialist help he is referred to the organization best able to deal with his particular difficulty. There is no panel of specialists attached

to the Bureau itself, and, although the hon. solicitor to the Guild is willing to give legal advice when such is required, there is no organized Poor Man's Lawyer service.

Such then are the principal voluntary social services available for the citizens of Burnley requiring advice and assistance. More co-ordination than at present is perhaps the chief need, together with a clearer understanding of the principles and methods of family case-work, even if these are not adopted in their entirety.

THE CARE OF THE PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

In general case-work, such as has been described above, the difficulty is usually of a temporary nature, and the object of the agency consulted is so to solve it as to restore the client to normal independent citizenship. People handicapped by prolonged mental or physical infirmity are in a different position, however. Although much may be done to help them become as independent as possible, their limitations mean that they are permanently in need of care, and the organizations caring for the blind, the deaf, the mentally defective, and the crippled, have to provide long-continued friendship and help manifesting itself in many ways.

There is no voluntary society in Burnley making special provisions for the adult cripple.[1] The other three classes of handicapped people are all catered for, the blind by the Burnley and District Society for the Blind, the deaf by the Burnley and District Deaf Society, and the mentally defective by the Central Lancashire Association for Mental Welfare.

The work of all these societies is varied. They do a considerable amount of case-work, visiting their cases in their own homes, seeing that they are properly cared for, helping those able to undertake it to find work, and assisting those in need with such things as clothing, spectacles, and dentures. In addition to this case-work, the Society for the Blind and the Deaf and Dumb Society provide opportunities for social intercourse for the people for whom they are specially concerned. Each of these societies has, as the main part of its premises, a room or rooms which are used for this purpose, where there is provision for games such as dominoes for the blind, and billiards for the deaf. The Society for the Blind also holds handicraft classes and informal lectures, while the Deaf and Dumb Society includes among its aims 'the provision of religious instruction and facilities for public worship for the deaf and dumb', and part of its room can be converted into a little chapel in which services are held regularly. The Central Lancashire Association for Mental Welfare provides Occupation Centres for mental defectives, but these cannot be compared with the social centres of the other two organizations,

[1] The provision made for crippled children is discussed below, p. 277.

as they are mainly used by children for whom they take the place of ordinary school.

Considerable statutory provision is made for the mentally defective and the blind, and both the Central Lancashire Association for Mental Welfare and the Burnley and District Society for the Blind act as agents to the authorities responsible for seeing that these provisions are carried out. Since both organizations cover a considerable area outside the Borough boundaries, this means that they come into contact with a number of different local authorities. This complicates administration and finance somewhat. For example, in the case of the Society for the Blind there is some difference in the extent to which the County Borough of Burnley and the Lancashire County Council make use of the Society. The former appoints its own home teachers, and itself administers the grants paid under the Blind Persons Act 1938, leaving to the Society only the arranging of social activities and the provision of extras, such as dentures, which the local authority cannot itself supply. No grant is made towards the administrative expenses of the Society. On the other hand, in the area covered by the Lancashire County Council, the home teachers are employed by the Society, although the County Council pays their salaries, and the Council makes a grant towards the Society's administrative expenses. In spite of complications such as these, both the Society for the Blind and the Mental Welfare Association appear to combine the work undertaken as agents of statutory bodies quite successfully with their purely voluntary activities. This delegation of statutory duties is probably beneficial to the afflicted people, as it means that they have all their needs met, and all investigations made, by the same group of workers whom they learn to know and trust, and who form their links with the outside world.

As there is no special statutory provision for the deaf, the work of the Burnley Deaf and Dumb Society is wholly voluntary, but it receives small 'placement' grants from the Burnley Public Assistance Committee and from the Lancashire County Council in return for the efforts it makes to find employment for the deaf.

If it is to be carried out satisfactorily, case-work among the physically and mentally handicapped involves a good knowledge of the particular statutory provisions framed to meet their special needs, in addition to general knowledge of the social services. Further, workers among the blind and deaf need certain technical qualifications, ability to teach Braille and Moon in the case of workers among the blind, and to use and understand the manual alphabet in the case of workers among the deaf. Hence the major part of the work of all three organizations is, of necessity, carried out by trained and salaried workers, although there is some scope for voluntary help,

especially perhaps in connexion with the promotion of social amenities.

The war has made little difference to the work of the three societies, for the basic needs of the physically handicapped remain unchanged. The scope and character of the work of the Society for the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb Society, and the Mental Welfare Association, after the war will depend to some extent on developments in connexion with the statutory services for the physically and mentally handicapped. Sir William Beveridge recommends that his proposed Ministry of Social Security be responsible for the maintenance of the blind, but leaves the details to be worked out by the Ministry, the local authorities, and the voluntary societies concerned. It is not yet clear what part the last will play, but at least Sir William's suggestion recognizes the value of a partnership between the statutory and voluntary social services dealing with afflicted people. No statutory provision for the deaf is suggested, and it looks as though voluntary organizations will continue to be wholly responsible for the welfare of this group of the population. If ever statutory provision is made for the deaf, and many workers among them think it desirable, it is hoped that it will be possible for the voluntary bodies to remain associated with the work, since, if we may judge by the work of the organizations catering for the blind and the defective in the Burnley area, such a partnership between statutory and voluntary is of value to the people concerned.

MORAL WELFARE WORK

Physical and mental defect may cause a great deal of unhappiness to the sufferer and his family, and much skill and patience is needed on the part of the social worker dealing with these cases if she is to help them to adjust themselves to their limitations and live as fully and happily as possible. Similarly, unwearying friendship and skilled help are needed by those who, either because of innate temperamental difficulties or bad environment, or a combination of the two, are in danger of wrecking their own lives and harming those with whom they come into contact. If such persons are brought before the courts as offenders against the law, or 'in need of care and protection', the supervision needed can be exercised by the Probation Officers, but long before the passing of the Probation of Offenders Act, Moral Welfare Associations were endeavouring to help girls and women in difficulty or moral danger, and to-day, in spite of the valuable work done by the probation officers, the work of the voluntary organizations is still needed.

The 'Bankfield' House of Help for Women and Girls, which is responsible for this work in Burnley and district, is one of the oldest of the town's social services, as it dates back to 1883. Its foundation

was due largely to the persistence and enthusiasm of Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth and his wife, who, in spite of much opposition and many difficulties, got together a local committee which started a Home for girls. Once established, the value of the work done in and from the House quickly became evident, and is now widely recognized.

Both 'indoor' and 'outdoor' moral welfare work are carried on at 'Bankfield'. 'Indoor work' includes the provision of temporary shelter and short-term training for girls who need care away from their own homes. After a stay at 'Bankfield' they may either return home, be found work, or passed on to a maternity home, approved school, or voluntary training home according to circumstances. The house can only accommodate nine girls at a time, and consequently the atmosphere is more home-like than that of a large Home. This is of great value in some cases.

'Outdoor work' consists of giving help and advice to women and girls in their own homes or lodgings, and includes, for example, advice to unmarried mothers about obtaining affiliation orders, friendly supervision of juveniles drifting beyond their parents' control, advice about adoption orders, lodgings, employment, matrimonial difficulties, and a variety of other problems.

In addition to all this case-work an attempt is made, chiefly through meetings of various kinds, to influence public opinion towards the maintenance of a high standard in sex relationships.

From the beginnings it was realized by those responsible for the work that it would be impossible to carry on effectively without the co-operation of the public authorities, and part of a statement issued in 1893 reads: 'In carrying out this work the Workhouse, Hospital, and Police Cells are visited, and the help of the Police enlisted'. Since then the powers of the statutory authorities to deal constructively with young delinquents and boys and girls in moral danger have increased considerably, but the committee and workers of the House of Help have consistently sought to keep abreast with these developments and to co-operate as far as possible with the statutory authorities. Thus, the Lancashire County Education Committee sometimes sends girls who have been committed to their care under the 'care and protection' clauses of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 to the House of Help for a short period of care and training. Although 'Bankfield' is not officially recognized as a remand home, arrangements have been made with both Burnley Borough and the County for selected cases to be sent there on remand. There is also close co-operation with both the Borough and County Public Assistance officers, and the former makes a grant towards the House in return for its work in sheltering destitute and homeless girls who would otherwise have to be taken to the Institution. Thus, in addition

to its work on behalf of those with whom the statutory authorities have no power to deal, the House of Help performs valuable services for the authorities, and, as in the case of the work for the blind and mentally defective, this partnership between the statutory and the voluntary services seems to work well.

The money needed for the maintenance of the House and its associated work comes from various sources. 'District Committees' composed of people who are in sympathy with the work are found throughout the area served by the House, and they are responsible for collecting subscriptions and raising money by local efforts. Each year there are two or more special efforts organized by the various committees working together, namely, an annual sale, and flag days in the Borough and County areas. The Blackburn Diocesan Moral Welfare Council makes grants to the House from its annual 'Women's Offering'. Legacies, which have been received from time to time, have been invested to build up a capital account. Money is also received from statutory bodies. Thus, the Burnley Public Assistance Committee makes an annual grant and the various bodies using the House for their cases pay for the girls' maintenance. In 1942 out of a total income of £752, £201 was raised by subscriptions and donations, and £219 by special efforts. There was a grant of £45 from the Blackburn Diocesan Women's Offering. The Burnley P.A.C. made a grant of £15 15*s*. while £179 consisted of payments for girls' maintenance. The remainder came from interests on investments and other small items. At the end of the financial year the excess of expenditure over income was £47 which was deducted from the capital account.

In common with most of the work of this character throughout the country, that carried on at 'Bankfield' has a religious basis. The House is affiliated to the Blackburn Diocesan Moral Welfare Association, through which it is linked with the Church of England Moral Welfare Council. In spite of this close connexion with the Anglican Church the Executive Committee of the House has always been inter-denominational in character, and this also applies to the District Committees which are largely responsible for raising funds for the work. Girls of all religious denominations are admitted to the House, and when plans are made for their future their religious attachments are taken into account. Thus the management and work of the House of Help illustrates how people with differing creeds, yet actuated by a common concern arising from the fundamental tenets of their religion, can work together.

The scope and character of the work done at 'Bankfield' has not been fundamentally changed by the war, but its emphasis has altered somewhat. There are no large concentrations of troops near Burnley, so certain war-time moral problems are not as acute here as in some

parts of the country, but there are many matrimonial and family difficulties due to the absence of husbands and fathers, and cases of this kind are sometimes referred to the worker by chaplains and welfare officers. The area is predominantly industrial in character, and since the war there have been opportunities of work for all. Parents of working girls in trouble of one kind or another are much more inclined to keep them at home if at all possible if they are working. Consequently since the war there have been fewer 'indoor' cases among the older girls, but this has been balanced by an increase in the number of school children sent to the House for longer or shorter stays owing to behaviour difficulties or unsatisfactory home circumstances.

It would seem then that the Committee and workers of the Burnley House of Help are prepared to adapt the work to changing conditions, and are alive to new needs, and if this attitude is maintained after the war it will ensure the continued usefulness of this voluntary social service.

CHILD WELFARE WORK

The history of the maternity and child welfare services in Burnley is probably typical of that of the movement in many parts of the country, for the work was initiated by a voluntary organization, but later taken over by the local authority. The voluntary organization starting maternity and child welfare work in Burnley was the League of Social Service, established in 1911 by a group of ladies interested in the welfare of mothers and babies, and concerned about Burnley's high infant mortality rate. The League opened an Infant Welfare Centre in a room loaned by the Corporation, an instance of co-operation between a local authority and a voluntary organization rare at the time, and this centre was followed by three others. The League of Social Service was responsible for the administration and finance of all these centres, but the capital expenditure necessary for the building of one of them was provided by a national body, the Association of Infant Welfare Centres, which collected weekly pennies from members all over England to found a new Centre in the place 'where most babies die'. As Burnley, with an infant mortality rate of about 200 per 1,000 births,[1] enjoyed this unenviable distinction the money was sent here, and an Infant Welfare Centre in premises specially built for the purpose was the result.

The League continued to administer these Centres for a number of years, but after the passing of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 the local authority became responsible for maternity and child welfare work throughout the town, and the importance of the League's work in connexion with the clinics declined. Its activities

[1] The infant mortality rate for 1941 was 74·3 per 1,000 births.

are now confined to supplying voluntary helpers who make tea, sell second-hand clothing, arrange homecraft competitions and so on, but who have no responsibility for the administration or medical work of the clinics. The transition from voluntary to statutory control is complete.

Meanwhile the League of Social Service had developed two other activities, both related to its original concern for the welfare of mothers and babies—the Moorland Rest Home and the Mothers' Clubs.

The Moorland Rest Home was founded in order to provide short holidays free of charge for mothers with young children, and many mothers and babies recommended by the clinics have benefited from their stay there, but the Home can only accommodate two or three families at the same time, and although its situation is healthy and beautiful it is away from the railway and the main bus routes. Since the war there have been serious difficulties with staff and transport, but the Home continues to open for the summer months.

The Mothers' Clubs, of which there are four, were originally opened in connexion with the clinics, and were intended to provide opportunities for the mothers to hear useful and interesting talks and receive practical instruction in 'make and mend' and homecrafts in a way not possible at the clinic sessions. They are still in existence, but have ceased to have any real connexion with the clinics. The majority of those attending are the original mothers who have kept up their membership year after year, and on the whole the clubs fail to attract the young mothers of this generation. Talks are given on subjects of general interest, and members appear to appreciate the companionship of the clubs, but neither in membership nor activities do they now fulfil their original purpose.

Apart from some general relief work (described above, page 266) which has never developed to any great extent, the League has undertaken no new activities of recent years, and now plays a less prominent part in the social work of the town than in its early days.

The story of the Cripple Children's Aid Society is similar in many respects to that of the League of Social Service. This Society was founded about thirty-five years ago, and made itself responsible for the welfare of cripple children under fourteen. It arranged for orthopaedic treatment, provided appliances such as leg irons, and contributed towards the maintenance charges of children in orthopaedic hospitals. Now all these arrangements are made by the Orthopaedic Clinic maintained in connexion with the school medical service. Since the local authority assumed the responsibility for this work there appears to have been little or no co-operation between the statutory and voluntary bodies, but the hon. treasurer of the Cripple Children's Aid Society hopes that this will be remedied after the war,

and has recently approached the Health Committee to express the willingness of the Society to assist it in its orthopaedic work.

Both the Cripple Children's Aid Society and the League of Social Service had large balances in hand at the end of 1942. The Cripple Children's Aid had a credit balance of £1,163 at the bank and £600 invested. At the same time the credit balance of the League of Social Service was £633. Its income is derived from subscriptions, interests on a bequest, an annual flag day, and a grant from the local authority.

The position of both these organizations, general as well as financial, illustrates the problem facing a voluntary organization when, after doing excellent pioneer work in a particular field, this work is taken over by a statutory body. If it is to maintain its usefulness and justify its continued existence, the voluntary organization must find new work, related in some way to its original purpose, and of benefit to the community.

A problem of child welfare now receiving a good deal of attention from both statutory and voluntary organizations is that of the care of the child of the married woman worker. Actually, although wartime conditions, and particularly the introduction of the shift system, have made things more difficult, this problem is not new to East Lancashire. Married women have worked in the weaving sheds since the introduction of the power loom more than a century ago, and from that day to this social reformers have deplored the evils resulting from the women workers leaving the children with unsuitable 'minders'. There were, however, few attempts to start day nurseries in East Lancashire till the Government drive for their establishment in industrial areas all over the country in 1941. It was always contended that the custom of having the children minded by relatives and friends was so deeply ingrained that nurseries would never be popular. For about eighteen months during the last war a group of ladies interested in social welfare work ran a day and night nursery for young children of workers, but attendance never rose above about twenty-five children, and the nursery was closed in the spring of 1919.

During the years between the wars, the long-continued depression in the cotton industry meant that few mothers of young children went out to work, but the demand for women workers rose again after the outbreak of the present war and by the spring of 1941 the problem of the married women worker and her child was being widely discussed. This time, however, it was clear from Government pronouncements that the responsibility for starting and administering the nurseries was to rest with the local authorities, and therefore all that voluntary organizations could hope to accomplish was to see that the local authority was alive to the situation, and prepared to exercise its responsibilities should the need be proved. With this

object in view the Burnley Citizens' Guild conducted a sample survey to try to ascertain the need for day and residential nurseries, while the W.V.S. appointed an 'Industrial Relations Officer' who went into the question with several firms. It is doubtful whether the efforts of these two organizations influenced the Health and Education Committees to any appreciable extent, but in any event two residential nurseries for children under two, and fourteen nursery classes for children two to five, with play centres for older children attached, have been started by the local authority and have already proved very popular with women workers. Voluntary organizations have no share in their staffing or management.

The story of the maternity and child welfare services in Burnley is thus a story of pioneer work by voluntary organizations followed by increases in the scope of the statutory social services, leaving little administrative work for the voluntary bodies. There is, however, still room for research and planning and the education of public opinion so as to ensure both that the statutory bodies carry out their duties as progressively as possible, and that full use is made of these services by the public. Thus the latest voluntary organization concerned with child welfare work to be formed in Burnley is a sub-group of the Child Health Planning Group, an organization whose objects are 'To study child health and welfare and explore the possibilities of improving the general health and welfare of children with particular regard to . . . the better organization and co-ordination of agencies (including all existing official and voluntary agencies) for child care'. The Burnley sub-group includes people of varied background and experience, but how far it will be able to make its influence felt remains to be seen. It would appear, however, that a co-ordinating group of this kind can be very useful given members with sufficient knowledge, vision, and enthusiasm.

THE SERVICE OF YOUTH

For the last twenty-five years the State has assumed a very large measure of responsibility for the welfare of young children, but only very recently has it undertaken the task of ensuring that there shall be comprehensive provision for the educational, recreational, and social needs of boys and girls leaving school. Before the war this was, in the main, left to the voluntary organizations, the L.E.A. confining itself almost entirely to the provision of evening classes and institutes. This, at least, was the position in Burnley, and here, as elsewhere, although the voluntary organizations concerned with youth work were varied and active, they attracted only a comparatively small proportion of the young people concerned. They included Scouts, Guides, organizations connected with the churches, and independent youth organizations such as the Lads' Club and

the Central Girls' Club. Opportunities for co-operation and the discussion of broad issues of policy were provided by the Juvenile Organizations Committee, to which each of the voluntary organizations sent two representatives and which also included representatives of the N.U.T. and evening institutes. This committee was a very large one, met irregularly, and had no real executive power, and, on the whole, was not very effective.

In the early days of the war the State began to assume more responsibility for youth work, and the Board of Education Circular 1516, issued in June 1940, encouraged Local Education Authorities to 'take the initiative in their local areas, provide machinery for local co-operation, encourage existing organizations to extend their work, and fill in the gaps not covered by such organizations'. The machinery by which this was to be accomplished had been set out in an earlier circular—1486.

In Burnley, the L.E.A. early set to work to implement these circulars. The J.O.C., whose name was changed to the Youth Organizations Committee, was retained as a co-ordinating committee whose main function would be the discussion of broad lines of policy, and a smaller committee, the Youth Committee, was set up to meet the requirements of the Board of Education circulars. It consists of 13 members of the Higher Education Committee, and 13 representatives elected from amongst the 90 members of the Y.O.C. The Director of Education acts as clerk. The Youth Committee has some executive powers, but these are limited. One serious limitation is in connexion with applications from voluntary bodies for Board of Education grants. These, after being considered by the Youth Committee, are re-considered by the Higher Education Committee, that is in effect by a section of the Youth Committee sitting separately, before being approved, a procedure which although usually formal, is liable to result in delay in making the grant, and adds weight to the complaint sometimes made by the voluntary organizations that their representatives on the Youth Committee have little effective power compared with the representatives of the statutory authority. Recently a full-time Youth Organizer was appointed, and the Youth Organization Committee, the Youth Committee, and the Youth Organizer together constitute the machinery by means of which the Burnley L.E.A. sets out to implement the Board of Education's policy with regard to youth work.

Judging by the circular quoted above, it is the intention of the Board that L.E.A.s. should encourage voluntary youth organizations as far as possible. In pursuance of this policy, the Burnley L.E.A. has made grants to several organizations and provided instructors in special subjects such as crafts and dressmaking, to clubs and other organizations arranging classes in them. Through the

Youth Committee and Organizer it promotes co-operation between the different organizations by the arrangement of joint activities, and encourages local interest in youth work. For example, a successful Youth Week, including Open Nights, Exhibitions, and a Physical Training Display was held in May 1948, and youth leaders' courses in physical education and craft work have been inaugurated.

Besides co-operating with and encouraging voluntary youth organizations, L.E.A.s are also urged by the Board to 'fill the gaps not covered by such organizations', and, presumably in accordance with this advice, the Burnley L.E.A. has organized Youth Centres in connexion with each of the six senior schools in the County Borough, and reconditioned and equipped an old building in a densely populated area for the use of youth organizations in the neighbourhood. Boys and girls are encouraged to join these 'Youth Centres' during their last year at school, and through them obtain opportunities for further education on less formal lines than at the evening institutes. Activities include games, woodwork, embroidery, and drama, and instructors are provided by the L.E.A.

These activities are very similar to those carried on in clubs under voluntary auspices, and this raises the question as to whether there may not be some competition between the youth centres started by the L.E.A. and the work of the voluntary youth organizations. When discussing this question of the possibility of competition between statutory and voluntary youth work it should, of course, be realized that the L.E.A. is not the only statutory body concerning itself with the work. The service departments also sponsor youth organizations—A.T.C. and the Army and Sea Cadets. The Girls' Training Corps is usually classed with the boys' pre-service organizations as it closely resembled them in objects and activities, but it is not directly sponsored by any one of the women's services. It is a voluntary body set up at the instigation of the Board of Education.

There are then four types of organization in Burnley catering for young people between 14 to 20—the Evening Institutes, the L.E.A. Youth Centres, the pre-service organizations, and the voluntary youth organizations. Unfortunately it has not been possible to obtain figures showing the numbers of young people supporting the different types of organization. It is known, however, that the proportion of school leavers registering for evening classes, 55 per cent, is considerably higher in Burnley than in the country as a whole, and although there is some falling off later, the tradition of seeking further education through the evening institutes is strong. At present a large proportion of the young people attending the L.E.A. youth centres are boys and girls in their last year at school, but it is hoped that these children of thirteen will continue to attend after they leave. The Sea Cadets are the most popular of the pre-service

organizations, but the A.T.C. still has room for recruits. The Youth Organizer does not consider that the creation of these organizations has unduly affected the membership of the voluntary bodies. He thinks that their members are nearly all young people previously outside the influence of the youth services. The most recent registration of boys and girls for which figures were available at the time of writing, that of the young people of 16 + taken on 13 March 1943, shows that only 57 per cent of the boys and 39 per cent of the girls were attached to any kind of youth organization. If these figures are anything like typical of the 14 to 20 age range it would seem that there is so much work waiting to be done that there is scope for both voluntary and statutory organizations without the expansion of one resulting in a decline in the scope and importance of the other. At the same time the history of the social services, including the education service itself, shows that partnership between statutory and voluntary organizations tends to end in statutory control and the relegation of voluntary effort to a subordinate position, unless the latter has a special contribution to make to the work as a whole. Before discussing this in relation to the service of youth in Burnley it is necessary to know something of what the voluntary youth services are actually doing.

The voluntary youth services of Burnley vary considerably in aims, size, activities, and organizations. The youth work of the churches is of considerable importance, but the problems and opportunities of different churches and chapels differ, and a great deal depends on the attitude of the priest or minister in charge. What can be done with enthusiastic leadership is shown by the creation and maintenance of a youth centre connected with the parish church of a large mixed parish. Here, premises consisting of a house and shop have been converted into a centre for the use of Scouts, Guides, Girls' Friendly Society, and a Boys' Club. This was brought about by the initiative of the curate in charge, and has already proved of great value to the various organizations who share it. The Burnley Youth Committee made a grant of £10 towards the initial cost of reconditioning and equipping the centre on condition that the church raised a further £20, but since then it has been entirely self-supporting, the running costs being met by contributions from the member organizations. A Youth Committee of the church is generally responsible for the management of the centre, but the member organizations are in the main self-governing and they send representatives to this committee. It is interesting to note that while two of the organizations, the G.F.S. and the Boys' Club, are definitely linked with the church, the Scouts and Guides are open 'district' companies, and thus the centre is, in some senses, a neighbourhood as well as a church centre.

Centres such as this, valuable as they are, are the exception rather than the rule in church youth work, but the majority, if not all, of the churches make some provision for young people, with Scouts and Guides and a Boys' Brigade or Girls' Life Brigade for the younger members, a Youth Fellowship of one kind or another for the older ones. One of the great difficulties at the present time is the call-up of young people over eighteen, which weakens the senior organizations and deprives the juniors of their natural leaders. For example, a Nonconformist church, whose young people were mainly in business and the professions and therefore more likely to be called up for the Forces than those in industrial work, has lost fifty-nine of its active young men and women, so that a mixed club for young people has been reduced to a skeleton, and one of the difficulties in connexion with work with the adolescents and children is that of finding the right leaders.

The churches are the principal, but not the only voluntary associations undertaking youth work. Early in 1942, for example, the Co-operative Society started a Youth Guild, intended for young people of 14 to 18. It was well advertised and enrolments in the early days numbered nearly 300. Apparently a real attempt was made to get classes going in various subjects, but although it made a good start the Guild never fulfilled the promise of its early days. Membership rapidly declined, and, although an attempt was made to maintain it by lowering the age of admission to 11, there are now only about 45 members. Once again the problem appears to be partly lack of suitable leaders, although possibly the admission of the younger children and the lack of opportunities for dancing have tended to keep away the older boys and girls.

The Lads' Club and the Central Girls' Club are the two largest independent youth clubs. The Lads' Club is an old-established organization, and before the war was doing well with a membership of about 300, good premises near the centre of the town, and an enthusiastic voluntary leader. Shortly after the outbreak of war, however, the premises were commandeered by the military and the leader gave up club work because of the claims of civil defence duties. The club continues as best it can in a wooden hut behind the old premises, but the position is not really satisfactory.

The Central Girls' Club also dates back to some years before the war, but was reorganized and expanded during the winter of 1939–40 when new premises and a full-time leader were obtained. This reorganization was undertaken mainly with the idea of attracting a type of girl not previously in touch with any youth organization, and the club lays stress on its Saturday dances and Sunday socials and concerts, which are attended by girl members who number about 140 and the 120 Boy Associates. Besides these social activities there

are week-night classes in drama, handicrafts, and dressmaking, while a G.T.S. company has the use of the room on Wednesdays, and there is a meeting for girls 11 to 14 on Mondays. The attendances at the educational classes are much lower than at the week-end, and the problem of interesting the girl who joins the club for the sake of the latter in its other activities has not been completely solved.

No survey of the voluntary youth services would be complete without mention of the Scouts and Guides, although these tend to attract younger children rather than the boys and girls who have left school. Thus in 1941 there were 83 Rangers in the Burnley Division of the Girl Guides, compared with 299 Guides and 230 Brownies. At the same time developments which have taken place since the outbreak of war, such as the Ranger Home Emergency Service, have roused some interest among the 14- to 18-year-old age group. Scout troops and Guide companies are connected with several of the churches and in addition there are independent companies. Both Scouts and Guides, particularly perhaps the former, are badly in need of leaders, and in some cases the leadership of the troop is being undertaken by the senior patrol leader in the absence of the scoutmaster.

Thus since the outbreak of war there has been a good deal of activity in Burnley in connexion with the service of youth. Nearly all the entirely new developments, such as the 'Youth Centres' and the pre-service organizations, have been initiated by the statutory authorities, and this raises the question whether the tendency is not towards statutory predominance and control, in spite of the conclusion arrived at above that there is room for expansion of both statutory and voluntary services. At the same time developments in some of the voluntary organizations, such as St. Stephen's Youth Centre, and the Central Girls' Club, show that there is a considerable amount of vitality in the voluntary youth movement, and given enterprise and initiative in meeting changing conditions and needs, it still has its part to play in the youth work of the future. From the point of view of the young people concerned, participation in the activities of a youth organization is a leisure-time occupation, and the essence of leisure is freedom of choice as to how it is to be spent. Hence the need for variety or provision to meet the desires and needs of different types of young people, and voluntary organizations with their freedom to make experiments can here make a special contribution. Further, youth services are not merely organizations for the benefit of youth; they are, or should be, organizations in the life of which the young people share and to which they contribute. As has already been indicated the young people themselves are taking an increasing share of responsibility for the management and leadership

of their own organizations.[1] And it is perhaps easier for voluntary organizations than statutory bodies to experiment along these lines. It may be then that the voluntary organizations have their own contribution to make to the youth movement as a whole, and certain it is that in the White Papers on *Educational Reconstruction* and *Youth Service after the War*, this is recognized by the Government.

THE WELFARE OF THE AGED

The last few years have witnessed an increasing interest in the welfare of old people. This has deepened during the four years the nation has been at war, as shown, for example, by the Old Age and Widows' Pensions Act 1940, and, in the sphere of voluntary social service, by the action taken by the National Council of Social Service in forming a National Old People's Welfare Committee, which in its turn encourages the setting up of regional and local committees. This continuing interest in the welfare of an age group, of little value either actually or potentially to a country engaged in total war, is an interesting social phenomenon, and reveals that the community's sense of responsibility for its more helpless and needy members has been quickened rather than deadened by the sharing of the sufferings brought about by the war.

Old people may be divided into two main groups, those living in homes, hostels, or institutions, and those living in homes of their own or with relations. The majority of the former group are in Public Assistance institutions, and the efforts of voluntary organizations to help them are, generally speaking, confined to visiting the friendless, and providing occupation, usually knitting or simple handicrafts, for those able to undertake it. In Burnley this work has been carried out for some years by the local branch of the Brabazon Society, members of which visit the Public Assistance Institution regularly, caring particularly for the bedridden. It is a very small society and has been handicapped since the war by lack of helpers and the rationing of wool and cloth.

The work of the Brabazon Society, good though it is, can do little beyond alleviating the lot of the aged who are forced to end their days in an institution. Of more importance is the work of various organizations, for example the Salvation Army, which have established voluntary Homes for old people. Since the war a number of such Homes have been started to house old people who were finding life in the target areas intolerable. One of the voluntary organizations undertaking work of this kind is the Friends' War Relief Service, and about eighteen months ago they established a hostel

[1] Since this was written a council of youth consisting of two members of each of the youth organizations—both statutory and voluntary—in the borough has been formed and is taking an active part in the arrangements for the 1944 Youth Week.

for about thirty aged and infirm men and women from Merseyside and other target areas in an old house, 'Montford', near Burnley. The case histories of the old people coming to 'Montford' make it abundantly clear that the need for comfortable and friendly Homes for old people too infirm to look after themselves was not created, but only accentuated, by war conditions.

Parallel with this work by voluntary bodies, of which 'Montford' is an example, is the action taken by local authorities at the instance of the Ministry of Health, in setting up Evacuation Hostels in different parts of the country to house old people originally evacuated to Public Assistance institutions and Emergency Hospitals. A hostel of this description has been set up in Burnley for about thirty old women, and here, as at 'Montford', the atmosphere is friendly and informal. These two evacuation experiments, one by a voluntary organization, and one by a statutory body, show that the lot of many aged persons would be greatly improved if there were more such hostels, differing in type to meet different needs, so that only those in need of real nursing attention, or incapable of appreciating the greater freedom of a smaller community, would be forced to enter large institutions.

The needs of old people living in their own homes are varied. Amongst the most urgent is that of suitable housing accommodation. This had long been recognized, and the provision of almshouses for the aged poor is an ancient and honourable form of charity. There are two small groups of almshouses in Burnley and the demand for accommodation in them greatly exceeds the number of places available. The provision of suitable housing accommodation for people unable to afford high rents is now, however, recognized as a community responsibility, and the efforts of individuals and groups concerned with the welfare of the aged can, generally speaking, be more usefully directed to seeing that the local authority continues to include in its housing plans an adequate number of flats and bungalows suitable for old people, and in emphasizing the need for the provision of amenities such as home helps and social centres in connexion with these housing schemes rather than in attempting to build almshouses themselves.[1]

The need of old people, especially old men, for some kind of social centre where they can have warmth and comfort, meet their friends and develop social activities, is becoming increasingly recognized, and with one or two exceptions—for example, the borough of Nelson, Burnley's nearest neighbour, where there is an admirable Old People's Centre provided by the local authority in connexion with

[1] At the same time it may be noted that in some towns useful work has been done in the way of the conversion of old houses into flats for aged people, and particularly in view of the acute housing shortage which is likely to persist for some time after the war, this work might well be extended.

its housing scheme—it is the voluntary organizations which are taking the initiative in this work. In Burnley the suggestion that there should be such a centre came from the local branch of the Old Age Pensions Association. The prime object of this association is to secure an immediate increase in old age pensions to not less than £1 10*s*. per week, without a means test, and its officials regard it as a political rather than a social service organization, but it also seeks to bring the needs of old people to the notice of the local authority and the public, and to provide pensioners with opportunities for social intercourse and entertainment. About two years ago a deputation from this association approached the local Council with the request that it should establish a social centre for old people similar to the one provided by the neighbouring borough of Nelson; the Town Clerk replied that this was impossible, as the local authority had no power to build community centres except in connexion with housing schemes. Anxious to do what he could for the old people, however, he approached the National Council of Social Service who referred him back to the Burnley Citizens' Guild. The Guild considered the question, and decided to set up an Old People's Welfare Committee, whose first task would be the establishment of such a centre. This was done, and after some difficulty premises were found and equipped and the centre opened in October 1942. In spite of the fact that in certain respects the premises are inadequate and unsatisfactory, the centre has been popular from the start, and has between 200 and 300 members, mostly men. It is open from 10 a.m. until after the 9 p.m. news, and cups of tea can be purchased. Games, newspapers and a relay wireless are available, and socials and concerts are held from time to time. From the beginning members themselves have been largely responsible for the management of the internal affairs of the centre. They have their own elected committee which is both active and efficient, and its secretary attends the meetings of the Old People's Welfare Committee. This centre meets a real need, and similar ones in other parts of the town would be welcome.

This brief account of Old People's Welfare work in Burnley shows that good work is being done by voluntary organizations, but the field is by no means exhausted. For example, as yet no voluntary organization has undertaken the friendly visiting of lonely old people in their own homes, and the question of the provision of houses and hostels for aged persons is likely to become an important one after the war. On the whole, then, it appears that voluntary organizations interested in work for old people should have opportunities for both practical service, and the influencing of public opinion in the years ahead.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE EVACUEES

The strength and weakness of organizations, as of individuals, are frequently revealed when they are faced with emergencies. Burnley's voluntary social services have never had to meet the test of serious and prolonged aerial bombardment. Their biggest war-time emergency was the coming of the evacuees, and the way the social services, both statutory and voluntary, have dealt with the evacuees and their problems reveals something of both the spirit and method of their work.

The largest number of evacuees to come to Burnley were the Channel Islanders, who arrived in June 1940. At intervals during the Battle of Britain, parties of mothers and children arrived from London and a number of 'unofficial' evacuees came from Liverpool and Manchester. The majority of evacuees from the various target areas quickly returned home, leaving about 270 in the town.

The Channel Islanders sent to Burnley included both mothers and young children and a party of unaccompanied school children. The latter were transferred almost immediately to another town, leaving the mothers and children in Burnley. Channel Islanders differ from 'civilian evacuees' in two respects. In the first place they have no hope of returning home until the Islands have been freed from German occupation, and meanwhile communication with their kinsfolk left behind is only possible through the Red Cross Postal Message Scheme. News is scanty, irregular, and frequently greatly delayed. Secondly, whereas for most reception areas the problem has been to help the city dweller to accustom herself to country life, here the countrywoman has to learn to adjust herself to life in a highly industrialized area, and one with a long industrial tradition. Hence problems of adjustment have been many, and there is a real danger that, cut off almost completely from their home life, with its heritage and tradition, the Islanders may feel very isolated, and their stay in England may be simply an unhappy and purposeless interlude, with the consequent danger of moral and physical deterioration. To avoid this the community must, in addition to seeing that their physical requirements are adequately met, give them understanding and friendship, and provide them with opportunities of developing some kind of community life of their own.

The statutory and voluntary bodies coming in contact with the Channel Islanders could not be expected to realize immediately all that evacuation meant to them. Moreover, while an Evacuation Committee was set up by the Mayor when the evacuees first arrived, it did not include representatives of all the organizations which might be concerned, and never functioned properly. Thus there has never

been any real co-ordination and planning, and while much has been accomplished it has been accomplished piecemeal.

The first and most obvious task was that of meeting physical needs. The statutory bodies, that is the local authority in the case of the billeted families, and the Assistance Board, through its P.R.D. scheme for those with houses of their own, provide for families where there is no worker with sufficient money to meet day-to-day requirements, but to a committee formed from among members of the W.V.S. fell the task of distributing the necessary clothing, for most Islanders arrived in the country with little beyond the clothes they stood up in. This was done through a central clothing store and a system of district visitors. Generally speaking the W.V.S. committee distributed the clothing at its disposal equitably and efficiently, but some of the visitors were women with many other calls on their time, and some had little or no previous experience of social work, so there has been some unevenness in the number of visits paid to different families, and the visitors have not always been able to provide the friendship and guidance which the Channel Islanders needed in addition to material help.

The realization of this need for some one to whom the evacuees could turn to for guidance in difficulties, and whose friendship would form part of the background of their lives, may have been one of the considerations which led the Local Authority to appoint an Evacuation Welfare Officer, for part of her work is to visit evacuees in their homes or billets and advise and help them in any way possible. She is also responsible for conditions in requisitioned houses and acts as a link between the Town Clerk's department, which is ultimately responsible for evacuation welfare, and the committee of W.V.S. members which continues to be responsible for the actual distribution of the clothing, and is the recognized channel through which relief from the Channel Islands Refugees Committee is distributed.

Contact is also maintained with the Regional Office of the Ministry of Health. The task of the Evacuation Welfare Officer is thus a delicate and difficult one, but the affection and respect in which she is held by the evacuees, and the readiness with which they turn to her in every kind of difficulty, is a tribute to her work and shows that it meets a real need.

The need for providing the Channel Islanders with opportunities of developing a community life of their own was not recognized for some time after their arrival. During their first few weeks in Burnley several organizations invited them to socials and picnics, and one, the Mutual Service Council, sought to make more permanent provision in the way of club life. For some years this organization had been responsible for two clubs for women affected by unemployment (see below, page 291). Owing largely to war conditions membership

was declining, and it was felt by those responsible that a new field of usefulness might be found by extending club facilities to the Channel Islanders. At first the officials and helpers tried to incorporate the Islanders into the already existing clubs as ordinary members, hoping thereby to break down the barrier between the Burnley people and the evacuees. This plan did not work, however, as the two groups did not mix well together and by the spring of 1941 it was clear that what the Islanders really wanted was a club of their own, under their own management. After a good deal of negotiation, arrangements were made for the Channel Islanders to use the Mutual Service Council club-room certain days each week, and a grant of 10*s.* per week towards the rent of the room was obtained from the local authority, which in its turn recovers it from the Ministry of Health Evacuation Account.

In this way the formation of the Burnley and District Channel Islands Society was rendered possible. The Mutual Service Council remain responsible for the premises, otherwise the affairs of the society are managed by its own democratically elected committee. Its activities are almost purely social—repeated attempts to introduce handicrafts and 'make do and mend' classes having failed—but it serves to maintain a sense of community responsibility among the Islanders, and gives those with organizing ability scope for their talents, while at the lowest estimate of its usefulness it provides somewhere where families in billets, or overcrowded in sparsely furnished rooms, may go for a change.

Thus in various ways and by means of different organizations, both statutory and voluntary, provision has been made by the local community to meet the needs of the evacuees. In the long run these needs have been fairly well met, but this has come gradually, without any co-ordinated planning, and this is probably typical of the way in which Burnley's social services tackle their problems.

EDUCATIONAL WORK AND GENERAL COMMUNITY SERVICE

In this section an attempt is made to discuss the ways in which the voluntary social services are helping to provide educational facilities and opportunities for richer social and cultural life for all who wish to take advantage of them, and to discover how far they are seeking to forward the development of an active and varied community life.

Burnley has no settlement or community centre. In March 1938 the Citizens' Guild, inspired by the National Fitness Campaign, circularized its affiliated societies and inquired if they thought that a building near the centre of the town, with provision for educational and recreational activities, would be of value, and, should such a building be constructed, if they would make use of it. A meeting was

called to discuss the project, and the local authority and the Juvenile Organizations Committee approached to see if they would co-operate, but no real enthusiasm was shown, and the scheme was abandoned. Most organizations were fairly satisfied with their premises, and did not sufficiently realize the potential value of such a building to the community as a whole to support the scheme. Actually the need for a community centre was then, and still is, greater on the corporation housing estates than near the centre of the town, as on the estates there is an acute shortage of premises which could be used by voluntary organizations for the development of community activities. It is hoped that this deficiency will be made good after the war.

The number of voluntary organizations, which although not strictly speaking social services, undertake educational work which is socially valuable, is quite considerable. Examples of this type of association are the Men's and Women's Guilds connected with the Co-operative Society, and organizations connected with some of the churches and chapels. Thus the Co-operative Guilds aim at spreading the principles of co-operation, and seek to carry out educational work among the members of the Society. Lectures are given on subjects of general interest, and these are followed by discussions. Similar lectures and discussions frequently form the major part of the winter programmes of organizations connected with churches and chapels such as Men's and Women's Fellowships and Mothers' Unions. Membership of such associations has declined of late and they are now mainly supported by middle-aged and elderly people, but for years they have helped to stimulate the growth of an intelligent and informed public opinion, while those associations which are managed by the members themselves also provide experience in the conduct of meetings and transaction of business on democratic lines—two of the foundations of good citizenship.

A further example of informal educational work, but with a more practical bias, is provided by the two clubs under the auspices of the Mutual Service Council. Started as occupational centres for unemployed women and the wives of unemployed men they are now open to any woman who cares to join. In the beginning the emphasis was on 'make and mend' and thrift craft, but gradually cookery, talks, singing, and dramatics were introduced. There has been a decline in membership of recent years, largely owing to the absorption of more women into industry, and those members that remain are mainly elderly, but the clubs have done much to encourage working-class women to broaden their interests and take part in activities previously beyond their ken.

Women's clubs such as these are probably the nearest approach to the Women's Institutes of the rural areas. They are sponsored by the

National Council of Social Service, and linked up through their County Federation with the Standing Conference of Women's Clubs. Through these associations members are able to interest themselves actively in national affairs and press for reform in matters which particularly concern them.

The Burnley branch of the W.E.A. attained its majority in 1943, and in spite of war-time difficulties such as long hours, shift work, black-out, and restrictions on transport, continues to attract members to its classes, and in his annual report for the year 1942–3 the hon. secretary stated that the Association was able to 'maintain and increase' its usefulness during the year. Classes in Literature (membership at the beginning of the session 43), Social Problems (47), Music (49), and Psychology (39), are being held during the winter of 1943–4. An analysis of the occupations of the members shows that about 30 per cent are in manual work; 26 per cent are teachers; 23 per cent clerks, civil servants, or local government servants; 13 per cent engaged in household duties; the remainder being in a variety of occupations. Manual workers predominate in the class on Social Problems, and form the largest group in the Psychology Class, but Music and Literature attract more teachers. The continued support of these classes demonstrates the existence in the town of at least a nucleus of people, varied in occupation and outlook, who are eager to take advantage of the facilities for non-vocational education offered them.

But the Burnley branch of the W.E.A. is something more than an organization through which classes in various subjects are arranged. It also aims at uniting its members in a fellowship in which all, whatever their age, sex, or station in life, are encouraged to mix on equal terms united by their common interest in study. In addition to the classes socials are held at intervals during the winter months and One-Day Schools in villages within walking distance of the town during the summer. The existence of the Lamb Guild House, Bowden, a small guest-house and conference centre used by W.E.A. branches throughout the region, makes possible the holding of one or two residential week-ends each year, which are greatly enjoyed by those who take part. The Committee which arranges these various activities is a keen one, and a real effort appears to be made to implement the ideals of the movement.

The nearest approach to that somewhat nebulous conception, an Urban Council of Social Service, is the Burnley Citizens' Guild, which has been mentioned several times already in various connexions. Founded in 1935, it was intended to act as a link between the voluntary organizations in the town, and they were invited to affiliate to it. In September 1943 there were twenty-eight such affiliated societies. Individual membership is also encouraged, and at the

same date individual members number seventy-five. While co-ordination was the primary object of the Guild, it appears from a study of its aims, as set forth in its annual reports, that the founders intended it to develop into a C.O.S. rather than a Council of Social Service. These aims include the promotion of self-help, the prevention of overlapping and waste of public and charitable effort, and the setting up of a Mutual Register. The emphasis is on the problem of poverty and questions connected with the relief of distress. But, as already explained (page 268), the Mutual Register was never properly supported by the relief-giving agencies and consequently was given up after six years' trial, and the Guild has never developed into a family case-work society on C.O.S. lines, although some case-work is undertaken in connexion with the Citizens' Advice Bureau. On the other hand, of recent years it has branched out into work which is definitely educational in character, and far removed from the relief of distress. Thus, for example, luncheons are held monthly at which there are short lectures on social problems followed by discussions. These also serve the useful purpose of bringing together people interested in social questions, including professional workers, committee members, and members of the general public. Recently the Guild was the means of getting together a local committee to be responsible for the arrangements in connexion with a Half-Day Music School held under the auspices of the Community Council of Lancashire, and an attempt is also being made to gather together a small library of books and pamphlets on social work and problems. These are appropriate tasks for a Council of Social Service, and, in a measure at least, the Guild seems to be fulfilling the co-ordinating and pioneer functions of such a body. There is, however, very little knowledge and understanding of the aims and methods of Council of Social Service work, and probably the Guild is valued by most people mainly for the practical work undertaken—particularly the C.A.B. and associated services—rather than for anything it may attempt in the way of co-ordination and education.

Thus the Guild, in common with similar organizations elsewhere, is faced with the problem as to how far it can itself undertake definite pieces of practical social work without becoming absorbed in them to the detriment of its less tangible, but no less important function of being alert to new needs and opportunities for social service, and bringing together the individuals and organizations best fitted to deal with these as they arise. A town of the size of Burnley can hardly support a Council of Social Service which undertakes no practical work of its own, and so it would seem desirable that the Guild should retain its direct interest in certain specific pieces of service, and undertake new ones when there is no other appropriate body to do the work required. It is essential, however, that it should

always keep in mind the social needs and problems of the town as a whole and realize that its continuing function is to seek to educate all citizens to this wholeness of vision.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The principal voluntary social services of Burnley have now been surveyed, with the exception of medical and nursing charities excluded for reasons already given, and certain organizations, for example, the Prisoners of War Relatives Association, created to meet a specific war-time need, and not likely to continue long after the cessation of hostilities. It remains to discuss one or two general points in connexion with the voluntary social services as a whole.

One general question is that of personnel. A feature of Burnley's voluntary social service is that a large part of their work is carried out by voluntary helpers, mainly married women of the middle class. Apart from the medical and nursing services, the only voluntary organizations which employ professional workers are the Citizens' Guild (an organizing secretary), the House of Help (superintendent and less fully trained matron), the Society for the Blind (organizing secretary and home teachers), the Institute for the Deaf (secretary superintendent, himself a deaf man), the N.S.P.C.C. (inspector), and the Central Girls' Club (leader). The general question of the future personnel of the voluntary social services is an interesting one. On the one hand war-time social work such as that undertaken by the W.V.S. may have roused the interest of some women who formerly undertook little or no social service, and they may wish to carry on after the war. On the other hand social case-work is changing in character and becoming increasingly concerned with advice and psychological help, while in club and community work the members are taking an increasing share in the management of their own organizations. It would appear, then, that whereas there will always be scope for the part-time voluntary worker, in the future her work is likely to be associated with that of the trained professional worker.

Besides the actual field-work in connexion with the voluntary social services, there is, of course, the committee work, and many people find an outlet for their organizing ability through their membership of committees of voluntary organizations. Eighty-seven persons, nearly all of them women, served on one or more executive committees connected with five of the voluntary organizations mentioned in this survey[1] for at least a year during the period 1940–42. The amount of work and responsibility involved in committee membership varies considerably, but the existence of the

[1] Citizens' Guild, Society for the Blind, House of Help, Central Girls' Club, and District Nursing Association. Members of district committees were not included, otherwise the number would have been much larger.

voluntary social services means that a number of people who would otherwise have no opportunity for utilizing their talents in social service administration are able to do so. This is one argument for the continuance of some social services on a voluntary basis, unless or until some method is evolved whereby persons with special gifts for this kind of work, but either unable or unwilling to link themselves with political parties and fight for seats on local councils, can be associated with the administration of the community's statutory social services.[1]

The differences in the size and nature of the work of the voluntary social services make it very difficult to make any general statements about their finances. None of the social services discussed here reported a really serious decline in income as a result of the war—that is a decline sufficiently serious to lead to the possibility of a cessation of the work. The Institute for the Deaf has had a difficult time financially, and both the House of Help and the League of Social Service noted a tendency for the inflow of money from voluntary sources to lessen. Sales of Work, a fruitful source of income, have become increasingly difficult, but still do amazingly well. The Burnley Light Opera Society, which until the war gave regular performances, the proceeds of which were devoted to local charities, has had to discontinue its efforts for the time being, and this is quite a serious loss to some organizations. Probably there is more money in the town than there has been for many years, but with the exception of those charities with a universal appeal, such as the Society for the Blind and the District Nursing Association, local voluntary organizations cannot compete with war charities which naturally have the first claim on the sympathies of the public.

Mention has been made from time to time of the grants made by statutory bodies to various organizations. The following voluntary organizations are in receipt of grants from one or more Local Authorities: the Society for the Blind (see above, page 271), the Institute for the Deaf, the House of Help, the Mental Welfare Association, the League of Social Service, the District Nursing Association (P.A.C. grant for nursing their cases), the Mutual Service Council (for work with evacuees, see above, page 289). Several youth organizations have received Board of Education grants through the Youth Committee. The Citizens' Guild receives no financial help from the local authority but for the last three years has obtained grants from the Ministry of Health through the National Council of Social Service towards the expenses of C.A.B. work.

The question of grants from public funds is part of the larger question of the relationship between the voluntary social services and

[1] For a full discussion of this question, see Constance Braithwaite, *The Voluntary Citizen*, pp. 321 onwards.

the statutory bodies, both national and local. Generally speaking there is quite good co-operation between the officials and workers of public and voluntary bodies when dealing with particular cases, although in this, as in so much social work, a great deal depends on the individuals concerned. There is, however, little or no joint discussion of social needs or the broad lines of social policy; the only committee where representatives of the local authority and the voluntary organizations meet for this purpose being the Youth Organizations Committee. Only two of the voluntary organizations —the Citizens' Guild and the Society for the Blind—have representatives of the local council or any of its committees on their committees. Statutory and voluntary social services have each their own experience and standpoint, and consequently their own contribution to make to the solution of social problems, both local and national. Hence, if there is to be a really comprehensive social policy, there should not only be co-operation on the case-work level, but opportunities of pooling experience and discussing common interests.

Finally there is the question of the future of Burnley's voluntary social services. When the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey was started, the voluntary organizations for social service were sent questionnaires which included the questions: 'What part do you consider your organization has to play in the building up of post-war society? What are your views on the place and function of the voluntary social services in post-war planning of Britain?' The answers to these questions, whether given in writing or verbally in interviews, indicated that in the main the officials concerned had not really thought about the subject, and were content to go on with their job and wait upon events. It should be made clear that this was before the issue of the Beveridge Report and the recent increased interest in social reconstruction. Further, since so much of the work of voluntary organizations consists of supplementing that of the statutory social services, and the future scope and functions of the latter are far from being clearly defined, there is a good deal of justification for this somewhat unimaginative attitude. Only one organization, the House of Help, stressed the possibilities of pioneer work which freedom from Government control allows the voluntary social services to undertake, and the emphasis generally was on the continuance or resumption of work done in the past rather than a reaching out towards the future in which there would be new needs and opportunities. Thus, it would seem that the voluntary social services of Burnley are as yet doing little, either individually or collectively, to prepare themselves for the tasks of reconstruction, and they may find themselves unprepared for the problems of peace. When faced with war-time needs and problems they have, in most instances, risen to the occasion and adapted themselves to meet the

new needs. This is illustrated, for example, by the setting up of a Citizens' Advice Bureau by the Citizens' Guild, the Sunday evening activities of the Central Girls' Club, and the work for younger girls now being undertaken by the House of Help. Further, entirely new organizations, created by individuals and groups with enthusiasm and initiative, have come into being to meet specifically war-time needs. Examples of this are the United Services Club, which occupies premises originally adapted for the use of a club for unemployed men and is doing excellent work, and the Prisoners of War Relatives Association. On the other hand, it must be admitted that much of the work done has been piece-meal, and this has resulted in overlapping, wasted effort, and lessened efficiency. Thus, from four years after the outbreak of war,[1] there is still no effective co-ordination between the various agencies seeking to help the wives and dependants of serving men, no mutual registration between them, and no S.S. and A.F.A. committee. The problems of reconstruction are likely to be at least as complex as those of the war, and if the voluntary social services are to make a worthy contribution to their right solution each organization must think of its work as part of a wider whole, and there must be the fullest possible understanding and co-operation, both between the voluntary organizations and the statutory bodies and among the voluntary organizations themselves. If along with this co-operation there goes vision and enthusiasm such as has always inspired the pioneers of social service, then the possibilities of useful service which the voluntary organizations may render the community are very great.

[1] The information contained in this report is up to date to September 1943.

CONCLUSION

By A. D. LINDSAY

THIS book began by setting out in the introduction three alternative futures for the voluntary social services. They may, according to the first view, disappear in what people nowadays call the positive State. On this view they are the complement of what is rather misleadingly called the *laissez-faire* State. The work they do would be much better done by the State, but when the State would not do it some one had to, and the voluntary social services were the result. No wonder on this view that the leaders of voluntary social service organizations were anti-Socialists (for Socialism meant that their occupation would be gone); and no wonder that the Labour and Trade Union movements distrusted the voluntary social services.

The second alternative is that every existing voluntary organization is doing work which ought to be taken over some time by the State, but that, as the State takes over the work of this or that voluntary organization, others will spring up to meet new calls. It is the part of the voluntary organizations to pioneer, to start new experiments, to be an advance guard. Administration consolidates, universalizes and standardizes the ventures of faith. The organizations which had secured the abolition of the Slave Trade turned to consider the terrible conditions of the factory children of England. So a century later the women who had secured the vote turned themselves into Townswomen's Guilds. It is a great mistake to suppose that there are a definite number of things to be done to make the world we desire and that the only question is who shall do them. The way in which moral or social progress comes about shows how untrue is this notion of a definite number of desirable reforms. As a community achieves higher standards it, or rather some of its members, see new possibilities of life, new experiments which are worth trying, and realize for the first time the necessity of doing away with evils which have long been taken for granted. We may assume with confidence that the spirit which has spent itself in services now assured by the State will never decay for want of finding things worth doing. The function of discovering new things to do and initiating a new service need never come to an end.

The third alternative suggested was rather a complement than an alternative to the second. However much we think the rôle of the State ought to be increased, however far away we move from the *laissez-faire* State, there are some things which the State should never do, or at least never do alone.

Professor MacMurray, in a recent book called *Constructive Democracy*,[1] has argued that democracy does not necessarily imply that economic relations should be free from State control, but that it does imply that the things of the spirit should be free. We may put this more concretely by saying that no sensible man thinks that anyone who believes in 'the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange' is bound also to believe in the nationalization of churches. The difficulty is that 'things of the spirit' and 'material things' are not easy to disentangle, as is abundantly clear from the history of the relations between Church and State. We may accept the distinction between 'the things which are Caesar's' and 'the things which are God's' and yet find the drawing of the distinction to be in practice empirical and haphazard. Yet the importance and validity of the distinction remains.

I hope the reading of this book has made two things clear: (1) that voluntary social service organizations have a part to play in a 'positive' as much as in a *laissez-faire* State, and that therefore the first of these alternatives mentioned may be dismissed, and (2) that as the general tone and spirit of a society changes the spirit and pattern of the voluntary social services changes with them. The function of the voluntary social services in a democratic community is a theme with variations.

The war has seen an immense increase in the activities of the State. It has also seen the rise of new forms of voluntary social services like the C.A.B.s. It has seen a great development in the co-operation between statutory and voluntary organizations. This has been an accentuation of a process which had been growing more and more evident in the years preceding the war. We could have brought this out more forcibly if we had included in this book, as we at one time intended, a study of Adult Education. We gave up the idea because the subject is so big and important that a single chapter in this book could not have done it justice. It may not be amiss, however, to draw some morals from the history of Adult Education in England in this century. Adult Education in this century has differed from Adult Education as it existed in earlier times when 'Adult Schools' came into being. Then it meant giving to adults the education which in a State with a proper system of education would have been given to the young. Such Adult Education, the progress of State education ought to make, and has largely made, unnecessary. The new form of Adult Education which is largely the growth of this century, is the result of, and not the alternative to, a system of State education. For as the standard of State education has risen, more men and women wish to understand the responsibilities of citizenship and to learn and think together

[1] Faber and Faber, 1943.

about their common problems. The education which they demand differs from what we ordinarily call education in that it is for the adult and not for the young. It consists not in one lot of persons instructing others but rather in men and women with practical experience, grown-up people, thinking out their common problems. It ought to be informed common discussion. It must therefore be free and cannot exist without voluntary organization. It would be most undesirable that the State or any public authority should dictate to its own citizens what they should think. Adult Education, so far as it is concerned with citizenship, therefore, could never be wholly taken over by the State or statutory authorities, though no one objects to technical education for adults being run by statutory authorities.

At the same time it has been found that the work of voluntary organizations in Adult Education is, if they are left to themselves, always patchy and uneven and ill-distributed. It is always in financial difficulties. From the beginning of the twentieth-century revival of Adult Education, the State gave grants to Adult Education without demanding control. Grants were and are made to Universities and to voluntary organizations like the Workers' Educational Association. The maxim that he who pays the piper should call the tune was disregarded as definitely as it is in the dealings of the University Grants Committee with the Universities.

That is not the whole of the story. The future of Adult Education at the present time is a matter of debate, but it looks as if there were general agreement that local education authorities should have the duty of seeing that the provision of Adult Education should be widely distributed, while the inspiration and invention and pioneering are sure to require voluntary organizations. There must therefore be some kind of co-operation between statutory authority and voluntary organization, with no presumption that in time the former will altogether supersede the latter.

The principle behind all this is really simple though it is not always recognized. The State may recognize that for the general health of society certain activities are necessary for which the State's organization is ill adapted, and it may give money grants to non-statutory bodies to do this work. Take, for example, that form of State endowment of Universities which tries to ensure that such endowment does not mean control. This is the old High Church Presbyterian principle that the State should establish the Church and leave it in spiritual matters entirely free.

The State's dealing with some aspects of the evils of unemployment illustrated the same principle. Most people recognized that to deal with the evils of the trade cycle and of structural employment State action was necessary. The State was committed to ensuring to

unemployed persons a certain minimum of subsistence. Nothing whatever was done to counteract the evil mental and spiritual effects of long-continued unemployment. Then came the invention by voluntary organizations of 'the occupational club'. The success of these clubs was seen to depend on their being small and self-governing and therefore completely distinct from government administration. Yet they could not be organized without money. The money was provided partly by individuals, partly by the Pilgrim Trust, but very largely by the State making grants to the National Council of Social Service. Note that one of the things to be safeguarded was the smallness of the unemployment club. True democracy needs fellowship and the vast scale of statutory democratic organizations cannot provide fellowship. Yet unless small fellowships can be fostered and encouraged in modern democratic States, their democracy will not be lasting.

If we may then agree that voluntary social services in some form are likely to be a permanent feature of the democratic State and that this is clearly the moral of some of their recent developments, it is worth while considering the change which has come, or is coming, over them. The services described in the earlier chapters of the book go back in their origin to an earlier condition of English society. No one can read the literature or indeed almost any publication of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century without noticing the profound division of English society—the two nations of Disraeli's famous passage in *Sybil*. On the top is a cultured, civilized, and enlightened minority; at the bottom, far below and belonging to another world, are the poor. There is a well-known passage in Halévy's account of England in 1815, on the effect of the Methodist Revival in English history. He concludes a portion of his survey by saying 'here is a country obviously hastening irresistibly to a terrible and bloody revolution. Why did that revolution not happen?' His answer is that the effect—the delayed effect—of the Methodist Revival upon the Church of England was to soften all social divisions in England. The beginnings of the voluntary social services described in the first part of this volume were part of the softening. The Methodist Revival profoundly affected all the churches in this country and all elements in the Church of England, Low, Broad, and High Church. But its effects are to be seen perhaps most remarkably in Evangelical circles. The state of mind of the pious well-to-do of the early nineteenth century is reflected in the evangelical literature of books like *The Fairchild Family* (1818) and even in rather later books like the writings of A.L.O.E. (A Lady of England), or Charlotte Yonge's novels. The admirable parents of these volumes, who, as we used in my Glasgow childhood to remark, had apparently nothing to do but look after the spiritual and moral welfare of their

children, impressed upon their children the duty of 'ministering to the poor'. Henry Fairchild at the age of six, if my memory is not mistaken, had his own class in the Sunday School. 'He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord and will be repaid,' said Mrs. Fairchild, at the same time slipping a shilling into the poor woman's hand! *The Fairchild Family* is about as crude as possible and I am glad to remember that when we read it in the eighteen-eighties we regarded it as merely funny. But the general attitude which divided the world into those who did good and those to whom good was to be done lasted in Evangelical circles till nearly the end of the century. (The division did not of course include the merely wicked. 'Mamma,' says Emily Fairchild on hearing the dreadful news that Mrs. Fairchild's aunts who brought her up played cards on Sunday, 'did your aunts go to heaven?' 'Hush, Emily,' said Mrs. Fairchild, 'that is not for us to say.') We read with more appreciation in the 'eighties a book called *Ministering Children* (1847), on which my mother's family had been brought up. From it I derived the general impression that a good child took soup, presumably in cans provided for the purpose, to poor old women. *Ministering Children* had produced a society for children called 'The Ministering Children's League'. Its motto was 'No day without a deed to crown it'. The League was indeed only the result of one of those missions to the benighted Scotch undertaken from time to time by benevolent English men and women and hardly fitted into the social atmosphere of Glasgow in the 'eighties. We used to beg to be allowed to take our father's letters to the pillar-box in the morning so that we could 'get our good deed over for the day'. The interesting fact was that this survival from an earlier England came to Glasgow at about the same time as Henry Drummond was founding in that city the Boys' Brigade. The Boys' Brigade is a stage farther on; nevertheless, it was perhaps still true in the 'eighties in Glasgow that the Boys' Brigade was for those 'who were done good to' and the Ministering Children's League for those 'who did good'. It was left for Baden-Powell to found a boys' organization so exciting that everybody wanted to belong to it, whether 'his dear Papa was poor' or not.

The point of these reminiscences is to emphasize how terribly the Evangelical Movement took for granted the social divisions which its benevolence softened. The benevolence and the concern were perfectly real. They were not conditioned, and, though some of their subscribers may have had sinister interests, they were not, in the minds of those who started them, intended to buy off opposition. These good people saw the evils in front of their eyes and turned their energies to aiding them. But they seldom troubled to ask whether something more fundamental should be done. Nor can it be denied that some Evangelicals had a remarkable power of not

letting their right hand know what their left hand was doing and were ready quite genuinely to help to remedy by their benevolence evils which their industrial behaviour was producing. There were certainly many good people in Glasgow who were not certain whether the fact that my mother was chairman of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Free Church of Scotland really cancelled the awful fact that she ran a society which encouraged Trade Unionism among women in Glasgow.

To some extent the voluntary social services were beaten by the social divisions of the society in which they worked. Because they took those divisions for granted and tried to cure their worst evils, they were thought to approve them. They certainly tended to minimize their significance. In the relations between grace and justice it is an old story that some people are tempted to make grace a substitute for justice. 'Shall we then sin,' asks St. Paul, in an indignant rhetorical question, 'that grace may abound?' Some good Evangelicals were almost ready to assent to the social version of this and allow the perpetuation of injustice by law in order to give more scope to charity. So in the minds of the others charity became something which the governing classes offered them instead of justice and became something hateful—a bribe, a sop, a palliative, something which went with and implied social divisions and would not exist without them. Hence the idea that voluntary social services are not really democratic and would not exist in the really democratic State. Thus Dr. Ley, in the early days of the war, contrasted the English reliance on voluntary effort with Nazi democratic justice, and described the English voluntary services as crumbs of charity thrown to the English people by its governing class who would not meet the claims of justice.

This view that the existence of voluntary social services is not really democratic is such an absurd perversion of the facts that these are worth restating. We all know how much modern democracy owes to the Puritans of the seventeenth century. Their particular democratic pattern was based on toleration, on the separation between the uniform administrative work of the State and the diversified, changing life of the Sects. It was the political expression of the fundamental distinction between grace and law of which the Puritans made so much. The works of grace were bound to be changing, diverse in their operation and infinite in their progress. They therefore had to be free. Their religious organizations were democratic and small. Their unit was the congregation. Political democracy they regarded as a second best just because it involved force. From them American and English democracy got their suspicion of force. As time went on, the ideal of the freedom of the religious sect turned into the ideal of the freedom of associations of all kinds.

That story has been told before. What is sometimes forgotten is that in England the Puritans of the left were beaten and driven, so to speak, underground, that English society henceforth was divided into Anglicans and Nonconformists, a division which did not coincide with the division of rich and poor but had some relation to it. The consequence of this was that underneath the hierarchical Anglican top-layer of eighteenth-century English society was an under-layer of democratic nonconformity, all the more democratic because individuals who got well off and respectable tended to join the Church of England. (See the attitude of Mrs. Furze in Mark Rutherford's *Catharine Furze*.) This democratic opposition in the early nineteenth century did two quite different things. It used the power of organization and leadership and the belief in voluntary organizations, which Nonconformists had taught it, to produce Trade Unions and Friendly Societies and all that network of voluntary organizations which made the English working-class movement. Professor Cole has explained in Chapter 7 the relation of that to the social services. Secondly, Nonconformity, as the statement from Halévy implies, in its more definitely religious side, thrust upward and gradually infected the governing class. As I have said, all parties in the Church of England were affected. The Christian Socialists were mainly High or Broad Church. The extraordinary expansion of movements and missions and societies was mainly a part of the Evangelical movement. Of course the influence was not only in one direction. No doubt, as has been admitted, the spirit of the governing class party infected the natural democracy of the Evangelical Movement and its voluntary services. England with her social divisions was 'unwilling dross' which checked the working of democracy's 'plastic stress', but what was infected was in itself a democratic movement. Shaftesbury's career is typical. His Evangelicalism though narrow enough to make him denounce *Ecce Homo* as 'spewed out of hell' was the inspiration of his never-failing devotion to the British working class. And yet in some things he always remained the English aristocrat.

If in the light of all this we consider the problems of the voluntary social services as this book has revealed them we shall see that they are the fundamental problems of democracy. The tension which was once acute and still survives between the working-class movement and some of the voluntary social services is but one aspect of the tension which exists in English democracy between its more and its less democratic parts. The backbone of democracy in England in the nineteenth century was industrial democracy, but that democracy, the Trade Union movement and so on, was an opposition and very conscious of being such an opposition. It was in some quarters regarded as the shibboleth of a loyal member of the working-class movement that he should affirm the class struggle. As Trade Unions

became respectable and gradually took their place as an essential element in the organization of industry and society, the change involved all sorts of awkwardness and questions. Is the Labour Party a class or a national party? Is the Workers' Educational Association a specifically working-class association or is it concerned with every one who wants a particular kind of Adult Education? And so on and so on. We hear complaints of the Labour Party machine and of Trade Union bureaucracy. 'The old spirit of the movement' tends to be choked in administrative routine and there are periodic attempts in various unauthorized ways to recapture the first zest. I once heard a Nazi official, second head of the Arbeitsfront, expound the enormous advantages to the workers of allowing only one Trade Union. So much was saved in overheads and official salaries that the workers could get wonderful benefits for low subscriptions. The untidiness and diversity of the English Trade Unions' world, like the untidiness and diversity of the English voluntary social services, is the price of liberty, but a price well worth paying.

Democracy is concerned with the paradoxical task of organizing freedom—as paradoxical as the task of organizing grace or charity, essentially the same job. Democracy is a form of constitution intended to leave room for and encourage growth and newness and invention. In the modern world that cannot be done without organizations so large that they choke the freedom they are intended to defend. Yet the remedy cannot be anarchy. It is obviously a mixture of tidiness and looseness, or unity and diversity: of statutory and voluntary. For the proper proportions of the mixture there is no recipe. It has to be worked out on the spot all the time.

In this democratic mixture voluntary associations obviously play a vital part. They need not be large: they can and do provide training in democracy to countless men and women who are not going to be members of Parliament or even Town Councillors. They form centres of public opinion. They can and do largely form the growing points of social conscience and social initiative. Most of them originate in some one having what the Society of Friends call 'a concern'. A 'concern' is the impulsion to do something outside your obligations, beyond what law or justice or mutual rights demand. It is roused by special need in a sensitive alive conscience. In old days such concern may have chiefly been for those traditional unfortunates—the widows and fatherless, the naked, the sick, and the prisoners. In an age of plenty we may believe that such obvious misfortunes should not exist, but the sensitiveness which has 'a concern' for spiritual and social, as well as material poverty, is as much wanted as ever. The activity of the modern 'concerns', which produced the Holiday Fellowship or the C.A.B., might be described as 'social inventiveness' rather than ordinary benevolence. 'Social

inventiveness' is one of the greatest needs of modern democracy and it is bound to find its easiest and simplest expression in voluntary associations.

Of course there is continually a tension between the life and creativeness which sees new things to be done and the necessary machinery for doing them on a large scale. That is, after all, the perpetual fate of all things of the spirit. Religion must have organization, organizations need finance and efficiency and businesslike qualities; yet the quarrel between the prophetic and the administrative sides of the Church goes back to the beginning of church history. Further, we all unfortunately know what ills may follow when the spirit and life go out of religious organizations. Few things are worse than dead religion, so if live democracy is the best government in the world, corrupt democracy is perhaps the worst. So it is with voluntary organizations. They need money, but who can regard with complacency the methods of some of their financial drives. It is significant that perhaps some of the most disagreeable characters in Dickens are social workers. Remember how Mr. Jarndyce in *Bleak House* was afflicted by them. Voluntary work ought to be efficient and yet its efficiency is sometimes its undoing. We can see in the chapter on case-work those admirable Americans being so industriously scientific in their benevolence that common-sense humanity has been ousted. And let us in England remember our English Mrs. Pardiggle, the most efficient and the most loathsome of social workers in Dickens.

The voluntary social services are no more likely to escape from tensions of this kind than is democracy. They will continue to be bothered by the problems of reconciling variety and spontaneity with efficiency and co-ordination. They will continue to discover that there is no final demarcation between the spheres of voluntary and of statutory work. No one can tell beforehand how all the problems of the voluntary associations in the modern state will be solved in practice. What we have to do is to keep a firm hold on the principles which have inspired their development in the past, to think out as far as we can the general lines of development demanded by the new situation, and to remember with Dickens's Captain Bunsby 'the bearing of these observations lies in the application of them'.

APPENDIX

LEGAL AID[1]

By J. E. TERRY

IT is the province of voluntary service to meet those needs for which r official provision exists. At the same time its privilege is to pionee Nowhere, perhaps, is this twin function so well illustrated as in the volu tary work undertaken by members of the legal profession in giving advi to people who cannot afford the usual fees. This may to some appear surprising statement, for lawyers are in most communities an unpopul body. They are, however, a necessary part of the social fabric, particularl in the increasingly complicated societies of the twentieth century. Th unpopularity of the profession is largely due to the mistaken belief tha lawyers are responsible for the law, which, though it may be an ass, is th responsibility of the whole community. Lawyers are guilty in this respe only as members of society, and many of them indeed are among the mo ardent advocates of reform.

An important principle of English justice is that no man shall be denie his rights through lack of means with which to enforce or defend then Magna Carta itself contained a provision to this effect. To-day, howeve it is often difficult, if not impossible, for a poor man to secure justice, a least in civil matters, owing to inability to afford the cost. In the end th problem will have to be faced and solved by the State, but in the mear time the legal profession has done what it can to fill the gap. The Poo Persons Procedure was devised to deal with cases where representation i required in the High Court and both solicitors and counsel give thei services without payment. The present difficulty is that the incom limits, which are almost the same as they were in 1914, are so low that man people whom they exclude are suffering hardship. To raise the incom limits would only extend the queue of applicants, as the voluntary pro fessional help available is, especially in war-time, inadequate to meet th need.

Quite apart from the Poor Persons Procedure, which relates only t High Court cases, arrangements have existed in various parts of th country for nearly half a century for providing free legal advice to poo people. During the period immediately after the last war these 'Poo Man's Lawyers' (a name, by the way, which is accurate as to function bu unfortunate nevertheless) grew in number and importance. In 1928 th position occupied by them in the field of social service was recognized b Lord Finlay's Committee, which was appointed to inquire into the problen of legal aid for poor persons. This Committee made no recommendation in favour of a legal aid service paid for or subsidized by the State, and th voluntary efforts of lawyers continued as the only attempt to grapple witl this growing problem. From 1928 until the outbreak of war importan developments occurred, the main trend of which was towards greate

[1] The Committee is indebted to Mr. J. Mervyn Jones for material contributor to this Appendix.

co-ordination. There was no single organization or machine for the giving of free legal advice, although there were parts of one lying around in scattered places. Even to-day that situation in large measure persists.

In spite of the many inadequacies which characterize the services available in relation to the need, a great deal of valuable work is done by the 'Poor Man's Lawyer'. All kinds of problems are brought to him (or her) and his purely legal qualifications are by themselves totally insufficient to enable him to quieten the fears and resolve the anxieties which come before him. A wide knowledge of the social services, both statutory and voluntary, is part of his essential equipment. So is a deep human sympathy and an understanding of the physical conditions in which his applicant lives and of the mental conditions to which they largely contribute. An interesting lecture on the implications of the Court of Appeal's judgment in Binks *v.* The Oxy-Acetylene Welding Corporation of Ruritania Limited is of very little use to an injured workman, whose greatest need may be the awakening of a desire to return to work, or to equip himself for a different type of employment. People suffering from a persecution complex or an inability to live peaceably with their wives or neighbours are more in need of wise counsel than legal advice pure and simple. It is fortunate, therefore, that the type of lawyer who is concerned to give this service is frequently, because of the motives which inspire him, more than a mere lawyer and his advice extends beyond mere law. The quality of 'P.M.L.' Centres is usually excellent; it is the quantity that is lacking. Some attempts have, however, been made to co-ordinate the voluntary help of professional men and women in certain districts.

Thus in the London area, for example, there was formed in 1931 the Bentham Committee, to arrange for the setting up of Legal Advice Centres and to provide for the conduct of cases arising at the Centres where Court action was necessary. It so happens that the majority of disputes involving poor people—such as cases under the Rent Restrictions or Workmen's Compensation Acts—fall to be decided by the county court or, as in the case of maintenance and other matrimonial problems, the police court. The Poor Persons Procedure, itself a piece of voluntary service, is however confined to the High Court. Funds are therefore raised by the Bentham Committee to meet the out-of-pocket expenses of such proceedings, while the professional services of barristers and solicitors are again given through the Committee's rota. Costs recovered in successful proceedings are not retained by the lawyers but are added to the funds of the Committee. Up to the outbreak of war the number of Centres in the London area affiliated to the Bentham Committee grew, and a similar increase took place in the provinces, new Centres being opened for instance in Cambridge, Hull, and Hastings. All these Centres, however, have never been sufficient to meet the need. Thus even when the voluntary service was putting forth its best effort, it was clear that much was required beyond what was possible through the limited means, both in personnel and money, of unofficial bodies and private individuals. The need for some form of statutory intervention has been proved, but, as in other spheres, official action is still awaited.

The urgency of the need can only be realized if it is known how wide is the gulf that separates the poor man from the law which affects him most

intimately. Perhaps the structure of modern society makes it inevitable that the law should be complex; the result, however, is that those who live and work in the densely populated industrial areas rarely understand many of the legal provisions affecting them either at home or in the course of their employment. Whilst attempts to simplify the law are made from time to time, it becomes only a little less obscure. Disputes involving difficult points of law which come to the Centres really require a professional service of advice which goes far beyond the answering of questions. Many people will shyly admit that 'they are no great scholar', and advice without negotiation is for them almost useless. Until adequate professional help is available to those who are at present denied it, through the absence of funds or of a well-organized Legal Aid Centre in their district, much injustice is bound to occur.

To some extent, but to some extent only, the need has been met by voluntary organizations. At the outbreak of war a large number of bodies provided free legal advice and, in some cases, free legal aid in the county courts and police courts. Although their main objectives were the same, the approach, the organization, and the facilities offered all varied considerably. Some were religious bodies, like the Society of Our Lady of Good Counsel. Others were voluntary organizations with a membership of professional men and women, giving their services without payment, such as the Bentham Committee or the Women and Children's Protection Society in London, and the Poor Man's Lawyer Associations in Manchester and Birmingham; bodies of this kind were larger than the others and represent an attempt at co-ordination in certain important industrial areas. Another type was associated with Settlements such as Toynbee Hall, Cambridge House, and Oxford House. Moreover, local Councils of Social Service in different parts of the country encouraged the provision of free legal advice, as for instance in Liverpool, Birkenhead, Chester, Brighton, Oxford, and Wakefield. It should be added that the professional bodies themselves frequently co-operate, and many schemes have been worked with the help of the local Law Society. Nor should the value of legal services provided by Trade Unions be overlooked.

Throughout these schemes there runs one common thread—free professional help given by men and women who realize the need and are concerned to meet it. To those who do this work there comes a special facility deriving largely from experience. Thus the best giver of advice is perhaps the expert listener, for intelligent listening is as often the secret of sound advice as it is of a happy marriage. To cut the speaker short is fatal, but to interrupt with the right question at the right moment is essential. Many a person in trouble can reach the specific problem only by a circuitous route, but the apparently irrelevant preamble will often give the clue to the most suitable solution and the best way of explaining it.

The war and its problems have without doubt added fuel to the fire. The amount of free professional help available, never adequate for the need, has diminished sharply. The cost of living has risen, but the income limits remain, broadly, the same. Yet the legal problems of poor people have increased and the ordinary citizen is in constant danger of becoming engulfed in a sea of rules and regulations. Although the influence of war-time conditions, by bringing the civil servant into increasing contact

with the citizen, has led to the growth of a far more human attitude on the part of the official, this influence does not seem to have penetrated to the back-rooms of Whitehall where the work of drafting the regulations goes on. In one elaborate instruction issued to the public, the only sentence capable of ready understanding was the one which announced the penalty for non-compliance.

Whilst this vast problem of war-time regulations has been boldly tackled by the Citizens' Advice Bureaux, many obstinate difficulties requiring the help of lawyers cannot pass through the sieve operated by efficient workers who are nevertheless without legal training. As a result, those who require legal advice and are unable to pay for it are sent on by the C.A.B. to a Legal Advice Centre, if there is one; alternatively, arrangements are made for a lawyer in the locality to hold a regular session at the C.A.B. Here, again, professional help can scarcely keep pace with the demands made upon it. In any event such help is often limited to the mere giving of advice, and much more is frequently required.

The C.A.B., which advises any citizen irrespective of financial means, has thrown into relief the fact that many people, who have small resources but are outside the limits imposed for free legal advice, need some help towards the cost of legal disputes. To meet this need a scheme has come into operation whereby the C.A.B.s and provincial Law Societies act in partnership and panels of solicitors are formed to give legal aid at reduced fees. Elsewhere the problem has been met by direct contact between C.A.B.s and individual firms, who are prepared to make special arrangements about fees in appropriate cases.

All this war-time experience, to which only the briefest reference has been made in this essay, has shown at once the need for reform and the way to achieve it. A simplification of the law itself is necessary, particularly those sections of it which impinge on the daily life of poor people. So also is a revision of procedure, Court fees, and professional charges. But even when progress has been made in these directions there will still be a large number of people lacking sufficient funds and sufficient learning to secure justice without help. This is the responsibility of the community as a whole. And, as has so often happened before, the need has been shown (and to some extent met) and the pioneering work done by scattered groups of voluntary workers. The solution will have to be based on a substantial measure of financial help from the Government and operated, on an autonomous plan, by lawyers and social workers in partnership. Signs are not wanting that the urgency of this problem is now widely recognized. A committee appointed by the Lord Chancellor has recently been inquiring into the whole subject and has received all the evidence available; it is to be hoped that the recommendations now awaited will reflect an appreciation of the need for fundamental reform. The radical steps which, sooner or later, will have to be taken will meet with fierce resistance from some quarters; but, when these obstacles have been surmounted, the citizen of limited means will discover that the law of the land is indeed his law as well as the law of his wealthier neighbours. Finally, this important development will have derived in large measure from the voluntary movement, which in this country has so often proved itself an alert watch-dog in the service of democratic ways.

INDEX

Abercrombie, Professor Patrick, *The Preservation of Rural England*, 1926, 209, 210 (footnote), 212
Aberdeen, youth welfare in, 143
Access to Mountains Act and the Rights of Way Act, 210 (footnote)
Adams, Dr. W. G. S., on rural libraries, 220
Addison, Joseph, 32
Adoption, 41, 55, 94; Adoption of Children Regulation Act, 1939, 41
Adult Education (*see also* Education): a social service, 3; effect of Education Act, 147; example of State grants without State control, 299–300; need for help from statutory authorities, 228; not only for underprivileged, 132; possible use for summer holiday camps, 162; rural, 226–8
Advertisement Regulations Acts, 1907 and 1925, 211
Agricultural Organization Society, 214 (footnote)
Agricultural Wages Board and Holidays with Pay, 152
Agriculture, Ministry of, 142, 214, 226
Aid to Discharged Prisoners Act, 1826, 168
Air Scouts, section of Boy Scouts' Association, 145
Air Training Corps, 143, 144
A.L.O.E., A Lady of England, 301
American Red Cross, 104
Amulree, Lord, 151
Amulree Holidays with Pay Committee, 152, 160
Ancient Monuments Society, 211
Anderson, Sir John, 169
Anti-Sweating League, 27
Arethusa Training Ship, 1843, 31, 34
Armitage, Dr. Thomas Rhodes, founder of National Institute for the Blind, 64, 66
Army Cadet Force, 143 (footnote), 144
Artisans' Dwellings Act, 115
Ashby, A. W.: *The Rural Problem*, 1916, 206 (footnote), 207 (footnote), 208 (footnote); The Village Sick Club, 208
Assistance Board: turning-point in relations between statutory and voluntary, 23; staffing, 23, 115; use of case-papers, 115
Associated Council of Children's Homes, 43
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, eyesight tests, 128

Baden-Powell, Sir Robert, 302
Bailward, Mr., Bethnal Green C.O.S. secretary, 99
Barnardo, Dr.: attitude to State aid, 48; bureaucrat, employed trained workers chiefly, 42; Custody of Children Act, 1891, known as 'Barnardo' Act, 46; history of Barnardo Homes, 36–7, 42; religious approach to problem, 33, 37; use of case-work, 115; workhouse training for girls, 34
Barnett, Canon and Mrs.: fight against indiscriminate charity, 99; founder of Toynbee Hall, 243; influence in spreading tutorial method of adult education, 227; mediators between C.O.S. and Social Democrats, 20; need for training, 113; pupils of Octavia Hill, 99; theory of friendship, 99–100; theory of public relief, 100
Becontree, 185
Bedford Institute Association, 244
Bedfordshire, rural adult education, 228
Belgian National Office for Workers' Holidays, 160
Belgium, Holiday Camps in, 162
Bell, Adrian, 209
Bell, Dr. Andrew, 15
Bentham Committee and Legal Advice Centres, 308, 309
Bentham, Jeremy, 14
Berkhamsted, fight for common land, 210 (footnote)
Bethnal Green: Bombed Sites Producers' Association, 260; Church work, 255–6; co-operation in Bethnal Green, 257–60; Co-operative Guild, 257; Evening Institutes, 250, 252, 254, 257, 259; history, 236–7; housing, 236; industry, 237–8; inhabitants, 236, 238, 239–40; Londoners' Meal Service, 260; Mayor's fund, 259; music, 259; political parties, 257; population, 236, 238; settlements: 240–9, local control and finance, 246–9, 261–2, Oxford House, 243, 245, 251–2, 260, 261, staffing, 245, 248, University House, 243, 261; voluntary social services

Bethnal Green—*continued*
in, 235–62; youth organizations: 249–55, mixed clubs, 250–1, self-government, 251, 252, 253, Young Communists, 250–3, Young Fascists, 249, 250, 259,
Beveridge Report, 24; recommending: advice bureaux, 203; benefits for aged, unfit and unemployed, 126; Public Medical Service, 29; socialist methods for relief of distress, 119, 133.
Beveridge, Sir William, vii; *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, 1942, 203 (footnote); *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, 95
Birkenhead, legal aid in, 309
Birkenhead and Wirral Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 31 (footnote)
Birmingham: N.A.B.C. in, 137; rate of blind employment, 64–5
Blackpool: in early nineteenth century, 151; *Mass Observation* report on, 156
Blatchford, Robert: Cinderella Clubs, 20; *Clarion* and 'Right to Work', 21
Blind Persons Act, 1920, 57, 65
Blind Persons Act, 1938, 63, 70
Blind Welfare (*see* Chapter 4), 57–72; co-ordination of organization, 65–70; cost of, 58; domiciliary assistance, 63–5; education, 58–9; evolution of statutory-voluntary partnership, 57; municipalization of blind services, 58, 59, 60, 65; place of voluntaryism, 70–2; registration of the blind, 62–3; self-government by blind people, 64; work and workshops, 59–60, 64–5
Board of Agriculture and Women's Institutes, 214 (*and* footnote)
Bombed Sites Producers' Association, a voluntary service in Bethnal Green, 260
Booth, General, and Robert Blatchford, 20–1
Booth Survey, 1889, 238, 239
Bosanquet, Bernard, 88, 115
Bosanquet, Helen: complexity of social diagnosis, 102; protagonist of voluntary principle, 19; social work in London, 176, 178 (footnote)
Boston Associated Charities, 101
Bournemouth, in early nineteenth century, 151
Boys' Brigade, 136, 150
Boy Scouts' Association, 136, 150; Air Scouts' branch of, 145; in Burnley, Lancashire, 284
Brabazon Society, in Burnley, Lancashire, 285
Braille, Louis, 64; Braille books, music, etc., 61, 66
Braithwaite, Miss C., *The Voluntary Citizen*, 2 (footnote), 295 (footnote)
Bready, Dr. Wesley, *Dr. Barnardo*, 36 (footnote)
Brew, Dr. J. Macalister, *In the Service of Youth*, 1943, 135 (footnote)
Bridport, 160
Brighton: in early nineteenth century, 151; legal aid in, 309; own camping sites, 160
Bristol: C.A.B. in, 200; N.A.B.C. in, 137; report to Nuffield College Survey, 200 (footnote); Youth Committee, 135
British and Foreign Blind Association, now National Institute for the Blind (*q.v.*), 66
British Association of Residential Settlements, 25, 185
British Deaf and Dumb Association, 84
British Drama League, 225
British Institute of Social Service, 25
British Legion, 183, 216–17, 267; *Handbook of*, 1940, 216–17 (footnotes)
British Red Cross Society: in Manchester, 143 (footnote); Junior and Youth Department, 137, 150; Postal Message Service, 288; war-time development, 145; Young People's Colleges, 147
British Wireless for the Blind, 62
Brownlow, John, *Memoranda and Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital*, 1847, 32 (footnote)
Building Societies, 18, 120
Burnley, Lancashire (see Chapter 14), 263–97; acute shortage of premises, 291; 'Bankfield' House of Help for Women and Girls, 273–6; Brabazon Society, 285; British Legion, 267; Burnley Citizens' Guild, 266; Burnley League of Social Service, 266; care of physically and mentally handicapped, 271–3; Child Health Planning Group, 279; Child Welfare Work, 276–9; C.A.B., 195, 267, 269–71; Co-operative Guilds, 264, 283, 291; Cripple Children's Aid Society, 277; day nurseries, 278; District Channel Islands Society, 290; educational work and Community Service, 290–4; Evacuation Hostels, 286; Evacuees, 288–90; Evening Institutes, 281; Friends' War Relief Service, 285; good co-operation of workers in public and voluntary bodies, 296; grants from statutory

Burnley, Lancashire—*continued*
bodies, 295; homogeneous population, 264; lack of co-ordination in voluntary services and lack of scientific case-work, 268; Lads' Club and Central Girls' Club, 283, 284; L.E.A. grants and teachers in special subjects, 280; married women workers, 264; Mayor's Fund, 267; Men's and Women's Fellowships, 291; Moral Welfare Work, 273–6; Moorland Rest Home, 277; Mothers' Clubs, 277; Mothers' Unions, 291; Mutual Service Council, 289, 291; Old People's Centre, 286; Old Vic and Sadlers Wells Companies' headquarters, 265; Personal Service League, 266; Poor Persons' Divorce Committee, 269; pre-service organizations, 281; Salvation Army, 285; Scouts and Guides, 284; Service of Youth, 279–85; social case-work, 266–71; Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Families' Association, 267; staple industry, 263; tradition of self-help and self-respect, 264, 265; welfare of the aged, 285–7; W.V.S., 267; Workers' Educational Association, 292; Youth Centres, 281; Youth Organization Committee, 280; youth work of churches, 282
Bury, C.O.S. and C.A.B., 195 (footnote)
Butler, Rev. C. C., 175
Butler, Josephine, 92
Butlin's commercial holiday camps, 157

Cabot, Dr. Richard, first social service department in Massachusetts General Hospital, 102
Cambridge, Legal Advice Centre, 308
Cambridge House, settlement legal advice centre, 309
Cambridgeshire, village colleges, 228
Came's Charity for deaf, 79 (footnote)
Camps: Camping Clubs, 154, 158, 159; Federation of University Women's Camps for Schoolgirls, 153; Holiday Camps, 5, 156–7; leased to Education Authorities, 161; National Camps Corporation, 161; need for central authority, 160, 162; Seaside Camps for London Boys, 153
Canada: register of blind, 62–3; first Women's Institutes established in, 214 (footnote)
Canteens, Trade Unions and war-time works canteens, 130
Carlyle, Thomas, 88, 92
Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, grants for rural adult education, 228; for rural cultural entertainment, 224; for rural libraries, 220; for rural music, 222; for skilled advice on music and drama, 184; for study of local history in villages, 185; for village halls, 184; to N.A.B.C., 142; to N.C.S.S., 25; to Rural Community Councils, 179 (footnote), 183; initiated 18+ groups, 136
Case-paper: essential to case-work, 114; use in social research, 115; use in Poor Law work, 114; use in various types of social work, 115
Case-work: American influence, 101–9; contribution of Child Guidance movement to, 105–7; contribution of juvenile courts to, 102; contribution of psychology to, 104–7; developments in, 86–117; factor in development of modern social service, 8; function of, 96, 111–12, 266; idea of 'agency function', 108–9; influence of war on, 109–11; in C.A.B.s, 198; in I.C.A.A., 39, 94; need for, in Burnley, 268; principles of, 92–3, 111–12; relation to almoning in medico-social work, 102, 112, 116; relation to social reform, 92, 94, 95, 102, 109; relative use of, by statutory and voluntary bodies, 114–17; *Theory and Practice of Social Case-Work*, Gordon Hamilton, 198 (footnote); training for case-work, 113–14, 117
Case-worker: activities of early case-workers, 94, 101; basic function of, 96, 111–12; employment of: by statutory bodies, 115–17; in America, 109; in England, 110, 113, 115; influence of psychology on, 104–7; influence of war on, 109–11; Poor Law and case-workers, 94–5, 100; principles of early case-workers, 92–3; professional development, 86, 99, 102, 110, 116; relations to clients, 99–100, 106, 108, 109, 111; training of, 99, 111, 113, 114, 117; types of case-workers, 95–6, 112, 113, 115
Central Council for the Spiritual Care of the Deaf and Dumb, 79 (footnote)
Central Council of Recreative Physical Training, 161
Central Juvenile Organizations Committee, 138, 139, 140
Chadwick, Edwin, 2, 14
Chalmers, Dr., 97
Channel Islands, evacuees from, in Burnley, Lancashire, 288
Charity Organization Society: attitude to: indiscriminate relief, 94,

Charity Organization Society—*contd.* 99, social reform, 94, Poor Law, 94–5, 100–1, 114, 115; Camberwell committee of, 89; change of title, 191; co-ordinating Blind Aid Societies, 178; District Committees, 176; District Secretaries, 177; establishment of Central Board of London Hospitals, 178; history of, 174–8; housing agitation, 93, 94; influence in America, 94, 101; Islington committee of, 113; part in initiating: C.A.B.s, 94, 110, hospital almoning, 94, 112, I.C.A.A., 94, school care committees, 113, social legislation, 94, 115, University training for social work, 113–14; *Review*, 100, 175 (footnote); Socialism and C.O.S., 19, 24, 92, 95, 101, 112; standard of case-work, 177; Street Collections and Flag Days, 178; Walmer Street committee of, 98
Chartists, 19
Cheltenham College Mission for Girls, in Bethnal Green, 243
Chester: C.A.B., 195 (footnote); legal aid, 309
Chesterfield, and C.A.B., 195 (footnote)
Chicago juvenile courts: psychopathic institute opened by Dr. Healy, 102
Child Adoption Societies, 41, 42
Child Guidance, 31, 104–7
Child Health Planning Group, in Burnley, Lancashire, 279
Child Welfare, Voluntary Organizations for (*see* Chapter 3), 31–56
Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, 48, 274
Children's Aid Society, 34, 35, 43, 47
Children's Country Holiday Fund (1884), 39, 153
Children's Fresh Air Mission (1883), 39
Children's Nutrition Council, 40–1, 47
Children's Play Centre Fund (1904), 40
Chorleywood College for (Blind) Girls, 59, 66, 71
Christian Community in Bethnal Green, 241, 242
Christian Socialists, 17, 92, 304
Church Benefit Society for insurance of deaf, 79 (footnote)
Church Lads' Brigade, 5, 136, 150
Citizens' Advice Bureaux (*see* Chapter 11), 194–205; community service likely to outlast war, 28, 202; contribution to democracy, 202; co-operation with statutory authorities: after air-raids, 110, 195, 196, in general, 111, 196–200; example of 'social inventiveness', 305; future prospects: financial difficulties, 202, need for, 202, 203, staffing difficulties, 203; in Burnley, 267; in South Wales, 127; mixture of philanthropy and self-help, 6; need for training, 204–5; origin of, 94, 111, 189, 194; *Principles of the C.A.B. Service*, 200; rapid development of, 194–5; textbook, *Citizens' Advice Notes*, 196; various services provided: case-work, 198, not relief, 199, Poor Man's Lawyer, 198, 310, Poor Man's Valuer, 197, research and reform, 200, 201 (footnote), searcher service after raids, 196; voluntary element essential, 204
Civic Youth Centres, 143
Civil Defence, in Manchester, 143 (footnote)
Clarke, Professor, *The Social Function of Secondary Education*, 148
Clothworkers' Company, 61
Club and Institute Union, 152
Clubs: for young people, 136, 137, 138, 142, 143, 148; in Bethnal Green, 249–55; in Burnley, 279–84; leaders, 188; occupational, 187, 188, 301; self-government in, 188, 251–3, 301; Village Sick Clubs, 208; Young Farmers' Clubs, 225–6
Cole, G. D. H., in *The Christian News-Letter*, 16.7.1941, 202 (footnote)
Coleridge, S. T., 16
Combination Acts, 1799–1824 (*see* Trade Unions), 17
Commissioners for Special Areas, 140
Commons Act, 1876, 210 (footnote)
Commons, Footpaths and Open Spaces Society, 1865, 210
Commonwealth Fund, 107
Community: Associations, 6, 24, 25, 185; new spirit in social service, 24–5, 87, 88, 93, 109, 110, 112, 116, 134; Rural Community Councils, 24–5, 182–6
Companies Acts, National Institute for the Blind incorporated in 1902, 66
Cons, Emma, 92
Convalescent Homes, 39, 129
Cook's Travel Agency, 152
Co-operative Movement: debt to Methodism, 16; Education, 121, 228; form of mutual self-help, 17, 119; Holiday Association, 152, 154, 155 (footnote), 157; in Burnley, 264, 283; Insurance Society, 121; isolation from other social service, 118; pioneer of small-scale investment, 18; scope of, 121–5, 132; Sunderland branch, 124; Women's Guild, 122–5; Youth movement, 150, 283

Coram, Captain Thomas, 32
Cordwainers' Company, 61
Cornwall, N.A.B.C. in, 137
Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, 157, 223, 224, 228
Council for the Preservation of Rural England, 211, 212, 213 (footnote)
Council of Church Missioners to the Deaf, 79 (footnote)
Countryman, The, 209
County Associations for Blind, 66, 67
County Colleges (*see* Young People's Colleges), 146–9
County Drama Organizers, 225
County Libraries, 220, 221
County Music Competitions, 224
Cripple Children's Aid Society, 277–8
Crusade of Rescue, 52, 53
Cumberland, 223
Custody of Children Act (1891), known as 'Barnardo' Act, 46
Cyclists' Touring Club, 152, 154

Davies, Margaret Llewelyn, 122–5
Davies, Sir Walford, 222
Deaf (*see* Hypacusic), (*see* Chapter 5), 73–85; definition of, 73, 74 (footnote)
Deaf Persons Act, 82 (footnote)
Deaf Persons Bill, 82
Denison, Edward, 92
Derbyshire Miners' Welfare Fund, 156
Devon, rural adult education, 228
Dickens, Charles, 92, 306
Disraeli, Benjamin, *Sybil*, 88, 92, 301
District Nursing Association, 229–30, 234
Domiciliary Nursing Service, 1942, 229, 230 (footnotes)
Drummond, Henry, and Boys' Brigade, 302
Durham branch of Miners' Welfare Fund, 131

Early Closing Association, 26
East Suffolk youth work, 142
Education: adult education (*see also* Adult Education), 27, 226–9, 299–300; Co-operative Societies, 121; Education Act, 1902, 21; 1918, 139; Education Acts, 1921–37, 75; education of handicapped children, 59, 75 (footnote); Elementary Education Act, 1876, 36; Evening Institutes, 136, 250, 251, 252, 281; Holidays, 162; in early nineteenth century, 12, 15, 33, 35 (footnote), 38; not a social service, 3; relation of statutory education authorities to voluntary organizations: blind welfare, 58–9, deaf welfare, 75, 76; homes for children, 36, 52 (footnote), 54, play centres, 40, rural music, 224, youth work, 138–43, 146, 161, 226, 250, 252–4, 279–81, 295; social services related to education: play centres, 160, school care committees, 113, school meals and medical services, 22; youth work, 136, 137, 141, 147
Educational Reconstruction (Government White Paper), 146, 285
Educational Settlements Association, 25, 185
Eicholz Report of 1932, 78
Eighteen plus (18+) Groups, 136
Emergency Standing Conference of National Voluntary Organizations, 110
Ensor, R. C. K., in *London Mercury*, 1939, 158 (footnote)
Evangelical movement, 15, 302, 304
Evening Institutes, 136, 250–1, 252, 256, 281
Eversley, *Commons, Forests and Footpaths*, 1910, 210 (footnote)

Factory Welfare, 94, 130
Fairchild Family, 301, 302
Family allowances, 55
Fawcett, Mrs., 113
Financial aspects of social service: Blind Welfare, 58, 61, 64, 65–6; Citizens' Advice Bureaux, 202, 271; contribution method, 6, 23, 28, 231; co-ordinating societies, 165, 168, 175, 188, 190; holidays, 154; hospitals, 29; national expenditure, 21, 22; Settlements, 245, 247; welfare of deaf, 76; youth work, 139, 141, 142, 143
Finchley C.A.B., 195, 198 (footnote)
Finlay, Lord, Committee appointed to inquire into legal aid for the poor, 807
Fire Service Messengers in Manchester, 143 (footnote)
Fisher Education Act, 1918, 139
Food, Ministry of, 52
Football Association, 139
Foreign Travel, 152
Foundling Hospital, 32, 33, 45–6, 47; *Memoranda and Chronicles of*, by John Brownlow, 32 (footnote); *History of*, by R. H. Nichols and F. A. Wray, 33 (footnote)
Fraser, Sir Ian, 64
Freedom of Association, 11
Friendly Societies: Centralized Friendly Societies and Collecting Societies, 18; debt to Methodism, 16; 304; first Regulating Act, 1793, 16; form of mutual self-help, 6, 118–20, 132; Friendly Societies Act, 1855,

Friendly Societies—*continued*
17; Oddfellows, 17; pioneers of social and life insurance, 18; registry of, 17
Friends' Hall, in Bethnal Green, 244, 245, 251
Friends' War Relief Service, in Burnley, Lancashire, 285
Fry, Elizabeth, 7

Gaddum, Harry, 7
Gaol Act, 1823, grants to discharged prisoners, 168
Gilbert, E. W., *Growth of Inland and Seaside Health Resorts in England*, 1939, 151 (footnote)
Girl Guides' Association, 136, 150, 279, 282, 284
Girls' Friendly Society, 150
Girls' Guildry, 136, 150
Girls' Life Brigade, 136, 150
Gladstone Committee, 169
Gonner, Professor, 113
Grinling, C. H., 129
Grundy, S. P., 199 (footnote)
Guide Dogs for the Blind Association, 62
Guild of St. John of Beverley, 79 (footnote)
Guinness Trust, 156

Halévy, Elie, 301
Hamilton, Gordon, *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work*, 198 (footnote)
Hampshire Aid Society in 1802, 167
Hastings, Legal Advice Centre, 308
Hawksley, Dr., and C.O.S., 175, 176
Health: linked with holiday provision, 162; Public Health Act, 1936, 158, 159
Health, Ministry of: blind, 57, 63, 65, 67, 68; C.A.B.s Treasury grant, 111, 196, 202, 270, 295; children's homes, 54; deaf, 76; evacuation, 286, 289, 290; social workers in, 115
Heath, F. A., *British Rural Life and Labour*, 1911, 207 (footnote)
Hertfordshire, rural music classes, 223
Hill, Mr. A. Hay, 88
Hill, Octavia: first contact with industrial poverty, 89; first professional case-worker, 92, 97–9; social responsibility, 93; teacher of the Barnetts, 99; work for C.O.S., 93, 98
Hire Purchase Bill, 94
Holiday Camps (*see* Camps)
Holiday Fellowship, 152, 154, 155, 157, 163, 305
Holidays at Home, 161
Holidays with Pay: Act of 1938, 152; Committee, 151; effect on voluntary societies, 52; in Europe, 159
Home Office: children's branch of, 1920, 53; inspection of homes for children in 1933, 43
Homes for Blind, 59, 61
Hospitals, 28, 29
Hospital almoners: Council, 112; examples of work, 96, 107–8; in municipal hospitals, 113, 116; origin: in America, 102; in England, 112
Hospital Contributory Schemes, 229, 230, 231, 234
Hospital Savings Association, 28
Housing: Cross and Torrens Act, 22; Housing Act, 1890, 22; Octavia Hill, 92, 93, 97–9; slum clearance before 1905, 22
Hull, Legal Advice Centre, 308
Hypacusic, 74 (footnote), 76, 80–4

Ibberson, Mary, and rural music, 223
Independent Labour Party, 21
Industrial Welfare Society: cost of holiday, 153; pamphlet, *Holiday Savings*, 1938, 156 (footnote); report on *Facilities for Workers' Holidays in Great Britain*, 1938, 155
Insurance: effect on Village Clubs, 208; Health, 22, 28, 84 (footnote); Health and Life, 18, 121, 125; National Insurance Act, 1911, 28, 126; Unemployment, 18, 22, 23, 125
International Labour Office, *Facilities for the Use of Workers' Leisure*, 160 (footnote)
Interviewing, 103
Invalid Children's Aid Association: advocates free milk, 50; belief in family responsibility, 46; convalescent homes, 39; example of voluntary and statutory co-operation, 40; founded by C.O.S., 94; position between socialism and C.O.S., 49–50; representative of societies for welfare of schoolchildren, 31, 39–40, 49–50; use of family case-work, 39, 115
Ipswich, youth welfare in, 143

Jephcott, P., *Girls Growing Up*, 1943, 135 (footnote), 149
Joint Blind Welfare Committee, 68
Jones, Creech, in *Times* on workers' holidays, 162
Jones, J. Mervyn, and voluntary Legal Aid, 307 (footnote)
Juvenile Courts, 35, 102

Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir Ughtred, 274
Kendal, Mary Wakefield Musical Festival, 222
King Edward's Institute in Bethnal Green, 242, 245, 247

King George's Jubilee Trust Fund, grants for youth organizations, 140, 142

Labour Exchanges, 22, 78, 94
Labour, Ministry of: holidays, 152, 161; unemployment, 179 (footnote), 187
Labour Party, 21, 129, 131, 257
Laissez-faire, 12, 52, 298
Lancashire: County Education Committee, 274; Holidays with Pay, 151
Lancaster, Joseph, 15
Lansbury, George, 129
Law Society, local legal aid, 309
Legal Advice Centres: need for some form of statutory help, 308; set up in London in 1931, 308
Leicestershire, N.A.B.C. in, 137
Leith Hill, Musical Festival under Dr. Vaughan Williams, 222
Leonard, T. A., *Adventures in Holiday-making*, 155 (footnote)
Levy, Professor H., 203
Ley, Dr., 303
Liberal Party, 21–2, 129, 257
Lichfield, Diocesan Choral Festival, 222
Lincoln, scheme for unemployed, 187
Ling Association, 139
Lip-reading, compared with Braille, 78
Liverpool: Child Welfare Association, 49; legal aid in, 309; N.A.B.C. in, 137; School of Social Science, 113; Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 31, 39
Local Government Act, 1929, 63; block grant system, 65
Loch, Sir Charles: attitude to labour, 95; connexion with Liverpool School of Social Science, 113; C.O.S. leader, 100; initiating hospital almoning, 102, 112; protagonist of voluntary principle, 19
London: Bentham Committee on Legal Advice Centres, 308; blind employment, 65; borough of Lambeth plans for holiday camp, 160; Hospital Contributory Scheme, 230; *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, 1935, 137, 238, 239; voluntary social service in Bethnal Green, 235, 262; youth welfare in, 143
London and Home Counties Association (for deaf), 76
London County Council: blind welfare, 60–1; employing hospital almoners, 113; Evening Institute policy, 254; not represented on National Institute for the Blind, 69; school care committees, 113, 115; tests for deafness, 77; Youth Recreation Centres, 250
London, Midland and Scottish Temperance Union musical festival, 222
London School of Economics, 113
London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (became N.S.P.C.C., *q.v.*), 38
Londoners' Meals Service, 260

Macadam, Miss E., *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, 113
McIntyre, Dr., and Women's Institutes, 216
MacMurray, Professor J., *Constructive Democracy*, 1943, 299
McNair Committee, *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, 148 (footnote)
Maes-yr-haf Settlement, work with unemployed, 187
Magna Carta, 307
Maitland, F. E., 91 (footnote)
Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1798, 14, 90
Manchester: C.A.B. work, 196 (footnote); youth work, 142, 143, 145
Mandeville, Bernard, *Fable of the Bees*, 90
Manning, Cardinal, 53 (footnote)
Manor House Hospital, Hampstead, 129
Mansbridge, Albert, 227
Margate, 152, 159
Maxwell, Sir Alexander, 170
Medical Mission in Bethnal Green, 242
Men Without Work, 115
Merthyr Tydfil, 143
Mess, Dr. Henry, *Voluntary Organizations in Rural Areas*, 1943, 209 (footnote)
Methodism, 15, 16, 301
Meyer, Dr. Adolf, *Growth of Scientific Understanding and Its Relation to Social Work*, 105
Milk Marketing Board and Young Farmers' Clubs, 226 (footnote)
Miners' Union, 130
Miners' Welfare Fund, 130–1
Moir, Macrea, and C.O.S., 175
Money Lenders Act, 94
Montague, C. J., *Sixty Years of Waifdom*, 44 (footnote)
Moon, Dr., 61, 64
More, Hannah, 13, 16
Morgan, A. E., *The Needs of Youth*, 1939, 135 (footnote), 137 (footnote), 138 (footnote)
Morrison, W. S., 161 (footnote)
Munster, Earl of, 146 (footnote)
Mutual Aid, 6, 119, 120

National Adult School Union, 228
National Association of Boys' Clubs, 136, 138, 142, 150
National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, 166–74
National Association of Girls' Clubs, 136, 138, 142, 143, 144, 150
National Association of Workshops for the Blind, 69
National Camps Corporation, 1939, 161
National Children's Home and Orphanage, 36, 37
National College of Teachers of the Deaf, 79 (footnote)
National Committee for Prevention of Destitution, 27
National Council of Social Service (*see* Chapter 10), 178–205; emergence after 1918, 25; function, 26, 179–91; grants: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 25, 179, 184, Government, 188, 202; special difficulties, 165, 190; work for: C.A.B.s, 189, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204, community centres and associations, 185, 186, Holidays with Pay group, 153, 190 (footnote), old people's welfare, 285, rural community councils, 25, 133, 182–3, unemployed, 25, 186, 188, urban councils of social service, 133, 181, village halls, 25, 183–4, 186, 225, Women's Group on Public Welfare, 190
National Federation of Women's Institutes (*see* Women's Institutes)
National Fitness Advisory Council, 1937, 139, 140, 141; *In the Service of Youth*, 139 (footnote)
National Health Service (Government White Paper, Cmd. 6502), 2 (footnote)
National Holiday Authority, 161, 163
National Institute for the Blind: education, 59, 61, 62; foundation and growth, 58, 66–70; special homes, 61
National Institute for the Deaf, 78; *All About the Deaf*, handbook of Institute, 78 (footnote)
National Library for the Blind, 58, 68
National Parks Committee, 158, 159, 160
National Service Hostels Corporation, 161, 163
National Society for Epileptics, 59
National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: attitude to: legislation, 48, Ministry of Childhood, 54, the family, 46, 53; four societies, 31; in London, 38; inspectors, 86 (footnote), 96; the rights of the child, 46, 51
National Trust, 211
National Union of Students, provision for holidays, 152
National Union of Women Workers, 113
National Youth Committee, 141
New Deal, 109
Newhaven, Guinness Trust Holiday Home, 156
News Chronicle, 153 (footnote), 156 (footnote), 157 (footnote)
Newsom, John, *The Boy*, 1941, 144 (footnote)
New York: Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 101; C.O.S.: rejection of word 'deserving', 101, School of Philanthropy, 114, tuberculosis campaign, 102; social workers in New York City, 102
New Zealand, register of blind, 62–3
Nichols, R. H., and F. A. Wray, *History of Foundling Hospital*, 33 (footnote)
North Regional Association (for deaf), 76
Norwich, youth welfare in, 143
Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey: Burnley, 296; Cumberland, 223 (footnote), 227; foundation and terms of reference, vii; Hertfordshire, 8; Local Investigators, vii; local surveys, vii
Nuffield College Social Services Sub-Committee, Members, ii

Oddfellows, Order of (*see* Friendly Societies)
Old Age Pensions, 22, 125, 285, 287
Old People's Welfare Committee, 285
Old Vic, 224
Outdoor relief, 24, 95, 100, 101
Owen, Robert, 17, 122
Oxford, City of, Legal aid, 309
Oxford House: club work, 251–2, 255; complemented by St. Margaret's House, 243; co-operation in borough, 259, 260, 261; legal aid, 309; origin in settlement movement started by Barnett, 243; staffing, 245
Oxfordshire: County Council and County Libraries, 220, 221; County Council grant for adult education, 1926, 228; first Hospital Contributory Scheme, 230

Pauperism, 89–91, 94, 133, 175
Pearson, Sir Arthur, 64, 66
Pedley, W. H., *Labour on the Land*, 1942, 206 (footnote), 220 (footnote)

Personal Service League, in Burnley, Lancashire, 266
Philanthropy, 11–14, 19, 42, 133
Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, 160
Pilgrim Trust, 224, 301
Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P.): holiday accommodation, in *Planning*, 161 (footnote); *Planning for Holidays*, 1942, 152 (footnote); Report on the Social Services, 2 (footnote)
Polytechnic Travel Agency, 152
Poole, H. E., *Perspectives for Countrymen*, 208 (footnote)
Poor Law: adoption of case-paper system, 114; Barnett's attitude to, 100; children in poor law workhouses, 38; effect of Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), on private charity, 14; outdoor relief and C.O.S., 19, 94–5, 101; Poor Law Act, 1879: grants for nursing, 230; Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, 14; Poor Law and Assistance Board, 23; Poor Law Commission, 1909, 90, 114; poor law infirmaries, nucleus of municipal hospitals, 28; poor law schools, 38; sole public provision for sick, aged, and incapable before 1905, 21, 33–4
Poor Man's Lawyer, 307–10
Poor Persons Procedure, 307
Portsmouth, special home for blind, 61
Power, Dr. Roper, 8
Presbyterian Mission in Bethnal Green, 244
Pressure groups, 27, 48, 210–11
Priestley, J. B., 156
Prince of Wales, 1932, and unemployment problem, 188
Prison Commission, 1878, 168, 169, 170
Prisoners of War Relatives Association, in Burnley, Lancashire, 297
Provident Scheme, for nursing service, 230
Psychiatric social workers, 96, 105–7
Public Health Acts, 158, 159
Public Libraries Act, 220
Purse, Ben, initiator of Trade Unions for blind, 64

Queen Adelaide's Dispensary in Bethnal Green, 242
Queen's Institute of District Nursing, 229 (*and* footnote)

Ragged School Union (now Shaftesbury Society, *q.v.*), 34
Rathbone, William: District Nursing Association, 229; *Social Duties*, 1867, 175 (footnote)
Reading, Dowager Marchioness of, 218
Reconstruction, Ministry of, 206, 207 (footnote)
Reformatory and Refuge Union: created in 1856, 35; now Children's Aid Society (*q.v.*), 34
Regional Associations for the Deaf, 76, 79
Register of blind in Great Britain, 62–3
Religion, relation to social service, 12, 15–16, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 48, 77, 87, 89–90, 93, 101, 119, 136, 206–7, 240–2, 243, 253, 255–6, 275, 282, 301–3, 304, 305
Rent Restrictions Act, 308
Richmond, Mary, *Social Diagnosis*, 1917, first handbook of social-work technique, 102–4
Rights of Way Act, 1932, 210 (footnote)
Robinson, J. R., M.P., 160 (footnote)
Rochdale Pioneers, 17
Roman Catholic Church, 37
Rose's Act, 1793 (*see* Friendly Societies), 16
Rowntree, B. S., *How the Labourer Lives*, 1913, 218 (footnote)
Royal Albert Orphanage, 55
Royal Arsenal Society, 121
Royal Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb, 79
Royal Free Hospital, 112
Royal Normal College, 59
Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 31 (footnote)
Rugby, 139; Day Continuation School and Evening Institutes 148
Rural Community Councils (*see also* National Council of Social Service), 25, 182, 183; rural adult education, 228; rural drama, 224; village halls, 184
Rural drama, 225
Rural music, 221–4
Rural Music School, 223, 224
Rushton, Edward, pioneer of education for blind, 64
Ruskin, John, 92, 98, 112
Russia, deaf welfare, 83, 84
Rutherford, Mark, *Catharine Furze*, 304

Sadlers Wells Opera Company, 224
St. Dunstan's: for blind ex-Servicemen, 58; founded as branch of National Institute for the Blind, 66; separated from National Institute for the Blind, 1923, 68; 'Talking Books' in conjunction with National Institute for the Blind, 62; unco-ordinated national appeals, 69; voluntary contributions, 61

St. Hilda's Settlement, 243
St. John's Ambulance Brigade, 150; Cadets, 137; in Manchester, 143 (footnote)
St. Margaret's House, 243
Salisbury, John of, 87
Salmon Committee, 169 (footnote), 170, 171
Salvation Army, 20, 21, 150 (footnote), 285
Save the Children Fund, 40, 41; charter of children's rights, 47; European relief, 52; Ministry of Childhood, 54; play centres in Bethnal Green, 260
Savings Banks, 18, 120
Scarborough, 'all-in' holiday scheme, 159
Schools: Blind schools, 58–9; Charity schools, 15; Day and Sunday schools for poor children, 34; Day continuation, 139; meals in schools, 22; medical inspection for deafness, 77; medical service, 22; Poor Law schools, 38; Ragged Schools, 35; Rural Music Schools, 223–4; schools for deaf, 75; school teachers and youth organizations, 143; voluntary schools, 51
School Journeys Association, 153
School of Sociology, 113
Schweitzer, Albert, 87
Sea Cadet Corps: in Manchester, 143 (footnote); rapid increase in wartime, 144 (*and* footnote)
Servers of the Blind League, 59
Settlement, Laws of, a check to mobility of labour, 14
Settlements: Association of Residential Settlements, 25; development in Bethnal Green, 244–9; Educational Settlements Association, 25; foundation of Toynbee Hall and development of movement, 25; relation to Community Centres, 26; relation to training for social work, 113–14
Sewell, Miss, 113, 114
Shaftesbury Homes, 31; formerly National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, 34
Shaftesbury, Lord, 33, 35, 53 (footnote), 92, 304
Shaftesbury Society, 31, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44–5, 47, 51, 52
Sheffield, Hospital Contributory Scheme, 230
Shrewsbury, Aid Society in 1792, 167
Skegness, holiday camp built by Derbyshire Miners' Welfare Fund, 156
Slate Clubs, 120
Slave trade, 298
Slough, Social Centre, 148
Slum-clearance, 22, 120
Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, 18
Social responsibility, 87, 88, 92, 93, 112, 179
Social services, definitions, 2, 134
Social Worker: (*see also* Chapter 6, 86–117); advent of professional, 24, 86, 97; different types of, 95–6; purpose of, 96, 108, 112; Trade Union officer as social worker, 127; training of, 29, 112–14
Socialism: attitude of, to relief of distress, 119; capitalism in social services, 20; C.O.S., 19, 20, 95; 'right to work', 19, 20; Social Democrats, 20
Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising (Scapa), 211
Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 211
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 15
Society of Our Lady of Good Counsel, and legal aid, 309
Society of St. Vincent de Paul: found homes for boys, 37; religious aid for deaf, 79 (footnote)
Socio-medical work (*see* Hospital Almoners)
Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Families Association, 267
Somerset, Youth Committees in, 142
Southampton, youth welfare in, 143
Southend, cost of holiday in 1939, 153
Southey, Robert, 16
Speenhamland system of relief, 14
Spencer, Herbert, 91
Staffordshire: grant for rural libraries, 220; musical festival, 222
Staggering of holidays, 160, 162
Stapledon, Sir George: *The Land, Now and To-morrow*, 1935, 209–12 (footnotes); urbanization of countryside, 209–12
Stepney, Cephas Street Evening Institute, 252
Stocks, Mrs. J. L., in *Highway*, 4 (footnote)
Street, A. G., 209
Suffolk: Corton, first camp built by Travco, Ltd., 155; N.A.B.C. in, 137, 142
Sunderland Co-operative Society, 124
Sunshine Homes, residential nursery schools for blind infants, 59, 66, 71
Superannuation Benefits for Trade Union Members, 125
Surrey, Aid Society in 1824, now Royal London D.P.A.S., 167

Tallents, Sir Stephen, 113
Tawney, R. H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 87, 89, 90
Ten Hours League, 26
Times, The: adult education, 226 (footnote); number of voluntary charities, 174, 175
Toc H: influence on village life, 216–17; rural adult education, 228; *Toc H Defined*, 1937, 216 (footnote); women's section of, 217 (footnote)
Torrens Act, 22, 94
Town and Country Planning, Ministry of, 161
Town Councils of Social Service (*see* National Council of Social Service), 181
Town Planning Acts, 1909, 1919, 1923, 1925, 211, 212
Townswomen's Guilds, 298
Towse, Sir Beachcroft, 64
Toynbee Hall, 25; C.A.B., 195; legal aid, 309
Trade, Board of; C.A.B.s, 196
Trade Boards, and holidays with pay, 152
Trade Boards Act, 1909, 27
Trade Unions: contribution to social services, 17–18, 125–31; debt to Methodism, 16, 304; legal aid, 126, 309; pioneers of social insurance, 18; relation to philanthropy, 19, 132–4; rural adult education, 228; scope and aims, 125–31; self-help and mutual aid, 6, 119; Workers' Travel Association, 155
Training for social work: in blind welfare, 60; in case-work, 86, 99, 112–15, 177; in community centres, etc., 185, 188, 245, 246; influence on democratic administration, 29; in information bureaux, 204–5
Travco Limited, holiday at moderate cost, 155
Trusts: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 25; influence of charitable trusts, 27; National Trust, 211; Passmore Edwards, 27; Peabody, 27; Pilgrim Trust, 27
Turner, Mr. Ribton, 100

Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, 21
Unemployment Assistance Board (*see* Assistance Board)
Union of County Associations for Blind, 67, 69
United Services Club, in Burnley, Lancashire, 297
Universities: and rural adult education, 228; residential settlements among the poor, 25; settlements in East End, 243; State endowment of, 300; University Grants Committee, 300
Urwick, Professor, 113

Vaughan, Cardinal, 38 (*and* footnote)
Village choirs, 221, 222
Village Colleges, 27
Village Councils, 25
Village halls, 25, 26, 184, 225
Village organizations before 1914 (*see* Rural Community Councils), 206, 207
Vocational Rehabilitation Offices in U.S.A., 83 (footnote)
Voluntaryism, 19, 20, 24, 44, 50, 70–2, 83, 131
Voluntary organizations: essential characteristic, 3, 4; future functions, 6, 24, 27, 56, 83, 119, 149, 163, 202, 249, 268, 287, 299, 305, 306, 310; need for reform, 55, 80, 164, 174, 192, 271; relations with socialism, 9, 19, 20, 118, 131; relations with statutory bodies, 6, 28, 52, 54, 60, 76, 138, 164, 188, 196, 200, 214, 224, 254, 259, 274, 281, 295–6, 298, 306; relative extent, 7, 31, 51, 58–9, 61, 74, 77, 143, 150, 194–5, 210, 279; value of, 11, 54, 116, 146, 157, 204, 273, 284, 300, 305; war effects of: on Bethnal Green, 259–60, on Burnley, 265, 275, 280, 283, 288, 295, on industrial conditions, 130, on legal aid, 309, on social workers, 109–11, on youth work, 141, 250
Voluntary worker, 3, 29, 50, 131, 241, 249, 268, 270, 294, 310

Waifs and Strays: constitution, 37; object, 37; religious social service, 5; religious teaching, 53; use of voluntary interest, 42
Wakefield: legal aid in, 309; training centre for first offenders, 170
Wakefield, Mary, 222
Walworth, Clubland in, 138
War Office; C.A.B.s, 197
War Service Grants, 201 (footnote)
Warwickshire, Aid Society in 1835, 167
Watson, Scott, 209
Watt, Mrs. Arthur, and Women's Institutes, 214 (footnote)
Webb, Beatrice, 89, 91
Welsh League of Youth, 150
Wesleyan Church, founded National Children's Home and Orphanage, 36
Wesley, John, 15–16, 241
West Riding D.P.A.S., 170
Whitbread's Committee, 169 (footnote)

Whitbread Report, 171
Whitefield, George, 15
Wilberforce, Samuel, 16
Williams, Dr. Vaughan, and Leith Hill Festival, 222
Williams, W. E., *The Travel Log*, monthly magazine of W.T.A., 157
Williamson, Henry, 209
Wilson, H. J., and County Associations for Blind, 67
Wireless for the Blind, 62
Witmer, Helen, *Social Work*, 1942, 94, 101 (footnotes)
Witmer, Lightner, 102
Wolfenden, J. F., Chairman of Youth Advisory Council, 141 (footnote)
Women and Children's Protection Society, legal aid, 309
Women's Co-operative Guild, development of, and functions, 122–5
Women's Group on Public Welfare, 1939, produced *Our Towns, a Close-Up*, 190
Women's Institutes: country equivalent of Women's Co-operative Guilds, 122; County Libraries, 221; history, 213–16; rural adult education, 228; rural drama, 225; village halls, 183
Women's University Settlement, 113
Women's Voluntary Service: expenses met by Government or local authorities, 219; in Burnley, Lancashire, 267, 289; in rural areas, 218–19; not a voluntary organization, 3
Woolwich, C.A.B., 199
Worcester College for Boys, 59, 71
Wordsworth, Dorothy, 88
Workers' Educational Association: classed as a voluntary social service, 5; holiday hostels, 163; influence on educational reform, 27; nation-wide democratic association, 27; rural adult education, 228; youth groups of, 136
Workers' Travel Association: family holidays, 154; holidays with pay, 152; Lambeth Borough Council, 163; no means test for holiday camp users, 162; Nominated Holidays Fund, 155 (footnote); provides individual travel service, 158; *The Travel Log*, 157
Working Men's Clubs, philanthropic side, 6
Workmen's Compensation, 22, 125, 308
Workshops for blind, 59–60
Wray, F. A., and R. H. Nichols, *History of the Foundling Hospital*, 1935, 33 (footnote)

Yonge, Charlotte, 301
Young, Arthur, 90
Yorkshire: East Riding adult education, 228; holidays in, 151; music in, 224; North Riding adult education, 228
Young Citizen, 1943, Penguin Book, 135 (footnote)
Young Farmers' Clubs, National Federation of: activities, 150, 225–6; advisory committee, 142; relation to Young People's College, 147; vocational club, 137
Young Men's Christian Association, 5, 136, 145 (footnote), 150, 152, 228
Young People's Colleges, or County Colleges, 146–9
Youth Advisory Council, 1942, 141; Ministry of Education, 146; recommendations, 148, 149; *The Youth Service after the War*, 144 (footnote), 285; Young People's Colleges, 146
Youth Centres, 136, 143, 144, 250, 281, 284
Youth Hostels Association: caters for young and active, 154; existing holiday societies, 163; foreign travel, 158; grants from National Fitness Council and Ministry of Education, 154; holidays with pay, 152; Ministry of Labour, 161
Youth, organizations for welfare of (*see* Chapter 8), 135–49; affiliation, 138; *Aims and Methods of the National Voluntary Youth Organization*, 135, 136, 137 (footnote); classification, 136–7; finance, 138, 139, 140, 142–3; Juvenile Organizations Committee, 138–41, 280; National Fitness Council, 139, 140, 141; numbers, 135, 137, 142, 143, 144, 145, 150; pre-service organizations, 135, 142, 143, 144–5, 281, 282; Young People's Colleges, 146–9; Youth Centres, 136, 143, 144, 250, 281, 284
Youth Registration in 1942, 145 (footnote)
Youth Service After the War, The, Report of Youth Advisory Council, 144 (footnote), 285
Youth Service Volunteers, 1942, 137 142

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